

379  
N81  
No. 4889

FROM PEACEFUL MILITANCY TO REVOLUTION: AN ANALYSIS  
OF THE RHETORICAL STRUCTURE OF THE WOMEN'S  
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION IN  
GREAT BRITAIN,  
1903 - 1914

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the  
North Texas State University in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

By

Kitty S. Harris, B. S.

Denton, Texas

August, 1974

Harris, Kitty S., From Peaceful Militancy to Revolution: An Analysis of the Rhetorical Structure of the Women's Social and Political Union in Great Britain, 1903 - 1914. Master of Science (Speech Communication and Drama), August, 1974, 164 pp., bibliography, 46 titles.

This study focused on the rhetorical structure of the Women's Social and Political Union. An interdisciplinary methodology was used to examine the components of rhetorical structure: ideology, goals, leaders, membership, and strategies. The rhetorical structure became the thread which held the movement together and provided the impetus for its progression and through four stages: formation and development, the beginning of militancy, the flourishing of membership, and the eruption of violence.

The final stage brought about differing ideologies, inconsistent goals, and a divided membership. Although the rhetorical structure was shattered and the movement ended, it succeeded in changing the Victorian image of women and contributed to the larger women's movement.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
<p>I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Statement of Purpose Methods and Procedures Summary of Design</p>	<p>1</p>
<p>II. THE SOCIAL CLIMATE WHICH PRECIPITATED THE MOVEMENT . . . . .</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Introduction Great Britain: 1880 - 1903 The Victorian Image of Women The Background of the Women's Suffrage Movement Conclusion</p>	<p>33</p>
<p>III. STAGE I: FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT. . . . .</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Introduction Equality, Liberty, and Social Justice Doctrines and Policies Votes for Women Political Independence Opposition to Government Education of the Public Reaction and Response by the Establishment Conclusion</p>	<p>49</p>
<p>IV. STAGE II: THE BEGINNING OF MILITANCY. . . . .</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Introduction Doctrines and Policies Petitioning Members of Parliament Public Response and Reaction The W.S.P.U. Adopts a Resolution The First Act of Militancy Continued Petitioning and Continued Avoidance Salvation Army Methods Adopted to Convert London Mass Deputation Sent to Parliament Further Petitioning Results in Avoidance Consistent Petitioning Results in Suppression Conclusion</p>	<p>66</p>

TABLE OF CONTENTS CONTINUED

V. STAGE III: THE W.S.P.U. FLOURISHES . . . . .	95
Introduction	
Doctrines and Policies	
W.S.P.U. Establishes Permanent Headquarters	
Further Attempts at Petitioning Incur	
Massive Suppression	
Weekly Monday "At Homes" Strengthen Group	
Cohesiveness	
Policy Dispute Causes Internal Split	
Among Members	
New W.S.P.U. Paper-- <u>Votes for Women</u>	
Emmeline Pankhurst Becomes a Symbol	
After Imprisonment	
The Great Hyde Park Meeting Exhibits	
Solidarity	
Public Response and Reaction	
Suppression Imposed by Anti-Suffragists	
The W.S.P.U. Woman's Exhibition Furthers	
<u>Esprit de Corps</u>	
Conclusion	
VI. STAGE IV: VIOLENCE ERUPTS. . . . .	125
Introduction	
Doctrines and Policies	
The Implementation of Non-Violent	
Resistance	
Continued Petitioning of the Government	
Public Response and Reaction	
New Tactics Provide Solidarity and	
Persistency	
Non-Violent Resistance is Met by Suppression	
Proposed Token Measure of Adjustment Results	
in Truce	
Renewed Violent Protest and Violent	
Suppression	
Suppression is Countered by Revolution	
Policy Dispute Threatens Solidarity	
Consistent Avoidance and Suppression Preci-	
pitate Violence and Revolution	
Response and Reaction	
The Final Split Destroys Solidarity	
The Suspension of Militancy--The End of the	
Movement	
Conclusion	
VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	153
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	161

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

"Votes for Women was regarded by the majority of sober, level-headed men as a ladies fad which would never come to anything and the idea that it could ever be a question upon which governments would stand or fall, or be associated with persecution, rioting, and imprisonment had been alike unthinkable."<sup>1</sup> This statement made by Sylvia Pankhurst in her book The Suffragette very appropriately sets the stage for an analysis of the Women's Social and Political Union in Great Britain.

One of the first significant steps toward a women's movement occurred when John Stuart Mill presented the Woman Suffrage Petition to the House of Commons in 1866. Shortly after, in 1867, the first women's suffrage society in Great Britain was formed. The campaign for women's suffrage was continuous from 1866 to 1914, when, after fifty-two years, Parliament granted women the right to vote. "The women's suffrage movement grew out of the changing relationship between men and women in the nineteenth century."<sup>2</sup> The suffrage movement was part of the larger movement for women's emancipation.<sup>3</sup> It was interrelated with the larger women's movement in three ways. Initially, the vote was a right which women believed

should be granted. Secondly, the right to vote became a means to an end in the area of social reform. Thirdly, many women who were involved in one realm of women's rights also supported other aspects of the movement.<sup>4</sup> This interrelationship between the suffrage movement and the larger women's movement was realized by Dame Millicent Fawcett, leader of the constitutional movement for women's suffrage. Dame Fawcett stated in the Nineteenth Century in May, 1886:

Women's suffrage will not come, when it does come as an isolated phenomenon, it will come as a necessary corollary of the other changes which have gradually and steadily been modified during this century in the social history of our country. It will be a political change, not of a very great or extensive character in itself, based upon social, educational, and place. It will have the effect of adjusting the political machinery of the country to the altered social conditions of its inhabitants. The revolution has been quietly taking place for at least two generations: the political change will not be a revolution, but a public recognition by the State that the lot of women in England is no longer what it was at the beginning of the century.<sup>5</sup>

During the years immediately prior to the First World War many societies were organized to promote women's suffrage. The most important of the societies formed was the Women's Social and Political Union (the suffragettes) formed in 1903. From this society sprang the militant branch of the movement.<sup>6</sup>

It is necessary to distinguish between the constitutional movement and the militant movement. The constitutional movement was a federation of societies under the direction of Lydia Becker from 1867 until 1890. After 1890, Millicent Fawcett took over guidance of the society and it became known as the

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. This branch of the movement was referred to as the suffragists. The militant branch of the movement, of which the most prominent society was the Women's Social and Political Union, was under the leadership of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel. The members of this society were referred to as suffragettes. There is no doubt that the constitutional suffrage movement exerted an important influence in the bid for women's suffrage; however, "the agitation for women's enfranchisement did not become a compelling political force until the militant suffragettes led by Mrs. Pankhurst emerged. The suffragettes caught the headlines and no one could avoid the issue."<sup>7</sup>

Although the Women's Social and Political Union's activities included constitutional as well as militant methods, the suffragettes were best known for their militancy. The Union embodied "both the rebellious spirit of youth and the fundamental political discontents of the Labour Party."<sup>8</sup> The founder of the W.S.P.U. defined its objective with two words, "immediate enfranchisement."<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Pankhurst then extended the Union's objectives with these words: "we shall work not by any means of outworn missionary methods, but by political action."<sup>10</sup> During the first two years of its existence the W.S.P.U. concentrated on propaganda work such as distributing pamphlets and making speeches; however, the afternoon of the 12th of May in 1905 saw "the first plunge by the ladies into the chilly and daunting waters of militancy, and

they could comfort themselves that if the busy world outside had not heeded their speeches, at least their names were enshrined on the tablets of immortality--a policeman's notebook."<sup>11</sup> The events that took place on May the 12th formed the foundation of the future work of the Women's Social and Political Union.

What united the W.S.P.U. and gave it momentum? How was rhetoric used to express the goals of the movement? Why did the Union find it necessary to employ militant tactics? Did the militancy change the development of the movement? What did the militant tactics accomplish? What was the response of the public to the militant rhetoric? These are some of the questions that this study proposes to answer.

With the onset of World War I, the activities of the Women's Social and Political Union were halted. Some critics<sup>12</sup> believe that it was not the agitation of the suffragettes that won women the vote in February, 1918, but that it was the devoted and patriotic work of the women in the war effort. This study attempts to clarify much of the speculation surrounding the Women's Social and Political Union's objectives, actions, and effects. Since these are related to a movement's development, the structural elements of the W.S.P.U. have been examined.

#### Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to analyze the rhetorical structure of the Women's Social and Political Union in Great Britain between 1903 and 1914.



## Methods and Procedures

The methods used in this study are eclectic in nature. It is important in a study of this type to take an interdisciplinary approach drawing from various rhetorical, sociological, and psychological studies which are relevant to the study of social movements. To discover the rhetorical structure of a movement, it is necessary to have a complete overview of the movement, its ideology, the social climate which precipitated its emergence and organization, its goals, leaders, membership, strategies, and tactics. For the purpose of this study social movements will be viewed as "socially shared activities and beliefs directed toward the demand for change in some aspect of the social order."<sup>13</sup> It is important to distinguish social movements from other social phenomena. The basis for this distinction is the kind of goal to which they are committed. Unlike social institutions, the purpose of a social movement is change, whether the change is directed towards relationships, norms, beliefs, or all of these elements.<sup>14</sup> Sociologist Herbert Blumer in his analysis of social movements stated, "they have their inception in a condition of unrest, and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of living."<sup>15</sup> The desire for change in a social setting is often contributed to social unrest. C. Wendell King in his book Social Movements in the United States wrote: "Social movements--along with other

manifestations of change--are commonly ascribed to 'social unrest'. This unrest is the product of discontent in a great many individual human beings. It becomes discernible when enough individuals give overt expression to their dissatisfaction. To say that social unrest is conducive to the appearance of social movements is to say, in a sense, that large numbers of people are seeking answers they do not have, reassurance that the answers are right, or ways of implementing the answers of whose rightness they are convinced."<sup>16</sup>

Blumer made a distinction between general social movements, specific social movements, and expressive social movements. The Women's Social and Political Union can be classified as a specific social movement because a specific social movement is "regarded as the crystallization of much of the motivation of dissatisfaction, hope, and desire awakened by the general social movement and the focusing of this motivation on some specified object."<sup>17</sup> A specific social movement usually takes the form of an agitative or a reform movement. King stated that "social movements being dynamic, pass through several stages of development. Consequently, their characteristics vary at different times."<sup>18</sup> Even though the characteristics vary at different times, Blumer has been able to classify the general components of specific social movements. According to Blumer this type of movement is composed of the following characteristics: (1) it has a well-defined objective or goal which it seeks to reach, (2) it develops an

organization and structure, (3) there is a recognized and accepted leadership, (4) it has a definite membership, (5) the movement constructs a guiding set of values, forms a body of traditions, establishes a philosophy, a set of rules, and assembles a general body of expectations, (6) the members in the movement form an allegiance and a loyalty, and (7) its behavior becomes organized, solidified, and persistent.<sup>19</sup>

Blumer's analysis emphasized the key factors in a social movement are the movement's form and its purpose. Because a movement progresses and grows by the use of symbols, whether they be verbal or nonverbal, the study of a movement is a rhetorical study. "Rhetoric promotes the internal strength and stability through images of the 'ideal member' and through symbols of strength and virtue."<sup>20</sup> In addition to promoting internal strength, rhetoric provides a basis for external strength. William McPherson in his book entitled Ideology and Change: Radicalism and Fundamentalism in America observed that "rhetoric propagates an external 'image' of growth and influence through symbolic leadership. Thus, rhetoric enables a social movement to survive as a conflict group because it externalizes tension and conveys an aggressive activist image of the movement."<sup>21</sup> Rhetoric accomplishes these functions because the use of symbols gives the movement its form and carries its purpose. James L. Golden in his paper "Social Movements as Rhetorical Situations," proposed that a social movement is "an essential element of a rhetorical situation."<sup>22</sup> Rhetoric

is increasingly being thought of as an end in itself and not simply as a means to an end. The focus of a rhetorical study includes (1) what precipitated the sharing of beliefs, (2) what directions the activities took place with respect to societal trends, (4) the people responsible for the movement, and (5) the strategies and tactics used by the movement to achieve its goals. Golden demonstrated through his analysis that rhetoric holds a movement together and provides a catalyst for the movement to progress to its other stages.<sup>23</sup>

Before the stages that a movement goes through are examined, it is necessary to define rhetoric and specify the type of rhetoric that was employed by the Women's Social and Political Union to give the movement its form, to carry its purpose, and to provide for the progression to different stages. Rhetoric in its simplest form is "a means of so ordering discourse as to produce an effect on the listener."<sup>24</sup> Rhetoric induces people to think in a certain way or to act in a certain way. Donald Bryant extended this idea when he stated that the function of rhetoric "is adjusting ideas to people and people to ideas."<sup>25</sup> Kenneth Burke sharpened Bryant's definition when he defined rhetoric as "the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols."<sup>26</sup> Because rhetoric is concerned with symbols it is important that these symbols act as "mediators between men rather than as pure symbols or as mediators between men and things."<sup>27</sup> This stipulation adds the dimension of instrumentality

to rhetoric. John Bowers and Donovan Ochs in their book The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control provided a correlation of previous definitions when they defined rhetoric as "the rationale of instrumental symbolic behavior."<sup>28</sup> Bowers and Ochs went on to examine their definition when they stated that "a message or other act is instrumental if it contributes to the production of another act or message. Behavior is symbolic if it has a referential function--if it stands for something else. Verbal behavior, whether descriptive or persuasive is almost completely symbolic. We think, however, that many kinds of nonverbal behavior are also symbolic and therefore appropriate to rhetorical analysis."<sup>29</sup>

The rhetorical techniques used by the Women's Social and Political Union were characterized by a "persistent and uncompromising statement and restatement of grievances through all available communication channels, with the aim of creating public opinion favorable to a change in some condition."<sup>30</sup> This type of rhetoric is referred to as agitative rhetoric. Bower and Ochs stated: "Agitation exists when (1) people outside the normal decision-making establishment (2) advocate significant social change and (3) encounter a degree of resistance within the establishment such as require more than the normal discursive means of persuasion. Control refers to the response of the decision-making establishment to agitation."<sup>31</sup> Charles W. Lomas in his book The Agitator in American Society outlined three conditions necessary for agitation to take

to take place. "First, there must be clear evidence of injustice or apparent injustice deeply affecting the well being of those who compose the audience. Secondly, on the part of the established ruling group there must be massive resistance to change. Finally, there must be available channels of communication between the agitator and the audience."<sup>32</sup> The role of agitation is extremely significant in a social movement. Agitation plays an important role in the early development and it may persist throughout the lifetime of the movement. Agitation persisted in the Women's Social and Political Union. The Union utilized agitation in its early stages and progressed to a plateau of militancy and revolution during the later stages. The purpose of agitation in the early phase of a movement is to give the movement impetus and jar people loose from their traditional beliefs and values. Agitation arouses new impulses, desires, and wishes. For agitation to be successful it must fulfill three requirements: "first, it must gain the attention of the people; second, it must excite them, and arouse impulses and feelings; and third, it must give some direction to these impulses and feelings through ideas, suggestions, criticisms, and promises."<sup>33</sup> The function of agitation within the Women's Social and Political Union was not so much to challenge and question, but to intensify the unrest already being experienced and to release and direct it. The conditions outlined above were an integral part of the W.S.P.U. and the rhetoric that they employed, for the progression of their movement was

agitative; therefore, this movement has been examined as an agitative movement.

Thus far this study has been narrowed to a rhetorical study of a specified social movement. The rhetoric of a movement is vast and it would be difficult to effectively deal with all aspects of the rhetoric; therefore, this study focused on the rhetorical structure of the Women's Social and Political Union. The rhetorical components of structure--ideology, goals, leadership, membership, and strategies--provide a movement with direction and enable it to develop and progress to its different stages of development. Blumer suggested four stages that a specific social movement, in the case of the W.S.P.U. a specific agitative movement, goes through in its development. The first stage is social unrest. The people involved at this point are restless, uneasy, and act in a random fashion. John Lofland and Rodney Stark in their article, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," classified this restlessness as tension "best characterized as a felt discrepancy between some imaginary, ideal state of affairs and the circumstances in which people see themselves caught up in."<sup>34</sup> Another circumstance which can generate personal discontent is a situation in which the individual's status is recognized but nominally or not at all by other groups. This was the case of the women in Great Britain. These various circumstances of discontent, restlessness, and tension render the individual especially receptive

to suggestion.<sup>35</sup> Because individuals in this stage are so susceptible to suggestions and appeals, rhetoric can become an effective tool for agitation. Rhetorical tactics such as speeches and pamphlets can be used to tap discontent. This stage is significant in that the random and erratic behavior exhibited by the members is effective in sensitizing people to each other and enables them to focus their restlessness on definite objects. Such rhetorical tactics as songs, slogans, and marches enhance the sensitizing process by providing individuals with a "we-consciousness"<sup>36</sup> enabling conversion to take place. This transformation solidifies the movement by "reinforcing the cohesiveness of its members, thereby increasing their responsiveness to group wishes."<sup>37</sup>

The second stage of development is that of popular excitement. Although this stage is marked by more milling, the behavior is not quite as random and aimless as in the primary stage. There is a clarification of rhetorical objectives and goals during this time. Individuals involved in the movement during this stage are likely to reach a turning point--"when a person comes to a moment when old lines of action were incomplete, had failed or been disrupted, or were about to be so, and when they faced the opportunity (or necessity), and possibly the burden, of doing something with their lives."<sup>38</sup> This turning point can be brought about by the use of the rhetorical strategy of polarization. "This strategy assumes that any individual who has not committed himself in one way or another



to the agitation is supportive of the establishment. The strategy of polarization encompasses tactics designed to move him out of that column into the agitation ranks, to force a conscious choice between agitation and control."<sup>39</sup> Also in this stage a leader emerges who is likely to be a prophet or a reformer. The rhetorical choices made by the leader will determine in what direction the movement will progress and what responses and reactions the movement will receive.

The formalization stage is the third stage to develop. This stage is marked by a more formal organization and structure. Rules are formed, as are policies and rhetorical tactics. Tactics such as sit-ins or hunger strikes may be chosen during this stage to promote development of the movement or to change the direction of the movement. These tactics can also be used to perpetuate the "development or presence of some positive, emotional interpersonal response between members."<sup>40</sup> During this formalization stage, a more structured discipline emerges and the leader is likely to be a statesman. The leader may be the same person who emerged in the second stage, but whose function has changed. A change in the function of a leader may be attributed to a change in rhetorical choices made by the movement.

The final stage is the institutional stage. By the time a movement reaches this stage, its rhetoric has "crystallized it into a fixed organization with a definite personnel and structure to carry into execution the purpose of the movement."<sup>41</sup>

At this point, the leader most probably plays the role of an administrator.

Since rhetoric has the potential to symbolically alter the conception of any situation, it will ultimately emit a response from the general public and from the control group. The response from the public may be in the form of a rejection of old symbols and an adoption of new symbols. If society chooses to adopt the new symbols, and subsequently adopt new attitudes or behavior, then the rhetorical choices made by the movement were successful. However, if society chooses to reject these new symbols, then little public pressure will be placed on control.

Control, commonly referred to as the establishment, may adopt one or more of four available strategies: avoidance, suppression, adjustment, or capitulation.<sup>42</sup> When control chooses to use the strategy of avoidance, they ignore the movement or find ways to postpone dealing with it. To a large extent they actually deny its existence. The strategy of suppression is used to harass the movement's leaders, or in some direct way suppress the movement. The strategy of adjustment is used by the control structure to adopt token measures or the goals of the movement. The final strategy of capitulation is used only as a last resort on the part of the control group. Capitulation is merely the salvaging of any part of the control structure. If a movement forces the control group into a situation of total capitulation, they

have gained a victory by completely replacing the control structure.<sup>43</sup>

In dealing with the stages of development through which a movement progresses, the five components of rhetorical structure can be derived: (1) ideology, (2) goals, (3) leadership, (4) membership, and (5) strategies. Each of these categories warrant further examination.

The first component is ideology. Ideology plays one of the most significant roles in the rhetorical structure of a movement because it gives the movement its doctrines and beliefs. Through examination of doctrines and beliefs, rhetorical choices can be made with respect to strategies and tactics to be employed by the movement. Bowers and Ochs define ideology as "a set of statements which define the unique set of beliefs to which the members theoretically subscribe."<sup>44</sup> Even more than a set of beliefs, "the ideologies of movements express discontents and aspirations of the members, and for a time they also express the interests of a wider constituency."<sup>45</sup> Blumer described ideology by categorizing five components which ideology encompasses.

The ideology of a movement consists of a body of doctrine, beliefs, and myths. More specifically, it seems to consist of the following: First, a statement of the objectives, purpose, and premises of the movement; second, a body of criticism and condemnation of the existing structure which the movement is attacking and seeking to change; third, a body of defense doctrine which serves as a justification of the movement and of its objectives; fourth, a body of belief dealing with policies, tactics, and practical operation of the movement; and fifth, the myths of the movement.<sup>46</sup>

Broadly speaking, the minimum function of an ideology is providing the movement with a rationale not only for the objectives of the movement, but also for rhetorical tactics and organizational means to these objectives. The ideology must make a good case for what the movement is proposing to do and what rhetorical means it is using to arrive at its proposal.<sup>47</sup> One point that King stated in his analysis must not be overlooked. Although "ideology relates the various elements of the movement into a pattern it also relates the movement into a social setting."<sup>48</sup> In a movement study, especially a rhetorical movement study, it is essential to consider the social climate which precipitated the emergence of the movement. "Neither rhetorical nor activists agitations can hope to succeed even partially unless social and political conditions are favorable to the initiation and growth of the movement."<sup>49</sup> The examination of the social conditions surrounding the emergence of the Women's Social and Political Union included not only political and economical factors, but also, and possibly more importantly, the image of women during the period of the Women's Suffrage Movement.

The second component of rhetorical structure is the goal of the movement. "The goal of the movement is the objective toward which the movement's activities are directed."<sup>50</sup> Because goals influence the decision of many people to become part of a movement or to simply ignore it, its objectives should be included among the factors which determine its fate. King

stated that "the degree to which goals find favor in a population may be largely a consequence of their acceptability as defined by the existing culture."<sup>51</sup> A distinction needs to be made between general and specific goals. In most social movements, both general and specific goals will be present. The general objectives provide flexibility with respect to organization and rhetorical tactics. Since general objectives are broad, "they are likely to have wide appeal to potential members and sympathizers."<sup>52</sup> Specific goals provide an appeal to special interests. They also help the movement to maintain enthusiasm among its members. Whether the goals be specific or general "some form of social change is always explicitly indicated in the goal of objective."<sup>53</sup> Another important feature in the examination of goals is the time dimension--whether the goal is sought in the immediate or distant future. Immediate goals include such objectives as securing some desired action from the government or the enlargement of membership. Immediate goals serve as preliminary steps to the attainment of ultimate goals. Ultimate goals are classified as the ideology of the movement.<sup>54</sup> Goals possess intrinsic qualities which have the potential of influencing acceptance or rejection. The first of these qualities is "realism with respect to basic human needs."<sup>55</sup> This quality is a necessity within the framework of a movement. Secondly, it is necessary for a goal to have an apparent demonstratable utility. King stated that "the criterion of utility is especially significant

among converts who have examined the goals in only a cursory fashion, intrigued chiefly by their novelty."<sup>56</sup> Third, goals must be flexible. If goals lack flexibility, changing external pressures can strip them of their relevance and of their appeal. If objectives can be made to be nebulous, they lend themselves more easily to adjustments within a societal rhetorical framework. Finally, goals must possess an apparent attainability. This attainability should be apparent to potential members rather than an objective observer.<sup>57</sup> The attainment of goals within a social movement is dependent on choices of rhetorical strategies and tactics. The intrinsic attributes of goals represent the favorable attributes--those that are realistic, flexible, attainable, and possess utility--do not guarantee that a movement will be greeted with enthusiasm. But a movement whose goals lack these attributes does not have the minimum assets for success."<sup>58</sup>

The next element of rhetorical structure that is necessary to analyze is membership. "The minimum requirement for the survival of a movement is membership."<sup>59</sup> Within the framework of membership, several elements prove to be invaluable. The first of these will be referred to as esprit de corps. Through the use of rhetoric, esprit de corps can be developed and give solidity and persistency to a movement. For the purpose of this study, esprit de corps will be thought of as "the organizing of feelings on behalf of the movement."<sup>60</sup> Through rhetorical means, the leader of a movement can develop within

the membership a feeling of belonging together. A second invaluable element is that of morale. Through rhetoric morale can give "persistency and determination to a movement; its test is whether solidarity can be maintained in the face of adversity."<sup>61</sup> Within the context of this study, morale will be categorized as a group will. This group will is based on a set of convictions transferred to the membership by rhetorical means such as songs and slogans. The convictions fall into two realms. The first conviction is a reaffirmation of the purpose of the movement. The belief in the success of the movement instills confidence in the membership. The second conviction is a faith in the movement that it will attain its goal. The membership believes that success is inevitable, however, they know the struggle for attainment of that goal will be hard.

