A CORPUS LINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION INTO THE MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

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THESIS CONTAINS

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the representation of the women's suffrage movement in *The Times* newspaper between 1908 and 1914. I assemble two focused corpora from texts from News International's *The Times* Digital Archive: the 7 million word Suffrage corpus and the 400,000 word Letters to the Editor corpus. I then combine historical research into the suffrage movement, corpus linguistic analysis of social discourses and approaches drawn from critical discourse analysis.

The suffrage movement was not a unified one; it was composed of various groups with differing backgrounds, ideologies and aims. Historians working with suffragist-produced texts have noted different terminology used to describe different factions of the movement. Less attention has been paid to how the suffrage movement was perceived by those outside the movement, and particularly how it was represented in the press. Central to this thesis is Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) argument that polyvocal, heterogeneous entities are simplified and erased by those in power. I demonstrate that such a simplification of diverse suffrage identities occurs on a lexical level through the consistent use of *suffragist* to describe all suffrage campaigners, including acts more commonly associated with suffragettes. This conflation of identities also occurred on a textual level through what I define as the 'suggestive placement' of texts within an article. I argue that suggestively placed pro-suffrage texts offering a counter discourse are read in the context of the master narrative of suffrage campaigners as violent and dangerous.

By focusing on a self-contained, historical movement this thesis is able to analyse changes in historical political discourses, offers corpus linguistic researchers working with contemporary social movements a point of comparison and proposes a methodology for working within the constraints of the data to get useful results. As an interdisciplinary project, it will offer historians a different perspective on ideologies as expressed through language.

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1 Introduction

This study focuses on media representations of the British women's suffrage movement in *The Times* newspaper between 1908 and 1914. The suffrage movement was a large complex movement with limited opportunities for self-representation in the mainstream press. Instead, the suffrage movement and suffrage campaigners were represented by *The Times'* reporters who were not in the movement, and as I argue in this thesis, *The Times* focuses on direct action and conflates diverse suffrage identities. The suffrage movement is of interest for several reasons. As a complex movement it has parallels with other protest movements, including present day movements; however, as a historical movement with a known outcome it offers insights that are difficult to obtain when immersed in a current movement.

Since the franchise was extended to women, different groups and people have seen their concerns and struggle reflected in it; Harrison (1983: 121) observes that the suffrage movement "creat[ed] a romance out of its own history" that appeals to the idealistic". Among them, second wave feminists and, as I write now, the student, anti-cuts, anti-austerity and anti-capitalist movements have seen the suffrage movement as an inspiration. While there is an obvious link to feminisms through gender, the links between the suffrage movement and the student and anti-austerity movements are perhaps more subtle. As the journalist Laurie Penny wrote shortly after student protests in October 2010:

> One hundred years ago, a gang of mostly middle-class protesters had finally
> had enough of being overlooked by successive administrations and decided
> to go and smash up some government buildings to make their point. Their

leaders insisted that when the state holds itself unanswerable to the people, "the broken pane of glass is the most valuable argument in modern politics".

Penny goes on to note that,

> history has vindicated the international movement for women's suffrage as intrepid citizens who forfeited their freedom, their public reputations and, in some cases, their lives, to win political enfranchisement for future generations of women and girls – even if they had to break a few windows to do so.

In writing this, she draws parallels between the suffrage movement and the student protestors as middle class but politically disenfranchised, simultaneously privileged in terms of class and so desperately lacking a political voice that they are forced to engage in breaking the windows of government buildings. On 17 November 2010 a vigil described as "Remember the Suffragettes: a Black Friday vigil in honour of direct action" was held. Helen Lambert, an activist writing about the vigil, acknowledges militant "tactics such as smashing windows, disrupting public meetings with megaphones, fighting with police officers, and arson" caused divisions within the suffrage movement; however, she follows this with the observation that,

> [o]nce the war had shifted perceptions of women's capabilities and society had adjusted to women's suffrage, their tactics became seen as a justified means to an end. These days, the suffragettes are honoured as heroines and martyrs, who risked their dignity, reputations and lives to win their female successors an equal vote [...] I will be attending tomorrow's vigil not only to honour the brave women who fought, suffered and endured so we might vote, but also to express solidarity with their controversial but effective tactics of direct action. We should not listen to the press and police in deciding how best to fight for what is right, but to history.

In this respect, the suffragettes become a convenient point of comparison, their eventual success becoming a vindication of their practices and, as such, offering credibility to other protest groups and movements who might use similarly controversial tactics of direct action.

However, these comparisons risk oversimplifying a complex movement. The suffrage campaign defies such summaries. It offers an insight into a complex political movement composed of many organisations, groups and individuals; a movement that brought together different ideologies, aims and hoped-for outcomes; and a movement that engaged with different political strategies in order to achieve their ends. Suffrage campaigners could and did disagree – sometimes bitterly – on many issues, even on the issue of to whom they were campaigning for the franchise to be extended. The suffrage movement encompassed the Conservative women of the Primrose League as well as the working class, trade unionist women of the North-West, the upper-middle class women of the drawing room meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union, the political lobbying of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Society, the economic resistance offered by the Women's Tax Resistance League, the artwork, drama and writing created by the Artists' Suffrage League and the militant direct action of the Women's Social and Political Union and Women's Freedom League. Far from the one-dimensional images of women chaining themselves to railings, the suffrage movement was a pluralistic, diverse movement. In this, it has similarities to other, more recent and well-documented movements. However, as a historical political protest movement, it offers a different perspective; as researchers studying the movement a century later, we know the eventual outcomes, the events that seemed to change public opinion of the women's vote, the events that are remembered as significant. Reading the news articles

published in *The Times*, it is striking how much organisational effort went into big processions and gatherings at Hyde Park; with each event suffrage campaigners thought that this was the event that would prove decisive in the campaign for the vote. The perspective offered by distance allows the incremental effect of events and the subtle shifts in discourse surrounding the movement to be examined.

In researching the suffrage movement, I hope to shed light on how protest movements can be represented in the press and, in particular, the linguistic strategies used to describe them and techniques used to describe suffrage campaigners' use of direct action. The same strategies used to conflate the different suffrage organisations into one homogenised and violently militant mass were also used to dismiss suffrage criticisms of democracy, governance and political representations. As a feminist and activist, I have observed the media castigation of disenfranchised groups such as disabled people, immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and people on low incomes, and campaigns to counter the media's claims about these groups. Media representation of these groups is not an abstract idea, but has been linked to increased levels of hate crime; for example, a 2011 report by the University of Glasgow Strathclyde Centre for Disability Research and Inclusion London links the increase in disability hate crimes to the media reporting on disability benefit fraud, 'scroungers' and 'cheats'. While it is important to be aware of the different contexts of the suffrage movement and present-day disenfranchised groups, I hope that this detailed, empirical study of the media representation offers a case study of the 'how' of media misrepresentation and in doing so, offers people more information with which to develop strategies to counter negative representation and misrepresentation.

Media representation is a relatively under-researched area within suffrage historiography. The majority of suffrage historiography use newspaper data in order

to corroborate findings from suffrage-produced texts – the letters, newsletters, memoirs, records of meetings and so on produced by those affiliated with the movement. When newspapers are used in historical research, they tend to be used to supplement data already found in suffrage-produced texts – to confirm dates, venues and speakers for events, for example. It is the suffrage-produced texts that are held up as worth investigation, while newspapers are apparently seen as more dry and factual. However, this thesis demonstrates that newspapers themselves, in their apparent dryness, are worth interrogating. This study utilises texts from *The Times* newspaper in order to investigate how the suffrage movement was presented to a public without detailed, independent knowledge of the suffrage campaign. *The Times* was not the only newspaper at the time – other newspapers included the *Daily Mail*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Graphic*, *Manchester Guardian* and *Evening News* (British Library 2009a). However, *The Times*, as "Britain's oldest surviving newspaper with continuous daily publication" (British Library 2009b), offers an insight into a prestigious London-based newspaper. The label "British women's suffrage movement" is problematic; as Eustance, Ryan and Ugolini (2000) observe, "[t]he different and interlinked manifestations of national identity – imperial, British, English, Scottish, regional, local – were integral to the objectives of suffrage activists across Britain and to the very nature of the movement". However, they also acknowledge the importance of networks of contacts across international suffrage campaigns and stress the complexities and pervasiveness of these connections. While *The Times* does report on British women's involvement in the International Women's Congress, its focus is largely on the domestic campaign and so it is on this that I focus in this thesis. Finally, the years between 1908 and 1914 were chosen because they encompass the active years of the militant campaign

– just before stone-throwing became a protest tactic and before the outbreak of World War I changed both the suffrage campaign and *The Times'* news reporting.

Examining the representation of the suffrage movement is therefore a step away from most suffrage historiography which tends to focus on reconstructing an accurate timeline of events, highlighting the tensions within the movement, exploring the lives of individual campaigners and locating the suffrage movement within its historical context. Media representation focuses on the way the suffrage movement was presented and perceived by news reporters; rather than trying to arrive at some kind of truth about the suffrage movement, this thesis examines the mismatch between what we know about the suffrage movement – the complexities explored in the historiography – and the way in which these complexities were simplified and skimmed over when reporting the movement. The newspaper representation of the suffrage movement therefore raises important questions about how the identities of disenfranchised groups protesting their lack of power are constructed by political elites.

This thesis uses methodologies from corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis (CDA), two linguistic approaches. I will discuss these approaches in greater depth in Chapter 2, but will offer a brief outline here. Corpus linguistics is "the study of language based on examples of real life language use" (McEnery and Wilson 1996: 1); critical discourse analysis can be defined as "[a]n approach to the analysis of discourse[1] which views language as a social practice and is interested in the ways that ideologies and power relation are expressed through language" (Baker and Ellece 2011: 26). Corpus linguistics and (critical) discourse analysis have been

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[1]'Discourse' itself can be defined in various ways; I discuss these different ways of conceptualising and defining discourse in section 2.3

used together in "theoretical and methodological cross-pollination" (Baker et al 2008: 297). Baker (2006: 1) summarises a combined corpus linguistic and discourse analysis approach as:

> [u]sing *corpora* (large bodies of naturally occurring language data stored on computers) and corpus processes (computational procedures which manipulate this data in various ways) in order to reveal linguistic patterns which can enable us to make sense of the ways that language is used in the construction of *discourses* (or ways of constructing reality).

