

***THE TAINT OF  
MILITANCY IS NOT UPON  
THEM:  
REPRESENTATIONS OF  
SUFFRAGISTS,  
SUFFRAGETTES AND  
DIRECT ACTION IN *THE  
TIMES*, 1908-1914***

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# WHY THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT?

- How a political movement was reported by those in power

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- How a political movement was reported by those in power
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- Subject of historical debate
- Gap in historical research
- Anniversary of suffrage events

# EMILY WILDING DAVISON

## 4<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 1913



# EMILY WILDING DAVISON'S FUNERAL

## 14<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 1913





# HURST PARK RACECOURSE

## 8<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 1913



# SUFFRAGIST PRODUCED MEDIA

- Feminist and suffragist journals
  - *The Common Cause*
  - *The Freewoman*
  - *Jus Suffragii*
  - *The Liberal Women's Suffrage Review*
  - *The Suffragette*
  - *The Vote*
  - *Votes for Women*
  - *The Women's Franchise*
  - *The Women's Suffrage Journal*
  - *The Women's Suffrage Record*

(from Holton 1986)

# SUFFRAGIST PRODUCED MEDIA

## ■ Pamphlets

- Charlotte Despard, “Women’s Franchise and Industry”
- Millicent Garrett Fawcett, “Home and Politics”, “Men Are Men And Women Are Women”, “The Franchise and Married Working Women”
- Cicely Hamilton, “Women’s Vote”
- Homo Sum, “A Letter from an Anthropologist to an Anti-Suffragist”
- Walter McLaren, “One Man, One Vote: One Woman, One Vote”
- Emmeline Pankhurst, “The Importance of the Vote”
- Frederick Pethick-Lawrence, “Sex Equality versus Adult Suffrage”

(selection from Holton 1986)

# THE *TIMES* DIGITAL ARCHIVE (TDA)

- <http://archive.timesonline.co.uk/tol/archive/>
- Example:

*THE WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—I can no longer keep silence, but must perforce record the deep resentment and anger in the hearts of many, many Englishwomen at the conduct of the suffragette shouters. Thousands of women like myself would be glad of some means to help in putting an end to such unwomanly rowdyism; but we shrink from publicity and can do nothing. I have, however, a strong desire to assure the men of England that there are very many of us who are deeply ashamed of our sex, and that we hope that neither Conservatives nor Liberals will be coerced by violence into giving votes to those who, by their violent and unbalanced behaviour, show how unworthy they are to legislate.

Again, many poor people are beginning to feel much aggrieved at the leniency shown to these law-breakers because they are so-called "ladies," whereas if they were of the very poor classes only, and defied the police and forced their way into people's houses, they would get what they deserved.

I have been chosen to address these few lines as I have much property, and might therefore claim a right to vote; but I am more than content to leave government and law-making in the hands of our Englishmen, whose whole nature and training produces more evenly-balanced minds and judgment.

I enclose my card, but must request you not to print my name, or perhaps my house would be attacked by hysterical females. Your obedient servant,

Y. Z.

# THE *SUFFRAGE* CORPUS

- Extracted from xml files provided by TDA
- *suffrag*\*
  - Includes *suffrage, suffrages, suffragist, suffragists, suffragette, suffragettes*
  - Excluded *Suffragan* – ecclesiastical terminology
- 1908 – 1914
- Average of 546 texts per year
- 7,089,889 tokens (running words) in text

# THE LETTERS TO THE EDITOR (LTTE) CORPUS

- Extracted from xml files provided by TDA
- Two steps in extracting it:
  - xml tag: `<ct>Letters to the Editor</ct>`
  - *suffrag*\*
- 1908 - 1914
- Average of 85 texts per year
- 395,597 tokens (running words) in text

# TERMINOLOGY FROM HISTORIOGRAPHY

## ■ SUFFRAGIST

- considered the more inclusive term
- constitutionalists who campaigned by lobbying Parliament

# TERMINOLOGY FROM HISTORIOGRAPHY

## ■ SUFFRAGIST

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- constitutionalists who campaigned by lobbying Parliament

## ■ SUFFRAGETTE

- originally a pejorative coined by the *Daily Mail*
- saw the vote as an end unto itself
- prepared to engage in direct action
- members of a militant organisation
- challenged the constitutionalist approach



# FREQUENCIES IN SUFFRAGE CORPUS

	<i>suffragist</i>	<i>suffragists</i>	<i>suffragette</i>	<i>suffragettes</i>
<b>1908</b>	165	302	30	57
<b>1909</b>	139	311	16	35
<b>1910</b>	156	197	9	11
<b>1911</b>	81	104	2	10
<b>1912</b>	388	502	18	30
<b>1913</b>	527	615	34	19
<b>1914</b>	263	270	15	21