The previously discussed characteristics of membership can be attributed to most social movements; however, since the W.S.P.U. was an agitative movement, it is necessary to examine several determinants involved in membership within an agitative movement. Egon Bittner, in an article entitled "Radicalism and the Organization of Radical Movements,"<sup>62</sup> provided an inventory of component parts essential for membership in agitative movements. The first element is purity of belief. "The value sought must be purity, not clarity, or belief. Purity is important, not only for its own sake, but also because it offers the leader a weapon of control."<sup>63</sup> A second

essential is that the members must be relieved of external convention. Nothing in his life should remain normal unless it is normalized by the doctrine of the movement. The third factor is suffering. "Since disappointments, reversals and failure are commonplace in the lives of radicals, suffering must be made an integral part of the conception of the progress of the movement in order to minimize its effects on the morale of the members."<sup>64</sup> In order for suffering to be expressed symbolically, the character of the leader should contain some elements of martyrdom. The final component is the act of breaking all extra-group ties. The member should feel that he/she owes nothing to anything that lies outside of the movement. Bittner stated that "when considered not as a person's way of relating to his environment, but as a group's organized response to its particular disadvantage, the features of radicalism appear as calculated and efficient mechanisms. That they may be compatible with or even feed on the emotional life of the persons which implement them is almost a foregone conclusion."<sup>65</sup>

King reaffirmed the psychological factors involved in membership: "The significance of the individual's needs and dissatisfactions must be recognized from the beginning. These psychological elements are admittedly elusive--as is the whole problem of human personality--and the conditions which induce people to join a wide variety of movements are often obscure. Yet any attempt to account for the startling multiplicity of



movements without reference to motives, satisfactions, and frustrations can only result in a description which is incomplete and realistic."<sup>66</sup> Bittner also made it evident that within an agitative movement the members must make a total commitment to the movement and its doctrine. In order for this total commitment to be perpetuated, conversion must take place. Golden stated that "a rhetorical situation calling for the emergence of a social movement makes conversion a natural and necessary response."<sup>67</sup> A conversion experience calls for a psychological reorganization and transformation of identity which is made possible through rhetoric. Rhetoric alters the members' belief systems and their use of symbols. Conversion brings about total commitment to a different creed and set of values. Golden believes that "conversion is the substance out of which social movements are born and perpetuated, and only after it takes place are participants mobilized for action."<sup>68</sup> The results of the conversion process were concisely stated by Golden: "As mobilization through conversion occurs and emotional disciples become innovators and surveyors of public opinion, social control begins to operate."<sup>69</sup>

The fourth component of rhetorical structure is leadership. Minimal leadership competency is essential for the survival of a movement."<sup>70</sup> Of the different variables comprising a movement's rhetorical structure, leadership is said to carry the greatest potential for drama. King stated that because "the dynamic leader commands so much attention and often in memory,

out-lives his cause; observers and members alike are prone to think of leadership largely in terms of drama and individual personality."<sup>71</sup> The dynamic leader may possess qualities chiefly in the area of rhetoric, administrative abilities, or vision and insight. A distinction can be made between two types of leaders--the charismatic leader and the legal leader. The legal leader derives his power from the office he holds rather than from his individual personality. His authority is usually exhibited in such documents as constitutions and bylaws.<sup>72</sup> The charismatic leader is completely different in nature. For the purpose of this study, charisma will be defined as "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplacy, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader."<sup>73</sup> The rhetorical ability that a charismatic leader possesses is truly his and stems from his unique characteristics. William H. Friedland in his article entitled "For a Sociological Concept of Charisma" stated that "men may obey simply because of the personal qualities--the charisma--of the person who commands; the appeals of the 'natural leader' may transcend established institutions and challenge accepted values."<sup>74</sup> Because the leader of a movement makes many of the decisions concerning

rhetorical choices, he has the ability to direct the flow and progress of the movement. His rhetorical choices are instrumental in the ultimate success or failure of the movement. Oftentimes the charismatic leader is also the movement's founder. This was the case with Emmeline Pankhurst and the W.S.P.U. Her power at varying times in the movement's development was close to absolute. One final point needs to be made concerning leadership. Bittner observed in his analysis that "radical agitative leaders often discover or formulate their doctrines in prisons, thus the rhetoric acquires a particularistic aspect, namely, it is maintained that the leader 'knows best' because of his unique experiences."<sup>75</sup>

Rhetorical strategies and tactics are the final components of rhetorical structure. "Assuming that an individual or group advocates a significant social change, and that the establishment opposes this social change, the dissenting group must make choices among the means of persuasion. The more general rhetorical choices we call strategies; the more specific rhetorical choices we call tactics. In turn, strategies and tactics govern the particular style any rhetorical discourse, thing or event takes."<sup>76</sup> Strategies and tactics are dependent upon various rhetorical situations surrounding the movement, but evolve along three lines: "gaining adherents, holding adherents, and reaching objectives."<sup>77</sup> It is important to note that rhetorical strategies are rhetorical structural elements. Rhetorical strategies and tactics are of particular

importance for two reasons. First, tactics determine to a large extent the reaction and response of outsiders to the movement. Secondly, mistakes in the implementation of rhetorical strategies and tactics can be decisive in the failure of a movement. "Tactical blunders can be fatal to a movement. Errors--such as a show of weakness or, conversely, an ill-timed display of aggression--can alienate potential supporters and even members, however enthusiastic they may be about the goals."<sup>78</sup> The rhetorical strategies and tactics implemented by the Women's Social and Political Union will be examined in detail in later chapters.

The previously examined procedures and methods provide an interdisciplinary framework within which the rhetorical structure of the Women's Social and Political Union can be analyzed.

#### Survey of Literature

The Women's Suffrage Movement has been a popular topic among British as well as American historians; however, no one as yet has approached the subject from a rhetorical standpoint.

The most useful research materials came from actual accounts of the movement written by the suffragettes themselves. These accounts include: Emmeline Pankhurst, My Own Story, a very descriptive account of the W.S.P.U. and its activities written by the leader of the movement; E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Life of Emmeline Pankhurst, a biography of

Emmeline Pankhurst and her role in the W.S.P.U.; E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Suffragette, a detailed account of the progression of the W.S.P.U. as a militant organization; Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, My Part in a Changing World, covers the participation of Emmeline Pethick Lawrence as treasurer of the W.S.P.U. and one of its chief organizers; Constance Lytton and Jane Warton, Prisons and Prisoners, an excellent first-hand account of the prison treatment the suffragettes received and overall prison conditions endured by the women; and Millicent Garret Fawcett, Women's Suffrage: A Short History of a Great Movement, this work supplied a thorough history of the movement through the formation of the W.S.P.U.

In addition to the above works, there have been several books written by contemporary authors dealing with the movement and its leaders which have been invaluable. The contemporary works include: Constance Rover, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Great Britain: 1866 - 1914, this work deserves special mention as a superior critical analysis of the movement; Antonia Raeburn, The Militant Suffragette, this book concentrated on the W.S.P.U. exclusively and provided a very accurate account of the Union's activities; Roger Fulford, Votes for Women -- The Story of a Struggle, Fulford provided some excellent insights into the overall struggle for enfranchisement; Theodore Stanton, The Woman Question in Europe, Stanton took a historical view of the question of enfranchisement; David Mitchell, The Fighting Pankhurst's, this

work contributed to the understanding of the emergence of Emmeline Pankhurst as leader of the movement and her contribution to the development of the Union; and Judith Kazantzis, Women in Revolt: The Fight for Emancipation, this collection of articles, pictures, and copies of letters and documents proved to be very interesting and extremely informative.

Several historical works, specifically dealing with the issue of women's rights were useful in gaining a historical perspective of the movement. The most useful were: Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Women; John Stuart Mill, The Subjection of Women; Andre Maurois, The Edwardian Era; and Dudley Barker, Prominent Edwardians, Barker devoted an entire chapter to Emmeline Pankhurst and her contributions to the movement which were especially helpful.

Since much of the effect of the movement was closely associated with the Victorian image of women, several books proved to be of special assistance in defining exactly what the Victorian image consisted of. The works of most value were: Joseph Ambrose and Olive Banks, Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England; R. J. Evans, The Victorian Age: 1815 - 1914; Kenneth Hudson, The Place of Women in Society; Sir Charles Petrie, The Victorians; and Vera Brittain, Lady into Women: A History of Women from Victoria to Elizabeth II.

The political question was very well explored in previously cited works such as Rover, Raeburn, and Fulford; however, several other sources warrant special mention. These

sources include: T. G. Asquith, Fifty Years of British Parliament; Hansard's Parliamentary Debates; and D. C. Somevell, British Politics Since 1900.

In order to relate the movement to its social setting, an investigation was made of the conditions in Great Britain before the W.S.P.U. was formed; and after its organization. Several historical works were valuable in determining the social setting and many of the public reactions to the movement. These historical works were: Asa Briggs, They Saw It Happen; R. C. K. Ensor, England 1870 - 1914; K. B. Smellie, Great Britain Since 1688; John Alfred Spender, A Short History of Our Times; G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History; and James A. Williamson, The Evolution of England.

Finally, of particular use in evaluating public reaction to the movement were the accounts in the London Times of various activities and militant acts of the W.S.P.U.

It is evident from this survey that no single work was relied upon for background or analysis. There were ample resources to draw from in an attempt to obtain a broad perspective on the rhetorical structure of the Women's Social and Political Union.

#### Summary of Design

Chapter I includes a statement of purpose and an outline of the interdisciplinary approach to be used in this analysis of the rhetorical structure of the Women's Social and Political

Union. A broad overview of the movement is made possible by utilizing this format. Chapter II contains an examination of the social setting in which the movement took place with respect to societal trends. Chapter III is the first stage of the movement from 1903 to 1905. This chapter discusses the formation, organization and development of the W.S.P.U. Chapter IV is the second stage encompassing the years 1905 to 1907. This chapter marked the beginning of militancy within the movement. Chapter V deals with the third stage from 1907 to 1910. This stage revolved around the onset of revolutionary tactics employed by the Union. Chapter VI is the last stage and encompassed the years 1910 to 1914. This stage was marked by violence and revolution. Chapter VII includes summary and conclusions.



## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Suffragette (London: Gay and Hancock Limited, 1911), p. 32.

<sup>2</sup>Constance Rover, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain: 1866 - 1914 (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1967), p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>The larger movement for women's emancipation encompassed the areas of education, labor, and various other societies working for social reform.

<sup>4</sup>Rover, pp. 1-2.

<sup>5</sup>Rover, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Rover, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup>Rover, p. v.

<sup>8</sup>Roger Fulford, Votes for Women--The Story of a Struggle (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1957), p. 119.

<sup>9</sup>Fulford, p. 119.

<sup>10</sup>Fulford, p. 119.

<sup>11</sup>Fulford, p. 123.

<sup>12</sup>Critics such as Constance Rover and Roger Fulford have proposed the theory that it was the devoted war effort of the women that won them the right to vote.

<sup>13</sup>Joseph R. Gusfield, Protest, Reform, and Revolt: A Reader in Social Movements (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1970), p. 2.

<sup>14</sup>Wendell C. King, Social Movements in the United States (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 25.

<sup>15</sup>Herbert Blumer, New Outlines of the Principles of Sociology, ed. A. M. Lee (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1951), p. 8.

<sup>16</sup>King, p. 17.

- <sup>17</sup>Blumer, p. 11.
- <sup>18</sup>King, p. 25.
- <sup>19</sup>Blumer, pp. 11-12.
- <sup>20</sup>William McPherson, Ideology and Change: Radicalism and Fundamentalism in America (California: National Press Books, 1973), p. 160.
- <sup>21</sup>McPherson, p. 160.
- <sup>22</sup>James L. Golden, "Social Movements as Rhetorical Situations," Convention Paper, Speech Communication Association, 1972, p. 1.
- <sup>23</sup>Golden, pp. 1-4.
- <sup>24</sup>Edward P. J. Corbett, Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student (New York: Oxford House Press, 1965), p. 6.
- <sup>25</sup>Donald Bryant, "Rhetoric: Its Function and Scope," Quarterly Journal of Speech, no. 4, 39 (December, 1953), p. 413.
- <sup>26</sup>Corbett, p. 6.
- <sup>27</sup>James Richard McNally, "Toward a Definition of Rhetoric," Philosophy and Rhetoric, 3 (1970), 72.
- <sup>28</sup>John Waite Bowers and Donovan J. Ochs, The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 2.
- <sup>29</sup>Bowers and Ochs, p. 2.
- <sup>30</sup>Charles W. Lomas, The Agitator in American Society (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 2.
- <sup>31</sup>Bowers and Ochs, p. 2.
- <sup>32</sup>Lomas, p. 8.
- <sup>33</sup>Blumer, p. 13.
- <sup>34</sup>John Lofland and Rodney Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," American Sociological Review, 30 (1965), 162.
- <sup>35</sup>Blumer, p. 12.
- <sup>36</sup>Blumer, p. 11.

- 37 Bowers and Ochs, p. 20.
- 38 Lofland and Stark, p. 172.
- 39 Bowers and Ochs, p. 26.
- 40 Lofland and Stark, p. 173.
- 41 Blumer, p. 12.
- 42 Bowers and Ochs, p. 74.
- 43 Bowers and Ochs, p. 55.
- 44 Bowers and Ochs, pp. 8-9.
- 45 McPherson, p. 6.
- 46 Blumer, p. 12.
- 47 King, p. 70.
- 48 King, p. 70.
- 49 Lomas, p. 8.
- 50 King, p. 30.
- 51 King, p. 30.
- 52 King, p. 31.
- 53 King, p. 30.
- 54 King, p. 31.
- 55 King, p. 68.
- 56 King, p. 68.
- 57 King, pp. 68-69.
- 58 King, p. 70.
- 59 King, p. 58.
- 60 Blumer, p. 14.
- 61 Blumer, p. 17.

<sup>62</sup>The term "radical" used in the context of Egon Bittner's article is determined by any behavior which deviates from the norm. Because this is characteristic of agitators, the term radical and agitator will be used interchangeably.

<sup>63</sup>Egon Bittner, "Radicalism and the Organization of Radical Movements," American Sociological Review, 27 (1963), p. 305.

<sup>64</sup>Bittner, p. 306.

<sup>65</sup>Bittner, p. 309.

<sup>66</sup>King, p. 11.

<sup>67</sup>Golden, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup>Golden, p. 3.

<sup>69</sup>Golden, p. 3.

<sup>70</sup>King, p. 71.

<sup>71</sup>King, p. 35.

<sup>72</sup>King, p. 35.

<sup>73</sup>William H. Friedland, "For a Sociological Concept of Charisma," Social Forces, 42 (1964), 246.

<sup>74</sup>Friedland, p. 247.

<sup>75</sup>Bittner, p. 304.

<sup>76</sup>Bowers and Ochs, p. 16.

<sup>77</sup>Blumer, p. 20.

<sup>78</sup>King, p. 37.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SOCIAL CLIMATE WHICH PRECIPITATED THE MOVEMENT

#### Introduction

To discover the rhetorical structure of a movement, it is necessary to have a complete overview of the movement. One important factor in discerning the rhetorical structure is the examination of the social climate which precipitated the movement's emergence and organization. Therefore, the social setting in which the movement took place with respect to societal trends has been discussed. Three areas have been discussed: the political, economic, and social aspects of Great Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; the Victorian view of women during that time period; and the early background of the Women's Suffrage Movement leading up to the formation of the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903.

#### Great Britain: 1880 - 1903

John Alfred Spender wrote in A Short History of Our Times that "if there was any period in the world's history in which life was easy for the rich and moderately well-to-do people it was the sixty-three years of Queen Victoria's reign."<sup>1</sup> For the British people, their institutions and their society in general appeared to be secure beyond any challenge.

Freedom broadened down from precedent to precedent; moderation was the watchword of both great parties; and a wise Parliament made timely concessions. Such wars as there were, were conducted by professional soldiers in remote parts of Europe or the world, and left the general current of life undisturbed. Great literary figures and scientific leaders commanded a respect and obtained a hearing seldom vouchsafed to their king in other ages. Trade advanced by leaps and bounds. Science went hand in hand with industry and helped it with new inventions, health improved, and death rate declined, education spread to the masses, falling prices made low wages tolerable, and, so far as Government was concerned, it was generally believed that no one had any excuse for not being happy.<sup>2</sup>

The men and women of the Victorian Age existed in what they felt to be an orderly, progressive, and relatively permanent state of society. However, the social and economic analysis of the period revealed that "the prosperity was for the country magnate and the captain of industry, the established professional man, the tradesman, the workman with a steady job. These did not comprise the whole people. There was a large number--estimated by some as one-third of the whole population--who had not shared in the general betterment."<sup>3</sup> The British failed to realize that this period of unobstructed tranquility was rapidly coming to an end several years before Queen Victoria died. The Victorians were soon to understand that their previous comfort had been purchased by passing on their problems to their successors. "The homogeneous England of the mid-Victorian decades broke up at the end of the eighties. The dissolution cannot be exactly dated, for it was gradual, and came earlier at the centres than it did at

their circumferences."<sup>4</sup> This dissolution brought with it a gradual awakening to the immediate social problems the country was facing.

The nineties were characterized by a period of unsettlement. R. C. K. Ensor in his book England 1870 - 1914 compared England in the nineties to an adolescent:

The nation was out of health. It passed through a phase like an adolescent; its temper was explosive and quarrelsome; it boasted itself with the harshness of immaturity. Whole strata of society were, in some degree, tasting power for the first time; and as they pushed their way out of the inarticulate and into the articulate part of the community, a kind of upstart arrogance became vocal with them. In religion, in social relations, in politics, in business, men grown contemptuous of the old ideals were stridently asserting new ones. The former clearer objectives were gone, and as yet nothing took their place.<sup>3</sup>

There was no unity of movement within this era. If the newspapers and press revolution were examined, it might be called a decade of vulgarity. However, if the great educational advances were studied, the era might be classified as the dawning of a period of enlightenment. "Very certainly it was a period of widening comfort; of humaner manners in the mass; the relaxation in taboos, both social and moral; and of growing mental freedom accompanied however by a loss of concentration and direction."<sup>6</sup>

In general, the British moved into the twentieth century with a lack of direction, yet in a state of unequalled prosperity. The early twentieth century found public health greatly improved, public education on the increase, trade

unions strong enough to protect the interests of their members, British machinery and textiles were in demand in increasing quantities, taxation was light, and the national debt was relatively low with respect to the national wealth.<sup>7</sup> Amid this prosperity, the British people were also experiencing an increase in leisure time as a result of the shortened working hours.

In a more specific examination of the social aspects of British life, Ensor wrote that "in social life the single fact most prominent at the time was the movement towards a freer status of women. It prevailed all classes and took many forms."<sup>8</sup> Emancipation might seem an unlikely word to encounter at a period when women had neither the Parliamentary vote nor "membership of the older universities, nor the right to sit on borough or city council, nor admission to any of the leading professions save medicine or teaching."<sup>9</sup> However, in a personal sense and in the domestic realm, emancipation was a real prospect. One contribution to a freer status was the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 which was extended by that of 1893. Between the two of these acts, a wife was on the same grounds, with regard to property, as a single woman.<sup>10</sup> During this time there was also a societal trend from large to small families. Consequently, the younger married women became somewhat of a leisure class. Also developing on the same social level was a large body of leisured unmarried women. Ensor remarked about this occurrence when he wrote: "Much



fuel was here being stacked up for the feminist politics of the early twentieth century. But as yet no one had set a match to it."<sup>11</sup>

The "match" as Ensor called it was slow in coming mainly because the British people held a very Victorian view of women until early in the twentieth century. Since the Women's Social and Political Union subsequently did much to dispel the Victorian image of women, the Victorian view warrants further examination.

#### The Victorian Image of Women

"A lady, to be such, must be a mere lady, and nothing else."<sup>12</sup> This statement characterized the feeling towards women in the Victorian Age. The Victorians believed that "women were useless creatures except for breeding purposes, and that the more they were shut off from the realities of life the better. Victorian ideas of 'refinement' prescribed a life of idleness for women unless necessity ruled otherwise."<sup>13</sup> Innocence was what was demanded from the girls of this time. Not only was it important for a girl to be innocent, but also she had to give an outward impression of that innocence. "White muslin, typical of virginal purity, clothed many a heroine, with delicate shades of blue and pink next in popularity."<sup>14</sup> Besides impurity being barred, anything requiring intelligence, and especially politics were not for the women of that era. The only exception to this view with respect to

politics was in the very highest levels of the aristocracy.<sup>15</sup> Sir Charles Petrie in his book The Victorians wrote, "the stamp of masculine approval was placed upon ignorance of the world, meekness, lack of opinions, general helplessness and weakness; in short, a recognition of female inferiority to the male."<sup>16</sup> When a girl got married, she progressed from total dependence upon her parents to total submission to a husband. The British laws did much to mirror this subservience because they gave little protection to women.

The plight of the working woman in Britain was distressing. Women were exploited most in the great industrial depressions. The working women had three problems which all stemmed from their desperate need to work: "their failure to get equal pay with men, the appalling working conditions and the need for new fields of work."<sup>17</sup> An example of a typical job held by women during this period was sack-making. Judith Kazantzis in her collection of contemporary documents entitled Women in Revolt: The Fight for Emancipation described the occupation of sack-making: "This was done mainly by dockers' wives when their husbands were out of work. Much work was done in sheds, where they sat on the ground, repairing and reshaping filthy old sacks. The average payment was 2d. to 5d. per dozen sacks, less if the sacks were spoiled. The system of arbitrary fine for indiscipline or neglect was one of the worst industrial abuses."<sup>18</sup>

Most feminists sensed that the Industrial Revolution would help to liberate women. The modern machinery that resulted from the Industrial Revolution required dexterity rather than strength. For the first time in the history of Great Britain, women were a competitive economic and labor force. "It was the factory floor rather than cloistered at home in the cottage industries of pre-industrial Britain that women workers were to grow self-aware and able to fight for their rights."<sup>20</sup> The significance of the Industrial Revolution with respect to women was commented on by Petrie: "The mid-Victorians were themselves too close to the Industrial Revolution to grasp the full significance of its changes and their economic importance for women; and were unmindful of the part which they had played in the past; they were shocked and horrified by the appearance of a new class of women workers in industrial centers, and their only response was to declare that the place of all women, married or unmarried, was in the home."<sup>21</sup>

In spite of the Victorian's belief that all women should remain in the home, there were some advancements made by the women of this age. The 1850's witnessed a "ladylike attempt" to extend the scope of education for women. "In the 1850's most middle class girls has governesses. Schools were extraordinarily bad. A girl could be 'finish,' and yet barely able to add up. Her head would be packed with a jumble of dates, names and cliches learnt from specially written manuals."<sup>22</sup> Proposals were introduced for improving girls' schools and

expanding the curricula to enable mathematics, classics, and science to be taught.<sup>23</sup> This attempt raised a controversy concerning the wisdom of teaching girls on the same level of boys. In the 1860's, a small group of activist feminists advocated widening the employment field for spinsters and widows. This proposal created a dispute over the effect it might have on the economic status of married women. Finally, in the 1870's, the effort to obtain the vote for women aroused an extended amount of public concern about the future of the status of women.<sup>24</sup>

#### The Background of the Women's Suffrage Movement

The first argument for the women's vote was made by William Thompson in 1825. Thompson published "An appeal of one half of the human race, women, against the pretensions of the other half, men, to retain them in political, and thence in civil and domestic slavery."<sup>26</sup> Thompson's argument was based on the theory that "any claim for the vote which is based on human rights, must automatically include women in its classes of persons for whom the claim is applicable, and that the arguments against the inclusion of women can all be shown to be invalid."<sup>27</sup> Not only did Thompson advance and contribute to the general political arguments for women's suffrage, he also attempted to show that the only way which civil and domestic freedom could be assured for women would be to give them legal and political equality. He wrote, "If there is in the nature of

things any security for equality of enjoyments, proportioned to exertion and capabilities, but by means of equal political rights? Or any security for civil rights but by means of equal political rights?"<sup>28</sup> Roger Fulford, in writing Votes for Women, proposed that the "appeal" made by Thompson was a cardinal document with regard to its contribution to the women's suffrage movement. Fulford believed that "it prescribed the field of battle for the disputants. The arguments for and against are set out and defined. Since they were based on the essential characteristics of human beings, those arguments were not materially changed by the economic or political developments of the nineteenth century. What Thompson wrote Mrs. Pankhurst was to say a century afterwards."<sup>29</sup> The publication of Thompson's "appeal" was a significant first step for the enfranchisement of women; however, it failed to trigger a full-scale controversy over the rights of women during that period.