Present day newspapers are frequently used in corpus linguistics due to their availability; however, historical newspapers pose a problem for corpus linguists for several reasons. These reasons include the availability of newspaper archives, the condition of the newspapers themselves and the way in which these papers are read and utilised in research. Corpus linguistics, with its focus on looking for patterns in data across a large body of text, offers an approach to make sense of the amount of data offered in newspaper texts. As contemporary corpus linguistic research into the newspaper representation of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (e.g. Gabrielatos and Baker 2008), of people with disabilities (Baker 2006) and of antisemitism (Partington 2012) demonstrate, corpus linguistics can offer useful insights into repeated patterns of language in the representation of social groups and ideas in newspapers. Repetition of the terms used to talk about the suffrage movement is important; through repetition, patterns in language become normalised and solidified into common sense (Stubbs 1994). This is important in the issue of media representations of the suffrage movement. As I demonstrate, the lexis produced by *The Times* reporters, focusing on suffragists involved with direct action, is very different from that which emerged from the suffrage campaign. The effect of this is not neutral; instead it serves to blur the distinctions made by suffrage

campaigners between different factions of the movement, and rather than represent the considerable diversity of the suffrage movement, it effectively conflates and homogenises it. The effect of this was to suggest to a public – a public unfamiliar with the internal tensions and debates within the suffrage movement – that the often dramatic and shocking acts of direct action was a practice engaged in or endorsed by the majority of the suffrage movement, and so discrediting the campaign for women's votes. One of the arguments against extending the franchise to women was that women lacked the intellectual ability and gravity to make the important decisions of a government of Empire. Presenting women as violent, uncontrollable, hysterical, prone to involvement in dubious political causes *de jour*, and a danger to themselves to themselves and others offers a reason to deny women the vote. As I show, these representations of suffrage campaigners are not isolated occurrences but are instead pervasive. While the lexical items used change, the negativity of this representation does not.

The methodological focus of corpus linguistics towards the incremental effect of discourse (Baker 2006) offers a complementary shift in focus in what is studied. While news media is produced within the constraints of e.g. Galtung and Ruge's (1965) principles of newsworthiness and therefore focuses on "significant" – whatever "significant" is recognised as meaning – events, corpus linguistics allows the subtle shifts in discourse to be explored. Rather than focus on paradigmatic shifts – where something happens which utterly changes the way the suffrage movement and its struggle for votes for women is framed – corpus linguistic approaches complement a historical approach that focuses on gradual change in and about the suffrage movement.

Issues of media representation of disadvantaged or powerless groups are a sustained interest within critical discourse analysis and corpus-assisted discourse studies (Mautner 2000, Caldas-Coulthard 2003, Baker 2005; Harding 2006; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Koller 2009, 2012; Caldas-Coulthard and Moon 2010; Bachmann 2011; Bannerman 2011; Spigelman 2013). This interest is extended to the media representation of contested concepts, such as feminism (Jarworska and Krishnamurthy 2012), climate change (Grundmann and Krishnamurthy 2010), whaling (Murata 2007) and antisemitism (Partington 2012). One of the ways in which this lack of power is manifested is in these groups' "lack of active or controlled access to discourse" (van Dijk 1993: 256). Crucially for media representation, this lack of access or control over discourse extends to media discourse; this has even more significance when 'discourse' is taken to mean the practice of not only reflecting or representing social relationships and social actors, but the practice of constituting or constructing them through discourse. A lack of access to or control over discourse has enormous implications; as Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) note in their examination of the media representation of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM), such disadvantaged groups can have a lot of newspaper texts produced about them but are rarely given the opportunity to self-represent. Their media representation, therefore, reflects others' understanding of RASIM issues, and as such, refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants are constructed in ways that allow others to dehumanise them — something that serves to create and maintain a "moral panic around RASIM, which has increasingly become the dominant discourse in the UK press" (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 33) and which also serves powerful political interests surrounding immigration and border control.

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The suffrage movement faced similar issues in lack of representation. As a political campaign centred on political disenfranchisement, campaigners felt their lack of power in the public arena keenly. Some suffrage direct action, such as the Tax Resistance League, was a pointed response to this lack of political representation. However, the suffrage movement was unrepresented in other areas. While suffrage leaders such as Millicent Fawcett and Christabel Pankhurst did write occasional reports and responses in *The Times*, in the overwhelming majority of the texts I examine, suffrage campaigners were not written about by fellow suffrage campaigners and the anonymous "from our own correspondent" or "from our special correspondent" did not appear to overlap with suffrage campaigners. Sama (1975: 2) argues that *The Times* was editorially opposed to the suffrage movement and that in response to the escalating suffrage campaign of direct action, *The Times* "used its respectable journalistic leadership to condemn the militants and urge active public and parliamentary opposition to the enfranchisement of women". This opposition poses obvious difficulties for the suffrage campaign; not only did they lack control of their own representation, but their representation in *The Times* was controlled by an editorial policy of hostility and opposition.

As I will discuss in the next chapter, the suffrage movement was not a homogeneous mass but was instead a complex movement composed of over 50 groups and organisations. These groups were linked, to a greater or lesser degree, by co-operation, shared members and opposition, but existed independently of each other. The non-linear, fluid model of a 'rhizome' offered by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) offers a useful metaphor for conceptualising the suffrage movement. In biology, a rhizome is a subterranean plant stem able to send out shoots and roots from its nodes; if the rhizome is broken into pieces, each piece can grow into a new

plant. Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 6) compare the rhizome with the "roots and radicles" of a tree. Rhizomes are fluid, resilient and always seeking connections; in contrast, trees are linear, static and hierarchical. Deleuze and Guattari extend this metaphor by discussing how the rhizome can be controlled and constrained by power enacted through language, and in particular how polyvocal semiotics – the diverse, fluid elements of a rhizomatic entity – are crushed and flattened.

In my review of the historiography of the suffrage movement I will show that the suffrage movement was complex and polyvocal; in other words, that it has the properties of a rhizome. The movement was characterised by its proliferation of organisations, loose alliances, connections made between groups, willingness to engage in radical acts of protest and the diversity of its strategies invoking everything from art to tax resistance. Deleuze and Guattari identify several characteristics of a rhizome, stressing principles of connection, heterogeneity and multiplicity:

> Every rhizome contains lines of segmentarity according to which it is stratified, territorialized, organized, signified, attributed etc., as well as lines of deterritorialization down which it constantly flees. There is a rupture in the rhizome whenever segmentary lines explode into a line of flight, but the line of flight is part of the rhizome.
>
> (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 9)

The process of deterritorialisation is to simplify the complex, heterogeneous, polyvocal rhizome through language used "as a form of exclusive expression" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 180) and, therefore, as a form of control to simplify and silence all such complex possibilities. As this thesis explores, in *The Times*, suffrage campaigners are represented as focused on militant direct action. This simplifies the suffrage movement, silencing other possible representations such as a focus on

constitutional campaigning. Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 180) argue that such simplification of complexities is not incidental, and draw attention to the role of power in creating such homogeneous representation:

> It is these assemblages, these despotic or authoritarian formations, that give the new semiotic system the means of its imperialism, in other words, the means both to crush the other semiotics and protect itself against any threat from outside. A concerted effort is made to do away with the body and corporeal coordinates through which the multidimensional or polyvocal semiotics operated.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 180) argue that language is central to the process of deterritorialisation, claiming that "there is no signifiance without a despotic assemblage, no subjectification without an authoritarian assemblage"[2]. 'Signifiance' is defined as the syntagmatic processes of language – the surface syntax rather than the embedded paradigmatic processes of language (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: xvii). These surface features of language result in a "signifying, despotic regime of signs" (Deleuze and Gauttari 1987: 121). The semiotics of the structures of the language and of the constructed subject cannot be combined "without assemblages of power that act through signifiers and act upon souls and subjects" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 180); power allows the two to combine and in doing so, affects both language and the construction of identities. While *The Times* was not a State organ, it was closely linked to political power. It was in the interests of maintaining the status quo that the suffrage movement was opposed – the political classes who benefitted most from current electoral policy attempting to preserve that policy and so protect themselves. *The Times'* focus on militancy and direct action served those interests

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[2] In contrast, the 'authoritarian regime' is the "subjective, postsignifying" construction of the individual (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 121)

because it represents suffrage campaigners as dangerous and erratic – such people could not be suited to the demands of political enfranchisement. As such, the heterogeneous polyvocal aspects of the movement are not represented and effectively silenced.

My main research question is: how and why did *The Times* use language to discursively construct the women's suffrage movement between 1908 and 1914? This over-arching question, along with the sub-questions addresses these issues of representing a complex political movement in *The Times*. I approach this question at the level of the lexis and at the level of the text. As I demonstrate, the suffrage movement was represented both in terms of the lexis used – the different terms for suffrage campaigners and the lexical choices made in describing their actions – but also in the way texts about the suffrage movement were arranged on the page and combined with other texts within articles.

In Chapter 2 I outline the three academic fields which inform my thesis: the history and context of the suffrage movement, corpus linguistic analysis of social discourses and critical discourse analysis. I argue that all three are necessary for an analysis of the suffrage movement that it sensitive to the historical context in which it occurred and for establishing a critical understanding of the ideologies the movement responded to and by which it was informed. Chapter 3 discusses the practical implications of these three methods for analysis and introduces the two corpora to investigate the lexical choices made when discussing the suffrage movement. The Suffrage corpus is compiled from articles from all sections of the newspaper; the Letters to the Editor subcorpus is assembled from articles in the Letters to the Editor section of *The Times*. In Chapter 4 I use the Suffrage corpus to examine strongly associated collocates of *suffragist, suffragists, suffragette* and

suffragettes. I focus on strongly associated collocates describing direct action. In Chapter 7 I use the Letters to the Editor subcorpus to investigate differences and similarities in the representation of the suffrage movement in letters to the editor and the whole newspaper. I address the representation at the level of the text in Chapters 5 and 6. Meaning is created in text; however, the concept of a 'text' in *The Times* Digital Archive is not straightforward. Present day news texts tend to be presented as one text per article; in these historical news reports, texts are grouped to form one article. The boundaries between articles are preserved in the corpus. I argue that these groupings of texts into articles create meaning, and present the evidence for this in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6 I present a detailed case study of one suffrage action and demonstrate that these groupings of texts can reveal master and counter narratives of the suffrage movement.

This thesis will make a major contribution to corpus linguistic investigations into social discourses and media representation, particularly historical media representation. I offer evidence for Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) claim that diverse, polyvocal and heterogeneous movements are silenced by powerful entities by exploring the conflation of plural suffrage identities on both a lexical and textual level. This thesis also illustrates the potential of cross-disciplinary research by using a triangulated method that draws from historical approaches and two linguistic approaches in order to offer an analysis sensitive to the historical context of the data.

2 Using linguistic approaches to historical data: examining the suffrage movement with corpus and discourse analysis.

Introduction

This thesis covers several areas of research, both within linguistics and as an interdisciplinary subject. These include corpus linguistics, discourse analysis and early 20th century British history, specifically the political landscape and the suffrage movement in the UK. In this chapter I introduce these three fields. This chapter begins by outlining key issues in the suffrage movement. Taking my lead from feminist historians including Jill Liddington and Jill Norris, Sandra Stanley Holton and June Purvis, I focus on the diversity of women's backgrounds, influences, ideologies and aims. As this section demonstrates, the suffrage movement encompassed a wide variety of such approaches; suffrage campaigners also formed complex alliances and, as Cowman's (2000) research shows, strategically used "neutral" groups to form working relationships between militant and constitutionalist groups. I then discuss the four strengths of corpus linguistics in analysing discourse as advocated by Baker (2006): reducing researcher bias, examining the incremental effect of discourse, exploring resistant and changing discourses, and triangulation, and summarise the main research using corpus linguistics in examining language, power and ideology. In this thesis I use relatively small closed corpora; I examine the role of small, focused corpora and closed corpora and survey research using such corpora. Finally, I discuss Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), outlining issues and considerations when performing a critical discourse analysis and discussing the three CDA frameworks I use: Bamberg's (2004) theory of master and counter narratives,

Galtung and Ruge's (1965) principles of newsworthiness and van Leeuwen's (2009) taxonomy of social actors.