*suffragist*\* is the preferred term, even when discussing issues strongly associated with suffragettes and which suffragists rejected e.g. militant direct action

# METHODOLOGY

## ■ Mutual Information

- Measure of collocation strength
- Both directions
- "Hunston (2002: 71) proposes an MI score of 3 or higher to be taken as evidence that two items are collocates" (McEnery, Xiao and Tono 2006: 56)

## ■ Functional categories

- Derived from historiography
- Corpus-driven

# CATEGORIES

- From historical research
  - Equal franchise vs universal suffrage
  - Constitutionalist vs militant
  - Class
  - Geography (regional vs London)/places
  - Gender/gender roles
  - Origins

# MUTUAL INFORMATION

**1912**

**Suffragette:** a, of

**Suffragettes:** by, have, militant, that, the, to

**Suffragist:** a, after, an, anti, at, by, convicted, disturbances, dublin, english, even, every, feeding, forcible, friends, further, incident, last, leaders, liberal, london, meeting, militant, miss, movement, mrs, other, out, outrage, outrages, police, prisoners, recent, released, sentenced, she, speakers, suffragists, tion, treatment, trial, two, up, views, well, who, whole, whom, window, woman, women

**Suffragists:** among, anti, are, at, being, believe, both, breaking, by, case, constitutional, damage, done, dublin, ejected, english, extreme, four, have, held, imprisoned, interrupted, labour, last, liberal, london, militant, miss, night, non, now, number, out, passed, point, police, political, prison, released, section, set, should, some, support, their, treatment, trial, two, well, were, when, who, window, windows, woman, women

# CONSTITUTIONALIST VS MILITANT

1912

**Suffragette:** a, of

**Suffragettes:** by, have, **militant**, that, the, to

**Suffragist:** a, after, an, anti, at, by, convicted, disturbances, dublin, english, even, every, feeding, forcible, friends, further, incident, last, leaders, liberal, london, meeting, **militant**, miss, movement, mrs, other, out, outrage, outrages, police, prisoners, recent, released, sentenced, she, speakers, suffragists, tion, treatment, trial, two, up, views, well, who, whole, whom, window, woman, women

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# GEOGRAPHY

1912

**Suffragette:** a, of

**Suffragettes:** by, have, **militant**, that, the, to

**Suffragist:** a, after, an, anti, at, by, convicted, disturbances, **dublin**, **english**, even, every, feeding, forcible, friends, further, incident, last, leaders, liberal, **london**, meeting, **militant**, miss, movement, mrs, other, out, outrage, outrages, police, prisoners, recent, released, sentenced, she, speakers, suffragists, tion, treatment, trial, two, up, views, well, who, whole, whom, window, woman, women

**Suffragists:** among, anti, are, at, being, believe, both, breaking, by, case, **constitutional**, damage, done, **dublin**, ejected, **english**, extreme, four, have, held, imprisoned, interrupted, labour, last, liberal, **london**, **militant**, miss, night, non, now, number, out, passed, point, police, political, prison, released, section, set, should, some, support, their, treatment, trial, two, well, were, when, who, window, windows, woman, women

# GENDER & GENDER ROLES

1912

**Suffragette:** a, of

**Suffragettes:** by, have, **militant**, that, the, to

**Suffragist:** a, after, an, anti, at, by, convicted, disturbances, **dublin**, **english**, even, every, feeding, forcible, friends, further, incident, last, leaders, liberal, **london**, meeting, **militant**, **miss**, movement, **mrs**, other, out, outrage, outrages, police, prisoners, recent, released, sentenced, she, speakers, suffragists, tion, treatment, trial, two, up, views, well, who, whole, whom, window, **woman**, **women**

**Suffragists:** among, anti, are, at, being, believe, both, breaking, by, case, **constitutional**, damage, done, **dublin**, ejected, **english**, extreme, four, have, held, imprisoned, interrupted, labour, last, liberal, **london**, **militant**, **miss**, night, non, now, number, out, passed, point, police, political, prison, released, section, set, should, some, support, their, treatment, trial, two, well, were, when, who, window, windows, **woman**, **women**

# CATEGORIES

- From historical research
  - ~~Equal franchise vs universal suffrage~~
  - **Constitutionalist vs militant**
  - ~~Class~~
  - **Geography (regional vs London)/places**
  - **Gender/gender roles**
  - ~~Origins~~