The next important event after Thompson's publication was the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. "That famous measure, sweeping away a multiplicity of abuses in one direction, surprisingly established a fresh injustice by enacting that the vote in the new boroughs, created by the bill to take the place of the Rotten Boroughs, was to be confined to 'male persons'."<sup>30</sup> In effect, the Reform Bill substituted the words "male persons" for the word "man" which was used in previous franchise acts. The inclusion of the word "male" provided

British women with a statutory disability. The statutory disability existed in the second term of the act:

The forty shilling freeholder, who resided on his freehold, kept the right to vote. Owners by other tenures and leaseholders for long terms of estates of the yearly value of £ 10. and leaseholders for short terms or tenant-at-will whose tenements were worth £ 50 a year were added to the voters in the rural constituencies. In the boroughs the old qualifications were abolished with one unimportant exception. Otherwise the franchise in boroughs depended solely on occupation of premises. The occupier of a house or a shop worth £ 10 estimated annual rental could vote, subject to certain qualifications with regard to length of residence and payment of taxes.<sup>31</sup>

The statutory law resulted because women owned property and would have qualified as £ 10 freeholders under the 1832 Act. It is interesting to note also, that many women's votes were part of their dowrys. The statutory law now facing women did serve one good purpose--it provided the women with a focus of attack.<sup>32</sup>

Women's suffrage was urged for the first time in Parliament on August 3, 1832. Henry (Orator) Hunt presented a petition to Parliament that stated "every unmarried female, possessing the necessary pecuniary qualifications, should be allowed to vote."<sup>33</sup> Hunt's petition on behalf of Miss Mary Smith received nothing but repeated ribaldry from the members of Parliament. In 1843, Mrs. Hugo Reid wrote a book entitled Plea for Women in which she claimed equal rights with men. Concerning Parliamentary representation she wrote:

Of course, we do not mean that all women should possess a privilege which has yet only been conferred on particular classes of men; we only mean to insist that the

right is the same in both sexes. If there be any exclusion from this privilege of a certain class among men, we should allow it to have weight for excluding the corresponding class of women, but for these alone. We would insist that, whatever speciousness certain classes among men have been excluded from this right, it does not follow as a matter of course--as often assumed--that ALL women ought to be excluded. The class of women corresponding to the privilege class among men still have a claim; and the onus probandi against them lies with those who advocate the continuance of the system of exclusion.<sup>34</sup>

In 1847, the first pamphlet on women's suffrage was published by a Quaker, Anne Knight. The claims that Miss Knight advanced were by no means original, and the circulation of the leaflet was modest; however, the leaflet called for an immediate removal of sex discrimination and had a significant effect on the controversy.

The year 1851 included several activities centered on women's suffrage. The Sheffield Association for Female Franchise held its first meeting on the 26th of February 1851. The objective of the Association was complete enfranchisement of women. The Sheffield Association was successful in convincing the 7th Lord Carlisle to present a petition to the House of Lords. The petition was designated as "coming from the female inhabitants of the Borough of Sheffield in the County of York and it prayed their lordships 'to take into their serious consideration the propriety of enacting an Electoral Law which will include adult females'."<sup>36</sup> The petition was soundly defeated.

In 1860 women's suffrage entered a new phase, that of structured political thought. The development of political

thought toward natural rights was advanced by John Stuart Mill who supported women's suffrage. The idea of natural right went hand-in-hand with the claims the suffragists made with regard to social justice. Constance Rover in her book Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain: 1866 - 1914 speculated that since the suffragists claimed the vote on the same terms as men "it is probable that the development of political thought away from the idea of the representation of interests and towards individual rights was necessary before women could hope to have the vote."<sup>37</sup> John Stuart Mill was the second man to uphold the cause of women's suffrage in Parliament. Most members of Parliament regarded the subject as comical; however, Andre Maurois, in The Edwardian Era, said that, "the subject was handled by Mill with such a strength and breadth of vision which compelled the intending mockers to reflect."<sup>38</sup> The motion was lost 196 - 81.<sup>39</sup> Mill's presentation of a petition signed by 1,499 women calling for enfranchisement marked the beginning of a continuous campaign for suffrage organized by women.

From 1866 onwards, publications and debates on women's suffrage became numerous. 1867 saw the formation of the London Society for Women's Suffrage. Several other societies were also formed in Manchester and Edinburgh. By 1897, all the societies then in existence which were devoted to women's suffrage were federated in the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.<sup>40</sup>



At the beginning of the twentieth century, the cause of women's suffrage seemed helplessly blocked.

It had been powerfully advocated by the most influential and respected women, and it had behind it a large support in Parliament and in the country. Private Members' Bills proposing it had been carried on their second reading time after time in the House of Commons. But paradoxically the great obstacle to its accomplishment was that it could not be made a party question, since the dividing line between supporters and opponents cut across parties. It could therefore not be adopted as part of their policy by either the Conservative or the Liberal Party, or be proposed by a Government of either without breaking Cabinets and causing dangerous schisms in the party ranks. Lacking this ministerial support it had little or no prospect of passing into law.<sup>41</sup>

Having realized that neither Conservative nor Liberal Party had any intention of taking up the question of women's suffrage, Emmeline Pankhurst concluded that a separate women's organization must be formed. Therefore, on October 10, 1903, she invited several women to meet at her house in Manchester and the Women's Social and Political Union was formed.

#### Conclusion

The setting of the Women's Suffrage Movement was characterized by a state of prosperity, but a society that lacked goal direction. The beginnings of the movement were highly influenced by Victorian thought and attitudes, especially with respect to women. The Victorian image of women was one of helplessness and innocence. This image conflicted greatly with all proposals to enfranchise women; however, the movement was born and gained momentum from 1866 onwards. The early history of the movement can be divided into four periods: the

first appeal made by William Thompson in 1825, the advocacy of women's rights by John Stuart Mill in 1866, the years between 1866 and 1903 when repeated failure caused the movement to lose momentum, and finally the renewed activity in 1903 brought about the formation of the Women's Social and Political Union. The remaining chapters of this study focus on the fourth period with respect to the rhetorical structure of the Women's Social and Political Union in Great Britain: 1903 - 1914.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>John Alfred Spender, A Short History of Our Times (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971), p. 53.

<sup>2</sup>Spender, pp. 53-54.

<sup>3</sup>Spender, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup>R. C. K. Ensor, England: 1870 - 1914 (London: The Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 304.

<sup>5</sup>Ensor, p. 304.

<sup>6</sup>Ensor, pp. 304-305.

<sup>7</sup>James K. Williamson, The Evolution of England (London: The Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 448.

<sup>8</sup>Ensor, p. 339.

<sup>9</sup>Ensor, p. 339.

<sup>10</sup>Ensor, p. 339.

<sup>11</sup>Ensor, p. 339.

<sup>12</sup>Sir Charles Petrie, The Victorians (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1960), p. 223.

<sup>13</sup>Petrie, pp. 223-224.

<sup>14</sup>Petrie, pp. 205-206.

<sup>15</sup>Petrie, p. 206.

<sup>16</sup>Petrie, p. 206.

<sup>17</sup>Judith Kazantzis, Women in Revolt (London: Jackdaw Publications, 1968), p. 6.

<sup>18</sup>Kazantzis, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup>Kazantzis, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup>Kazantzis, p. 6.

- <sup>21</sup>Petrie, p. 223.
- <sup>22</sup>Kazantzis, p. 3.
- <sup>23</sup>Kazantzis, p. 3.
- <sup>24</sup>Joseph A. and Olive Banks, Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), pp. 23-24.
- <sup>25</sup>Kenneth Hudson, The Place of Women in Society (London: Ginn and Company, Ltd., 1970), p. 62.
- <sup>26</sup>Hudson, p. 62.
- <sup>27</sup>Banks, p. 17.
- <sup>28</sup>Banks, p. 18.
- <sup>29</sup>Roger Fulford, Votes for Women--The Story of a Struggle (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1957), p. 29.
- <sup>30</sup>Fulford, p. 32.
- <sup>31</sup>W. E. Lunt, History of England (New York: Harper and Row, 1956), pp. 642-643.
- <sup>32</sup>For further information concerning the Reform Act of 1832, see James Butler, The Passing of the Great Reform Bill.
- <sup>33</sup>Fulford, p. 33.
- <sup>34</sup>Constance Rover, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain: 1866 - 1914 (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1967),
- <sup>35</sup>Rover, p. 4.
- <sup>36</sup>Fulford, p. 39.
- <sup>37</sup>Rover, p. 13.
- <sup>38</sup>Andre Maurois, The Edwardian Era (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933), p. 300.
- <sup>39</sup>Theodore Stanton, The Women Question in Europe (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1970), p. 9.
- <sup>40</sup>Rover, pp. 5-6.
- <sup>41</sup>Spender, pp. 145-146.

## CHAPTER III

### STAGE I: FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT

#### Introduction

The first stage of the Women's Social and Political Union occurred during the years, 1903 - 1905. This stage was characterized by social unrest among women in Great Britain over the question of women's suffrage. The people involved in the first stage were restless and uneasy. The behavior of the participants at this point of development was action in a somewhat random fashion. The women concerned with suffrage felt a discrepancy between what they considered would be an ideal stage of affairs, granting of the vote, and the actual status they had in society. Their discontent was generated by their low status in British society. The various circumstances of discontentment, restlessness, and tension usually render the individual especially receptive to suggestion.<sup>1</sup> Because many women in Great Britain were susceptible to suggestions and appeals during this stage, rhetoric became a very effective tool for agitation. How rhetoric was used to tap their discontent, sensitize them to each other, and focus their restlessness on definite objects have been analyzed through the components of rhetorical structure: ideology, goals, leaders, membership, and strategies.

## Equality, Liberty, and Social Justice

The doctrines, beliefs, purposes, and policies upon which a movement is based comprise the movement's ideology. Ideology tends to govern the rhetorical choices made by leaders regarding the strategies and tactics employed by the movement to achieve its goals.

The ideology of the Women's Social and Political Union was based on equality, liberty, and social justice. This ideology was best expressed in an extract from The Sheffield Free Press and Rotherham and Barnsley Advertiser written by Mrs. C. Ash:

To the Women of England--Beloved Sisters--We, the women of the democracy of Sheffield, beg the indulgence of addressing you at this important juncture. We have been the observers for a number of years of the various plans, systems, and organizations, which have been laid down for the better government and guidance of democracy, which has had for its end the amelioration of the condition of all classes, and we are brought to the conclusion that women might, with the strictest propriety, be included in the proclamation of the people's charter; for we are the majority of the nation, and it is our birthright, equally with our brother, to vote for the man who is to sway our political destiny--to impose the taxes which we are compelled to pay--to inflict laws which we are compelled to endure; and heartily should we rejoice to see the women of England uniting for the purpose of demanding this great right to humanity, feeling assured that were women thus comprehended, they would be the greatest auxiliaries of right against might.<sup>2</sup>

The ideology of the Women's Social and Political Union was formalized in the first stage by the adoption of a four point doctrine. This doctrine was the tool used by the Union to obtain its ultimate goal as well as its immediate goals. Through an analysis of this doctrine, the goals, leaders,

membership, and strategies in the first stage have become evident as have the W.S.P.U.'s progression and development.

### Doctrines and Policies

The objective, purpose, and ultimate goal of the W.S.P.U. was "to secure the Parliamentary vote for women as it is or may be granted to men."<sup>3</sup> The realization of this goal rested on the doctrine formulated by the W.S.P.U. The policies developed by the Union during the first stage were enumerated in their constitution. These methods were: "(1.) Women will gain the vote only by fighting for themselves, therefore, membership will be limited to women; (2.) Action entirely independent of all political parties; (3.) Opposition to whatever government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted; (4.) Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representative."<sup>4</sup>

### Votes for Women

With the realization that women would gain the vote and recognition only by fighting for themselves, Emmeline Pankhurst made as her first rhetorical choice as leader of the movement to restrict the membership of the W.S.P.U. to women. This rhetorical choice was significant because it made membership in the Union exclusive. The exclusiveness of membership was the first step taken in the development of a "we-consciousness"<sup>5</sup> within the Union.

The majority of women present at the first meeting held in the Pankhurst home at 82 Nelson Street, Manchester, on October 10, 1903, were working women of the middle class. The membership of the W.S.P.U. was composed only of a hand-full of women during the first stage. The Pankhursts comprised the core membership with women such as Teresa Bullington and Annie Kenney being recruited early in the movement's development. Emmeline Pankhurst, founder and leader of the W.S.P.U., opened the original meeting by defining the objective of the Union with two words "immediate enfranchisement."<sup>6</sup> She then outlined for the few women present her general attitude toward policy. She stated: "We shall work not by means of any outworn missionary methods but by political action."<sup>7</sup> Since the women present avowed to be satisfied with nothing but immediate enfranchisement, their permanent motto became, "deeds, not words."<sup>8</sup> The watch word for the new Union was decided upon as "Votes for Women."<sup>9</sup> The slogan "Votes for Women" caught on immediately, not only with women involved with the W.S.P.U., but also among women associated with other suffrage societies.<sup>10</sup> "Votes for Women" was displayed on banners at political rallies, on placards during demonstrations, and on sashes worn by the women.<sup>11</sup> Eventually "Votes for Women" became the name of the W.S.P.U. newspaper. The rhetorical tactic of adopting slogans fulfilled a two-fold purpose: it gave the members of the movement a common point of identification, and it enhanced the development of a group will, that



is, morale. "Votes for Women" provided a reaffirmation of the purpose of the movement, thus reinforcing the cohesiveness of the group.

#### Political Independence

The doctrine of the W.S.P.U. was committed to political independence. The decision to remain entirely independent of any political party rested on the premise that "the fundamental political difficulty for the women's suffrage question was the decision of the major political parties to treat women's suffrage as an 'open question', thus depriving it of the official support (or opposition) of either party."<sup>12</sup> The Liberal Party was opposed to granting women the vote because they feared that it would add strength to the Conservative Party with respect to the property qualification. The justification of the Liberal Party's argument was their contention that "the proposed measure would enfranchise a preponderance of rich widows and spinsters, who would be likely to vote Conservative."<sup>13</sup> The Conservative Party, on the other hand, felt that enfranchisement was a radical measure and that it would be sure to work to the Conservative's disadvantage at one time or another.

The largest political difficulty that affected the question of party affiliation was the fact that the "women's suffrage question fell between the two stools of a Conservative Party with friendly leaders but a largely antagonistic

rank and file and a Liberal Party with a hostile leadership and a largely favorable rank and file."<sup>14</sup> The only other alternative for the Union would have been affiliation with the Labour Party. The majority of the women in the W.S.P.U. during this first stage were involved in the Labour Movement because women's suffrage was in direct correlation with the democratic principles of the Labour Movement. The Labour Party had come out in support of enfranchisement; however, there were two factors working in opposition to the Party's total support of the question: the demand for adult suffrage and the complete opposition by some Labour men to the idea of women's suffrage.<sup>15</sup> Emmeline Pankhurst realized that many members of the Labour Party felt that all their efforts should be directed in the area of obtaining universal adult suffrage. She wrote:

Theoretically, of course, a labour party could not be satisfied with anything less than universal adult suffrage, but it was clear that no such sweeping reform could be effected at that time, unless indeed the Government made it one of their measures. Besides, while a large majority of the House of Commons were pledged to support a bill giving women equal franchise rights with men, it was doubtful whether a majority could be relied upon to support a bill giving adult suffrage, even to men. Such a bill, even if it were a Government measure, would probably be difficult of passage.<sup>16</sup>

Consequently, Emmeline Pankhurst and the Union decided not to align with any political party, thus giving impetus to the exclusiveness of the organization as well as providing cohesiveness for the group. The rhetorical implications of this

stipulation again centered on the formation of a group will by containing the boundaries of membership within the realm of politically independent women. The factor of cohesiveness within the group provided for further development of the movement because the membership exercised its group will by their choice not to become affiliated with a political party.

#### Opposition to Government

The Women's Social and Political Union was resolved to oppose whatever government was in power until women were granted the vote. This decision by the movement enabled the Union to focus its restlessness and discontentment on a definite object. This type of policy provided the movement with an immediate goal. The rhetorical importance of an immediate goal is that it permits the group to view an apparent demonstratable utility within the movement and it makes attainability of the ultimate goal apparent.

The obvious magnitude of this total opposition to whatever government was in power rested in the Union's departure from the policy of the older suffrage societies and "acknowledgement of the way in which the constitution was developing, that is to say, the decline in the influence of the Private Member of Parliament and the increasing strength of the government."<sup>17</sup> The attitude of the W.S.P.U. regarding the Private Members' Bills was best stated by Mr. Pethick Lawrence in his booklet, The By-Election Policy of the Women's Social and Political Union:

In the matter of initiating legislation the private member is still more impotent. It is true he may 'Introduce Bills' into Parliament, but he has no power to get them carried. In the House of Commons at the present day the Governments have complete control of the management of business, and, as there is no opportunity whatever for the private member to urge forward the questions in which he is interested, no private member's Bill is ever passed into law unless the Government interferes on its behalf. The private member was not always as powerless as he is today but in the course of the last fifty years his position and influence have grown less and less until at the present time he is no more than a counter in the party game.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, by adopting a policy of all-out attack on the government, the Union had a focal point which provided a direction for their discontentment, and it also initiated "the organizing of feelings on behalf of the movement,"<sup>19</sup> esprit de corps. The development of esprit de corps through the use of rhetoric gave the W.S.P.U. solidarity and persistency. This feeling of group belonging was exhibited in a larger sense during the second and third stages of the movement. It is important to realize that its formation began in the early phases of the movement and provided for the progression of the Union to its later stages.

#### Education of the Public

Emmeline Pankhurst was aware from the beginning of the movement that education of the public was an essential factor in gaining acceptance of the movement. The Union employed tactics such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distributions of literature, newspaper correspondence, and

deputations to public representatives. The propaganda work of the W.S.P.U. began among the women works of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The women distributed literature and spoke at public meetings advancing the arguments for women's suffrage.<sup>20</sup> Christabel Pankhurst, Emmeline's daughter, spent much of her time during the early years of the movement addressing many local Trades' Council meetings. Christabel spoke to the workers on the immediate need for women's enfranchisement and was usually accompanied by Teresa Bullington, one of the earliest Union members and the first woman Independent Labour Party National Organiser. Annie Kenney, a young cotton mill-worker, attended one of the Trades' Council meetings where Christabel and Teresa were speaking. Annie had never heard about "Votes for Women" and was not the least bit interested in politics, but after hearing Christabel and Teresa she became fascinated:

Miss Pankhurst was more hesitating, more nervous than Miss Bullington. She impressed me though. When the meeting was over, those in the audience whose minds responded more to cold logic drifted toward Teresa Bullington; those who responded towards the human side drifted toward Miss Pankhurst. It was like a table where two courses were being served, one hot, the other cold. I found myself with plate in hand where the hot course was being served. Before I knew what I had done I had promised to work up a meeting for Miss Pankhurst among the factory women of Oldham and Leeds. I walked to the station with her and before we separated she asked me to spend the following Sunday afternoon with them at their home on Nelson Street.<sup>21</sup>

Speeches such as these are often very effective rhetoric in the first stage of development of a movement because they can

reach large numbers of people. Addressing meetings can be especially effective when the speakers have a division of labor as well constructed as Teresa Bullington and Christabel Pankhurst's. The realization of the need to appeal to special interests in the audience was successfully used by the speakers of the Union as has been further evidenced in the later stages.

Annie Kenney proved to be one of the invaluable members of the Union. She had excellent ideas for spreading propaganda and suggested that the W.S.P.U. speak on Sundays at the Wakes. The Wakes, or country fairs, were held at different times in the villages throughout the summer and autumn months. Sylvia Pankhurst in her book, The Suffragette, wrote about the ways in which the Union used the Wakes to further their cause: "On the Sunday before the Wakes almost all of the inhabitants of the place go down to the Wakes-ground and walk amongst the booths, and that the Salvation Army and other preachers, temperance orators, the vendors of quack medicines and others seize this opportunity on addressing the crowds. It was suggested that we should follow their example. We readily agreed, and all through the summer and autumn we held these meetings, going from Stalybridge to Rayton, Mosely, Oldham, Leed, and to a dozen other towns."<sup>22</sup> Using this method of spreading their cause, the W.S.P.U. was able to reach large numbers of people and helped in organizing women in that part of the country. Membership began to increase and the movement began progressing through the education of public opinion.

### Reaction and Response by the Establishment

An important tactic involved in the education of the public was the deputations to public representatives. This tactic was first introduced by the constitutional suffrage societies; however, the W.S.P.U. also found it to be an ineffective method of petitioning the government. Emmeline Pankhurst wrote of the deputations:

Each year, on the opening day of Parliament, the association sent a deputation of women to the House of Commons, to meet so-called friendly members and consider the position of the women's suffrage cause. The ceremony was of a most conventional, not to say farcical character. The ladies made their speeches and the members made theirs. The ladies thanked the members for their sympathy, and the members reserved their assurances that they believed in women's suffrage and would vote for it when they had an opportunity to do so. Then the deputation, a trifle sad but entirely tranquil, took its departure, and the members resumed the real business of life, which was support of their party's policies.<sup>23</sup>

In 1903, Mrs. Pankhurst was part of the annual suffrage deputation to the House of Commons, who on this particular occasion were received by Sir Charles McLaren and several of his Liberal colleagues. The meeting went on as usual until the closing when "suddenly Mrs. Pankhurst broke in: 'Will Sir Charles McLaren tell us if any member is preparing to introduce a Bill for women's suffrage? Will he tell us what he and other members will pledge themselves to do for the reform they so warmly endorse?' Sir Charles was silent."<sup>24</sup> This rhetorical act of direct confrontation with the government proved to be an effective tactic and was continually employed by the W.S.P.U. in later stages.