2.1 The women's suffrage movement

The women's suffrage movement can be traced to franchise reform in the mid-nineteenth century. While the 1832 Reform Bill debated extending the vote to women who met the property requirements, in the resultant Reform Act of 1834, Parliament passed legislation that specifically restricted the franchise to men (Smith 1998: 3). A more organised movement emerged in the 1860s when a new reform bill became a possibility (Smith 1998: 4). In the time period examined in this thesis, the Representation of the People Act 1884 meant that the franchise was restricted to men "of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity" who had lived in the same lodgings for 12 months, and the lodgings being "of a clear yearly value, if left unfurnished, of ten pounds or upwards" and is registered as a voter (Cunningham Glen 1885: 21).

As Pugh (1980: 5) observes, the history of the suffrage movement was considered a "curiosity or a *cul de sac* [...] dominated by unreliable memoirs and ephemeral picture books"; among them histories of the movement and autobiographies by Millicent Fawcett (1924), Annie Kenney (1924), Ray Strachey (1928), Sylvia Pankhurst (1931), Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence (1938), Frederick Pethick-Lawrence (1932), Mary Richardson (1953) and Christabel Pankhurst (1959). With the exception of Frederick Pethick-Lawrence (1943), Richardson (1953) and possible exception of Pankhurst (1959)[3], these texts were written and published within twenty years of the Representation of the People Act 1918, which extended

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[3] Christabel Pankhurst's manuscript was discovered after her death in 1958 and was prepared for publication by Frederick Pethick-Lawrence. It is unclear when it was written.

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the franchise to women aged over 30 who met the property requirements, and ten

years of the Representation of the People Act 1928, which gave women electoral

equality with men. Pugh (1980: 40) criticises the constitutionalists' accounts as

"bland and unremarkable" and notes that the "militants' own accounts are largely

fantasy; the motive for writing them was usually to establish their own claims

against other sections of the women's suffrage movement or individuals in the

movement; or simply to perpetuate the image of martyrdom". As a result, the history

of the suffrage movement offered by these texts has been criticised for focus on the

leadership, the London-based organisations, middle-class dominated organisations

and the Women's Social and Political Union. More recent scholarship (Liddington

and Norris 1978; Holton 1986, 1996) traces the roots of these organisations to

nineteenth century northern radicalism and women involved in religious dissent

(such as the Quaker and Unitarian movements), radical political groups (such as the

Chartists) and the anti-slavery movement. Suffragists from these backgrounds were

able to draw on their experiences of political campaigning in a different context for

their campaigns for the vote. This affected the forms of their campaigns; for

example, their decision to organise on a non-party basis and reliance on private

members' bills which could be supported by backbenchers from all political parties.

However, Harrison (1983) argues that the changing political landscape, and

particularly the increasing role of the political party and attendant "[s]moking-room

tactics of obstruction" (Harrison 1983: 83), meant that such strategies were less

effective in the late nineteenth century as they had been in earlier campaigns. He

claims that this, along with mutual suspicion on the part of both suffrage leaders and

politicians, was a major factor in the suffrage movement's failure to reach reform

prior to 1914. As Pugh (2000: 23) observes, "the expansion of the electorate in 1867

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had altered the balance between the pressure groups and political parties to the disadvantage of the former".

Much historical research uses suffragist-authored and produced primary sources, including memoirs, autobiographies and histories of the movement written by those involved, journals such as *Votes for Women* and the *Suffragette* (see DiCenzo 2000, 2004, 2006 and DiCenzo, Delap and Ryan 2011 for contextualisation of the women's, feminist and suffrage periodical press) and private papers, records of suffragist, women's and political organisations (such as minutes, registers and annual reports), pamphlets (see Holton 1986: 187-191 and Pugh 2000: 289-290 for examples of a select biography of primary sources) and personal documents. However, the suffrage campaign also attracted contemporary media interest – and, indeed, attracting publicity was one of the motivations for some suffragist tactics (Pugh 1980: 23; Pugh 2000: 228). Tickner (1987) examines imagery of the suffrage movement, both produced by suffrage campaigners and as represented in Edwardian illustration and caricature. However, with some exceptions, notably Adickes' (2002) exploration of the American suffrage movement in the *New York Times*, newspapers appear to be an underutilised primary resource within historiography. While they are used, the focus often seems to be on their use as supplementing suffragist history rather than on their use in understanding the perception of the movement in the press.

While I attempt to provide an overview of general issues in the suffrage movement using the extensive historical research on the suffrage campaign, it is also important to acknowledge that the historiography is itself a discourse with the gaps, inaccuracies, and particular ways of framing events that that implies. Much of the research into the suffrage movement that I cite has its roots in 1970s second wave

feminism, a renewed interest in women's lives, and the desire to reclaim women's political struggles from the "masculinist school of suffrage history" (Holton 2000: 22). Different ways of making sense of the suffrage movement have emerged from radical-feminist and socialist-feminist perspectives. Holton (2000: 27) characterises the former as situating the suffrage movement in terms of "a sex war" and as exploring the sexual politics of the suffrage movement, such as critiques of marriage, of the gendered double standard for men and women's sexual behaviour, and of the silence surrounding sexually transmitted infections. Holton (2000: 27) understands the socialist-feminist approach as "situat[ing] women's suffrage as part of the long class struggle for more fully democratic forms of government in Britain, and recognises a social movement rather than heroic individuals as the motor for change". This thesis draws mainly on the socialist-feminist tradition: its focus on the struggle for wider democratic representation is closer to the discourses found in *The Times* texts. In contrast, the radical-feminist tradition was less represented in the newspaper discourse; as the strongly associated collocates in Chapter 4 indicate, *The Times* did not appear to report the suffrage campaign in terms of wider concerns about women's sexuality. As such, the socialist-feminist approach is more represented in this thesis.

One of the issues with writing an interdisciplinary thesis is assessing the research in fields outside your own area(s). I have attempted to understand the suffrage historiography in its context, particularly in terms of attempting to understand the debates within the field, and how people's research responded to others' research. This is especially important when attempting to establish credibility for different researchers and arguments; in general, I have tried to give more weight to arguments that are strongly supported by a number of historians and which have

supporting evidence. The points of difference I discuss in the next section have their basis in multiple historians' work; at the same time, I have tried to give a sense of the debates within the field.

2.1.1 Diversity within the suffrage movement

The suffrage movement was composed of many groups. As Cowman (2000: 37) notes, historians have tended to focus on the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) and the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) with comparatively little attention given to smaller or shorter lived groups. This is not because they were the only two groups campaigning for women's suffrage; Cowman (2000: 37) observes that there were "more than 50 suffrage organizations in Britain at the outbreak of the First Wold War".

There were ideological differences between many of the suffrage organisations. While all were campaigning for voting reform, there were differences regarding the reasons why they were campaigning for electoral reform, for whom they were campaigning for the vote to be extended and the form their campaigns took. As Tickner (1987: 151) observes, suffrage campaigners had the difficult task of making the suffrage issue "understood as a very serious question that could also be treated light-heartedly if that was the way to open people's minds, and as a very large question that was in some respects a small and unimportant one". In terms of its political, social and economic effects, "[t]he vote had to be seen as the key to sweeping and entirely beneficial kinds of social reform, and at the same time the simple correction of a historical and anomalous injustice drawing no unwanted consequences in its wake". Tickner (1987: 151) suggests that the suffrage movement was contradictory due to the demands placed on "suffrage propagandists [who] cut

their cloth according to the context in which they found themselves". However, I would argue that these contradictions ran deeper and were fundamental to understanding the movement as a whole; to reiterate Cowman's (2000) point, the suffrage movement was not a homogeneous movement. Its members came from very different backgrounds, were informed by different politics and desired different things from a suffrage campaign and from suffrage itself (see Heilmann 2002 for background to some of these debates). In the following sections I will explain some of the key points of difference between different suffrage organisations and campaigns.

'Equal franchise' versus 'universal/adult suffrage' was one of the key distinctions in the suffrage movement. Some groups campaigned for 'equal franchise' – for the franchise to be extended to women on the same terms as it was extended to men. However, under the terms of the Representation of the People Act 1884, the vote was restricted to men residing in the counties and boroughs paying an annual rental of £10 or holding land valued at £10. The previous piece of voting legislation, the Second Reform Act 1867, had extended the franchise to all male householders and lodgers paying £10 in the boroughs. In addition to the financial requirements, a man had to fulfil the residential requirement by being resident in the house for twelve months. The men not owning property, paying less than £10 a year in rent, owning land valued at less than £10 or who had not been resident for 12 months were not enfranchised; while this affected the young and the mobile, this also disproportionately affected working class men. The campaign for equal franchise would have left working class women similarly disenfranchised. However, many women campaigning for equal suffrage perceived extending the franchise to women as "the first vital step towards the goal of adult suffrage" (Liddington and Norris

1978: 180). Other groups campaigned for 'universal suffrage', or for the franchise to be extended to both men and women without the property and residential requirements. The suffragists were opposed by some socialists who argued that if it was easier to obtain complete manhood suffrage – extending the franchise to all men and thus removing the class barrier – they should campaign on that basis rather than a more difficult campaign to extend the franchise to women. Any successful attempt would be welcome. Suffragists rejected this plan, recognising that should a complete manhood suffrage bill be passed, it would set back women's suffrage for decades (Liddington and Norris 1978: 180). Both the WSPU and NUWSS leaderships opposed it, although there was significant support for adult suffrage within the NUWSS (Smith 1998: 23). However, Pugh (2000: 28) argues that "by focusing on a limited measure of women's suffrage they handicapped themselves by making it more difficult to realize their potential support" among the leading women of the pre-1914 Labour Movement and the men excluded from the franchise.