# DIRECT ACTION

1912

**Suffragette:** a, of

**Suffragettes:** by, have, militant, that, the, to

**Suffragist:** a, after, an, anti, at, by, convicted, disturbances, dublin, english, even, every, feeding, forcible, friends, further, incident, last, leaders, liberal, london, meeting, militant, miss, movement, mrs, other, out, outrage, outrages, police, prisoners, recent, released, sentenced, she, speakers, suffragists, tion, treatment, trial, two, up, views, well, who, whole, whom, window, woman, women

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# LEGAL AND PRISON

1912

**Suffragette:** a, of

**Suffragettes:** by, have, militant, that, the, to

**Suffragist:** a, after, an, anti, at, by, convicted, disturbances, dublin, english, even, every, feeding, forcible, friends, further, incident, last, leaders, liberal, london, meeting, militant, miss, movement, mrs, other, out, outrage, outrages, police, prisoners, recent, released, sentenced, she, speakers, suffragists, tion, treatment, trial, two, up, views, well, who, whole, whom, window, woman, women

**Suffragists:** among, anti, are, at, being, believe, both, breaking, by, case, constitutional, damage, done, dublin, ejected, english, extreme, four, have, held, imprisoned, interrupted, labour, last, liberal, london, militant, miss, night, non, now, number, out, passed, point, police, political, prison, released, section, set, should, some, support, their, treatment, trial, two, well, were, when, who, window, windows, woman, women

# ORGANISATIONAL

1912

**Suffragette:** a, of

**Suffragettes:** by, have, militant, that, the, to

**Suffragist:** a, after, an, anti, at, by, convicted, disturbances, dublin, english, even, every, feeding, forcible, friends, further, incident, last, leaders, liberal, london, meeting, militant, miss, movement, mrs, other, out, outrage, outrages, police, prisoners, recent, released, sentenced, she, speakers, suffragists, tion, treatment, trial, two, up, views, well, who, whole, whom, window, woman, women

**Suffragists:** among, anti, are, at, being, believe, both, breaking, by, case, constitutional, damage, done, dublin, ejected, english, extreme, four, have, held, imprisoned, interrupted, labour, last, liberal, london, militant, miss, night, non, now, number, out, passed, point, police, political, prison, released, section, set, should, some, support, their, treatment, trial, two, well, were, when, who, window, windows, woman, women

# POLITICAL

1912

**Suffragette:** a, of

**Suffragettes:** by, have, militant, that, the, to

**Suffragist:** a, after, an, anti, at, by, convicted, disturbances, dublin, english, even, every, feeding, forcible, friends, further, incident, last, leaders, liberal, london, meeting, militant, miss, movement, mrs, other, out, outrage, outrages, police, prisoners, recent, released, sentenced, she, speakers, suffragists, tion, treatment, trial, two, up, views, well, who, whole, whom, window, woman, women

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# OPPOSITION

1912

**Suffragette:** a, of

**Suffragettes:** by, have, militant, that, the, to

**Suffragist:** a, after, an, anti, at, by, convicted, disturbances, dublin, english, even, every, feeding, forcible, friends, further, incident, last, leaders, liberal, london, meeting, militant, miss, movement, mrs, other, out, outrage, outrages, police, prisoners, recent, released, sentenced, she, speakers, suffragists, tion, treatment, trial, two, up, views, well, who, whole, whom, window, woman, women

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# ALL CATEGORIES

1913

**Suffragette:** a, she, that, the

**Suffragettes:** and, are

**Suffragist:** a, addressed, again, air, albert, an, another, anti, attempt, between, bombs, breakers, campaign, case, cause, colours, conspiracy, court, davison, deal, demonstration, disorder, disturbance, disturbances, during, fire, found, hall, held, her, hyde, I, large, last, leader, leaders, liberal, literature, london, male, meeting, meetings, militancy, militant, ministers, miss, movement, near, night, on, open, outrage, outrages, papers, park, police, prisoner, prisoners, publications, quantity, released, reported, sentenced, she, some, speaking, supposed, taken, tho, two, view, violence, was, well, were, who, with, woman, women, yesterday