In 1904, because the W.S.P.U. was in need of some influential help, Emmeline Pankhurst asked her close friend Keir Hardie, leader of the Labour Party, to present the original franchise amendment of 1866 to Parliament again. After eight days of consistent lobbying, the women secured a place for the Bill. "The Bill had been set down for May 12th, the best place to be had, but only as Second Order of the day; the opponents could prevent it coming on at all by prolonging discussion on the first order, a small utility proposition to compel road vehicles to carry a light behind as well as before. Keir Hardie had pulled every string he could to get the utility proposal withdrawn. Mrs. Pankhurst was almost frenzied at the unimaginative folly of men who could hold this 'trumpery little measure' against the clamorous need of womanhood in bonds."<sup>25</sup> On May 12th, nearly 400 suffragists of the upper, middle, lower, and working class were present in the Lobby and adjoining passages in the House of Commons. The women were excited and confident even though they realized the measure had only a slight chance of passing. Sylvia Pankhurst wrote of the anticipatory feelings of the women on that day: "Many of the women were quite pathetically confident that we were going to get Women's Suffrage then and there, but those of us who knew rather more, both of the stubborn character of our opponents and the antiquated Parliamentary procedure which renders it possible for a handful of obstructionists to block any private Member's measure unless the Government will



come to its aid, knew that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill stood in a very precarious position."<sup>26</sup> As expected, the proponents of the Roadway Lighting Bill seized upon the opportunity to "talk out" the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. When the women in the Lobby heard the news of their Bill being "talked out" and its farcical introduction being received with hoots and cheers in the Chamber, they became indignant and dismayed.<sup>27</sup>

At this point Emmeline Pankhurst made a very important rhetorical choice--the movement was to hold its first demonstration. The events that followed were recalled by Emmeline Pankhurst when she wrote:

When the news of what was happening reached the women who waited in the Strangers' Lobby, a feeling of wild excitement and indignation took possession of the throng. Seeing their temper, I felt that the moment had come for a demonstration such as no old-fashioned suffragist had ever attempted. I called upon the women to follow me outside for a meeting of protest against the government. We swarmed out into the open, and Mrs. Wolstenholme, one of the oldest suffrage workers in England, began to speak. Instantly the police rushed into the crowd of women, pushing them about and ordering them to disperse. We moved on as far as the great statue of Richard Coeur de Lion, but again the police intervened. Finally, the police agreed to let us hold a meeting in Broad Sanctuary, very near the gates of Westminster Abbey. Here we made speeches and adopted a resolution condemning the Government's action in allowing a small minority to talk out our Bill.<sup>28</sup>

This was the first militant act of the W.S.P.U. The significance of this incident was that the women, under the leadership of Emmeline Pankhurst, had performed an act that was unusual and daring. Roger Fulford in discussing the incident wrote:

"Broadly speaking the oratory of the ladies was unnoticed--not even The Times referred to the episode. Yet, what was done on the 12th of May was to form the pattern of the future. The striking attitudes of tragedy inside the House of Commons, the attempt to influence members by oratory, the inevitable expulsion and then the indignation meeting outside were all to follow the precedent of 12th May 1905, till they were caught up in the flood waters of disorder on the grand scale."<sup>29</sup>

The precedent set on May 12, 1905, and the "flood waters of disorder on the grand scale,"<sup>30</sup> which Fulford referred to, constitute the end of the first stage of the Women's Social and Political Union and the beginning of the second stage which has been dealt with in Chapter IV.

### Conclusion

The first stage in the development of the Women's Social and Political Union was marked by social unrest. Emmeline Pankhurst, founder of the W.S.P.U., emerged as the leader of the movement in the early stage. Emmeline Pankhurst's wise rhetorical choices enabled the Union to gather members and gave the movement its beginning momentum. The Union employed the rhetorical tactics of delivering speeches, distributing pamphlets, constructing slogans, confronting Parliament, and organizing their first demonstration. These events were among the beginning activities of the Union which allowed the movement to develop morale within the group, establish a

we-consciousness, and develop a group cohesiveness within the Union. The ideology of the movement, equality, liberty, and social justice, provided the W.S.P.U. with an objective of securing the Parliamentary vote for women. Based on their ideology and on their ultimate goal, the Union established a doctrine which determined the direction of the movement and enabled the movement to progress to its next stage. The end of the first and the beginning of the second stage occurred on May 12, 1905, when the women under Emmeline Pankhurst's leadership, participated in their first act of militancy. The events of May 12th set the pattern for the future direction of the Union and set the scene for the emergence of the second stage of development--the beginning of militancy.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Herbert Blumer, New Outlines of the Principles of Sociology, ed. A. M. Lee (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1951), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Constance Rover, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Great Britain: 1866 - 1914 (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1967), p. f.10.

<sup>3</sup>Rover, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup>Rover, p. 76.

<sup>5</sup>Blumer, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup>Roger Fulford, Votes for Women--The Story of a Struggle (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1957), p. 119.

<sup>7</sup>Fulford, p. 119.

<sup>8</sup>Emmeline Pankhurst, My Own Story (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1914), p. 38.

<sup>9</sup>E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Suffragette (London: Gay and Hancock Ltd., 1911), p. 7.

<sup>10</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup>Rover, p. 180.

<sup>13</sup>Rover, p. 182.

<sup>14</sup>Rover, p. 180.

<sup>15</sup>Rover, p. 146.

<sup>16</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 41.

<sup>17</sup>Rover, p. 76.

<sup>18</sup>Rover, p. 78.

<sup>19</sup>Blumer, p. 14.

- <sup>20</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 7.
- <sup>21</sup>Antonia Raeburn, The Militant Suffragettes (London: Michael Joseph, 1973), p. 6.
- <sup>22</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 23.
- <sup>23</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 39.
- <sup>24</sup>Raeburn, p. 5.
- <sup>25</sup>E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Life of Emmeline Pankhurst (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936), pp. 50-51.
- <sup>26</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 14.
- <sup>27</sup>Raeburn, p. 5.
- <sup>28</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 43.
- <sup>29</sup>Fulford, pp. 123-124.
- <sup>30</sup>Fulford, p. 124.

## CHAPTER IV

### STAGE II: THE BEGINNING OF MILITANCY

#### Introduction

The second stage of the Women's Social and Political Union occurred between 1903 and 1910. This stage can be labeled as a period of popular excitement. The behavior exhibited by the participants at this level of development in a movement is not as random and aimless as in the primary stage. The second stage is marked by a more formal organization and structure. Rules are formed and there is a clarification of rhetorical objectives and goals. Rhetorical tactics are chosen to promote the development of the movement or to change the direction of the movement. The membership at this point may be exposed to rhetorical tactics directed toward two goals: first, the perpetuation of the "development or presence of some positive, emotional interpersonal response between members"<sup>1</sup>; second, to confront members with situations that will likely bring them to a turning point, for as Lofland and Stark stated, "when a person comes to a moment when old lines of action were incomplete, had failed or been disrupted, or were about to be so, and when they faced the opportunity (or necessity), and possibly the burden of doing something with their lives."<sup>2</sup>

During this stage militancy began to occur; therefore, membership has been examined according to Bittner's inventory of component parts essential for membership in agitative movements as outlined in Chapter I. The leader in this stage is likely to be viewed as a prophet or a reformer. The leader was the same person who emerged in the first stage but whose function has changed. A change in the function of the leader may be attributed to a change in rhetorical choices made by the movement.

This chapter is structured around the activities of the W.S.P.U. The ideology and goals will first be examined because these two components determine the role of the leader and the membership. These components are also the prime tool in deciding strategies and tactics.

#### Doctrines and Policies

The ideology of the Women's Social and Political Union remained the same during the second stage. The women were still organized around the belief that they should be granted the vote on the basis of equality, liberty, and social justice. George Bernard Shaw was asked early in 1906 what he felt would be proper qualifications for granting women the vote, Shaw replied: "There's none necessary, the qualification of being human is enough."<sup>3</sup> With this statement, Shaw echoed the ideology of the Union--the qualification of being human.

The policies and doctrines in the second stage underwent an extensive change, as is characteristic in progressing to a

different stage of development. The ultimate goal of the movement--to obtain the vote--remained the same; however, the immediate goals were altered to accommodate the changes in policy and the enactment of militancy.

The doctrine of the W.S.P.U. at this point revolved around three major objectives:

1. The Union would organize women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
2. The Union would carry out participation in Parliamentary elections in opposition to the Government candidates and independently of all other candidates.
3. The Union would conduct vigorous agitation upon lines justified by this position of outlawry to which women were condemned.<sup>4</sup>

Through an examination of the activities of the W.S.P.U., these doctrines and objectives have been made clear and the rhetorical implications have become evident.

#### Petitioning Members of Parliament

Late in 1905, Great Britain was getting ready for a general election, and the large number of political meetings being held provided the W.S.P.U. with an opportunity to question Members of Parliament in the presence of the public on the question of women's suffrage. The Liberal Party at this time was experiencing a revival all over the country. "The life of the old Parliament, dominated for nearly twenty years by the Conservative Party, was drawing to an end, and the country was in the eve of a general election in which the Liberals hoped to be returned to power. The Liberal candidates



appealed to the voters to return them, as advocates and upholders of true democracy, and they promised that there should be a Government united in favor of people's rights against the powers of a privileged aristocracy."<sup>5</sup> The Union had learned from previous experience that the only possible way to attain the vote was to commit a government to the proposition. Working on this premise, Emmeline Pankhurst decided that the Union must address itself to those candidates who were prospects for the Liberal Cabinet. In addressing themselves to these candidates, the women would demand to know whether the reforms the Liberals promised would include justice for women as demanded in the ideology of the Union.

With the revival of Liberalism, the Liberal Party decided to hold a large meeting in the Manchester Free Trade Hall to announce the policy of the Liberal Government. The meeting was scheduled for October 13th, "and it was determined that the old fighting spirit of the Radicals should be revived, the principles and policies of Liberalism should be proclaimed anew and, upon the strength of those principles and of that policy, the people should be called upon to support the incoming Government with voice and vote."<sup>6</sup> The speakers at the rally were to be two professed supporters of women's enfranchisement, Sir Edward Grey and Winston Churchill, who was the candidate for North-West Manchester.

The Union decided that two members should attend the meeting and chose Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney to

represent them with the intent of questioning the men on their position concerning women's suffrage. The women set out for the meeting carrying a banner with the words "Votes for Women" written on it in large bold letters and with the conviction that they would at all costs receive a reply to their question. Christabel had stated before setting out for the Free Trade Hall: "I shall sleep in prison tonight!"<sup>7</sup>

When they arrived at the great hall, it was overflowing with an audience composed mainly of Liberals. The two women sat quietly through the meeting, at the close of which questions were invited. Several questions were then asked by men concerning the policy of the Liberal government, and these questions were courteously answered. Upholding the Victorian tradition, women were silent at political meetings; however, Christabel and Annie were now determined to question the ministers. Annie Kenney stood up and asked, "If the Liberal party is returned to power, will they take steps to give votes for women?"<sup>8</sup> At the moment Annie rose to speak, Christabel held up the banner inscribed with the words, "Votes for Women."

Almost simultaneously two or three men were upon their feet demanding information upon other questions. These men were at once replied to, but the women's question was ignored. She therefore stood up again and pressed for an answer to her question, but the men sitting near her forced her down into her seat, and one of the stewards of the meeting held her hat over her face. Meanwhile the hall was filled with a babel of conflicting sound. Shouts of 'Sit down!' 'Be quiet!' 'What's the matter?' and 'Let the lady speak!' were heard on every hand. As the noise subsided, Christabel got up and

asked, 'Will the Liberal Government give women the vote?' but Sir Edward Grey made no answer, and again arose the tumult of cries and counter cries.<sup>9</sup>

At this point the Chief Constable of Manchester came over to where Christabel and Annie were seated and suggested that they write their question out, and he would personally take it to Sir Edward Grey and make sure that it received a reply. The women agreed to this. The Constable then took the piece of paper with the question on it to the platform and handed it to Sir Edward Grey, who read it, smiled, and passed it on. When it had made the round of the platform, it was laid aside receiving no answer.<sup>10</sup> The women's question remained unanswered, and the meeting was brought to a close. As the people were filing out of the hall, Annie Kenney stood up in her chair and cried out over the noise of shuffling feet and murmurs of conversation: "Will the Liberal Government give votes to women?" Emmeline Pankhurst related the events that followed when she wrote:

Then the audience became a mob. They howled, they shouted and roared, shaking their fists fiercely at the woman who dared to intrude her question into a man's meeting. Hands were lifted to drag her out of her chair, but Christabel threw one arm about her as she stood, and with the other arm warded off the mob, who struck and scratched at her until her sleeve was red with blood. Still the girls held together and shouted over and over: 'The question! The question! Answer the question!'<sup>11</sup>

At that point six men grabbed Christabel and dragged her down the aisle. Other men followed close behind dragging Annie. Once outside the auditorium, Christabel decided that in order

for the protest to be effective, the two women must be arrested. Christabel realized that she must commit a technical offense-- she chose to spit on the police. Christabel and Annie were flung into the street, and a crowd of people followed to join them for a protest meeting. Within five minutes, both girls were arrested on charges of obstruction. Christabel was also charged with assaulting the police. Both women were summoned to appear in a police court the next morning to stand trial. The following day the police court was crowded with people eager to attend the trial where, ultimately, Christabel and Annie were found guilty. Annie was sentenced to pay five shillings or three days in prison. Christabel was fined ten shillings or a sentence of one week in prison. Both women chose the prison sentence. Votes for Women had suddenly become a vital topic!<sup>12</sup>

#### Public Response and Reaction

The whole country was now alive with the story. The affair had created a tremendous sensation not only in Manchester, but also all over England. The trial and imprisonment of Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney came as a tremendous shock to the general public of Manchester.<sup>13</sup> Emmeline Pankhurst commented on the press accounts: "The comments of the press were almost unanimously bitter. Ignoring the perfectly well-established fact that the men in every political meeting ask questions and demand answers of the speakers, the newspapers treated the

action of the two girls as something quite unprecedented and outrageous. They generally agreed that great leniency had been shown them. Fines and jail sentences were too good for such unsexed creatures."<sup>14</sup> Extracts from two newspapers give a vivid description of the attitude taken by the press. The Evening Standard:

The Magistrates were lenient in inflicting a small fine. If Miss Pankhurst desires to go to gaol rather than pay the money, let her go. Our only regret is that the discipline will be identical with that experienced by mature and sensible women, and not that which falls to the lot of children in the nursery.<sup>15</sup>

The Birmingham Daily Mail:

If any argument were required against giving the ladies political status and power, it has been furnished in Manchester, and by two of the people who are most strenuously clamouring for the franchise.<sup>16</sup>

Newspapers, which had previously completely ignored the question of women's suffrage, now implied that they had formerly been in favor of enfranchisement, but they could no longer support the cause. The one fact that all the newspapers agreed on was the premise that the incident had set back the cause for women's suffrage, possibly forever.<sup>17</sup> On the contrary, the protest, arrest, and subsequent imprisonment provided an unexpected impetus for the movement. The newspapers received numerous letters expressing sympathy with the women. "A sympathiser" in a letter to one of the newspapers "apologised for having helped to shout the women down saying that he would never have done so had he realised what was really taking place."<sup>18</sup> Lady Grey, Sir Edward Grey's wife, refused to make

a public statement about the incident, but reportedly told her friends that she felt the women were justified in their actions. Winston Churchill, very nervous about his candidacy, begged the Governor to let him pay the fines for Annie and Christabel; however, the Governor refused to take Churchill's money.

Above everything else, the incident at Manchester's Free Trade Hall caused the question of women's suffrage to be spread from one end of Great Britain to the other. "This incident resulted in more publicity than a year's peaceful agitation was wont to receive and the obvious lesson was learnt: militancy 'paid off'."<sup>19</sup>

#### The W.S.P.U. Adopts a Resolution

On October 20th, Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney were released from Strangeways Gaol. A crowd was waiting outside the prison to take Christabel and Annie to the Free Trade Hall where Emmeline Pankhurst had arranged for a vivid reception for the two young prisoners.<sup>20</sup> All the seats were filled at the hall, and many people had to be turned away. The speeches made by Christabel and Annie contained no mention of their prison experience. The one objective of the two released women now was to promote the future of the cause.<sup>21</sup> When Christabel finished her speech, "resolutions calling for the immediate enfranchisement to women, commending the bravery of the released prisoners' action and condemning the behavior of those who had

refused to answer their question were carried with tremendous enthusiasm."<sup>22</sup>

### The First Act of Militancy

The arrest and imprisonment of Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney was examined in great detail because the rhetorical implications were vast. Not only did the W.S.P.U. realize that militancy paid off, but also the militant agitation provided a surge of growth for the movement.

The incident that took place in October reaffirmed the ideology of the Union by pursuing their demand for equality. Men were allowed to ask questions of Sir Edward Grey and they received courteous responses; however, when Christabel and Annie asked their question, they received no response and certainly not equal treatment. The Liberal Candidates failed to exhibit any type of equal treatment and thwarted all attempts made by the women in the name of social justice. This lack of equal treatment helped provide the movement with a focal point at which to direct their discontentment and frustrations aimed toward a system that failed to recognize their equal status, their liberties, or their right to social justice.

The success of the confrontation provided the W.S.P.U. with a definite immediate goal--the questioning of all Liberal Candidates on their position with regard to the question of women's suffrage. Success in this respect is not interpreted as receiving an answer from Sir Edward Grey, but provoking a

situation which resulted in successful rhetorical acts. Concerning this goal, Emmeline Pankhurst wrote: "We determined from that time on the little 'Votes for Women' banners should appear wherever a prospective member of the Liberal Government rose to speak, and that there should be no more peace until the women's question was answered. We clearly perceived that the new government, calling themselves Liberal, were reactionary so far as women were concerned, that they were hostile to women's suffrage, and would have to be fought until they were conquered, or else driven from office."<sup>25</sup>

The emergence of a co-leader was also witnessed as a result of this incident. Christabel Pankhurst, as a result of her decision to make the protest more effective by going to prison, staged a very important rhetorical act which was to become the pattern of the future. That night, by means of her decision, she changed the direction of the movement by adding the dimension of personal suffering to the code of the Union. Christabel, became the political head of the movement and made most of the decisions concerning policy and methods. Christabel's rhetorical choices gave the movement its direction throughout this stage. Christabel became the policy maker; "her mother was the queen of the movement, the symbol, the figurehead."

One of the biggest effects of the demonstration waged by Christabel and Annie was its contribution to the growth in membership. Because the W.S.P.U. received so much publicity



after the arrest of the two women, many women became aware of the Union and were attracted to dedicate themselves to the suffrage question. It was not difficult to join the Union. "Any woman could become a member by paying a shilling, but at the same time she was required to sign a declaration of loyal adherence to our policy and pledge not to work for any political party until the women's vote was won."<sup>27</sup>

Not only did it contribute to the general growth in membership, the arrest of the two women enabled the membership to develop internally. Internal development was enhanced in four ways: it ensured a purity of belief, helped develop esprit de corps, provided for a conversion experience, and promoted group morale. Each of these elements warrants further examination.

In an agitative movement, an essential element for membership is purity of belief. Bittner stated that in dealing with beliefs "the value sought must be purity, not clarity."<sup>28</sup> Both Christabel and Annie demonstrated their purity of belief by refusing to pay their fines and choosing prison instead. Both were completely committed to the cause. The development of esprit de corps was furthered by the action of the two women. By going to prison for the cause, they symbolized a feeling of belonging together within the membership. They had established a common objective that they were willing to uphold at the price of imprisonment.

The reception staged for the returning prisoners was also a good rhetorical strategy for developing esprit de corps as well as providing for a conversion experience. By celebrating the return of the new heroines of the movement, the W.S.P.U. created a situation in which rhetoric could be used to alter the members' belief systems, and their use of symbols. Conversion brings about a total commitment to a different creed and set of values. "Conversion is the substance out of which social movements are born and perpetuated, and only after it takes place are participants mobilized for action."<sup>29</sup> Also, the welcome home reception for Annie and Christabel helped to promote group morale. The members witnessed the convictions exhibited by the two women and reaffirmed the purpose of the Union and faith that the W.S.P.U. would attain its ultimate goal.

One more element concerning membership deserves mention-- the introduction of suffering into the movement. Suffering plays an essential part in agitative movements. "Since disappointments, reversals, and failure are commonplace in the lives of radicals, suffering must be made an integral part of the conception of the progress of the movement in order to minimize its effects on the morale of the members."<sup>30</sup> It is important to note the entrance of this element into the movement during this stage because it became an integral part of the development and progression of the movement.

New strategies and tactics emerged as a result of the situation that occurred at the Free Trade Hall between the W.S.P.U. members and the Liberals. The Union adopted the rhetorical strategy of petitioning the Liberal candidates for a stand on women's suffrage. The Liberal leaders chose to respond with the strategy of avoidance. They ignored the questions and acted as if the women directing the question did not exist. Sir Edward Grey stated: "I regret the disturbance which took place. As far as I can understand, the trouble arose from a desire to know my opinions on the subject of Women's Suffrage. That is a question I would not deal with here tonight because it is not, and I do not think it is likely to be, a party question."<sup>31</sup> Grey postponed dealing with the question, which is a tactic used by control when operating under the strategy of avoidance.

A second strategy which emerged was obstructing justice to elicit publicity for the movement. By causing a public disturbance, the Union received publicity from a press that had up until that point boycotted their cause. Publicity helped to promote the cause by emitting public awareness of the question of enfranchisement.

The movement also developed a new use for their slogan. They hung banners during every political meeting. By using this method of advancing their question, the slogan "Votes for Women," took on an added dimension. As previously stated, the rhetorical tactic of adopting slogans helps solidify the

movement by giving the membership a common point of identification.

The most important result of this incident revolved around the successful use of agitation by the W.S.P.U. The W.S.P.U. fulfilled the three requirements outlined by Blumer for agitation to be successful. The W.S.P.U. gained the attention of the people in Manchester as well as the people all over Great Britain. They excited them and aroused definite impulses and feelings toward the question of women's suffrage. Finally, they give direction to the impulses and feelings by stimulating new ideas and suggestions.<sup>32</sup> The agitation on behalf of the Union intensified the unrest being experienced by the women and produced a means of release and direction.

A thorough examination of the first arrests and subsequent rhetorical implications provided a view of the beginning progression and development early in the second stage. It was necessary to supply such complete analysis of this first event because events of this type were staged continually during the second stage. This analysis provided a framework for analyzing the events that were to follow.

#### Continued Petitioning and Continued Avoidance

The Conservative Government resigned at the beginning of December in 1905, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal leader, took over as temporary Prime Minister. Since the

Liberals were now electioneering in earnest, the W.S.P.U. prepared for an election campaign. An election manifesto drafted by the Union ended with this statement: "Inhabitants of Manchester, if you believe that women ought to have political freedom, better wages and fairer treatment all round, VOTE AND WORK AGAINST WINSTON CHURCHILL AS A MEMBER OF THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT."<sup>33</sup> Churchill supporters had covered the city of Manchester with enormous red and white posters, but the W.S.P.U. altered the appearance of the posters to a large extent by pasting strips of paper all over the posters reading, "Votes for Women."

Churchill's first election meeting was attended by Sylvia Pankhurst. Churchill had hardly started his speech when Sylvia broke in, displaying her "Votes for Women" banner, and questioned Churchill as to his stand on women's suffrage. Winston Churchill ignored the question and proceeded with his speech. Sylvia continued to interrupt, and Churchill continued to ignore her. At the end of the meeting, Churchill told the audience: "Having witnessed the methods the women are using for the destruction of great public meetings, nothing would induce me to vote for giving women the franchise, and I'm not going to be henpecked into a question of such grave importance."<sup>34</sup>

The next day the Manchester papers carried stories of the incident. Churchill's reference to being "henpecked" caused inspired jokes from humorous writers. A verse from

one of these innumerable jokes was entitled "The Heckler and Hen-pecker, with Apologies to Lewis Carroll."<sup>35</sup> It read as follows:

"The price of bread, the Heckler said, is what we have to note. Answer at once, who caused the war, and who made Joseph's coat?' But here the Hen-pecker, shrieked out, 'Will women have the vote?' 'I weep for you' the Heckler said, 'I deeply sympathise, we have asked a hundred questions and yet no replies.' But here the Hen-pecker spread out a flage of largest."<sup>36</sup>

Mr. Churchill continued to go to all of his meetings and continued to find a band of women ready to question him on "Votes for Women." Churchill won the election; however, his majority was smaller than any of the other candidates. The election results attracted national attention and interest. There was no question that the W.S.P.U. was to some extent responsible for Churchill's small majority.<sup>37</sup> Because of the Union's obvious effect on the election, the Daily Mail gave them a new name--The Suffragettes.<sup>38</sup> This new name was significant because it further separated the W.S.P.U. from other suffrage societies. Supporters of women's suffrage were commonly referred to as suffragists. Now, however, the members of the Union had their own name. They became commonly referred to as the suffragettes.