Campaigning strategies were a point of difference between suffrage organisations. There was a broad distinction between 'constitutionalists', who sought to change the laws through pressure and "developing and demonstrating the strength of pro-suffrage opinion within the House of Commons so as to convince the government of the feasibility of enfranchising women" (Holton 1986: 30) and 'militants', who sought change through direct action. There were tensions between these groups; militant groups such as the WSPU saw constitutionalist groups like the NUWSS as slow, whereas the NUWSS saw the direct action of the WSPU as hindering the cause and losing support amongst sympathetic politicians. Pugh (1980: 24) argues that this negative view of militant direct action was not confined to

the NUWSS, and that "the public attitude deteriorated so drastically[4] that it became futile to hold large suffragette gatherings", prompting the switch attacks on property. Holton (1986: 4) challenges simplistic distinctions defining militants and constitutionalists as two parts of a binary. Instead, she notes that militants can be defined in two ways: as those prepared "to resort to extreme violence" or as those with socialist or labour affiliations, and instead shows that by that definition, many constitutionalists could be described as militant. She also notes that few women belonging to militant groups were actually militant (in the sense of taking the issue to the streets) and even if they were, were only so post-1912. As a consequence of using these simplistic dualities as a framework for present day historiography, Holton argues that the "interpretation of the British suffrage movement [...] does not mirror adequately its full complexity. The distinction militant/constitutionalist is not only difficult to apply in any consistent way, but it also tends to obscure those currents within the suffrage movement which cut across it" (Holton 1986: 4). Instead, Holton (1986: 31) argues for the WSPU to be understood in terms of a challenge to the existing parliamentary tactics employed by the suffragist movement.

Organisation, like campaigning strategy, was another difference between the NUWSS and the WSPU. The NUWSS began "as a loose federation of pre-existing societies which retained a significant degree of autonomy" (Holton 1986: 40) with an Executive Committee formed of delegates from member societies. Initially this functioned as a way of co-ordinating suffragist activities around the country, but with the growth of the suffrage movement and the increase in membership and funds, its role was extended to publishing campaign literature and training

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[4] As I will demonstrate in Chapter 4, large public meetings in parks etc organised by suffrage campaigners were not always received well by the public; suffrage speakers at these events were heckled and physically assaulted by sometimes violent crowds.

organisers. Although policy was debated and voted on at biannual meetings attended by delegates, and, following a change to the constitution, delegates voted for members of the Executive Committee, it was still felt that the Executive Committee was increasingly powerful. This led to tensions between the London headquarters and the local societies. In 1910 the size of the NUWSS was such that plans were made for federation on a regional basis. This was intended to improve co-ordination between branches, but was also an attempt by some of the more influential local societies to take back some control. Through the two general councils and two provincial councils regularly spaced through the year, the Executive Council "was brought into direct contact with rank-and-file opinion"; new ideas could be tested by societies unhappy with existing policy, then constitutional policy and practice could be reassessed at the councils (Holton 1986: 40-41). In contrast to the branch and member-led policies of the NUWSS, the structure of the WSPU was overtly military; Christabel Pankhurst did not tolerate dissent or criticism, and wanted the WSPU to be disciplined. As Liddington and Norris (1978: 208-209) describe, the WSPU "[n]ominally [...] was run by a committee, but in fact it was dominated by the Pankhursts and Mrs Pethick-Lawrence who together took all the major decisions and then publicized them to the membership". Teresa Billington-Greig drafted a constitution that placed power in the hands of branch delegates; this had been adopted by the WSPU conference of 1906. However, the Pankhursts responded by cancelling the next WSPU conference and the sections of the constitution relating to organisation. Several prominent WSPU members rejected this and called a meeting of about seventy members to demand that the constitution be honoured and the conference take place. As a result, the WSPU split; in 1907; about a fifth of the suffragists left to form the Women's Freedom League. However, Smith (1998: 34)

observes that "Christabel's insistence that the WSPU was like an army reflected a desire for an authoritarian structure which was not achieved in practice"; for example, WSPU members introduced new militant tactics, such as hunger striking, without prior approval and undermined the militaristic style favoured by Christabel. Pugh (1980: 25) argues that this approach "reduced the activists to a rump of family followers increasingly isolated from the real movement for women's suffrage".

Class, geography and approach to gender were also influential in creating different group identities; suffragists coming from a working class background were reluctant to get involved with public demonstrations due to "being held accountable for the biting and spitting by women of higher social standing" (Smith 1998: 30) and could be "hostile to more sensationalist mode[s] of campaigning" (Holton 1986: 34). Liddington and Norris (1978: 20) characterise the Lancashire women's suffrage movement as one founded and supported by working women experienced in organising factory workers and who brought with them the tactics learned through trade union and labour activism such as "factory gate meetings, pushing suffrage motions through union branches [and] organizing through trades councils" (Liddington and Norris, 1978: 26). Again, they describe tensions between the working class movement and the WSPU; they argue that the Pankhursts "dropped their working class support, except for a few token speakers" (Liddington and Norris 1978: 28) and the WSPU favoured sensationalist actions which the working class suffragists "could only see as a downward spiral of violence that would inevitably alienate vital grass-roots support". The different backgrounds of women campaigners informed their different aims and ideology. The working class movement was involved in wider campaigns for working women's welfare. They saw the vote as giving them bargaining power on par with men (Liddington and

Norris 1978: 25) and would use it to improve women's wage levels and working conditions, improve education for working class girls and get better facilities for working class mothers and children; in contrast, the WSPU saw women's enfranchisement as "virtually an end in itself" and, as Smith (1998: 30) argues, wanted the "stigma upon womanhood removed". Suffrage movements stemming from trade union and labour movements were campaigning for the franchise because they wanted a political voice, and found the WSPU's motives difficult to understand.

Liddington and Norris (1978) and Cowman (2000) place local branches of suffrage organisations at the centre of the movement rather than consigning them to the periphery. As Cowman (2000: 38) observes, this "create[s] fresh narratives which immediately alter the perspectives of national suffrage histories by placing new protagonists at the centre. National figures retire to the margins, diminished in stature, or do not appear at all". Cowman (2000: 46) also notes that the divide between militant and constitutional suffragists groups "was not merely due to policy differences at national level. Locally, it had very firm roots in class and party politics". She examines this by focusing on the inter-organisational relationships between suffragist groups on Merseyside; the local branch of the NUWSS, the Liverpool Women's Suffrage Society, had close connections with the Liberal party and was made up of the female members of prominent local families, while the local branch of the WSPU recruited among working-class women. This branch of the WSPU "enthusiastically participated in every imaginable form of militancy both within the city and at national events" (Cowman 2000: 41); in keeping with WSPU policy, there were particularly aimed at the Liberal government. This posed another barrier to inter-organisational relations; as discussed, the LWSS had close personal

and political ties to the Liberal party and found militancy against the party deeply antagonistic (Cowman 2000: 43).

Gender played an important part in the suffrage movement; suffragists operated in a context which conflated sex and gender (Holton 1986: 13) and had to argue for allowing their gender to take part in political life. The suffragists also had to decide on the role they wanted men to have in their campaigns, which led to a variety of approaches. Gender essentialists argued that the biological differences in males and females were directly responsible for intellectual differences between men and women and differences in their social functions. Anti-suffragist gender essentialists argued that the nature of women made them unsuitable for government, and particularly unsuitable for a government of empire that had to be prepared to use physical force. Further to this, women's more highly developed moral sense could be jeopardised by their involvement with the world of politics (Pugh 2000: 43, Tickner 1987: 155). Suffragist gender essentialists claimed that "[m]en could not possibly provide the skills, attributes, and understanding particular to women, characteristics which were also morally superior to men's" and as a result, "female emancipation [was] essential to the creation of a more caring state through the furtherance of social reforms informed by feminine understanding and experience" (Holton 1986: 13); their domestic experience made them skilled in "financial management, knowledge about health, hygiene and education, and cultivated in them a fuller sense of injustice and self-sacrifice (Pugh 2000: 44) all of which could be of benefit to the nation. Pugh (2000: 41) claims that suffragists recognised that contemporary scientific opinion supported a physiological basis for women's lack of intellectual and political ability, and as such "simply denied that they claimed intellectual equality between the sexes; the aim, for them, was to develop whatever

natural capacity men and women had to start with". Liberal suffragists compared women to recently enfranchised groups of men, such as artisans and agricultural labourers who "had been regarded as intellectually deficient" but "subsequently proved themselves quite capable"; however, this was countered by the argument that "men's ignorance could be corrected, whereas women's deficiencies were constitutional" (Pugh 2000: 41).

The model of separate spheres was closely connected to gender essentialism; this argued for the maintenance of a distinction between the public and private space. The home was a private space and a woman's domain; to allow concerns from the outside world to intrude into the home was to destroy the integrity of the home (Holton 1986: 14). Doing so would "confus[e] the proper boundaries of masculine and feminine, public and private, domestic and political, by which the natural complementarity of a harmonious social order" would be threatened (Tickner 1987: 154). Some suffrage campaigners operated within this framework of separate spheres based on essentialist gender characteristics; they argued for "the necessity of increasing state intervention in areas that had previously been part of women's domestic preserve and the concomitant need for women's participation in the work of the state". Such areas included increased attention given to welfare, health and children's issues, areas that had traditionally been women's preserves. In doing so, "they challenged the notion that domestic and public matters could be kept apart as the separate concerns of women and men respectively" (Holton 1986: 15). Holton (1986: 18) observes that, while gender essentialism appears fundamentally conservative, it "also inform[ed] quite radical challenges to restrictive ideologies concerning women". Not all suffrage campaigners worked within this framework; some strongly criticised the concept of separate spheres and instead argued for

"abandonment of male models of emancipation in favour of women-defined conceptions of political life" (Holton 1986: 20).

Gender also served an important role in the creation of sexual solidarity. Gender was conceptually reframed into a social class or category, but one that cut across classes (Holton 1986: 27-28, Tickner 1987: 156). There were issues that affected women irrespective of wealth or social status – for example, economic dependence on male family members, sexual exploitation, and vulnerability to sexually transmitted diseases (Hall 2012: 59, 73-77; Holton 1986: 27-28; Smith 1998: 21, 28) – and by promoting the idea that "women as sex shared a set of interests distinct from men's [and] that all women stood in a similar place to all men" (Holton 1986: 27) the suffragists aimed to appeal across social classes. The recognition of gender as a unifying identity also helped geographically isolated suffrage organisations; the Shetland branch of the NUWSS "gained inspiration by the feeling that they were part of a movement 'that linked women the length and breadth of the land'" (Eustance, Ugolini and Ryan 2000: 10).

Male sympathisers to the suffrage movement took different positions within it. Suffrage organisations ranged from those that welcomed men, separate organisations for men and outright rejection. The WSPU became much more hostile towards men after their break with the Labour Party in 1912, expelling men and male sympathisers from the organisation (Smith 1998: 38). Sylvia Pankhurst's refusal to accept the anti-male policies of the WSPU resulted in her expulsion from the organisation (Smith 1998: 40). Christabel Pankhurst refused to work with men's organisations and "portrayed the campaign as a sex-war against men rather than a struggle with the Liberal government" (Smith 1998: 39). As Hall (2012: 73) observes, the way men participated could be problematic. She notes that "[s]ome

undertook women's traditional auxiliary and support roles. Others deployed their privilege and authority to advance the cause. Some themselves engaged in militant action, a dubious tactic conveying very different messages from women's often purely symbolic violence".