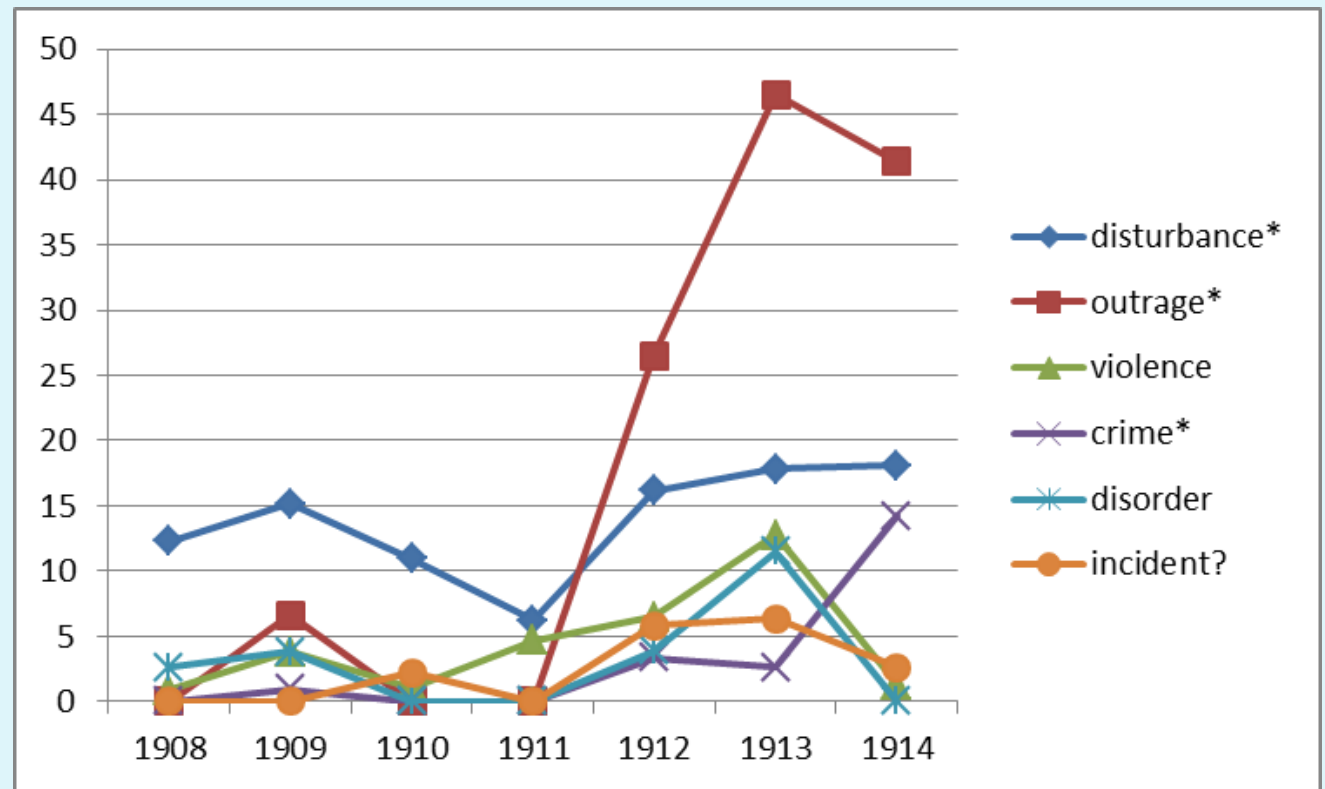
**Suffragists:** about, actions, again, against, among, anti, are, at, attempt, attempted, attributed, been, being, body, both, by, campaign, cause, caused, committed, damage, demonstration, disturbance, done, early, end, fire, fires, four, george, given, have, having, held, interrupted, known, large, liberal, male, many, meeting, militant, miss, morning, mrs, never, night, non, number, occurred, on, outrage, outrages, park, police, prevent, prison, proceedings, set, several, side, stated, street, supposed, suspected, the, their, themselves, those, three, to, treatment, two, unionist, various, violence, well, were, who, window, woman, women, yesterday

# CATEGORIES

- From historical research
  - **Constitutionalist vs militant**
  - **Geography (regional vs London)/places**
  - **Gender/gender roles**
- Corpus-driven categories
  - **Direct action**
  - **Legal and prison**
  - **Organisational**
  - **Political**
  - **Opposition**
  - **Proper nouns**

# DIRECT ACTION

Frequencies of *suffrag*\* collocates normalised to 500 texts





# DIRECT ACTION TERMS

- *disturbance* \*
  - Relatively high frequency, non-specific
  - Most frequent term before 1912
- *outrage* \*
  - Relatively high frequency, non-specific
  - Most frequent term after 1912
- *violence*
  - Low frequency, specific
- *crime* \*
  - Low frequency, specific
- *disorder*
  - Used when suffrage campaigners encounter non-suffrage supporters, especially hostile crowds
- *incident?*
  - Used when suffrage campaigners attempt to attract the attention of authority figures

# WHAT DO THE COLLOCATIONS TELL US?

- Direct actions terms have different patterns of use
  - Used at different times
  - Used to describe different activities

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# WHAT DO THE COLLOCATIONS TELL US?