#### Salvation Army Methods Adopted to Convert London

The General Election of 1906 was a triumph for the Liberals. The Pankhursts realized that now the suffragettes must make an immediate impression on the new Government. Annie Kenney was therefore sent to "rouse London."<sup>39</sup>

The W.S.P.U. adopted Salvation Army methods to begin their campaign in London. They went out into the streets after converts. Emmeline Pankhurst described the beginning of the London campaign in this way:

We threw away all our conventional notions of what was 'ladylike' and 'good form', and we applied our methods to the one test question, will it help? We took suffrage work to the general public in a manner that amazed and scandalised the other suffragists. We had a lot of suffrage literature printed and day by day our members went forth and held street meetings. Selecting a favourable spot, with a chair for a rostrum, one of us would ring a bell until people began to stop and see what was going to happen. What happened, of course, was a lively suffrage speech, and the distribution of literature. Soon after our campaign had started, the sound of the bell was a signal for a crowd to spring up as if by magic. All over the neighborhood you heard the cry: 'Here are the Suffragettes! Come on!' We covered London in this way; we never lacked an audience to which the woman-suffrage doctrine was new. We were increasing our favourable public as well as waking it up.<sup>40</sup>

While the other suffragettes were holding street meetings, Annie Kenney was making a very important contact--the working women of the East End. Upon her arrival in London, Annie had met Dora Montefiore, a Socialist pioneer, who introduced Annie to many of the working women. The support of the working women added a new dimension to the membership of the W.S.P.U. and their contributions proved to be invaluable to the cause.

#### Mass Deputation Sent to Parliament

On Monday, February 19, 1906, Parliament opened, and at three o'clock, five hundred women from the East End converged on Caxton Hall. As the group entered the Hall, onlooker stared

at the procession and shouted: "What about the washing?"  
 "Go home and darn the old man's socks!"<sup>41</sup>

The assemblage at the gathering was very unique. "Working women with babies rubbed shoulders with their sisters in a very different social position."<sup>42</sup> While awaiting the arrival of the speakers, the women formulated the first women's suffrage song. They all sang to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne" their own song about the women's suffrage cause:

They say we are so ignorant  
 We don't know right from wrong  
 But we can tell them what we want  
 And what we'll have ere long.<sup>43</sup>

While the women were singing at Caxton Hall, the King's speech was being delivered in Parliament. The women at the meeting realized that the outcome of their demonstration would be determined by the inclusion or exclusion of women's suffrage in the new government program. Annie was the first speaker, and her speech was received by enthusiastic applause and excitement. However, before Annie finished, a message was delivered saying that there had been no mention of women's suffrage in the King's speech. Emmeline Pankhurst immediately stood up and took charge of the meeting saying that she: "strongly condemned the Government's omission and resolved that the meeting should form itself into a lobbying committee to go to the House of Commons."<sup>44</sup> The resolution was carried unanimously, and the women began leaving the hall in small groups. The group made its way through the rain to the House



of Commons. As they approached the House, they found police standing at the Strangers' Entrance with orders to admit no one. As hundreds of women waited outside in the cold and rain, they finally received word that two relays of twenty women would be given permission to enter. The two groups of women were admitted, and members came to meet them in the Lobby. The Members, some pledged supporters of the cause, now refused to commit themselves concerning women's suffrage. The women left disappointed and angry. They felt that their act had little effect with the exception that they had held a public meeting within a mile of St. Stephen's on the opening day of Parliament was an illegal act.<sup>45</sup>

Although the women left with the feeling that they had accomplished very little, there were some important results from a rhetorical standpoint. The meeting at Caxton Hall was the first time any suffrage society had united the working class women with the middle and upper class women for the purpose of fighting for the common cause of suffrage. The meeting brought many new recruits to the W.S.P.U. from all classes. Besides increasing membership, the meeting stimulated the emergence of the first suffrage song. The rhetorical tactic of adopting songs related to the movement's cause is effective in expanding a we-consciousness within the group and adding to group cohesiveness.

Another important result was the mass deputation sent to the House of Commons. This tactic of using a mass deputation

was a radical departure from convention. It was not unusual for a few select women to make appointments with a particular member with whom they wished to speak. These women would usually arrive by cab and be received with a courteous ceremony; however, arriving on foot, in masses, in the rain was quite unusual. The strategy of sending mass deputations soon became an often used method by the W.S.P.U. The uniting of the working class with other classes, the use of a song as a means of drawing the group together, the increase in membership, and the strategy of petitioning Parliament in a mass deputation were all very important; however, the most important aspect of this episode was that Emmeline Pankhurst led and the women followed. At this point, Emmeline became a reform symbol for the membership. Emmeline realized this triumphant turning point: "Those women had followed me to the House of Commons. They had defied the police. They were awake at last . . . Women had always fought for men and for their children. Now they were ready to fight for their own human rights."<sup>46</sup> With these words Emmeline Pankhurst resounded the ideology of the W.S.P.U., and the movement continued its progression.

#### Further Petitioning Results In Avoidance

It had been less than a month since the public meeting at Caxton Hall, and Emmeline Pankhurst decided that it was time to send a deputation to the Prime Minister, Sir Henry

Campbell-Bannerman. The suffragettes had been denied a written request for the meeting, so Annie Kenney set out for 10 Downing Street with a small group of women. Among the group were two new recruits, Irene Miller and Flora Drummond. The group arrived at 10 Downing Street and gave their message to the butler asking him to deliver it to Sir Henry. Forty-five minutes later, two officials informed the women that there would be no reply to their message. The women began protesting, and the door was closed in their faces. Irene Miller started screaming "Freedom for Women!" and began banging on the door. Annie then jumped on to the Prime Minister's car and started addressing the crowd. The press had been notified, and numerous reporters and photographers were waiting to see what would happen. "While the police struggled with Irene Miller on the doorsteps, Mrs. Drummond pulled at the little brass knob at the centre of the door, and to her amazement the door flew open. She rushed inside, but was hastily shown out again."<sup>47</sup> Within a few minutes, all three of the "ringleaders" were arrested. They were taken to Cannon Row Police Station where they were kept for an hour and then released on the order of the Prime Minister. Along with his order to release the women, Sir Henry sent word that he would receive a deputation from the W.S.P.U. in the near future.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman kept his promise, and on the morning of May 19th, one thousand demonstrators had

assembled at the monument to the warrior-queen, Boadicea.

Antonia Raeburn gave a vivid description of the demonstration in her book The Militant Suffragettes. She wrote:

Members of trades' organizations and suffrage groups from all over the country had arrived to march in procession with their delegates. Women weavers, winders, reelers, shirtmakers, chairmakers, iron-workers, cigar-makers, bookbinders, college graduates and pitbrow women all stood waiting in ranks. A group of mill girls were conspicuous in their clogs and shawls and a contingent of mothers carrying children had come from London's East End. Even international suffragists were represented by two women carrying a banner inscribed, DROIT VOTER. The Women's Social and Political Union leaders were in high spirits. Annie Kenney was in mill girl costume and Teresa Bullington, as Chief Marshall, in blue with a large red sash lettered VOTES FOR WOMEN.<sup>48</sup>

The main part of the procession waited while the select deputation of eight were received by Sir Campbell-Bannerman. Eight women spoke in behalf of immediate enfranchisement at the meeting. Keir Hardie presented Parliament's arguments in favor of women's suffrage. Then Emmeline Pankhurst spoke for the W.S.P.U.: "I tried to make the Prime Minister see that no business could be more pressing than ours. I told him that the group of women organised in our Union felt so strongly the necessity for women enfranchisement that they were prepared to sacrifice for it everything they possessed, their means of livelihood, their very lives, if necessary. I begged him to make such a sacrifice needless by doing us justice now."<sup>49</sup> Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's response was anything but satisfactory. He assured the members that he had sympathy with their cause, believed in its justice, and

was confident of the women's fitness to vote. However, he could do nothing for them because many members of his cabinet were opposed to women's suffrage. He then instructed the members to be patient and wait.<sup>50</sup> The deputation returned with the news, and in the afternoon the procession marched to a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square. Emmeline Pankhurst addressed the crowd and reaffirmed the conviction of the Suffragettes to continue with their agitation.

One other incident that resulted from the failure of the deputation to obtain support from the Prime Minister warrants examination. Mrs. Montefiore, who had been very helpful to Annie Kenney on her arrival in London, in protest against the result of the deputation refused to pay her taxes. Mrs. Montefiore declared: "Taxation without representation is tyranny."<sup>51</sup> On May 24th, Mrs. Montefiore locked the gates of her house to keep the bailiffs out and placed herself in a state of siege. "Her house in Hammersmith stood back from the road and a tall spiked wall shut off the garden. Nailed high on a summerhouse in full view of passers-by was a huge banner: WOMEN SHOULD VOTE FOR THE LAWS THEY OBEY AND THE TAXES THEY PAY."<sup>52</sup> Reporters and photographers were eagerly waiting outside "Fort Montefiore" when Annie and Teresa arrived to place placards on the fence and hang flags on the railings. Crowds began to gather, and within a few moments Mrs. Montefiore appeared at an upper window. The crowd began yelling "Speech! Speech!" Mrs. Montefiore replied: "Now we

have been told that there are ministers in the Cabinet who are against us. There is Asquith--Assassin Asquith<sup>53</sup>--who is for peace, and he is on the side of the capitalists. If I were free, I should break Asquith's windows!"<sup>54</sup>

#### Consistent Petitioning Results In Suppression

Asquith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was noted for his opposition to women's suffrage. The suffragettes decided that the only possible hope they had of getting an immediate hearing in Parliament was by pressuring Cabinet Members opposed to the cause. With this objective in mind, the W.S.P.U. wrote to Asquith requesting an interview, but were denied. Therefore, on June 21st, Annie Kenney and Teresa Bullington led a deputation composed of forty women to 20 Cavendish Square, Asquith's home. The procession was met by police and halted. Annie kept right on walking toward the front door and was pursued by the police. They tried to move her away from the door. When she resisted, they were all arrested and taken to the police station. The suffragettes were tried and sentenced to six weeks in Holloway Gaol.<sup>55</sup> As Annie was being taken back to her cell, she handed a note to one of the suffragettes that echoed the purity of belief held by the women willing to go to prison. The note read: "I am very happy and I shall keep up and be brave and true, and when I come out I shall be fully prepared to do anything the Union asks of me."<sup>56</sup>

### Conclusion

The second stage of the movement, marked by the beginning of militancy, proved to be one of growth and development through wise choices in rhetorical strategies. The women continued fighting for the justice, equality, and liberty that they felt they had a human right to possess. The goals of the movement grew to encompass discrediting the government and vigorous agitation. The second stage began with the arrests of Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney. The W.S.P.U. engaged in successful agitation. They excited and aroused women all over Great Britain.

The second stage aroused public reaction, and the W.S.P.U. received their first publicity. Group morale was enhanced by suffrage songs and demonstrations. The willingness to go to prison for a cause they believed in spurred complete devotion and dedication by the membership. The W.S.P.U. accomplished a very important immediate goal by organizing women all over Britain to fight for women's suffrage. Members reaffirmed their convictions to the movement by exhibiting their purity in belief in the cause. The leaders made wise rhetorical choices during this stage which paid off in increased membership and the total conversion of many of their members. Through rhetorical acts, the W.S.P.U. had awakened the women in Great Britain and were now ready to set up a permanent headquarters in London to further structure and organize the movement.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>John Lofland and Rodney Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," American Sociological Review, 30 (1965), 173.

<sup>2</sup>Lofland and Stark, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup>Antonia Raeburn, The Militant Suffragettes (London: Michael Joseph, 1973), p. 16.

<sup>4</sup>Constance Rover, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain: 1866 - 1914 (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1967), pp. 76, 91.

<sup>5</sup>Emmeline Pankhurst, My Own Story (New York: Hearst's International Library Co., 1914), p. 45.

<sup>6</sup>E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Suffragette (London: Gay and Hancock Ltd., 1911), p. 32.

<sup>7</sup>E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Life of Emmeline Pankhurst (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936), p. 52.

<sup>8</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 46.

<sup>9</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, pp. 26-27.

<sup>11</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, pp. 29-31.

<sup>13</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 32.

<sup>14</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 49.

<sup>15</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 33.

<sup>16</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 33.

<sup>17</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 49.

<sup>18</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 35.

<sup>19</sup>Rover, p. 80.



- <sup>20</sup>Dudley Barker, Prominent Edwardians (New York: Atheneum, 1969), p. 193.
- <sup>21</sup>Raeburn, p. 9.
- <sup>22</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 37.
- <sup>23</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 50.
- <sup>24</sup>Barker, p. 203.
- <sup>25</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 59.
- <sup>26</sup>Egon Bittner, "Radicalism and the Organization of Radical Movements," American Sociological Review, 27 (1963), 305.
- <sup>27</sup>James L. Golden, "Social Movements as Rhetorical Situations," Convention Paper, Speech Communication Association, 1972, p. 3.
- <sup>28</sup>Bittner, p. 306.
- <sup>29</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 30.
- <sup>30</sup>Herbert Blumer, New Outlines of the Principles of Sociology, ed. A. M. Lee (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1951), p. 13.
- <sup>31</sup>Raeburn, p. 10.
- <sup>32</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 46.
- <sup>33</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 47.
- <sup>34</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 47.
- <sup>35</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 48.
- <sup>36</sup>Raeburn, p. 11.
- <sup>37</sup>Raeburn, p. 11.
- <sup>38</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 62.
- <sup>39</sup>Raeburn, p. 12.
- <sup>40</sup>Raeburn, p. 12.
- <sup>41</sup>Raeburn, p. 12.
- <sup>42</sup>Raeburn, p. 13.
- <sup>43</sup>Raeburn, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup>Raeburn, p. 13.

<sup>45</sup>Raeburn, p. 16.

<sup>46</sup>Raeburn, p. 18.

<sup>47</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, pp. 64-65.

<sup>48</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 65.

<sup>49</sup>Raeburn, p. 19.

<sup>50</sup>Raeburn, p. 19.

<sup>51</sup>When Asquith was Home Secretary, he was involved in a mining dispute at Featherstone. The military was sent in and opened fired. As a result seven strikers were killed, and Asquith was labeled with the name "Assassin."

<sup>52</sup>Raeburn, p. 19.

<sup>53</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, pp. 86-87.

<sup>54</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 91.

## CHAPTER V

### STAGE III: THE W.S.P.U. FLOURISHES

#### Introduction

The W.S.P.U.'s first year in London was very productive. The movement had grown from a handful of women to a large organization with branches all over the country. At this level of development, the W.S.P.U. moved into its third stage encompassing the years of 1904 through 1910. This stage is referred to as the formalization stage; it is marked by a more formal organization and structure. During this formalization stage, a more structured discipline emerges, and the leader usually takes the role of a statesman. The change in the role of the leader from a reformer as seen in Stage II to that of a statesman is contributed to a change in rhetorical choices. There also appears in the formalization stage the emergence of an administrator to handle organizational matters. The administrator does not take the place of the leader, she merely functions in a structured role of administrative tasks.

The organization of this chapter has been determined by the significant events that took place in the third stage with respect to rhetorical structure.

#### Doctrines and Policies

The ideology of the W.S.P.U. during the third stage remained the same. The women expressed an even deeper

conviction that they deserved the privilege of voting based on the claim that they were human beings. The women were ready to assume their positions as equals, exercise their right to liberty, and lay firm hold on what they felt to be social justice. Their ideology was reaffirmed with every activity and event. The suffragettes' willingness to go to prison and suffer personal injury could have only been based on an unfaltering belief in social justice.

The policies that emerged in the formalization stage were well structured and well defined. The objectives were expressed in a three point methodology:

1. To draw attention to the women's claim by refusing to obey laws which were made by men only.
2. To discredit the Government by showing that the law could not be enforced.
3. To put pressure on the Government, in hope that this would induce them to accede to the suffragettes' demands.

The policies diverged from many of the previous goals established by the Union in its earlier stages and this divergenced produced a split in the movement which has been discussed later in this chapter.

#### W.S.P.U. Establishes Permanent Headquarters

The W.S.P.U. was growing in London and was now in need of an experienced administrative organizer. On Keir Hardie's recommendation, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence was appointed treasurer of the Union. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, a member of a large well-to-do family, had dedicated most of her life to helping improve the conditions of the working women. Gradually the

center of activity for the W.S.P.U. began to move to the Pethick Lawrence's flat at 4 Clement's Inn. "The Lawrence's had many influential friends and the Union now began to get useful help and support. Manifestos and leaflets were typed for distribution by voluntary workers and the Lawrence's car, 'La Suffragette', placarded with VOTES FOR WOMEN, was put into service to further the propaganda campaign."<sup>2</sup> Fred Pethick Lawrence watched the growth of the movement closely and observed:

I did not at first deem it my business to take any active part in the struggle. This was a campaign organised by women and executed by women who were out to show the stuff they were made of. There was no lack of initiative, drive, courage and enthusiasm, but there was a danger that by the very exuberance of its growth, the movement would outrun its own co-ordination. There was a need for 'planning', on the business side. The first step was to take an office.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the lower floors in 4 Clement's Inn were vacant, so in September, 1906, the London headquarters of the W.S.P.U. was opened.

The decision to open a permanent headquarters in London was an important rhetorical choice for the W.S.P.U. The permanent headquarters provided a gathering place for the movement. It is important for a movement to establish a common meeting place where members can gather and further their feelings of belonging together. 4 Clement's Inn became a symbol to the membership of a place to belong, a common ground where the cause was being fought daily. Isabel Seymour, a new London recruit, described the headquarters when it first opened as: "Happy-go-lucky-envelope addressing, and the almost daily tea party."<sup>4</sup>

The association of the Pethick Lawrences with the movement also provided rhetorical advantages for the Union. The Lawrences were socially prominent in London society, and they added a new dimension to the membership. The W.S.P.U. had successfully recruited socially accepted members of London society into an organization that was deemed disgraceful by social standards. This new dimension helped to add credibility to the Union which was usually regarded with contempt in social circles.

With their new headquarters established and advanced structural organization underway, the W.S.P.U. was now ready to continue their fight for enfranchisement.

#### Further Attempts at Petitioning Incur Massive Suppression

On February 12, 1907, a new session of Parliament opened, and on February 13th the W.S.P.U. opened their campaign of 1907 with a Women's Parliament in Caxton Hall. The meeting was called to consider the provisions of the King's speech which had included no mention of women's suffrage. Emmeline Pankhurst presided over the meeting, "which was marked with a fervency and a determination of a spirit at that time unprecedented."<sup>5</sup> The group adopted a resolution "expressing indignation that woman suffrage should have been omitted from the King's speech, and calling upon the House of Commons to give immediate facilities to such a measure."<sup>6</sup> The resolution

was adopted as was a motion to send the resolution immediately to the Prime Minister. A new slogan was cried from the platform, "Rise Up, Women", which was responded to by the audience with one word, "Now!"<sup>7</sup> In the midst of deafening cheers, hundreds of women rose to their feet and prepared to deliver their resolution. The members were organized into ranks with an escort of police on either side. The women each carried a copy of the resolution, and as they proceeded towards the House of Commons they sang to the tune of "John Brown's Body":

Rise up women! For the fight is hard and long;  
 Rise in Thousands, singing loud a battle song.  
 Right is might, and in its strength we'll  
     Be strong  
     And the cause goes marching on;  
     Glory, Glory, Hallelujah . . . etc.<sup>8</sup>

When the women arrived at the Abbey Green, they were greeted by a barricade of police. Emmeline Pankhurst related the events that followed:

When our deputation of women arrived in the neighbourhood of Westminster Abbey they found themselves opposed by a solid line of police, who, at a sharp order from their chief, began to stride through and through the ranks of the procession, trying to turn the women back. Bravely, the women rallied and pressed forward a little farther. Suddenly a body of mounted police came riding up at a smart trot, and for the next five hours or more, a struggle, quite indescribable for brutality and ruthlessness, went on. The horsemen rode directly into the procession, scattering the women right and left. But still the women would not turn back. They fought until their clothes were torn, their bodies bruised, and the last ounce of their strength exhausted.<sup>9</sup>

The next morning, fifty-seven women were arraigned in Westminster police court. Fifty-four of the women chose to go to prison. The suffragettes again proved their conviction to the cause.

## Weekly Monday "At Homes" Strengthen

## Group Cohesiveness

After the first Women's Parliament and subsequent imprisonments, the suffragettes realized that the struggle for the vote was going to be longer than was first anticipated. As a result there were no more demonstrations in 1907. The W.S.P.U. decided to embark on a campaign governed by winning public support by peaceful means.

Propaganda work flourished through work in Parliamentary by-elections. The suffragettes had gained a large number of competent organizers in their recruits. These organizers provided for more effective by-election work. "Several organizers would go to a constituency and work with thirty or forty of their own volunteers in addition to local helpers."<sup>10</sup>

Propaganda work extended beyond the Union's work in the by-elections. The W.S.P.U. had established branches in the larger towns in the Midlands, organizers were now sent out to help increase membership. Antonia Raeburn gives an account of the daily routine on one of Annie Kenney's trips to the Preston branch:

In the morning Annie would visit 'people worth winning to a more generous and intelligent understanding of the women's claims'. Apparently many of these better-class people were sympathetic and promised help and financial support.

The active members of the Preston branch were all working women and each afternoon at three o'clock one of them would organise a parlour meeting to which she invited her neighbours. Crowded into a little room, they listened appreciatively while Annie gave them a short talk.



Shortly after three-thirty, the textile workers began to pour out of the largest mills in the town and at a busy street corner, Annie stood on a 'lurry' and addressed the men and women on their way home. 'Hundreds pressed round,' says Mrs. Rigby, 'jeering until sobered by remarks that ouched tender places.' These meetings lasted for nearly an hour, and many people came to hear Annie speak again in the evening in the covered market.<sup>11</sup>

The suffragettes also travelled to hamlets and villages and were always greeted with friendliness and respect. Most of the country women were content with their status, but they were sympathetic with women workers in industry who needed the vote to help improve their working conditions.<sup>12</sup> The country people were usually very poor, but they would buy badges and leaflets. They were always happy to receive free propaganda pamphlets when they were offered.

The literature department during this stage developed considerably. Pethick Lawrence took charge of the literature and organized a separate department to deal with literature--the Women's Press. The Women's Press offered "penny pamphlets, badges, postcard photographs of the leaders and books on the Suffrage Movement."<sup>13</sup> The Women's Press proved to be a very profitable enterprise, clearing four hundred and fifty pounds between March and August of 1907.

The W.S.P.U. had become a fast-moving political organization during this formalization stage. As a result of this, it became necessary for all speakers and organizers involved directly with the movement to keep up to date on current events

and activities being planned by the Union. To accommodate this need, weekly Monday "At Homes" were started.<sup>14</sup>

Weekly Monday 'At Homes' were started to help clarify the immediate political situation and to explain the strategy of the Women's Social and Political Union. These began as informal gatherings at Clement's Inn, but as numbers increased the Portman Rooms were taken. The leaders presided on the platform, and in addition to explaining policy, they would announce the forthcoming programme and there would be a collection and enrollments. Later the meetings were often held in the larger Queen's Hall. All organisers were encouraged to attend the 'At Homes', and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence advocated that they should read at least two newspapers with differing political views each day.<sup>15</sup>

The rhetorical implications of the extensive propaganda work, the Women's Press and the weekly Monday "At Homes," are vast. These events reflect the advanced organizational structure of the W.S.P.U. as well as its advanced rhetorical structure which provided for the progression of the movement. Through rhetorical means, such as speeches and distribution of literature, the W.S.P.U. had increased their membership tremendously. They went into hamlets and villages making women aware of their right to justice and equality. The organization of a Women's Press added a new dimension to the organization and provided for a means of extended financial support. The most important aspect; however, was the weekly Monday "At Homes" which allowed the members to meet and discuss policies and tactics. These meetings made possible the development of group morale and esprit de corps within a structured setting. They enhanced the flow of ideas and enabled the organizers to envision their roles within the movement. Weekly Monday "At

Homes" strengthened convictions and stimulated solidarity within the organization. This solidarity was challenged; however, by a rising conflict over policy.