2.1.2 Potential sites of unity

While the suffrage movement can be read as a fractured, splintered movement with tensions between many of the organisations involved, there were spaces where groups with very different political, ideological and organisational approaches could work together. Morley and Stanley (1988: 152) observe that "many women from different organisations [...] worked closely together at a local level over various issues" and caution against "conflat[ing] formal pronouncements at the national level with the actual practices of people in the local areas in which they lived and were active". In her study of Merseyside regional suffrage, Cowman identifies religious suffrage groups as a focus for unity, even though Liverpool was affected by sectarian violence. The Catholic Women's Suffrage Society (CWSS) and the Church League for Women's Suffrage (CLWS) even held joint events and Cowman (2000: 45) notes little animosity between the groups. These groups also allowed women from the militant and constitutionalist groups to work together; even when relations had deteriorated between the LWSS and the WSPU, prominent members from both were able to work together and share a platform under the banner of the religious suffrage societies. However, through a democratic-suffragist strategy, the movement was able to address intersectional inequalities. As Holton (1986: 7) argues,

> [i]t asked Labour supporters to acknowledge that the disenfranchisement of middle-class women by virtue of their sex was as unjust as that of working-class men by virtue by their lack of property. It asked middle-class Liberal

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women to acknowledge that social justice required the independent representation of working-class interests in parliament as much as sexual inequality in the franchise laws.

By creating alliances such as these, the suffrage movement was able to appeal to different campaigns.

Instead of investigating the movement as presented by the suffragists themselves or the internal debates, tensions and disputes within and between various organisations revealed by current historical research, I will analyse how the suffrage movement was reported, and therefore represented, as it was happening. I intend to explore what the media highlighted as concerns arising from the suffrage movement, the organisations, events and actions they reported on and how reporting on the suffrage campaigners changed. This focus inevitably reveals biases towards or against the suffrage movement, and highlights different (and potentially surprising) aspects as more or less important. For example, as I will discuss in Chapter 4, elements of the movement which suffrage historiography identifies as important become less obvious in *The Times'* reporting of the movement.

Historians are able to examine the different histories of the suffrage movement by examining primary materials, especially suffrage-produced texts and records, newspapers and other texts, produced during the lifespan of the suffrage campaign. Through careful reading, analysis and interpretation of these documents, a picture of the dynamics of the suffrage movement can be built up. There are parallels with linguistics investigation: discourse analysis is based on a similar approach of careful reading and analysis of texts. However, other linguist methodologies offer a radically different approach to investigating texts that can reveal different features and unearth different patterns.

2.2 Corpus linguistics

Quantitative methods such as corpus linguistics offer one such different way of examining texts; Tognini-Bonelli (2004: 18) contrasts the way a text is read for corpus linguistic analysis to how a text is read for discourse analysis. For discourse analysis, a text is read as a unified, "whole piece, read horizontally, read for content, read as a unique event, read as an individual act of will [and is a] coherent communicative event". In contrast, a corpus is "read fragmented, read vertically, read for formal patterning, read for repeated events, read as a sample of social practice [and is] not a coherent communicative event". These two methodologies for analysing texts can reveal different features and thus complement each other in linguistic analysis.

While corpus linguistics has an important role in grammar, applied linguistics, translation, stylistics and forensic linguistics (Hunston 2000), there is also a body of scholarship which recognises corpus linguistic's potential for identifying social discourses as identified in texts. Hunston (2000: 109) explains that "[p]atterns of association – how lexical items tend to co-occur – are built up over large amounts of text and are often unavailable to intuition or conscious awareness" and as a result, "can therefore convey messages implicitly and even be at odds with an overt statement". While corpus analysis does "obscure the character of each text as a text [and that e]ach individual example is taken out of context", she (2000: 110) argues that this is the point. The texts are treated as "autonomous entities"; the role of the text producer and social context is obscured; "[t]he computer picks out only the recurrent patterns: pure discourse without the knowing subject" (Stubbs 1996: 194). Baker (2006: 10-15) identifies four main strengths to using corpus linguistics

to analyse discourse: reducing researcher bias, examining the incremental effect of discourse, exploring resistant and changing discourses, and triangulation.

Baker (2006: 11) identifies several ways in which a researcher can be biased; for example, not wishing to acknowledge one's position and cognitive biases concerning processing information, seeking evidence that supports one's claim and ignoring evidence that doesn't. He argues that corpus linguistics can help restrict these biases – "[i]t becomes less easy to be selective about a single newspaper article when we are looking at hundreds of articles" – but acknowledges that researchers can be selective about assembling their corpus or interpreting their results.

By using a collection of many texts, a researcher can study the incremental nature of discourse; instead of focusing on a few texts and potentially miss a wider pattern, by using a corpus the researcher is able to "[evaluate] the profile of a specific word, structure or expression in relation to a norm" (Tognini-Bonelli 2004: 19). Baker (2006: 13) agrees, stating that "[a]n association between two words, occurring repetitively in naturally occurring language, is much better evidence for an underlying hegemonic discourse which is made explicit through the word pairing than a single case". As Stubbs (1996: 45) describes, each example of language use is like each day's weather, "either maintaining the status quo or helping tip the balance towards climate change. Instance and system. Micro and macro, are two sides of the same coin, relative to the observer's position". The incremental effects of these phenomena are significant because they create the larger patterns.

Sometimes this reveals that a superficially positive description is embedded in a wider, more negative discourse; Baker (2006: 14) offers the example of a disabled sailor who appears to be described in a positive way, but upon consulting a corpus of general British English he finds that "one discourse of wheelchair users

constructs them as being deficient in a range of ways, and it is therefore of note when they manage to be cheerful, prosperous or active in church life". Stubbs (1996: 158) notes that "recurrent ways of talking do not determine thought, but they provide familiar and conventional representations of people and events, by filtering and crystallizing ideas, and by providing pre-fabricated means by which ideas can be easily conveyed and grasped" – through this repetition and reproduction, a discourse can become dominant and "particular definitions and classifications acquire, by repetition, an aura of common sense, and come to seem natural and comprehensive rather than partial and selective" (Stubbs 1996: 194).

Related to this argument is Baker's claim that "corpora [...] are often large enough to highlight exceptional cases, which a more qualitative analysis of a smaller text would miss" (Baker 2005: 141). As such, a corpus can both reveal wider discourses and show unusual or infrequent discourses – both of which may not be identified if a limited number of texts are analysed. As a result of this strength, Baker (2006: 14) argues in favour of a corpus linguistic methodology when looking for evidence of changing or resistant discourses – discourses which are not part of the hegemony, but which run counter to it. A study using a corpus may reveal evidence of the frequency of a feature or provide more information of its pattern of use – for example, linking it to a particular genre, social group, age range, national or ethnic group, political stance or a small and restricted social network. A changing discourse can be examined by using a diachronic corpus or corpora containing texts from different time periods and comparing frequencies or contexts; for example, where a particular pattern is first found then where and how it spreads (Orpin 2005: 57), if a word has changed semantically, become more widespread, used by different groups or has acquired a metaphorical usage.

However, Baker does not argue that corpus linguistics should be the only approach used by researchers. Instead he advocates a triangulated approach, where corpus linguistics is used in combination with complementary theories and methodologies to offer a fuller analysis of a linguistic phenomenon. This can be seen in analyses of social discourses studied using corpus linguistics with elements of critical discourse analysis or sociological theories. This branch of corpus linguistic research uses a corpus, but looks for patterns related to "variability, change, and struggle" (Fairclough 1992: 36) and uses ideas drawn from critical discourse analysis. It includes research such as Leech and Fallon's (1992) comparison between British and American texts and their exploration of the influence of different histories, cultures and legal systems on the language, and Teubert's (2007) examination of the influence of outside discourses and shifts in thought on a corpus of Vatican documents, specifically the keywords *work* and *property* in their relationship to the concepts of 'natural law' and 'human rights' in Catholic social doctrine.

Corpus linguistic methodologies have also been used to study language and politics; Stubbs (1996: 186) explores nationalism and nationalist collocates, while Teubert (2000) investigates stigma and banner keywords in Eurosceptic discourses and uses these to explore the assumptions and inconsistencies expressed in the discourse. Other research focuses on political discourse in a changing situation, such as Flowerdew's (1997) analysis of General Patten's speeches at the handover of Hong Kong. He (1997: 472) argues that Patten framed the British withdrawal in terms of its lasting legacy – "a free market economy, the freedom of the individual, the rule of law, and democracy". In doing so, Flowerdew argues that Patten attempted to unify people and draw awareness to "shared values, views and heritage" (1997: 472) and

downplayed the complexity and ambiguity of the British presence. Piper (2000) and Fairclough (2000) have both focused on aspects of New Labour. Fairclough identifies strategies used by New Labour to distance itself from Old Labour; these include different collocations and different keywords in order to redefine New Labour as "forward-looking (not old-fashioned, as Old Labour was perceived to be); it is interested in co-operation between different segments of society (not concerned with conflict, as Old Labour was perceived to be); and it is concerned with the interests of business (not anti-capitalist, as Old Labour was perceived to be)" (summarised in Hunston 2000: 113). Piper (2000) has worked with a corpus of government and EU documents to examine items such as lifelong learning. In doing so, she finds that it is a new concept which still has to be defended and advocated for. Partington (2003) explores the complex relationship between the White House Press Secretary and the press, and the shifting nature of their personas and in what capacity they speak. Through a corpus of White House transcribed press briefings, he examines the tactics used to present, spin and withhold information on the part of the White House and that tactics used by journalists to challenge the information offered. He is also able to investigate the interactions between the press secretary and the journalists, such as the face-saving and face-threatening acts performed by both.

Other research has focused on exploring how power relations in society are enacted through discourse. Orpin (2005: 40) observes that "the choice of one word rather than another can encode a speaker's ideological stance towards what they are talking about". In her examination of the lexical items *sleaze* and *corruption*, she shows how these are conceptualised differently and with more or less negative connotations when discussing sleaze and corruption in different countries. The Lancaster group (Baker and McEnery 2005, Baker 2006, Gabrielatos and Baker

2008, Baker et al 2008) work with a corpus of UK newspaper articles about refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM), analysing this corpus in a number of ways. The frequency of articles was linked to anxieties over the numbers of asylum seekers (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 19) and global events such as "major wars, natural disasters, and terrorist attacks" (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 18), although they also note that "two of the "spikes" [...] co-occurred with political events in the United Kingdom". They interpret this "construction of RASIM [as] work[ing] as part of (usually negative) media comment on government policies [...] RASIM were thus functionalized as part of a struggle for political hegemony, being discursively constructed as people who merely constitute the topic of political debate, somewhat dehumanized as an "issue"". They go on to explore the conflation or confusion of RASIM terms as evidenced by shared c-collocates (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008:25), use keywords to compare broadsheets and tabloids (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008:28) and examine what they term 'nonsensical terms' (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 30).