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  - Used at different times
  - Used to describe different activities
- Preference for *suffragist*\* + direct action term than for *suffragette*\* + direct action term
  - Association of *suffragist* with terms that more closely reflect suffragette activities
  - Reducing the diversity of suffrage movement

# CREATING SUFFRAGE UNITY

- Using texts from the Letters to the Editor corpus
- Obtained collocates through Mutual Information scores
  - **Anti (1910, 1912, 1913, 1914)**
  - **Leaders (1908, 1913, 1914)**
  - **Movement (1908, 1910, 1912)**
  - **Party (1908, 1910, 1914)**
  - **Prison (1908, 1909, 1910)**
  - **Prisoners (1910, 1912, 1913)**

# *SUFFRAG\* PRISONERS*

- *suffragette prisoners, suffragist prisoners and suffrage prisoners all appear*

# SUFFRAGETTE PRISONERS

- Low frequency
- Only found in 1908

1. to keep the peace. They were placed in the second division, and since then the rule has been for all suffragette prisoners to be placed in the second division, and in some cases even in the third division.

2. sentenced to seven days' imprisonment, and she was placed in the first division. Following this all the suffragette prisoners (and there were many batches, in some cases containing 60, 60, and 70 prisoners)

# SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

■ Found in 1909, 1910, 1912, 1913

1912

1. SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS. TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES. Sir,-Now that the  
leaders of the Women's Social an  
2. r. Churchill's rule. The question of doing work was never raised. I  
was allowed - as were all the other suffragist prisoners - visitors and  
letters once a fortnight. Parcels, whether of food or other thin  
3. . Sir,-I am desired by the Home Secretary to say that Mrs. Fawcett  
in her letter on the treatment of suffragist prisoners published in The  
Times of to-day is evidently under a misapprehension when s  
4. rests." The privileges of Mr. Churchill's new rule (Rule 243a) were  
given some time ago to all the suffragist prisoners alike, and this has  
been made clear in the statements made by Mr. McKenna in  
5. g yesterday, authorized me to communicate to you a very earnest  
expression of their feeling that the suffragist prisoners found guilty  
in the recent conspiracy trial should be accorded treatment in th  
6. court public inquiry at an early date on this question as on others  
connected with the treatment of suffragist prisoners. April 26. ETFL  
S3MYTr, 3[us.Dov. In view of Mr. Philip Snowdens question con



# SUFFRAGE PRISONERS

## ■ Found in 1909, 1912, 1913

### 1912

1. stice to support Mrs. Fawcett's appeal against the injustice of refusing to the rank and file of the suffrage prisoners the first-class treatment which had been conceded to their leaders, and the brut

2. ore more than I can easily describe Mr. McKenna's refusal to afford to the rank and file of the suffrage prisoners the first-class treatment which he has already conceded to the leaders. He insi

3. THE SUFFRAGE PRISONERS AND FORCIBLE FEEDING. TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES. Sir,-The strong disapproval of

4. quely misleading. It states that the Medical Memorialists who are opposed to the forcible feeding of suffrage prisoners have no alternatives to suggest as to prison treatment of prisoners, whether pol

5. son A is impossible, hunger-striking can be met by method B. This has often been done in the case of suffrage prisoners, invariably so through out Scotland, where forcible feeding has not been attempt

# SUFFRAGE PRISONERS

1913

1. ES. Sir,-Of the alternatives put by Mr. J3. Wells in The Times of to-day as to the treatment of the suffrage prisoners, I have a definite opinion upon which ought to be preferred. But, as the Governme

2.any prisoner refusing food is at least doubtful: "Forcible feeding was instituted . . . to keep the suffrage prisoners in health and also to prevent them bringing about remission of their sentences \*

3.1 ? A few extracts from a report by Sir Victor Horaley and other doctors on the forcible feeding of suffrage prisoners, published in the Lancet of August 24, 1912, will, I think, show that the legali

# CONCLUSION

- *suffrag\* prisoners*

- Suffrage campaigners' letters revealed that *suffrage* was the preferred *suffrag\** term across organisations
- Opens up a space where NUWSS leaders can work on behalf of WSPU prisoners

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  - Opens up a space where NUWSS leaders can work on behalf of WSPU prisoners
- Preference for *suffragist\** + direct action term than for *suffragette\** + direct action term

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