### Policy Dispute Causes Internal Split

#### Among Members

The W.S.P.U. had experienced an unprecedented growth and now approached a difficult crisis. "Little by little, differences of opinion in regard to questions of organization and policy had begun to show themselves amongst the members of the governing body."<sup>16</sup> Emmeline Pankhurst aware of these uprising differences, and thus, in anticipation of the forthcoming delegate conference, tore up the original constitution of the W.S.P.U. and established herself as autocratic head of movement.<sup>17</sup>

The next day at the conference she asserted her position as founder of the Union, declared that she and her daughter had counted the cost of militancy, and were prepared to take the whole responsibility for it, and that they refused to be interfered with by any kind of constitution. She called upon those who had faith in her leadership to follow her, and to devote themselves to the sole end of winning the vote. She challenged all who did not accept the leadership of herself and her daughter to resign from the Union that she had founded and to form an organization of their own.<sup>18</sup>

Upon this declaration by Emmeline Pankhurst, Charlotte Despard, How Martyn, and Teresa Bullington broke away from the Union and formed their own organization, the Women's Freedom League.<sup>19</sup> The severance of the two factions was thereafter referred to as "the split."<sup>20</sup> The split did not significantly hurt the

membership of the Union. By this time membership rolls were large enough to sustain a split of this nature.

The W.S.P.U. was now under the complete control of Emmeline Pankhurst and was totally responsible for the entire organization of the Union Branches. The branches now became local Unions under the direct supervision of headquarters. They did away with membership fees, and enrollment rested upon the willingness of recruits to sign a membership pledge. The reason for policies were then stated in a very frank letter sent from headquarters to all organizers and inquirers. The letter stated:

We are not playing experiments with representative Government. We are not a school for teaching women how to use the vote. We are a militant movement and we have to get the vote next session. The leaders of this movement are practical politicians; they have set out to do an almost impossible task--that of creating an independent political party of women. They are fighting the strongest Government of modern times and the strongest prejudice in human nature. They cannot afford to dally with the issue. It is after all a voluntary militant movement; those who cannot follow the general must drop out of the ranks . . .

Every political movement has this crisis to face and at such times strong leadership is essential. Apart from those whose past associations and life have been bound up with political causes that are dear to leave, we have against us others whose motives are less pure. There are disappointed place-seekers and those who have thought that they were more capable of filling certain posts than those who have been selected.<sup>21</sup>

The significance of the split rested with the resulting emergence of a totally unified leadership. Emmeline Pankhurst left no question after her declaration about her position in

the movement. The split became the catalyst for the formation of a National Committee which consisted of Emmeline Pankhurst, chairman; Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, treasurer; and Christabel Pankhurst, secretary.<sup>22</sup> This unified leadership helped promote wise rhetorical choices and enabled the movement to gather immense momentum.

#### New W.S.P.U. Paper--Votes for Women

Almost immediately after the split, the Pethick Lawrences launched the first copy of the new W.S.P.U. newspaper Votes for Women. The cover picture of the first issue was "The Haunted House" by David Wilson, which represented a woman seated, with her head leaning on one hand, brooding over the House of Parliament.<sup>23</sup> The first standing paragraph of the new paper was:

To the brave women who today are fighting for freedom:  
to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag  
flying and look forward to this day without seeing it:  
to all women all over the world of whatever race or  
creed or calling, whether they be with us or against  
us in this fight we dedicate this paper.<sup>24</sup>

The paper began on a monthly basis with a bulletin issued weekly. The purpose of Votes for Women was "to keep workers and organisers in constant touch with the movement, and to provide a programme of forthcoming events."<sup>25</sup> Each issue contained news items and editorials written by the Pethick Lawrences. "Christabel wrote on policy, Sylvia on the history of the Suffrage Movement, and there were also extracts from the Press, and reports from local W.S.P.U. branches telling of their latest

activities. In addition, the paper usually included an article by some well-known writer."<sup>26</sup> A very amusing allegorical story appeared in an early issue entitled "The Sleeping Beauty in the Woods Retold."<sup>27</sup> In this new version, "the Princess awakes before the Prince comes to claim her and she is told to go out and seek him. After passing through a mass of tribulations, each representing a political barrier, she at length overcomes all with the help of inspiring visions and reaches the Prince, having proved herself his equal. The story ends: 'She went her way through the world by the Prince's side, everywhere setting free the captives, and bringing hope to the despairing.'"<sup>28</sup>

Paper selling soon became one of the chief activities of voluntary workers. The volunteers would stand on the streets chanting:

Votes for Women  
 Price on penny  
 Articles by Annie Kenney  
 Mrs. Lawrence--Christabel  
 Other suffragettes as well.<sup>29</sup>

Votes for Women soon came out in weekly editions and along with their songs and slogans became a symbol for the movement. The paper echoed the ideology and goals of the movement, as well as, providing members with a run down on activities and upcoming events. Votes for Women became another point of identification for the membership; it belonged to them and they were a part of it.

## Emmeline Pankhurst Becomes A Symbol

### After Imprisonment

The W.S.P.U. planned another Women's Parliament and Caxton Hall had been taken for a three-day session. The women had planned several tactics in hopes of delivering a petition at Westminster. On February 11, 1908, the Women's Parliament met and the first tactic was put into action. Marie Brackenbury, one of twenty women to be hidden in one of two pantechinics, described the incident:

On passing the House of Commons, it was arranged that they should open like the Trojan Horse and let us all fly to the door. Silently, we slipped one at a time into a yard in Theobald's Road. There we found our van and disappeared into it. The doors were shut and the twenty sat quietly in this dark hole. Presently we were aware of a great clattering of horses and a sense of jolting and rumbling which lasted for what seemed to us an age.

Suddenly the van stopped, our hearts beat fast, the doors swung open, we saw the House of Commons before us and out we all flew. We found, standing at the great door, a large body of Westminster police. They told us to go. We, clutching our petitions, stood our ground silently but firmly. Members of Parliament approached. The police made way for them; we made rushes, hoping to pass in behind the members. The police in the execution of their duty took us by the neck and threw us into the road. We picked ourselves up, and as smilingly as we could, came back to the doors only to be flung down again . . .<sup>38</sup>

The women were taken to prison, and two days later these lines appeared in the Daily Mail:

Sing a song of Christabel's clever little plan  
 Four and twenty Suffragettes packed in a van  
 When the van was opened they to the Commons ran  
 Wasn't that a dainty dish for Campbell-Bannerman?  
 Asquith was in the treasury, counting out the money  
 Lloyd George among the Liberal women speaking  
 words of honey

And then there came a bright idea to all those  
 little men  
 'Let's give the women votes,' they cried, 'and all  
 be friends again.'<sup>31</sup>

On the third day of the Women's Parliament, Mrs. Pankhurst organized a deputation to take a resolution to the House of Commons. Twelve women were to accompany her. The deputation progressed as far as the entrance to Parliament Square when two policemen grabbed Emmeline Pankhurst and told her that she was under arrest.<sup>32</sup> This was the first arrest of the leader of the movement. She was sent to prison along with the rest of the deputation.

It was very important in a rhetorical sense for Emmeline Pankhurst to go to prison. She was the leader and symbol of the movement, and it was probably rhetorically necessary for her to endure the suffering and personal indignation to which her followers had been exposed. Through this experience she became a more effective leader--her followers could now establish a point of identification, she now shared their experiences. Vera Brittain, in Lady into Women--A History of Women from Victoria to Elizabeth II, stated this concept when she wrote: "It is through suffering and ecstasy that those who lead great campaigns appeal to the constructive instincts of mankind; words and actions, to inspire others, must spring from the heights and depths of human experience. The most effective crusader for peace has known at first hand the pity and terror of war; the surest savior of a starving people from subjection is he who had endured both fasting and prison."<sup>33</sup>



The W.S.P.U. had planned a great meeting in Albert Hall for March 19th. Everyone thought that Mrs. Pankhurst was still in prison; however, at the last moment before the close of the meeting, Christabel announced that the government had released her mother that afternoon. Upon the announcement, Emmeline Pankhurst appeared and walked slowly up the steps to the platform. The response of the audience to the appearance of their leader exemplified Brittain's statement, for "when Mrs. Pankhurst appeared some rose to their feet, some waved handkerchiefs, everyone clapped and cheered. Offers of money were made impulsively and hundreds of promise cards were sent up the platform as the excitement rose."<sup>34</sup> Emmeline Pankhurst had at this point become a dynamic leader. She possessed qualities in the area of rhetoric which enabled her to relate to her followers. An added factor that contributed to the rhetorical abilities of Emmeline Pankhurst stemmed from her unique ability to inspire and direct. William H. Friedland dealt with this concept when he stated: "Men may obey simply because of the personal qualities--the charisma--of the person who commands; the appeals of the 'natural leader' may transcend established institutions and challenge accepted values."<sup>35</sup>

This power of Emmeline Pankhurst's, as witnessed on her release from prison, is significant because as the leader she directed the flow and progression of the movement through her rhetorical choices. Her power at varying times during the movement's development was close to absolute. After this first

imprisonment, Emmeline Pankhurst's rhetoric acquired a new dimension. Bittner observed that "radical agitative leaders often discover or formulate their doctrines in prisons, thus the rhetoric acquires a particularistic aspect, namely, it is maintained that the leader 'knows better' because of his unique experiences."<sup>36</sup> This added dimension was exhibited during the remainder of Stage III.

### The Great Hyde Park Meeting

#### Exhibits Solidarity

The greatest suffrage demonstration ever known was "Women's Sunday" in Hyde Park. The purpose of the demonstration was "to prove that the women's movement held overwhelming public support."<sup>37</sup> Planning began four months before the demonstration was to take place, and the Union devised an extensive publicity campaign. It was decided that there would be eighty women speakers and twenty platforms in the park. Handbills were circulated and life-size portraits of the twenty chairwomen were displayed all over London. W.S.P.U. volunteers converged in shops, factories, hospitals, and restaurants urging women to join them in their demonstration. The W.S.P.U. colors-purple, white, and green symbolizing justice, purity, and hope emerged at the demonstration.<sup>38</sup> "Articles in the colours were soon on sale, and picture hats and baby bonnets could be bought with trimmings stamped Votes for Women. The Women's Press stocked striped

shauntering motor scarves printed with the suffragette motto, and tricolored ribbon was so popular that it sold out before new supplies could be made. Street vendors carried Suffragette rubber dolls in their trays."<sup>39</sup>

Thursday evening before the demonstration, the Union embarked on a new method of petitioning the government. Sylvia Pankhurst described the event in The Suffragette. She wrote:

On the Thursday evening before the Demonstration, Mrs. Drummond and a dozen other members of the Union set sail for the Houses of Parliament in a steam launch decorated with banners and posters announcing the Demonstration. At the little tables on the terrace many members, including Mr. Lloyd George, were entertaining their lady friends at afternoon tea, when the sound of a band playing heralded the Suffragettes' arrival. Everyone crowded to the water's edge as the boat stopped, and Mrs. Drummond began to speak. She invited all Members of Parliament, and especially Cabinet Ministers, to join the women's procession to Hyde Park on the twenty-first of June, assuring them that it was their duty to inform themselves as to the feelings of the people. She twitted the Government who were supposed to be democratic with remaining always behind barred gates under the protection of the police, and urged, "come to the Park on Sunday; you shall have police protection there also, and we promise you that there shall be no arrests." The Members appeared both pleased and interested and many more came flocking out to listen, but somebody, a waiter it was said, hurriedly telephoned to the police and in a few moments Inspector Scantlebury with a number of officers appeared on the Terrace, whilst at the same time one of the police boats hove in sight. Seeing this, the Suffragettes steamed away.<sup>40</sup>

June 21st finally arrived and it was a brilliant summer day. Hundreds of Londoners assembled to watch the processions make their way to Hyde Park. There were brass bands and banners

never again to be equaled. "Most of the women were dressed in white with trimmings of ribbons or flower sprays of violet and gardenia. Each marshal could be distinguished by her silken and gilded regalia stamped "Votes for Women", while the less important officials wore a lettered canvas regalia of purple, white and green. Groups of women from the provinces proudly carried the standards they had embroidered for the occasion and the largest banners, inscribed with long mottos, were carried by men wearing huge rosettes."<sup>41</sup>

The demonstration was said to have been attended by 72,000,<sup>42</sup> and passed to its conclusion without a single incident of violence or disruption. As a result of all the elaborate planning, the demonstration went like clockwork. "Every hope and expectation was surpassed; great crowds accompanied the seven processions which, starting from north, south, east and west, passed through the London streets under seven hundred floating banners accompanied by forty bands. These processions entered simultaneously the seven entrances to Hyde Park, each took up its allotted position around the platforms. The standards we had set as to the size of the audience was reached and passed."<sup>43</sup>

One of the features of the Hyde Park demonstration was the "Great Shout".<sup>44</sup> It was designated that at five o'clock a bugle was to sound and a Resolution calling on the government to give women the vote immediately was to be proposed. The resolution was proposed and carried at every one of the

twenty platforms. "Then the bugle was heard again and the cry. One, two, three! And the assembled multitude, as they had been asked to do, shouted, 'Votes for Women!'"<sup>45</sup> After the "Great Shout" the crowd began slowly to disperse.

#### Public Response and Reaction

The morning after the great Hyde Park meeting the newspapers devoted long columns to the demonstration. It was the first time that the entire press was unanimous in its approval and praise of the movement. The lead writer of one of the London dailies wrote: "This movement had done in less than three years what all the gentle persuasion of a generation had failed to effect."<sup>46</sup> Within a long descriptive account of the event, the Special Correspondent of The Times wrote:

Its organisers had counted on an audience of 250,000. That expectation was certainly fulfilled and probably it was doubled, and it would be difficult to contradict anyone who asserted that it was trebled. Like the distances and numbers of the stars, the facts were beyond the threshold of perception.<sup>47</sup>

The Standard said:

From first to last, it was a great meeting, daringly conceived, splendidly stage-managed, and successfully carried out. Hyde Park has probably never seen a greater crowd of people.<sup>48</sup>

The Daily News said:

There is no combination of words which will convey an adequate idea of the immensity of the crowd around the platforms.<sup>49</sup>

The Daily Express said:

The Women Suffragists provided London yesterday with one of the most wonderful and astonishing sights that have ever been seen since the days of Boadicea . . . It is probable that so many people never before stood in one square mass anywhere in England. Men who saw the great Gladstone meeting years ago said that compared with yesterday's multitude it was as nothing.<sup>50</sup>

The Daily Chronicle said:

Never, on the admission of the most experienced observers, has so vast a throng gathered in London to witness an outlay of political force.<sup>51</sup>

The entire weekend witnessed incredible support and approval from the newspaper world. Punch, notoriously critical of the movement, even came out with a favorable cartoon depicting the incident. "Punch had a cartoon in which the Minister of War (Mr. Haldane, thinking Territorially) was depicted in Napoleonic attitude watching an immense procession of women with banners and saying: 'Ah! if only I could get the men to come out like this!'"<sup>52</sup>

The response of Parliament after the Hyde Park meeting showed a definite change in attitude. Comments before this time fell along these lines: "Whatever be the results of the work of the Women's Social and Political Union in other directions, the suffragists in this House have nothing to thank them for. Ever since 1907 every effort we have made in behalf of the suffrage has been impeded by militant methods."<sup>53</sup> After the great Hyde Park meeting which demonstrated to the members of Parliament the public support of the movement, there arose comments typified by this statement

made to the House of Commons: "The Women's Social and Political Union's movement is destined to go on, and you know that it will go on, and you know that it will eventually triumph."<sup>54</sup>

The great Hyde Park demonstration captured the attention of the country with its organizational perfection and its beauty. The W.S.P.U. set out to prove that their cause carried public support, and they did just that. The crowd was unprecedented, and the day lacked any incident of violence or disruption. The women proved to the public and to themselves that they could organize and advertise a mass meeting unequalled in history. The emergence of the W.S.P.U. colors signifying purity, justice and hope echoed the ideology of the movement throughout the procession and demonstration. The elaborate banners shouted for attainment of the ultimate goal of enfranchisement. The leaders proved their organizational as well as their rhetorical abilities. The membership proclaimed to the country their absolute conviction to the cause. The group shared, as well as exhibited, a true feeling of belonging together. Group morale was intensified. Purity of belief was magnified. Clarity of purpose was whetted, and esprit de corps reached an ameliorative point. In effect, the Hyde Park demonstration consolidated all the components of rhetorical structure into a catalytic event which precipitated the inaugural of favorable public response. The essence of this rested in the initial rejection of old symbols and the

gradual adoption of new symbols by some members of the public. Thus allowing the rhetoric of the movement to become instrumental as well as symbolic.

#### Suppression Imposed by the Anti-Suffragists

Although the W.S.P.U. had gained sympathy and some support from the public and the press, it was opposed not only by Members of Parliament and public officials but also met with an organized anti-suffrage campaign. In 1908, during the W.S.P.U.'s third stage of development, the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League was formed. The league operated under the leadership of the Countess of Jersey.<sup>55</sup> The goals of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League were: "(1) To resist the proposal to admit women to the Parliamentary Franchise and to Parliament; (2) To maintain the principle of the representation of women on municipal and other bodies concerned with the domestic and social affairs of the community."<sup>56</sup>

In July, 1910, the Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage was organized under the leadership of The Earl of Cromer. In 1910 the two leagues combined to form the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage.<sup>57</sup>

The league was dominated by men--"but there were some notable women members who took the position that there was a natural division of function between the sexes, rather than that women were necessarily inferior to men."<sup>58</sup>



The women who were active in the "anti's"<sup>59</sup> were usually of the upper class. There is no evidence of working-class women participating in the anti-suffrage campaign.<sup>60</sup>

The press published many letters from anti's. One such letter that was published in The Times is typical of most letters received:

Sir, I think the moment has come when the gentlewomen of England should protest against the proceedings of women to whom the prefix would be neither appropriate nor probably to their liking. I feel that I am voicing the sentiments of many hundreds of thousands when I am satisfied with my present position, and of my almost unlimited power of usefulness, that I have no need of a solitary vote, and should not use it if I had it. The sexes are necessary to each other--'Each has what the other lacks', as Ruskin so truly said; and I find that, when women undertake the duties for which men are constitutionally more fitted, if they perform them well they are still less fitted in some ways for those duties, while work which only women can perform is left undone.

Edith Milner  
 Ruling Councillor Milnes  
 Hab. for 21 years, No.  
 646, Member of York Charity  
 Org. Society for 26 years,  
 etc.<sup>61</sup>

The anti's had little direct effect on the W.S.P.U. The threat they posed was small compared to the barriers that had to be over-come by the suffragettes in dealing with the establishment. Rover provided an excellent analysis of the position of the women anti's was self-defeating, for the more effectively they pressed their contention that women were unsuited to politics, the more competently they campaigned, all the more they established the political capacity

of women. It is completely unrealistic to suggest that 'just for once' women would overcome their natural reticence and conduct a political campaign, so that forever afterwards they could remain in the background in peace."<sup>62</sup>

### The W.S.P.U. Woman's Exhibition

#### Furtheres Esprit de Corps

From May 9th to the 25th, the Prince's Skating Rink in Knightsbridge was reserved for the W.S.P.U. Woman's Exhibition. Murals were designed by Sylvia Pankhurst to cover every wall of the exhibition hall. A suffragette drum and fife corps had been organized and trained to advertise the exhibition. The musicians wore stylish military uniforms in the W.S.P.U. colors. The purpose of the Woman's Exhibition was stated by Emmeline Pankhurst: "This exhibition is intended to help a movement to give women power to work out their own salvation--political, social, and industrial."<sup>63</sup>

A special exhibit was two replica prison cells. "A suffragette prisoner could be seen scrubbing, bed-making or stitching in the smaller second-division cell,<sup>64</sup> while a political prisoner--a man--sat in comfort in the other cell which was well-furnished and twice the size."<sup>65</sup> There was an extensive exhibition of photographs depicting the history of the movement as it was viewed through the eyes of press photographers.

A very interesting aspect of the exhibition was the short, one-act suffragette plays. These plays were performed by the

Actresses' Franchise League.<sup>66</sup> These plays were similar to guerilla theatre of the 1960's and 1970's to promote consciousness-raising in the contemporary women's movement. The rhetorical tactic is an effective way of enacting social dramas which show the oppressed being discredited by the establishment.

The exhibition also included orchestral recitals and dancing displays. The first British woman jiu-jitsu instructor gave frequent demonstrations. One of the most popular stalls was the ice cream soda fountain, the first of its kind in England.

The Woman's Exhibition pooled the talents and crafts of hundreds of women and provided for the advancement of woman power. It enabled the women to work together and furthered their feelings of belonging together as a group. During the exhibition there had been a lull in militancy; however, the W.S.P.U. was planning to send a deputation to the House of Commons that would mark the start of violence.

#### Conclusion

The third stage of development for the W.S.P.U. was characterized by a more formal organization and structure. The ideology remained constant and the goals were supportive of the ultimate objectives--obtaining the Parliamentary vote.

Out of this more organized structure, a W.S.P.U. headquarters was established at Clement's Inn. The establishment

of a headquarters was important rhetorically because it provided the membership with a place to belong. The Pethick Lawrences joined the movement and their influence was paramount.

This stage witnessed the organization of the first Women's Parliament, the formation of new songs, the adoption of W.S.P.U. colors, and a Union newspaper entitled Votes for Women. These events became added symbols for the movement with which the membership as well as the general public could identify.

Propaganda work flourished, and membership steadily increased even though the W.S.P.U. experienced some dissension among several of its members which resulted in a split in the movement.

Emmeline Pankhurst experienced her first arrest which proved to be a rhetorical necessity in order for her leadership to be effective during the remainder of this stage and throughout the final stage.

The most important activity of this stage was the demonstration held in Hyde Park. It was designated as the greatest suffrage demonstration in history, and proved to be very influential in winning public support for the movement.

The rhetorical choices made during this stage of development were directed toward the general education of the public and the goal of demonstrating public support of the movement. Through rhetoric, the movement at this stage began to alter

the general public's belief systems and initiate the initial adoption of new symbols. This stage culminated in a show of woman power through the Woman's Exhibition. The final stage was initiated with the start of violence.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Constance Rover, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain: 1866 - 1914 (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1967), p. 91.

<sup>2</sup>Antonia Raeburn, The Militant Suffragettes (London: Michael Joseph, 1973), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Raeburn, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup>Raeburn, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup>Emmeline Pankhurst, My Own Story (New York: Eveleigh Nash, 1914), p. 81.

<sup>6</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 81.

<sup>8</sup>Raeburn, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 82.

<sup>10</sup>Raeburn, p. 37.

<sup>11</sup>Raeburn, p. 38.

<sup>12</sup>Raeburn, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup>Raeburn, p. 39.

<sup>14</sup>Raeburn, p. 39.

<sup>15</sup>Raeburn, p. 39.

<sup>16</sup>E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Suffragette (London: Gay and Hancock Ltd., 1911), p. 173.

<sup>17</sup>E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Life of Emmeline Pankhurst (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936), p. 70.

<sup>18</sup>Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, My Part in a Changing World (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1938), p. 177.

<sup>19</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 173.

- <sup>20</sup>Lawrence, p. 177.
- <sup>21</sup>Raeburn, pp. 40-41.
- <sup>22</sup>Lawrence, p. 178.
- <sup>23</sup>Raeburn, p. 41.
- <sup>24</sup>Lawrence, p. 180.
- <sup>25</sup>Raeburn, p. 41.
- <sup>26</sup>Raeburn, pp. 41-42.
- <sup>27</sup>Raeburn, p. 42.
- <sup>28</sup>Raeburn, p. 42.
- <sup>29</sup>Raeburn, p. 44.
- <sup>30</sup>Raeburn, p. 49.
- <sup>31</sup>Raeburn, p. 49.
- <sup>32</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 98.
- <sup>33</sup>Vera Brittain, Lady into Women--A History of Women from Victoria to Elizabeth II (New York: MacMillan Company, 1953),
- <sup>34</sup>Raeburn, p. 53.
- <sup>35</sup>William Friedland, "For a Sociological Concept of Charisma", Social Forces, 42 (1964), 247.
- <sup>36</sup>Egon Bittner, "Radicalism and the Organization of Radical Movements", American Sociological Review, 27 (1963), 304.
- <sup>37</sup>Raeburn, p. 57.
- <sup>38</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 241.
- <sup>39</sup>Raeburn, pp. 57-58.
- <sup>40</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, pp. 244-245.
- <sup>41</sup>Raeburn, pp. 58-59.
- <sup>42</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 240.
- <sup>43</sup>Lawrence, p. 183.