Baker has undertaken further categorisation of RASIM collocates – for example, emphasis on quantification (2006: 79), movement, especially that of water (Baker 2006: 80; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 22), as victims of tragic circumstances (Baker 2006: 84), and as criminals and a nuisance (Baker 2006: 85). Baker (2006: 85) also finds a final, metaphorical use to "describe people who look like someone or something else". These findings can then be further analysed. Baker (2006: 81) notes that by constructing refugees as a natural disaster like a flood, they are constructed as something which is difficult to predict and control, has no sense of its own agency and requires control to prevent disaster to others. By combining a corpus approach with further analysis, the researcher is able to find evidence of a

phenomenon and its frequency (thus indicating how significant this pattern might be) and explain how the pattern might function and the ideas encoded in it. Baker, Gabrielatos, Khosravinik, Krzyżanowki, McEnery and Wodak (2008) discuss how collocation and concordance analysis can be used not only to categorise the ways RASIM are talked about, but how corpus linguistic techniques "provided a 'map' of the corpus, pinpointing areas of interest for a subsequent close analysis. Emerging lexical patterns (e.g., key words/clusters, collocates) led to the examination of their (expanded) concordances, or, when needed, the examination of whole texts" (Baker et al 2008: 284). However, while the "corpus analysis directed the researcher toward salient or frequent linguistic patterns", it is not "objectively running statistical algorithms without human intervention [and t]he analyst had to make sense of the linguistic patterns thrown up via the corpus-based processes" (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 33).

McEnery (2005) uses corpora to investigate speakers using swearing and bad language and to trace changing attitudes towards swearing and other forms of bad language. By using the spoken subcorpus of the British National Corpus, he was able to explore how a speaker's age, class and gender influenced the bad language they used. In the second part of his investigation, he used several corpora of material produced by groups protesting the use of bad language (such as pamphleteers and the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association) in order to trace the development of these attitudes and search for features characteristic of a moral panic. In this investigation, corpora are not only used to link features with demographic information, but also to examine and interpret data informed by Cohen's (1972, 2002) theory of moral panic.

While corpus linguistics can address the issue of researcher bias, it also offers scope for a researcher to use their knowledge of a subject to perform a detailed and subtle analysis, while simultaneously removing some of the problems of bias. Baker (2005) explores how gay men are constructed through discourses such as the debate over law reform, the tabloid press, personal adverts, TV programmes, erotica and sexual health documents. His examination of discourses surrounding legal reform identifies the collocational networks – diagrams showing the directional links between words – used by each side and in doing so, their different conceptualisations of male homosexuality. His analysis of personal adverts finds that the words men used to seek partners were closely tied to contemporary concerns about criminalisation, AIDS and economics. As a member of the community discussed, Baker is able to use his awareness of issues to perform an informed analysis and draws attention to aspects that could be missed by an outsider.

The latter two observations (the role of the analyst and the use of an established sociological theory to guide the analysis) raise the issue of the distinction made within corpus linguistics between corpus-based and corpus-driven research. Corpus-driven research is described as using the corpus to guide the researcher; the researcher comes to the corpus with no pre-conceived ideas of what she may find. Markup, tagging or parsing is eschewed as this is a form of interpretation (Sinclair 2004: 190). In contrast, corpus-based researchers may use the corpus to find examples to support a hypothesis, use tagging or approach the corpus with chosen search terms rather than allow the corpus to find significant terms. At the same time, 'corpus-based' and 'corpus-driven' are problematic terms, suggesting a binary in which all corpus research must fit. This does not necessarily reflect the realities of corpus research, and this thesis uses elements of both. As I describe in Chapter 3, I

create corpora using a set of selected terms. However, my approach to the texts is more corpus-driven than corpus-based; I discuss this mainly in section 3.5.

In order to offer the strengths discussed, a corpus must be **carefully constructed** – the texts "when taken together, maybe be considered to 'average out' and provide a reasonably accurate picture of the entire language population in which we are interested" (McEnery and Wilson 1996: 30). Biber (1993) outlines several ways to ensure representativeness: a rigorous definition of the sampling frame, determination of strata and statistical values.

The constraints of the data means I am working with relatively small corpora of 7,089,889 tokens (in the Suffrage corpus) and 395,597 tokens (in the Letters to the Editor corpus). Much of the debate about the size of corpora has contrasted small, focused corpora with large, general corpora. The small, focused corpora often use a subset or selection of data, and their use has both advantages and disadvantages. However, I would also like to reframe this discussion in terms of 'closed' and 'open' corpora. I define closed corpora where all the texts that could be included in that corpus are included, and no further texts can be added. For example, Mahlberg's (2012) Dickens' novels corpus contains all the novels that Dickens wrote. While it may be a comparatively small corpus, it is not possible to add to the corpus without changing the criteria for selection of texts; Dickens is no longer writing novels so any additional material would have to be texts written by Dickens that are not novels, or novels written by people who are not Dickens. In contrast, a corpus of novels by a contemporary author who is still writing and publishing novels is not complete yet, and can still be added to without changing the selection criteria for texts. The next section examines both small, focused corpora and closed corpora, and in section 2.2.3 I position my corpora as closed corpora.

2.2.1 Research using small, focused corpora

The advantages and disadvantages of using small, focused corpora are perhaps more obvious when compared to large, general corpora such as the British National Corpus (BNC), Bank of English (BoE), the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), the Brown corpus or the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpus. These corpora can be very large – 100 million words for the BNC, 450 million words for the BoE, 1 million words for LOB and the 22 million words currently released by the ANC[5]. The advantages of these corpora are their size and careful construction. They are carefully balanced to provide a representative sample of language, collecting samples of natural language from different sources and users. By virtue of their size, they can reveal infrequent linguistic features and because they contain language from different domains, they can also help identify linguistic features associated with particular domains.

The size and general nature of these corpora also pose problems for researchers investigating specific domains. As Baker and McEnery (2005: 199) observe, a large corpus

> may present an equally diverse variety of discourses associated with refugees. However, it may be difficult, from such a general corpus, to make sense of cohesive positions or understand which discourses are understood as hegemonic/mainstream and which are resistant or in the minority, particularly as frequency alone is unlikely to be an accurate predictor of the strength or importance of a discourse – the producers of texts and the ways they are received are also important.

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[5] Site accessed 4th May 2011

Instead, they describe the BNC's importance in establishing "normative patterns of language use" (McEnery and Baker 2005: 200), which it is able to do by being a large general corpus rather than a highly specialised one.

The advantages of working with small corpora are that they can be very focused, built to address a very specific research question, are small enough for manual clean-up of the texts and the researcher can be very familiar with the corpus, its contents and its organisation. The focused corpora I will discuss contain articles from specific domains (UN and newspaper texts discussing refugees), specific time periods (the Lampeter corpus) or both (pamphlets from the Society for the Reformation of Manners). These corpora were assembled to address specific research questions and the texts are unlikely to appear in more general corpora such as the BoE or BNC. There are disadvantages of small corpora; they can be too small for patterns to be identified or non-representative. Sinclair (2004: 189) argues that for this reason, corpora should be as large as they can be. Representativeness is a difficult issue which researchers have addressed in different ways – for example, sampling texts taken from across a time period (as with the Society for the Reformation of Manners corpus). In some cases, the number of texts that can be included in the corpus are so limited that all can be included, as with the corpus of Catholic discourses (Teubert 2007).

Corpus linguistic research into social discourses has been conducted using small, focused corpora. I will examine examples of such research, with particular attention paid to how some of the disadvantages of using small, focused corpora were resolved. I will also explain what the researcher gained from using a small, focused corpus, and how using this corpus enabled the researcher to observe phenomena which couldn't have been investigated using a large, general corpus.

In *Swearing in English: Bad language, purity and power from 1586 to the present*, McEnery constructs and makes use of two small corpora of under 250,000 words and one larger corpus of almost 550,000 words. One of these corpora is the Mary Whitehouse corpus (MWC), consisting of 216,289 words. It is constructed out of her major writings of the period 1967 – 1977, and includes three of her books: *Cleaning-up TV, Who Does She Think She Is?* and *Whatever happened to Sex?* (McEnery 2005: 13). While this is a relatively small corpus, the material it is constructed from is significant in terms of the effect it had; as McEnery (2005: 13) explains, "these books, with their wide circulation, were the principal public output from the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association (the VALA) [...] in this period, and as such I take them to be a good focus for a study of how the VALA tried to excite a moral panic in the general population of Britain". Because these books were highly influential and informed the pressure group's campaigns, McEnery justifies their use as the basis of his corpus.

The other two corpora use historical material. The Society for the Reformation of Manners corpus (SRMC) contains 120,709 words, while the Lampeter corpus contains 544,894 words. Again, the SRMC was built around a limited number of texts carefully chosen for their influence – the two earlier texts, Yates (1699) and Walker (1711), were widely distributed, whilst the two later texts, Anon. (1740) and Penn (1745) were introduced to allow for diachronic comparison. As McEnery (2005: 14) notes, "ideally one would like to have gathered a much larger set of texts together, the longevity of the Yates and Walker texts, and their wide distribution during the lifetime of the societies, make them in essence texts which are representative of the society and its aims". The Lampeter corpus is intended as a reference corpus for the SRMC and was not assembled by McEnery.

Its construction is discussed in section 3.2.1. McEnery chose texts from a period contemporary to the SRMC, so only used texts from the period 1690-1750. Although the MWC and the SRMC were assembled from different texts from different time periods, there appears to be a similar approach underpinning them. For both of the corpora, McEnery selected texts that were widely distributed and influential. While the corpora themselves may be small, the texts included in them were widely disseminated and used for a long time, and can therefore be considered representative of a larger campaign.

Baker and McEnery use a corpus constructed of UN and newspaper texts to investigate discourses of refugees and asylum seekers. The UN corpus contains 265,224 words, while the newspaper section is composed of two parts: the refugee(s) section contains 76,205 words and the asylum seeker(s) section contains 62,299 words. The corpora were restricted in terms of author and date: they were "created by a restricted set of authors, and where there was a higher degree of certainty that the discourses of refugees or asylum seekers contained within them were more likely to be received as hegemonic or widely accepted positions" (Baker and McEnery 2005: 199) and were constructed from British newspaper articles published in 2003 and articles on refugees and asylum seekers published in 2003 by The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The newspaper texts were collected from an online archive with the criteria for selection being that they had to contain the words *refugee(s)* or the phrases *asylum seeker(s)* and published in 2003. The UNHCR corpus contained every text published by the UNHCR's website in 2003 (Baker and McEnery 2005: 201).

These corpora, while small, both contain as much text as possible. Rather than use text sampling and trying to be representative of a large variety of

discourses, the corpora are highly focused while simultaneously attempting to contain 'complete' discourses such as all the texts produced by an official body or all the texts containing the search terms under investigation. While focused, the newspaper corpus is arguably incomplete as it is composed of texts the corpus compilers felt contained hegemonic positions. The UNHCR corpus, however, raises the possibility of a different type of small, focused corpus: a closed corpus. In the next section I will discuss this with reference to Teubert's 2007 examination of Catholic discourses using a corpus of texts issued by the Pope representing the Vatican, and Mahlberg's 2012 work on corpus stylistics in Dickens novels.