- <sup>44</sup>Raeburn, p. 60.
- <sup>45</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 247.
- <sup>46</sup>Lawrence, p. 184.
- <sup>47</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 248.
- <sup>48</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 248.
- <sup>49</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 248.
- <sup>50</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 248.
- <sup>51</sup>Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 248.
- <sup>52</sup>Lawrence, p. 184.
- <sup>53</sup>Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 5 Series, Vol. 52 1913, p. 1708.
- <sup>54</sup>Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, p. 1811.
- <sup>55</sup>Rover, p. 171.
- <sup>56</sup>Rover, p. 171.
- <sup>57</sup>Rover, p. 171.
- <sup>58</sup>Rover, p. 172.
- <sup>59</sup>Rover, p. 172.
- <sup>60</sup>Rover, p. 172.
- <sup>61</sup>Rover, p. 173.
- <sup>62</sup>Rover, p. 179.
- <sup>63</sup>Raeburn, p. 98.
- <sup>64</sup>Second division cells were used for common criminals, first division cells were used for political prisoners. The suffragettes felt that they should be imprisoned in first division; however, to degrade the suffragettes the police usually sent the women prisoners to the second division.
- <sup>65</sup>Raeburn, p. 99.
- <sup>66</sup>Raeburn, p. 98.



## CHAPTER VI

### STAGE IV: VIOLENCE ERUPTS

#### Introduction

The Women's Social and Political Union reached its final stage of development in 1910. From 1910 until 1914, the final stage has some of the characteristics of the institutional stage. When a movement has progressed to this final stage, its rhetoric has "crystallized it into a fixed organization with a definite personnel and structure to carry into execution the purpose of the movement."<sup>1</sup> The rhetoric of the final stage was characterized by overt violence and destruction of public property. The membership decreased as the goals and policies became more revolutionary. The personnel of the W.S.P.U. centered totally on the Pankhursts during this stage. The organization exhibited a fixed policy to which they adhered unfalteringly. The tactics employed were almost totally violently destructive, exhibiting the new objectives to which the movement was committed.

#### Doctrines and Policies

The ideology of the W.S.P.U. remained consistent throughout the various stages of development. The movement was allowed to progress through the various stages by a firm conviction that women were entitled to equality, liberty, and social justice.

This ideology was best expressed by Lydia Becker, an early suffragist: "The keynote of our movement is that woman is the co-ordinate not the sub-ordinate half of humanity, and this idea influences the whole scheme of our social fabric-- it is, or is to be, the grand distinction between savage and civilized man."<sup>2</sup>

The ultimate goal of the W.S.P.U. in the final stage of development was still to achieve the Parliamentary vote on the same terms as men; however, the immediate goals underwent a change. These goals were expressed in a three point doctrine adopted in 1911, by the Union in its final stage. The doctrine declared:

1. Any section of the community that has no political rights should endeavor to win them by reason and argument, but that if prolonged peaceful agitation fails to influence those who have the power, then it has no alternative but to use extraordinary and extra-legal methods unless it is prepared to acquiesce in its own subjection.
2. That such methods should be designed so as (a) to arouse the largest number of the unfranchised section to a consciousness of their subjection, (b) to create the greatest difficulties for the government, and (c) to win support of the bulk of the population by causing odium on the government for its repressing counter measures.
3. The militant suffrage agitation will be acted broadly along these lines, and it will be instrumental in creating a situation from which there will be no escape except by conferring a measure of enfranchisement on women.<sup>3</sup>

This doctrine was obviously a deviation from the doctrines of the earlier stages. It called for tactics which would leave the government with no alternative but granting women the vote, and it provided the establishment with no means of escape.

This policy was not regarded with lightheartedness by Emmeline Pankhurst and the members of the movement. The leaders realized "that every new step in militancy once taken could not be retracted."<sup>4</sup> In reference to this realization, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence wrote:

Therefore at Headquarters we endeavoured to regulate and restrain the pace at which the Union was now moving. There were two dangers of which we had to be aware. The one was the danger of going too quickly and the other the danger of going too slow. Mrs. Pankhurst had seen one popular movement for the suffrage fade out because it had allowed itself to be checkmated, and Christabel feared lest any encouragement should be given to the idea that we had come to the end of our resistance. The task set before the leaders was to judge how much militancy was essential to maintain our cause.<sup>5</sup>

Since the severity of the new doctrine was notable, the W.S.P.U. decided to release a statement justifying their new beliefs, identifying their enemy, and providing for the escalation of tactics. This statement, which echoed the ideology and goals of the Union, was issued by Emmeline Pethick Lawrence and appeared in Votes for Women: "Women in direct opposition to their instinct, tradition and normal character have been forced into revolutionary action in defence of their rights and liberties, and for this Government is responsible, not the women . . . The Government in forcing this issue upon us has calculated from the onset on women's hatred of violence, as the guarantee of success of its policy of repression, but it has discounted the determination of women to never abandon this legitimate fight for a cause that is dearer to them than life."<sup>6</sup>

### The Implementation of Non-Violent Resistance

The W.S.P.U. had scheduled a Bill of Rights Deputation to present a petition to the House of Commons on June 29th. In anticipation of this deputation, this passage from the Bill of Rights was quoted at every meeting: "It is the right of the subject to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitions are illegal."<sup>7</sup> To publicize this activity, Marion Wallace Dunlop had the passage inscribed on a large rubber stamp. A week before the deputation was to be sent, Marion Dunlop went to St. Stephen's Hall with the intention of printing the passage on the wall in violet ink. She had time only to impress her stamp before the police came, confiscated it, and removed her from the premises. Marion Wallace Dunlop was motivated by a purity of belief and was determined to succeed. Two days later she returned to St. Stephen's Hall with a new stamp. This second attempt proved successful. She printed her inscription quite clearly on the wall before being arrested. Marion Wallace Dunlop was taken to jail and charged with willful damage. She was then sentenced to one month's imprisonment in the second division. Miss Dunlop demanded that she be placed in the first division as a political prisoner, but she was refused. Therefore, on Monday, July 5th, Marion Wallace Dunlop decided to go on a hunger strike.<sup>8</sup>

I threw a fried fish, four slices of bread, three bananas and a cup of hot milk out of my window on Tuesday, that being the only day I really felt

hungry. They threatened all the time to pump milk through my nostrils, but never did. They kept my table covered with food, which I never touched. I only drank water. My pulse was felt many times in the day and I laughed at them all the time, telling them I would show them the stuff the Suffragette was made of; and that they would either have to put me in the first division or release me.<sup>9</sup>

Marion Wallace Dunlop fasted for ninety-one hours. After these ninety-one hours had elapsed, the Home Secretary sent an order for her to be released.

This was the first hunger strike undertaken by the suffragettes as a tactic to force the government to recognize their status as political prisoners rather than common criminals. This tactic of non-violent resistance became common action for all the suffragettes sent to prison and further contributed to the purity of belief exhibited by these women.

#### Continued Petitioning of the Government

The Bill of Rights Deputation gained added publicity from the hunger strike launched by Marion Wallace Dunlop. An interest was shown in the upcoming deputation not only by the public but also by many members of Parliament.<sup>10</sup> "In the House of Commons a strong feeling that women ought this time to be received manifested itself in many questions put to Government. One member even asked leave to move the adjournment of the House on a matter of urgent public importance, namely the danger to the public peace, owing to the refusal of the Prime Minister to receive the deputation."<sup>11</sup>

The Women's Parliament met on June 29th, and the petition to the Prime Minister was read and adopted. The deputation assembled and set out for Parliament. Emmeline Pankhurst led the deputation and described the event:

I simply led my deputation on as far as the entrance to St. Stephen's Hall. There we encountered a strong force of police commanded by our old acquaintance, Inspector Scatlebury, who stepped forward and handed me a letter. I opened it and read it aloud to the women. 'The Prime Minister, for the reasons which he has already given in a written reply to their request, regrets that he is unable to receive the proposed deputation.' I dropped the note to the ground and said: 'I stand upon my rights, as a subject to the King, to petition the Prime Minister, and I am firmly resolved to stand here until I am received.'<sup>12</sup>

Emmeline Pankhurst knew that the usual struggle would take place and decided that she should force an immediate arrest. Mrs. Pankhurst then slapped one of the inspector's face, and she was arrested.

Emmeline Pankhurst's deputation was only the initial attack, and, upon her arrest, the main attack began. "Several women left base and each made her way to the specified area in Whitehall where she was to break a window."<sup>13</sup> Ada Wright, one of the stone throwers, described the incident:

To women of culture and refinement and of sheltered upbringing the deliberate throwing of a stone, even as a protest, in order to break a window, requires an enormous amount of moral courage. After much hesitation and tension, I threw my stone through the window of the Office of Works. To my relief, I was at once arrested and marched off by two policemen, the tremendous crowd making way for us and cheering to the echo all the way to Cannon Row Police Station.<sup>14</sup>

The next morning one hundred and eight prisoners appeared for trial at Bow Street Court. The women were all arraigned

on charges of obstruction, assaulting the police, and doing malicious damage.<sup>15</sup> The women were convicted and sent to prison for one month. All the women sent to prison decided to follow the example of Marion Wallace Dunlop and adopted the protest of the hunger strike. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence commented on this massive initiation of a new method of protest when she wrote: "From this date, there was no holding back the spirit of revolt. The heath was set on fire at the thought of comrades facing death in lonely prison cells. The desire for sacrifice became a passion that could not be held in leash."<sup>16</sup>

#### Public Response and Reaction

In spite of the stone throwing, the general public and the press expressed admiration for the courage and the persistency of the suffragettes.<sup>17</sup> Accounts of the deputation appeared in the newspapers the next morning supporting the suffragettes and condemning Asquith for failing to receive the deputation. The following accounts indicated this favorable response:

The record of these attempted raids has been one of remarkable persistency in the face of every possible discouragement from the authorities.--Daily Telegraph

It is the most successful effort that the militant section of the party have made . . . However much one may deplore their methods one cannot overlook their earnestness; they are out to win.--The Scotsman

Principle and tact alike are wanting in the Asquith administration, otherwise there would have been none of the suffragette scenes in today's police court,

and none of the tumult and expense of last night . . . No one supposes for a moment that such a large and influential body as the Suffragettes would have been denied a hearing by Mr. Asquith and his colleagues had it possessed voting power.--The Manchester Courier

It is not likely that any one of the thousands of men and women who saw the Suffragette deputation to Mr. Asquith to the House of Commons on Tuesday night will ever forget the scene, much as he or she may wish to do so. There are some things which photograph themselves indelibly on the sensitive plat of the brain and that was one of them.--East Anglican Daily Times

The Prime Minister has shockingly mismanaged the business from the beginning.--Yorkshire Weekly Post

There is some concern among liberals at the Prime Minister's persistent refusal to receive a deputation from the Suffragettes. They doubt if he is wise in showing so unyielding an attitude to them.--Manchester Daily Despatch<sup>18</sup>

These various newspaper accounts substantiate the feeling of the public that the establishment had carried their strategy of avoidance too far, and the suffragettes were now justified in their actions.

#### New Tactics Provide Solidarity and Persistency

The smashing of windows carried with it many rhetorical implications. The first of which is the added dimension to militancy. "Until 1909 'militant' methods were purely symbolic and did not include destruction of any kind."<sup>19</sup> The new method of smashing windows shifted the militancy from a personal injury category to a classification of property destruction. The tactic, although not condoned by the public, finally persuades the country of the seriousness of the women's claim.



The hunger strikes being carried out also exhibited a true spirit of revolt and willingness to endure personal suffering. This form of protest commanded much public attention and helped reaffirm the conviction of the suffragettes, and their purity of belief in the cause. The hunger strikes generated a tremendous amount of group cohesiveness, for when the first hunger strike took place it stimulated a feeling of self-sacrifice within all ranks of the membership. All the suffragettes that went to prison after Marion Wallace Dunlop initiated her protest and followed her example.

The new tactic of throwing stones and the hunger strikes worked as a catalyst in the movement to develop a new spirit of rebellion. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence described this spirit of revolt:

For four years, hundreds of women had endured violence by organized Liberal stewards for exercising the practice of questioning which men use with impunity; for four years they had encountered organized assault from the London police under the personal authority of the Home-Secretary, for making the attempt to enter the House of Commons as a publicly appointed deputation; for four years they had been subjected to humiliations in prison as criminals. No Government could treat in this way a representative section of the nation without in the end, rousing the spirit of rebellion. The new development in militancy, of stone throwing, which was initiated by the members of the Union was the symptom of this new spirit of revolt.<sup>20</sup>

#### Non-Violent Resistance is Met by Suppression

From July to September of 1909, the hunger strikes continued in Liverpool, Manchester, Leicester, and Dundee.<sup>21</sup>

Then on September 25th, at Winson Green Gaol, authorities

announced that they had decided to begin using artificial means of feeding on all hunger strikers. This new strategy of the establishment aimed at suppressing the movement horrified not only the W.S.P.U. but also the general public. Constance Lytton in her book Prisons and Prisoners described the horror of forcible feeding:

Two of the Wardresses took hold of my arms, one held my head and one my feet. One wardress helped to pour the food. The doctor leant on my knees as he stooped over my chest to get at my mouth. I shut my mouth and clenched my teeth. I had looked forward to this moment with so much anxiety that I felt positively glad when the time had come. The doctor offered me the choice of a wooden or steel gag. But I did not speak to open my mouth, so he finally at my resistance and he broke into a temper as he plied my teeth with the steel implement. He said if I resisted so much with my teeth, he would have to feed me through the nose. The pain of it was intense and at last I must have given way for he got the gag between my teeth, when he proceeded to turn it much more than necessary until my jaws were fastened wide apart, far more than they could naturally go. Then he put down my throat a tube which seemed to me much too wide and was something like four feet in length. The irritation of the tube was excessive. I choked the moment it touched my throat until it had gone down. Then the food was poured in quickly; it made me sick a few seconds after it was down and the action of the sickness made my body and legs double up, but the wardress instantly pressed by my head and the doctor leant on my knees. I was sick over the doctor and wardresses, and it seemed a long time before they took the tube out. The horror of it was more than I can describe.<sup>22</sup>

The stories of the forcible feedings were stirring people's feelings. The papers were printing stories concerning the horror of the treatment. Keir Hardie was continually questioning Parliament about the unusual procedure and received nothing but roars of laughter from Members.

He wrote to The Times: "I was horrified at the levity displayed by a large section of the Members of the House. Had I not heard it, I could not have believed that a body of gentlemen could have found reason for mirth applause in a scene which, I venture to say, has no parallel in the recent history of our country."<sup>23</sup> There were some members of Parliament; however, that were appalled by this violent method of suppressing the movement. One such member stated: "I am an anti-suffragist, and, in my sincerity in opposing votes for women, I will not give place to anyone, but as an anti-suffragist I say that as regards forcible feeding it is one of the most barbaric and cruel things that could possibly be devised."<sup>24</sup>

Soon after the adoption of artificial feeding, a poster was circulated depicting the operation in gruesome detail. On October 29th, Laura Ainsworth, who had recently experienced the horrible procedure in Winson Green Gaol, took one of these posters to a Liberal reception at which the Prime Minister was present. "While Asquith stood unattended by a fireplace examining a picture, Laura approached, and producing her poster, she flourished it at the Prime Minister. 'Why did you do this to me?' she said. Asquith made no reply, the poster was snatched away, and two detectives led Laura from the room."<sup>25</sup>

The implementation of forcible feeding had an overpowering effect in the movement itself. In her book, My Part in a Changing World, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence described this effect:

In the month of September 1909 the militant suffrage movement, which in its earlier days was like a dancing, singing mountain stream, became a raging torrent like the Zmbegi where at the Victoria Falls it hurls itself into a chasm, gathers itself together and proceeds along a narrow defile with terrific the overpowering momentum. During the first three or four years, in spite of rough handling by Liberal stewarts, in spite of batterings in Parliament Square, in spite of imprisonment, the spirit of laughter and adventure, the spirit of youth had been dominant amongst us. But when the Government decided to counter the hunger strike with forcible feeding, then every militant suffragette came face to face with acute and almost intolerable suffering, and the temper of the movement became one of fierce determination to count no cost and to stake life itself in the struggle.<sup>26</sup>

Agitation was running rampant, imprisonments increased, window smashing flourished, and hunger strikes continued. The suffragettes had reached the stage of ultimate commitment made possible by a high level of group morale, unprecedented cohesiveness, and an obsession with their ideology and ultimate goal.

#### Proposed Token Measure of Adjustment

##### Results in Truce

In 1910, the Liberal Government was engaged in a constitutional struggle with the House of Lords who had thrown out their budget.<sup>27</sup> Asquith felt that calling for a General Election would strengthen the position of the government; therefore, in January, 1910, a General Election was announced. The General Election, contrary to Asquith's reasoning, had an adverse effect on the Liberals who lost more than one hundred votes to the Conservatives.<sup>28</sup> After the General Election, a Parliamentary Conciliation Committee was formed composed of

all parties in the House. The Conciliation Committee announced in June its decision to promote a Bill for the enfranchisement of women. The Bill was constructed along the lines of property qualifications like the Reform Bill of 1832. The first clause enacted: "Every woman possessed of household qualification, or of a ten pound occupation qualification . . . shall be entitled to be registered as a voter."<sup>29</sup> The second clause of the Bill enacted that "marriage should not disqualify--but that husband and wife could not both qualify for a vote in respect of the same property."<sup>30</sup> This Bill was not the Bill that the W.S.P.U. had worked for, the W.S.P.U. had demanded the vote on the same terms as men. Control had adopted a strategy of adjustment by adopting a token measure. The W.S.P.U. realized this was not what they had demanded; however, they responded to the establishment by declaring a truce from militancy.<sup>31</sup>

#### Renewed Violent Protest and Violent Suppression

The Conciliation Bill was published in April, 1910, and was promoted as a private member's Bill. "Memorials were presented from numerous bodies representing the Professions and the Arts, the Church, the Stage and Politics, in support of it. Resolutions were sent up Cabinet from 182 City and Town and Rural Councils in favour--not one against. The Prime Minister was bombarded with appeals."<sup>32</sup> July 11th and 12th were appointed for the second reading of the Bill. It attained

a noticeable support by a majority of 110 votes.<sup>33</sup> After the second reading, which received the large majority, Asquith announced that "the Government could give no further time to the Bill, nor to any Bill so formed that it did not admit of amendment."<sup>34</sup> Upon this announcement, the Bill was rewritten and amendments were provided for. Parliament was dismissed at the end of July until November.

The truce from militancy had lasted nine months. Parliament reassembled in November, and Asquith made a statement on the opening day concerning the future. "Asquith indicated that unless the Lords carried the Parliament Bill another General Election would take place shortly. He outlined the programme on which the Liberals would go to the country."<sup>35</sup> The Prime Minister made no mention of women's suffrage, and the W.S.P.U. called a protest meeting on November 18, 1910 at Caxton Hall to consider the situation. It was decided that a deputation should be sent to petition the Prime Minister. "Four hundred women, in groups of twelve made their way to the House of Commons. The first group of twelve--the official deputation--included Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Hertha Ayrton (the scientist who had distinguished herself by an invention for lessening the effects of poison gas), Dr. Garrett Anderson, aged seventy, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, daughter of the great Richard Cobden, the Princess Duleep-Singh, and other distinguished women."<sup>36</sup> Asquith refused to receive the deputations. As anticipated, the same conflict resulted as before had taken

place in Parliament Square. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence described the incident:

An order had evidently been given that the police were not to arrest; the alternative was a six-hour battle between unarmed women who attempted to stand their ground, and police who fought with methods of torture which may or may not be the tricks of their calling in life. Women were lifted and thrown to the ground and kicked--they were deliberately beaten on the breasts and were subjected to such terrible violence that a short time afterwards two of them, Mrs. Mary Clarke and Miss Henria Williams, died suddenly from heart attacks. Fifty women were laid up with the injuries they had received. At last 119 persons were arrested, of whom four were men who tried to protect some of the women.<sup>37</sup>

The next morning, when they appeared in court, all charges were dropped at the instruction of the Home-Secretary. This order was the result of a tremendous "outcry from eye-witnesses of the scenes on 'Black Friday', as the day was over afterwards called."<sup>38</sup>

#### Suppression is Countered by Revolution

If the Prime Minister had honestly fulfilled his promise, women might have been granted the vote in 1912, and with that success before them, they probably would not have adopted militant tactics again. However, in November of 1912, the Conciliation Bill was killed by an announcement from Asquith that he intended to introduce a Manhood Suffrage Bill in the next session of Parliament.<sup>39</sup> This announcement was a direct slap in the face to the women, "for there had been no public demand whatever from men for an extension of the male franchise."<sup>40</sup> The declaration was a strong condemnation of the

government's treachery to women, and the response by the press was overwhelming.

The Saturday Review wrote:

With absolutely no demand, no ghost of a demand, for more votes for men, and with--beyond all cavi--a very strong demand for votes for women, the Government announces their Manhood Suffrage Bill and carefully evades the other question! For a naked, avowed plan of gerrymandering no Government surely ever did beat this one.<sup>41</sup>

The Daily Mail:

The policy which Mr. Asquith proposes is absolutely indefensible.<sup>42</sup>

The Evening Standard and Globe:

We are no friends of female suffrage, but anything more contemptible than the attitude assumed by the Government it is difficult to imagine.<sup>43</sup>

The Evening News wrote:

Mr. Asquith's bombshell will blow the Conciliation Bill to smithereens, for it is impossible to have a manhood suffrage for men and a property qualification for women. True, the Premier consents to leave the question of women's suffrage to the House, but he knows well enough what the decision of the House will be. The Conciliation Bill had a change, but the larger measurer has none at all.<sup>44</sup>

These press accounts reaffirm the insult dealt to the women after years of suffering, indignation, and personal injury. Rhetorically, the "torpedo" caused the Union to create an even tighter band. All the components prominent in other incidents were intensified--group morale, esprit de corps, group cohesiveness, purity of belief, and a total reaffirmation of the W.S.P.U. ideology and goals prevailed.



### Policy Dispute Threatens Solidarity

After the announcement of Asquith's manhood suffrage Bill, violence and agitation reached a new level. Mass window smashing began in the West End of London, a hatchet was thrown into Asquith's carriage during his official visit to Dublin, and suffragettes attempted to set fire to the Theatre Royal where Asquith was speaking.<sup>45</sup> These incident spurred the arrests of Emmeline Pankhurst, the Pethick Lawrences, and hundreds of suffragettes. In prison, the hunger strikes were carried out as was the forcible feeding. Holloway Gaol had become a place of horror.

This extreme militancy had caused some disputes within the leadership ranks. "There was a heated meeting between the leaders, and the decision to part company was made."<sup>46</sup> There had been a great meeting scheduled at Albert Hall on October 17, 1912, at which the Pankhursts and Pethick Lawrences were supposed to appear. Instead, Emmeline Pankhurst appeared alone and issued the following notice:

#### Grave Statement by the Leaders

At the first reunion of the leaders after the enforced holiday, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst outlined a new militant policy, which Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence found themselves unable to approve.

Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst indicated that they were not prepared to modify their intentions, and recommended that Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence should resume control of the paper, Votes for Women, and should leave the Women's Social and Political Union.