2.2.2 Research using closed corpora

The previous two examples of McEnery (2005) and Baker and McEnery (2005) offer an insight into research where careful sampling using a variety of criteria is used to create a small but highly focused corpus. However, there are also examples of research where a small corpus is used, but rather than being the result of sampling, its size is determined by the number of texts that meet the criteria. This has the effect of creating a corpus that is fully representative of the specialised kind of text it is designed to examine. In both of the cases I discuss in this section, the corpus produced is very small – 16 texts in Teubert's 2007 study of Catholic discourses and 23 in Mahlberg's 2012 investigation into the stylistics of Dickens' novels. However, to create a bigger corpus, the parameters of the research would have to be changed.

Teubert takes a different approach to Baker and McEnery (2005) and McEnery (2005) when examining Catholic discourses. His texts are already limited by "time (1891 to 1991), domain (social doctrine), origin (the Pope representing the Vatican), and genre (encyclicals plus some comparable texts)" (Teubert 2007: 91).

While a word count for the corpus is not given, the corpus is composed of 16 texts (Teubert 2007: 93) which suggests a corpus larger than McEnery's, but still not approaching the large general corpora, such as the BNC or Bank of English, in size. This indicates an approach more similar to Baker and McEnery (2005) than McEnery (2005); rather than choosing texts which were particularly influential, widely circulated and representative of a particular group, Teubert includes all the texts relevant to his research focus. Unlike the Society for the Reformation of Manners Corpus which could have included texts from between 1711 and 1740, or the Mary Whitehouse Corpus which could have included texts produced by other members of the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association between 1967 and 1977, Teubert has focused so tightly on a particular research topic that there appear to be no other texts that could be included.

Mahlberg takes a similar approach in her corpus stylistic investigation of characterisation in Dickens' novels. She takes as a starting point "the assumption that clusters highlight textual patterns that are relevant to the creation of characters in readers' minds" and uses a corpus of 23 texts; however, in her analysis she focuses on his novels and as such, restricts her corpus to those texts. While she acknowledges that "Dickens's relationship with the public extended to his activities as public speaker, actor and the public readings of his fiction" and briefly discusses his role as editor of two popular magazines, her focus on "Dickens's handling of character and his narratorial prose" means that her corpus, tightly focused on novels, is appropriate for the research parameters.

2.2.3 The value of small and closed corpora

The common feature of both highly focused small corpora and closed corpora is that they are constructed for a specific purpose and to answer a specific research question; this means that, for example, the SRMC would not be useful for investigating general features of 18th century pamphlets because it is too specialised and not representative of a more generalised discourse. Conversely, the examples of these specialised corpora highlight the importance of constructing a corpus so it is able to answer a specific research question. The corpora can only offer an insight into the texts included in them and therefore, careful selection of texts is crucial to constructing a useful, focused corpus. However, the size of the corpus is an issue; Sinclair (2004: 189) warns that

> There is no virtue in being small. Small is not beautiful; it is simply a limitation. [...] The main virtue of being large in a corpus is that the underlying regularities have a better chance of showing through the superficial variations [...] Another compelling reason for a corpus to be as big as possible is that a lot of the research concerns recurrent combinations of words rather than the individual words

Sinclair's concerns centre on these recurrent combination of words, observing that "most words do not occur very often", something that is even more problematic once the likelihood of pairs of words, triplets of words or other clusters is taken into account. Sinclair's conclusion is that "we have to have very large corpora indeed, in order to look at phraseology in any systematic way". Corpus construction, especially of a specialised corpus, is therefore a difficult balancing act between keeping the corpus focused enough to answer the research question for which it was created to answer and addressing Sinclair's concerns over whether the corpus can show infrequent occurrences; Sinclair notes that even an 800 million word corpus did not

show a particular phrase. There are different responses to this criticism of small corpora. One is to do as Sinclair suggests and try to use as big a corpus as possible in order to show the underlying regularities and recurrent combinations of words through the superficial variations.

However, the desirability of a large corpus must be balanced against the size of the texts eligible for inclusion in the corpus. While a large corpus may offer the advantages Sinclair discusses, in some cases it is impossible to create a larger corpus without changing the focus of the research conducted using this corpus. For example, Mahlberg's Dickens corpus, containing the texts of Dickens' novels, could be extended using Dickens' other writing such as letters and essays, in which case it would answer research questions about Dickens' writing in general rather than just his novels, or it could be supplemented with other novels writing in the 19th century in which case it would answer questions about the stylistics of 19th century novels in general rather than specifically that of Dickens' work. Similarly, Teubert could have included other texts – for example, texts produced outside his specified time frame, or issued outside the Vatican – but then would have risked losing focus on his research question of discourses of work, property, Natural Law and human rights in Catholic social doctrine.

The concept of a closed corpus, therefore, is a useful one to this study. The two corpora used – the 7 million word Suffrage corpus and the 396,000 word Letters to the Editor (LttE) corpus – are both constructed as closed corpora rather than being carefully sampled and focused. Ultimately, if a particularly construction does not appear in this corpus, it is more likely (acknowledging the effect of poor Optical Character Recognition (OCR) and the problems of a noisy corpus) to be because *The Times* did not use that construction than because the corpus is too small to show it.

As I have discussed in this section, corpus linguistic approaches offer useful ways to combat researcher bias, investigate tiny and incremental changes in discourse, and show unusual or infrequent discourses. However, as, discussed earlier, corpus linguistics can be combined with other linguistic methodologies. In the following section, I discuss the three approaches from Critical Discourse Analysis I use to complement corpus linguistics.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis has already been briefly mentioned in conjunction with research using corpus linguistics. Like corpus linguistics, it is empirical; it challenges the Saussurean dichotomy between *langue* and *parole* by analysing language as it is used rather theoretical possibilities of language. By analysing real examples of language use, critical discourse analysis avoids Fairclough's (2001: 6) criticism of the study of *langue*: "an idealized view of language, which isolates it from the social and historical matrix outside which it cannot actually exist". This sensitivity to the social and historical context underpins critical discourse analysis; it does not only analyse the texts themselves, but it is also concerned with "processes of text production, distribution and consumption" (Fairclough 1992: 78) and ideology, power, power relations and hegemonic struggle (Fairclough 1992: 86).

Discourse itself can mean one of a number of overlapping and related concepts. As Fairclough (1992: 3) explains, it can be used to describe samples of spoken language; it can be used to describe extended examples of spoken and written language, often emphasising interaction between the reader and the writer or speaker and listener and in doing so, "processes of producing and interpreting speech and writing, as well as the situational context of language use"; it can be used to describe

the language used in different social situations; and it can be used in social theory to describe "different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice". In the latter use, discourses do not merely represent or reflect social relations or 'entities', but construct and constitute them. Fairclough (1992: 3) observes, different discourses constitute social entities in different ways, and position people in different ways as social subjects; it "is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (Fairclough 1992: 64). Discourses can also combine to create new, complex discourses – Fairclough (1992: 148) examines medical interviews as a type of discourse where the discourses of medicine and of counselling interact. The discourse of counselling has an effect on the discourse of medicine because it embodies other shifts in cultural values and social relations such as "shifts in the construction of the 'medical self' away from overt authority and expertise, shifts in power away from the producers of goods and services towards the consumers or clients, away from formality towards informality". However, as Fairclough (1992: 149) notes, this is not necessarily a smooth or uncontested change: instead, "there are divergent or contradictory tendencies at work" offering the possibility of countering these shifts, and "tendencies in cultural change can harmonize with tendencies at other levels, or come into conflict with them". In the example of counselling that he offers, the discourses associated with counselling give patients the time they feel they need to talk and therefore are economically more costly at a time when doctors are under pressure to be more efficient.

Pin-pointing exactly what critical discourse analysis is and how to do it can be difficult. Bauer and Gaskell (2000: 10) acknowledge that qualitative research, including types of discourse analysis, is "a 'didactic nightmare'"; they note that

"much of the literature is still preoccupied with demarcating the legitimate territory of this autonomous methodological path" leading to "an epistemological hypertrophy, producing definitions of positions and counter-positions in a competitive field with more obscuration and jargon than clarity". Weiss and Wodak (2003: 6) observe that, while "[t] here is no such thing as a uniform, common theory formation determining CDA", there are several approaches which share common themes and address similar issues. Gill (2000: 172) focuses on common issues in discourse analysis, noting that these approaches "share [...] a rejection of the realist notion that language is simply a neutral means of reflecting or describing the world, and a conviction in the central importance of discourse in constructing social life". This has obvious implications for newspaper analysis; as Bauer and Gaskell (2000: 6) note, "[a] newspaper represents the world for a group of people in an accepted way, otherwise people would not buy it. In this context the newspaper becomes an indicator of their worldview". Gill's claim means that a newspaper goes beyond merely reflecting or indicating people's views, and instead helps to construct the social reality informing people's views. The texts' creative role means that they and their content and organisation are analysed, rather than "the texts [being seen] as vehicles to find out about some reality assumed to lie beyond or behind language" (Gill 2000: 177).

Gill (2000: 177) describes key themes in what she calls "the practice of discourse analysis": asking different questions, transcription, sceptical reading, coding, and analysing discourse. The importance of these themes can differ for different types of data and for different analyses; as *The Times* Digital Archive already exists in the public domain the transcription stage involves cleaning the OCR rather than producing the transcriptions themselves. However, as Gill (200: 178)

notes, time spent producing the transcripts is not "'dead time" but instead is a period of engagement with the texts during which insights may be had. Sceptical reading involves the "suspension of belief in the taken for granted"; instead of reading the text for something "behind or underlying it" or to produce a "simple, unitary summary, and to ignore the nuance, contradictions and areas of vagueness" (Potter and Wetherall, 1987: 168) it involves focusing on the "constructions, organisation and functions of discourse" and "interrogating your own assumptions and the ways you habitually make sense of things" (Gill 2000: 178). The method of discourse analysis Gill proposes also involves "organising categories of interest" in the data which Gill (2000: 179) refers to as coding. Unlike corpus linguistics, the coding here comes from a need for "the discourse analysts [...] [to] immerse themselves in the data". The actual process of analysing discourse comes after the initial coding and is two-fold. Firstly, the discourse analyst tries to identify patterns in the data. Secondly, "there is the concern with function, with forming tentative hypotheses about the functions of particular features of the discourse, and checking these against the data" (Gill 2000: 180). This creates a cycle where hypotheses are formed, checked against the data then refined or discarded.

Sceptical reading of a text refers to the practice of reading a text for inconsistencies and contradictions. Reading a text in such a way implies that the text can be read as a coherent communicative event in which some parts of the text can support other parts of the text, while other parts can refute other parts of the same text. This different practice of reading and analysing texts is also apparent in the attention given to what does not appear in the text. Gill (2000: 180) observes that "discourse analysts must also be sensitive to what is not said – silences"; identification of such silences requires an understanding of the social, political and

cultural contexts in which the text operates in order to gauge what ought to be present but is not, and requires the text to be read in the manner described by Tognini-Bonelli as characteristic of conceptualising text as a coherent communicative event. Baker et al (2008: 281) argue that the existence of these silences and the need to identify them "justifies the use of CDA rather than purely descriptive, data-driven approaches which are epistemologically inadequate in accounting for the complex linguistic choices made during the processes of text production".