Rather than make a schism in the ranks of the Union, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence decided to take this course.<sup>47</sup>

Emmeline Pankhurst further explained to the members that, "hard parting from old friends and comrades unquestionably were, we must remember that we were fighting in an army, and that unity of purpose and unity of policy are absolutely necessary, because without them the army is hopelessly weak."<sup>48</sup>

This second split in the W.S.P.U. divided the membership and resulted in a harmful effect. The members were devoted to both the Pankhursts and the Pethick Lawrences, and "were thrown into a state of distress and confusion."<sup>49</sup> Antonia Raeburn commented: "Only the strong personalities were able to decide which to follow, and those who could not withstand the conflict left the movement altogether."<sup>50</sup>

The rhetorical implications of the split were devastating. The high degree of group morale that had been attained was destroyed. The feeling of belonging together was shattered as the members each went their own way. All evidences of group cohesiveness were gone. The W.S.P.U. lost the most competent administrators they had ever recruited. "Punch divided the suffragettes into 'Peths' and 'Panks'. An intellectual group joined the 'Peths', and they continued to uphold the Pankhurst's ideals and to support the movement through Votes for Women."<sup>51</sup> The W.S.P.U. came out with its own paper entitled the Suffragette, which promised to be as useful as the previous Votes for Women. "The 'Panks' became a vivacious group, fearless and quick in action. The days of amusing ruses and pageantry were over, and all had now to be prepared to take vital risks."<sup>52</sup>

Consistent Avoidance and Suppression Precipitate  
Violence and Revolution

The events that occurred between 1913 and 1914 were marked by violence and extensive property damage. "Telegraph wires were cut, golf greens were attacked with trowels and messages were burnt in the turf: 'Votes or War'--'Justice before Sport'--'No Votes, No Golf'--'No Surrender'. Several of the Royal houses--Kensington Palace, Keir Palace, Hampton Court and Holyroad--were temporarily closed to the public and there was also talk of shutting museums and art galleries."<sup>53</sup> The following is a typical week of violent protests in 1913:

April 3 Four houses are fired at Hampstead Gardens Suburb. Three women damage the glass of thirteen pictures in the Manchester Art Gallery. An empty railway carriage is wrecked by a bomb explosion at Stockport.

April 4 A mansion near Chorley Wood is completely destroyed by fire. A bomb explodes at Oxted station.

April 5 The burning of Ayr racecourse stand causes an estimated three thousand pounds' damage. An attempt to destroy Kelso racecourse grandstand is discovered.

April 6 A house at Potters Bar is fired. A mansion is destroyed at Norwich.

April 7 An attempt to fire stands on Cardiff racecourse is discovered. Fire breaks out in another house in Hampstead Garden Suburb. In the ruins of Dudley Castle the Suffragettes charge one of the ancient cannons and cause a shattering explosion.

April 8 'Release Mrs. Pankhurst', cut in the turf at Duthie Park, Aberdeen. The word 'release' is twelve feet long.

April 9 A haystack worth a hundred pounds is destroyed near Nottingham.<sup>54</sup>

One of the more daring incidents was the death of Emily Wilding Davison. On June 4, 1913, Emily attended Derby Day to stage a protest. Raeburn described the incident:

Dressed unobtrusively, and with a flag wound round her hidden beneath her coat, Emily stood beside the course at Tattenham corner in the front line of the dense crowds. At last the horses came round the bend in a great sweep thundering closer and closer. The King's horse came near. Emily slipped under the railings and in a second she was on the course with the flag unfurled, grasping the horse's bridle. The animal swerved, the jockey was thrown, and Emily, caught up with the horse as it fell, rolled over and over, headlong across the turf. Stewards and spectators rushed on to the course to attend to the casualties. The jockey was not seriously hurt and the horse was unharmed, but Emily was unconscious. She never recovered, and four days later she died.<sup>55</sup>

The funeral of Emily Wilding Davison was held on Saturday, June 14th, and was the last and most moving of all the suffragette demonstrations. Raeburn described the procession:

The funeral on Saturday, June 14th, had the simplicity and intimacy of the processions of earlier days, but a solemn sadness replaced the joyful exuberance. In spite of Mrs. Pankhurst's absence, her carriage dramatically took its place in the procession and was driven empty behind the coffin. Charlotte Marsh led the procession carrying a huge wooden cross. Long lines of women in white held madonna lilies; Suffragettes in purple and black followed bearing irises and peonies. While the bands played solemn music of Chopin, Handel and Beethoven, the procession accompanied Emily's body from Victoria Station to King's Cross where she was to leave London for burial at Morspeth. Midway the procession halted for the short impressive funeral service at St. George's. Triumphantly, almost gladly, the Suffragettes sang out the last hymn, 'Fight the good fight with all thy might.'<sup>56</sup>

#### Response and Reaction

The response of the establishment remained consistent-- arrest and imprisonment. One new dimension was added to the

previous procedures--The Prisoner's Temporary Discharge Act, more commonly called the Cat and Mouse Act.<sup>57</sup> The Cat and Mouse Act was introduced by the Home Secretary, Reginald McKenna, to prevent suffragette hunger strikers from securing unconditional release. The Cat and Mouse Act proved to be a failure, and was even ridiculed by many members of Parliament. Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck stated in Parliament: "The Home Secretary may be acting strictly in accordance with the precedents of Home Secretaries, but if he has got any sense of humor, he must see that his Cat and Mouse Bills have made him supremely ridiculous. I was always under the impression that if there was one point upon which the Liberal Government was more clear than another it was as to the futility of coercion and if the absurdity of arresting the agitator instead of removing the cause of agitation."<sup>58</sup> The public was also fast to condemn McKenna's attempt at suppressing the movement. "Long letters condemning the Act appeared in the Press and numerous protest meetings and demonstrations were held. On July 11, during a debate on the franchise in the House of Commons, a toy pistol was fired from the Strangers' Gallery, and a man threw a shower of mousetraps down into the floor of the House. McKenna still firmly persisted in upholding the Act."<sup>59</sup>

Throughout this final period, the W.S.P.U. Headquarters were repeatedly raided with the government operating under the strategy of suppression. Copies of forthcoming issues

of the Suffragette were repeatedly confiscated, and leaders were forced to flee to avoid further imprisonments. McKenna reported in Parliament on March 18, 1913: "Five arrests were made this morning by the police who entered the W.S.P.U. headquarters. The police so acted because that Union is an association of persons which is charged with conspiring to incite to commit criminal offenses."<sup>60</sup>

The general public was split on the question. Most did not agree with the violent tactics that had been employed by the suffragettes, but many felt that the militancy was justified.<sup>61</sup> A large percentage of the public felt that the suffragettes hurt their chances of obtaining the vote because of their violent tactics. "If the militant suffragettes had not overreached themselves, some measure of female suffrage would probably have been achieved, but their violence exacerbated fears of what women might do with the vote if it were granted."<sup>62</sup> The general feeling of Parliament regarding the incidents of violence revolved around the attitude that the women had chosen the wrong strategy to achieve their goal. "The militants started by making a mistake in not recognizing that the main reason for which women can claim a vote is that as civilisation advances reason must take the place of force. If force and violence are to be forever the only basis of political power, then women must permanently yield to the supremacy of man. It was therefore the duty of women to show that she relied on reason alone to make good her cause."<sup>65</sup>

Possibly the most significant contribution of the W.S.P.U. was to destroy the Victorian image of women. "The suffragettes smashed the image of women as a passive, dependent creature as effectively as they smashed the plate glass windows of Regent Street."<sup>64</sup> The movement contributed to the attainment of equality, expressed in their ideology, by destroying the Victorian belief in the docile and dependent nature of women. This concept was best expressed by Constance Rover: "After the militant campaign it was no longer possible to look upon women as spiritless creatures, dependent on men for every idea and action."<sup>65</sup>

#### The Final Split Destroys Solidarity

On February 7, 1914, Christabel Pankhurst announced that Sylvia Pankhurst's East End Federation, which had worked persistently in conjunction with the Labour Party, would no longer be associated with the W.S.P.U. This split, like the first two, was as the result of a policy dispute between Christabel and Sylvia. The split was one of the final blows dealt to the movement. Membership again suffered, and the movement lost much of its intensity and momentum. The leaders' inability to resolve the dispute injured the W.S.P.U. and destroyed much of the structure developed up to that point.

#### The Suspension of Militancy--The End of the Movement

On August 10, 1914, six days after world war was declared, all suffragette prisoners were unconditionally released from

prison. Emmeline Pankhurst then suspended all militancy, dissolved the W.S.P.U., and called on all of her followers to help defend the country.

### Conclusion

The final stage of the W.S.P.U. was marred by splits in the membership, overt acts of violence, and destruction of public property. The Union fulfilled its policy of giving the government no escape from their demands and persisted in fighting, even at the risk of death.

The rhetorical choices made by the leader during the final stages were often questionable with respect to the militant tactics; however, many critics feel that the tactics were justified and therefore, the rhetorical choices were wise.

On January 11, 1918 six million women won the right to vote. The 1918 franchise law admitted only women over thirty; however, on June 14, 1928 the Bill giving equal voting rights to all men and women over twenty-one received the royal assent.<sup>67</sup>

The W.S.P.U. was officially dissolved because of the declaration of a world war; however, the movement ended its progression and development because its rhetorical structure ceased to be effective. The last stage of the movement produced differing ideologies, goals, and strategies. The movement suffered its third split in membership thus leaving



it with little intensity and reduced momentum. The W.S.P.U. lost its form and its structure and therefore, ceased to exist as a rhetorical movement.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Herbert Blumer, New Outlines of the Principles of Sociology, ed. A. M. Lee (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1951), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Constance Rover, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain: 1866 - 1914 (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1967), p. 36.

<sup>3</sup>Rover, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup>Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, My Part in a Changing World (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1938), p. 238.

<sup>5</sup>Lawrence, p. 239.

<sup>6</sup>Lawrence, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup>Antonia Raeburn, The Militant Suffragettes (London: Michael Joseph, 1973), p. 101.

<sup>8</sup>Raeburn, pp. 101-102.

<sup>9</sup>Raeburn, p. 102.

<sup>10</sup>Emmeline Pankhurst, My Own Story (New York: Eveleigh Nash, 1914), p. 139.

<sup>11</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 139.

<sup>12</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 140.

<sup>13</sup>Raeburn, p. 105.

<sup>14</sup>Raeburn, p. 105.

<sup>15</sup>Raeburn, p. 105.

<sup>16</sup>Lawrence, p. 235.

<sup>17</sup>Lawrence, p. 232.

<sup>18</sup>E. Sylvia Pankhurst, The Suffragette (London: Gay and Hancock Ltd., 1911), pp. 388-389.

<sup>19</sup>Lawrence, p. 233.

- 20 Lawrence, p. 238.
- 21 Pankhurst, Sylvia, The Suffragette, p. 404.
- 22 Constance Lytton, Prisons and Prisoners (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1914), pp. 268-269.
- 23 Raeburn, p. 17.
- 24 Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 5 Series, Vol. 50, 1913, p. 879-880.
- 25 Raeburn, p. 119.
- 26 Lawrence, p. 240.
- 27 Lawrence, p. 247.
- 28 Lawrence, p. 247.
- 29 Roger Fulford, Votes for Women--The Story of a Struggle (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1957), p. 222.
- 30 Fulford, p. 222.
- 31 Lawrence, p. 248.
- 32 Lawrence, p. 248.
- 33 Lawrence, p. 248.
- 34 Lawrence, p. 248.
- 35 Lawrence, pp. 248-249.
- 36 Lawrence, p. 249.
- 37 Lawrence, p. 249.
- 38 Lawrence, p. 250.
- 39 Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 206.
- 40 Lawrence, p. 257.
- 41 Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 207.
- 42 Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 207.
- 43 Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 207.

- <sup>44</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 207.
- <sup>45</sup>Raeburn, pp. 166-182.
- <sup>46</sup>Raeburn, p. 181.
- <sup>47</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 262.
- <sup>48</sup>Pankhurst, Emmeline, p. 262.
- <sup>49</sup>Raeburn, p. 181.
- <sup>50</sup>Raeburn, p. 181.
- <sup>51</sup>Raeburn, p. 182.
- <sup>52</sup>Raeburn, p. 182.
- <sup>53</sup>Raeburn, pp. 189-190.
- <sup>54</sup>Raeburn, pp. 248-249.
- <sup>55</sup>Raeburn, p. 201.
- <sup>56</sup>Raeburn, pp. 202-203.
- <sup>57</sup>Raeburn, p. 191.
- <sup>58</sup>Hansard, Vol. 52, p. 1718.
- <sup>59</sup>Raeburn, p. 205.
- <sup>60</sup>Hansard, Vol. 50, p. 1718.
- <sup>61</sup>Rover, pp. 96-99.
- <sup>62</sup>Rover, p. 96.
- <sup>63</sup>Hansard, Vol. 52, pp. 1708-1709.
- <sup>64</sup>Rover, p. 20.
- <sup>65</sup>Rover, p. 37.
- <sup>66</sup>Raeburn, p. 221.
- <sup>67</sup>Raeburn, pp. 240-241.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In concluding this study of the rhetorical structure of the W.S.P.U., it is necessary to review the major components of the four stages of development. The women were committed to the belief that they deserved the vote on the basis of equality, liberty and social justice. The ideology expressed their rights as humans to vote for the men who politically controlled the destiny of the nation, imposed taxes that they were required to pay, and established laws which they were compelled to obey. In effect, the ideology rested on the qualification of being human as the only criteria necessary for the privilege of voting.

The ideology of the movement was formalized in each stage by the adoption of a doctrine expressing the goals of the W.S.P.U. The ultimate goal was the unfaltering commitment to achieve the Parliamentary vote on the same terms as men. This goal was supported by the movement's immediate goals which were diversified in each stage. There was a notable rhetorical progression associated with the immediate goals during the development of the movement. The first stage operated under objectives directed toward public education and propaganda work. The W.S.P.U. adopted the

strategy of petitioning the government by adopting such tactics as organizing deputations to public representatives and questioning Members of Parliament.

The membership during the first stage of development was only a handful of women under the leadership of Emmeline Pankhurst. The membership was composed mainly of working women of the middle class. They adopted as their slogan "Votes for Women", and their permanent motto became "deeds, not words." The rhetorical tactic of adopting slogans helped the membership to develop a group determination and group cohesiveness. Exclusiveness of the group, the restriction of membership to women, provided the foundation for the establishment of a we-consciousness within the group.

Emmeline Pankhurst, founder of the W.S.P.U., also emerged as its leader early in the first stage. Emmeline Pankhurst's rhetorical choices as a leader enabled the movement to develop and progress to its various stages.

The strategies exhibited during the first stage revolved around petitioning the government and educating the public. In petitioning the government, the Union sent deputations to public representatives. This tactic was employed by the early suffragists, but the W.S.P.U. found it to be ineffective in obtaining any concrete action. The W.S.P.U. extended this tactic by directly confronting the government with the question of women's suffrage. The rhetorical act of direct confrontation proved to be effective in gaining a response, and was, therefore

continually employed. In attempting to educate the general public, the movement relied on such tactics as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, and newspaper correspondence. This propaganda work was very successful and enabled the movement to increase its membership. The first demonstration by the movement took place in the first stage and resulted in the first militant act of the W.S.P.U. The demonstration was significant because the women, under the leadership of Emmeline Pankhurst, engaged in an act that was unusual and daring.

The beginning of militancy marked the end of stage one and the progression to stage two. The rhetoric employed by the movement and the rhetorical choices made by the leader of the movement allowed for the flow and the progression of the W.S.P.U. to a new stage of development which encompassed a new doctrine.

The doctrine developed in stage two was extended to include agitation and militancy. The W.S.P.U. declared a need for organizing women all over the country, opposing all government candidates, and agitating vigorously. Membership increased in the second stage when the movement expanded its boundaries to include London. Street meetings were held to awaken the women of London to their right to equality and justice. Liberal candidates were consistently questioned at public meetings regarding their position on enfranchisement. The Liberals always refused to answer the

women's question and displayed their adherence to the strategy of avoidance.

The first arrests occurred during this stage which proved to be a common policy adopted by the establishment to suppress the movement. The arrests were very significant rhetorically: the W.S.P.U. received its first publicity, Christabel Pankhurst emerged as co-leader of the movement, and the membership began to develop internally by exhibiting a purity of belief, esprit de corps, and conversion to a new belief system. During this period, the W.S.P.U. also developed sophisticated rhetorical tactics needed for successful agitation.

Stage three was the formalization stage for the W.S.P.U. The movement developed a more formal organization and structure. The doctrine at this time had progressed to an even higher level of militancy revolving around refusal to obey laws, discrediting the government, and pressuring the establishment to the point that they would have to give in to the suffragettes' demands.

The Union established a permanent headquarters run by the Pethick Lawrences. This headquarters provided the movement with a place to belong, and the Pethick Lawrences administrative abilities provided the movement with a very sophisticated structure.

During this stage the Union held its first Women's Parliament, established the Women's Press, initiated weekly Monday "At Home" meetings, and published the first issue of



their newspaper, Votes for Women. Membership was unprecedented, and with someone to handle the administrative duties, Emmeline Pankhurst could devote her time to policy formulation and public meetings.

The change in policy, which helped the movement progress, also caused a split in the membership. This split did not harm the W.S.P.U. to any large extent because membership had flourished in this stage. The split did establish Emmeline Pankhurst as sole leader of the W.S.P.U. which was necessary for her to operate in a role of complete effectiveness.

The most impressive activity at this point was the great meeting held in Hyde Park which was instrumental in giving public support to the movement. The rhetorical choices made during stage three were directed toward demonstrating public support for the movement and altering the general public's belief system to enable the adoption of new symbols.

The final stage began and ended with violence. It reached a rhetorical point of crystallization. The personnel and structure were fixed and able to execute the purpose of the movement.

The doctrine adopted in this final stage differed from the previous doctrines in an extreme sense. The policy stated the Union's only alternative at this point was to resort to extraordinary and extra-legal methods. They declared that they intended to create a situation from which the government could find no escape. This doctrine clearly identified the enemy and outlined their escalating tactics.

The W.S.P.U. exhibited their first method of non-violent resistance by adopting the tactic of hunger strikes. This tactic was met with suppression by the establishment when they implemented forcible feeding. The movement called a truce from militancy during this stage when it looked as though the government was going to adopt an enfranchisement Bill. Control had adopted the strategy of adjustment by adopting a token measure; however, the W.S.P.U. realized this and suspended the truce. After the truce was suspended, the movement renewed violent protest and they were met with violent suppression.

After the announcement of Asquith's manhood suffrage Bill, violence and agitation reached the level of revolution. Mass window smashing began, fires were set to public buildings, personal attacks were waged against Cabinet Members, and art galleries were broken in to. Violent action caused another split in the movement which proved to be very harmful. The Pethick Lawrences decided that they could not adhere to the overt violence and broke off from the W.S.P.U. They took with them many of the members and, possibly more important, their superior administrative skills. The public response at this point was divided; many people felt that the women were justified in their acts, however, most of the public could not condone such tactics as arson and threats on the lives of public officials.

During this final stage, the movement underwent its third split. Christabel announced that Sylvia Pankhurst's

East End Federation would no longer be associated with the W.S.P.U. This third split proved to be fatal to the movement. Membership suffered, and the movement lost most of its intensity and momentum.

August 10, 1914, six days after world war was declared, the existence of the W.S.P.U. was ended. All suffragette prisoners were released, and Emmeline Pankhurst called on her followers to help defend the country.

This final stage was characterized by splits in membership, overt acts of violence, and extensive destruction of public property. These incidents stopped the progression of the movement because they shattered its structure. There was no longer a united membership, competent leadership had been replaced with obsession, and there was a lack of unified goals and consistent ideology.

Many critics believe that it was not the agitation of the suffragettes that won women the vote in February, 1918, but that it was the devoted work of the women in the war effort. Research indicates, however, that had the suffragettes not waged the war that they did between the years of 1903 - 1914, the British government probably would not have been ready to grant women the vote in 1918. The activities of the W.S.P.U. set the stage and provided the impetus for the recognition of the status of women and destroyed the Victorian image of women. Their actions were instrumental in the final decision by Parliament to uphold the ideology of the W.S.P.U.

and grant equality, liberty, and social justice to the other half of the human race.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

- Asquith, K. G. Fifty Years of British Parliament. Toronto: S. B. Grundy, 1926.
- Banks, Joseph A. and Olive. Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England. New York: Schocken Books, 1964.
- Barker, Dudley. Prominent Edwardians. New York: Atheneum, 1969.
- Blumer, Herbert. New Outlines of the Principles of Sociology, ed., A. M. Lee. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1951.
- Bowers, John Waite, and Donovan J. Ochs. The Rhetoric of Agitation and Control. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1971.
- Briggs, Asa. They Saw It Happen. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962.
- Brittain, Vera. Lady into Woman: A History of Women from Victoria to Elizabeth II. New York: MacMillan Company, 1953.
- Butler, James. The Passing of the Great Reform Bill. London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1914.
- Corbett, Edward P. J. Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student. New York: Oxford House Press, 1965.
- Ensor, R. C. K. England: 1870 - 1914. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936.
- Evans, R. J. The Victorian Age: 1815 - 1914. London: Edward Arnold, 1950.
- Fawcett, Millicent Garrett. Women's Suffrage: A Short History of a Great Movement. London: T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1912.
- Fulford, Roger. Votes for Women--The Story of a Struggle. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1957.
- Gusfield, Joseph R. Protest, Reform and Revolt: A Reader in Social Movements. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1970.

- Holland, Francis. The Constitutional History of England. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912.
- Hudson, Kenneth. The Place of Women in Society. London: Ginn and Company, Ltd., 1970.
- Kazantzis, Judith. Women in Revolt: The Fight for Emancipation. London: Jackdaw Publishing Co., 1968.
- King, C. Wendell. Social Movements in the United States. New York: Random House, 1956.
- Lomas, Charles W. The Agitator in American Society. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.
- Lunt, W. E. History of England. New York: Harper and Row, 1928.
- Lytton, Constance. Prisons and Prisoners. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1914.
- Maurois, Andre. The Edwardian Era. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933.
- McPherson, William. Ideology and Change: Radicalism and Fundamentalism in America. California: National Press Books, 1973.
- Mill, John Stuart. The Subjection of Women. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1869.
- Pankhurst, Emmeline. My Own Story. London: Eveleigh Nash, 1914.
- Pankhurst, E. Sylvia. The Life of Emmeline Pankhurst. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936.
- Pankhurst, E. Sylvia. The Suffragette. London: Gay and Hancock Ltd., 1911.
- Pethick Lawrence, Emmeline. My Part in a Changing World. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1938.
- Petrie, Sir Charles. The Victorians. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1960.
- Raeburn, Antonia. The Militant Suffragettes. London: Michael Joseph, 1973.
- Rover, Constance. Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain: 1866 - 1914. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1967.

- Smellie, K. B. Great Britain Since 1688. Ann Arbor: The University Press, 1962.
- Somervell, D. C. British Politics Since 1900. London: Andrew Dakers Ltd., 1950.
- Spender, John Alfred. A Short History of Our Times. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971.
- Stanton, Theodore. The Woman Question in Europe. New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1970.
- Trevelyan, G. M. English Social History. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942.
- Williamson, James A. The Evolution of England. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1931
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. A Vindication of the Rights of Women. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1967.

#### Articles

- Bittner, Egon, "Radicalism and the Organization of Radical Movements," American Sociological Review, 27 (1963), 290-310.
- Bryant, Donald, "Rhetoric: It's Function and Scope," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 39 (December 1953), 409-423.
- Friedland, William H., "For a Sociological Concept of Charisma," Social Forces, 42 (1964), 243-257.
- Lofland, John and Rodney Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," American Sociological Review, 30 (1965), 158-180.
- McNally, James Richard, "Toward a Definition of Rhetoric," Philosophy and Rhetoric, 3 (1970), 72-83.
- Zacharis, John C., "Emmeline Pankhurst: An English Suffragette Influences America," Speech Monographs, 38 (August 1971), 198-206.

#### Public Documents

- Great Britain. Parliament. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 5 Series, Vol. 50-52 1913.

## Unpublished Materials

Golden, James L., "Social Movements as Rhetorical Situations," unpublished paper read before the Speech Communication Association, New York, New York, 1972.