However, there are also similarities, particularly in the practice of coding repeated patterns and categories of interest, and in using data to refine the hypothesis and so converge on a solution. As Baker et al (2008: 295) argue, "both approaches can be used as entry points, creating a virtuous research cycle" where corpus linguistic and critical discourse analysis are used in conjunction to identify and analyse patterns in the data. Mautner (2009: 123) offers two examples of how this cycle may work, and presents both a corpus-to-article approach and an article-to-corpus approach to using corpora in discourse analysis. An article-to-corpus approach uses a limited number of texts as a starting point and "uses large-corpus data as an aid in interpreting what appears to be a particularly 'loaded' expression from the article". In contrast, a corpus-to-article approach uses the corpus to find patterns and identify "socially relevant information" and "establish a collocational profile of a key expression from the lexis" which is then closely analysed using critical discourse analysis. This collocational profile includes "semantic preference and discourse prosody [which] show us what kinds of social issues a particular lexical item is bound up in, and what attitudes are commonly associated with it" (Mautner 2009: 129). These collocational patterns "are not merely instantiated in

text, but also cling to the lexical items themselves" – however, the claim that lexical items acquire these connotations is disputed (Whittsitt 2005; Hoey 2005). Instead, Hoey (2005: 24) frames this in terms of the psychological preference on the part of the language user which 'primes' a "word or word sequence [...] in the mind of a language user with a semantic set or class, some members of which are also collocates for that user". Priming offers a way of accounting for these associations without implying that lexical items themselves can be imbued with connotations independent of language users.

Baker et al (2008: 295) propose nine possible stages to what they describe as "corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis". These stages move between quantitative work – identifying potential areas of interest through analysing corpus data – and qualitative work. As I have discussed, critical discourse analysis encompasses a variety of approaches that the analyst can choose to fit their research. I use three concepts from (critical) discourse analysis: master and counter narratives (Bamburg 2004), newsworthiness (Galtung and Ruge 1967) and social actor analysis (van Leeuwen 2009). All three aid in understanding the corpora as diachronically organised news texts – they are created according to the pressures of news production, they are ordered chronologically, a news event may be reported over time, and news reports often focus on individuals who become news actors and report on them in such a way that they become social actors.

2.3.1 Master narratives and counter narratives

In this section, I will discuss Bamburg's (2004) theory of master and counter narratives before demonstrating how these can be applied to the suffrage movement in general and the news narrative of Emily Wilding Davison in particular.

Bamburg (2004: 354) argues that not only do narratives connect and orientate past, present, imagined or desired states and events, but that they also construct a character by connecting different temporal manifestations of their being and establishing their fluency and continuity. In this thesis, I make a distinction between narratives and discourses; while discourses are ways of making sense of the world and can be called upon at different times, narratives are temporal and situate events or actors as part of a story or timeline. The master and counter narratives that I discuss are ways of framing a timeline, indicating how to interpret it – however, unlike discourses, the master narrative is always present. Even if a master narrative is not explicitly stated and a counter narrative is in use, the counter narrative, in consciously responding to the master narrative, implies the presence of a master narrative. In contrast, discourses may or may not be present and can instead be drawn upon or backgrounded.

The timeline constructed by Rosen (see Appendix 3 for the timeline of direct action) describes events in the form of direct action and in terms of characters, such as the Pankhursts, Annie Kenney and Emily Wilding Davison; the timelines of, for example, arson are important because they trace how such activities were developed, became more acceptable and usual within the movement and propagated, but, as the historiography devoted to the Pankhursts demonstrated, the trajectories of different individuals within the movement were and are a source of fascination and are closely connected with the trajectory of the movement as a whole. The narrative function described by Bamburg is able to account for the presence of both of these aspects, encompassing the narratives of both events and people. Bamburg identifies different kinds of narrative, one of which is what he terms the 'master narrative'. While master narratives can be defined in a narrow sense as how narrators position

themselves within their story, Bamburg (2004: 359) notes that master narratives can also be defined in a broader sense as "grand récits and metanarratives from which there seems to be no escape"; the subject is constrained by such master narratives acting as frames guiding the subject into cultural expectations.

Significantly, subjects are not necessarily aware of these master narratives. Instead, master narratives are pervasive, and a subject orientates themselves towards master narratives through cultural fluency – being immersed in a culture and understanding its expectations. The power of master narratives lies in their familiarity, pervasiveness and internalisation, and as individuals embedded in a culture we cannot help but to use them and be constrained by them. Their usage serves to normalise and naturalise the master narratives, and engaging with the master narrative on its own terms (rather than resisting or countering it) effectively reinforces it. Bamburg (2004: 360) observes that "the effect of these master narratives is to constrain and delineate the agency of subjects, seemingly reducing the range of their actions"; as such, master narratives are powerful influences on possibilities and potentialities open to the subject, and through internalisation and normalisation, can make courses of action unthinkable. However, these master narratives also offer direction and guidance. They both structure and help make sense of the world if we understand things evoked in them. Bamburg (2004) offers the example of fairy tales and pregnancy, while Coulthard and Johnson (2007) discuss the master narrative of expectations of a good doctor. Both demonstrate the presence of a master narrative as something with which the subject engages; however, the subject can also challenge these master narratives. As such, master narratives are "not automatically hegemonic and that complicity with them does not automatically result in being complicit with or supportive of hegemonic power-

knowledge complexes" (Bamburg 2004: 360). However, both Bamburg and Coulthard and Johnson acknowledge that challenging master narratives can be difficult. As Coulthard and Johnson (2007: 98) observe, "master narratives are hegemonic and counter narratives are individual", so reinforcing the power of master narratives. While not automatically hegemonic, more people are made aware of master narratives as they are pervasive in culture. In contrast, a counter narrative is unlikely to have a similar reach.

Resistance to master narratives can be engineered from within the master narrative itself, as in the case of counter narratives; while a master narrative positions the subject, a counter narrative can carve out space for the social actor to challenge the master narrative or reposition themselves within it. Bamburg (2004: 366) affords the subject some agency, arguing for a clear distinction "between the 'being positioned' orientation, which is attributing a rather deterministic force to master narratives, and a more agentive notion of the subject as 'positioning itself,' in which the discursive resources or repertoires are not a priori pre-established but rather are interactively accomplished." In this way, a subject can disrupt the master narrative and supply a counter narrative.

Coulthard and Johnson (2007: 98) apply this theory of narrative to prosecution and defence cases; as they observe, "[C]riminal prosecutions centre around socially deviant behaviour and the work of the prosecution is to prove that the accused behaved according to individually defined rules and norms which are outside the 'normal' social script. Master narratives can, therefore, provide defence scripts for suspects who seek to appear socially normal". They examine the master and counter narratives used by the defence and prosecution on the trial of Harold Shipman. The defence narrative they identify was "that he was a caring doctor, who

assiduously attended to his elderly, infirm patients"; this narrative conforms to the socially recognised master narrative of how a doctor should act, the characteristics of a doctor, and how the relationship between a medical professional and those they care for should be enacted. The "deviant counter narrative, presented by the prosecution, [was] that he was an evil murderer who had cynically abused his position of professional trust", that Shipman refused to conform to the social expectations of his profession and instead created his own rules for his behaviour. As Coulthard and Johnson (2007: 98) note, Shipman had to forcefully resist this counter narrative; to accept it would lead to a guilty verdict.

One issue is how to identify a master narrative. Bamburg (2004) argues that it is our cultural fluency that enables us to become aware of the master narratives shaping our thoughts and actions. This poses obvious problems when attempting to identify a historical master narrative taking place; not being in the culture (re)producing the master narrative hampers the analyst's ability to recognise it. In this thesis I use a combination of data (statistically strongly associated collocates) with patterns identified by Pugh (2002) to establish a set of categories which offer an insight into the words linked to the suffrage terms I investigated. These categories encompassed both issues connected with the suffrage movement – the organisations, factions and individuals within it, the types of activities it engaged in (such as direct action), the legal repercussions of their actions – and much broader issues of the correct gender roles in society, the cultural spheres of men and women, and what political behaviour is meant to look like and who it is meant to involve. A category like direct action emerges because it connects to different master narratives of cultural expectations of different genders and appropriate behaviour for women, ideas of who should hold political power and cultural expectations of behaviour in

society – for example, not heckling MPs, allowing meetings to proceed, not throwing stones at windows and not setting buildings on fire.

To offer a more detailed example of how suffrage campaigners engaged with the master narrative of correct gender roles in society: the master narrative established was that women were temperamentally unsuited to the world of politics, especially to the politics of Empire – they were too gentle and pure to make decisions involving the military and international power, and, indeed, operating in the male, political sphere would risk their loss of something uniquely feminine and delicate. Instead, a woman's domain was the home and her power lay in creating a nurturing environment for her family. A narrative working within the master narrative, put forward by anti-suffragist campaigners, claimed that extending the vote for women destroyed these separate spheres and forced women into a role they were fundamentally unsuited for. Some suffrage campaigners answered with a counter-narrative by arguing in support of female suffrage within the master narrative, claiming that the very differences between men and women made women's participation in politics – particularly in a government that was increasingly concerning itself more with domestic issues such as welfare and public health – utterly vital. Women's femininity was not diminished by their inclusion in politics; rather, politics was enhanced through that same femininity.

However, resisting the counter narrative by appealing to the master narrative was not the only way in which suffrage campaigners tried to reject negative narratives about themselves, their motives and their actions. In these texts, the suffrage campaigners themselves offer the additional complexity of resisting these narratives, and mark themselves as having "individually defined rules and norms" as part of their defence when, as Coulthard and Johnson argue, such social deviance is

usually used to support the case for prosecution. Instead, the suffragists reframe their defence as one of superior morals; Colmore's 1913 biography (reprinted in Stanley and Morley 1988) of Emily Wilding Davison quotes Davison as writing "Rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God". Rather than accepting the dichotomy between the master narrative of law-abidingness and socially validated morality and the counter narrative of individualistic and disruptive anti-morality, the suffragists try to counter this by positioning themselves outside this dichotomy. Their reframing of their morality as subversive yet superior also allows them to resist their positioning within the counter narrative by others.

Newspapers contribute to this immersion and enable a subject's cultural fluency; they were produced regularly and so enabled a constant stream of feedback about what was considered worthy of reporting as news. As I will discuss in the next section, 'newsworthy' news events often become so because they are in some way connected to the culturally expected frame of a master narrative; for example, an event is considered newsworthy because it has negative consequences. What is considered to be negative is culturally determined; in reporting something considered negative, a news report makes that aspect of an usually invisible master narrative briefly, if blurrily, visible.

2.3.2 The principles of newsworthiness

In Chapters 5 and 6, I use the 12 culture-bound factors affecting newsworthiness established by Galtung and Ruge (1965) to explain how and why suffrage campaigning became news.

Being culture-bound, these factors are also a product of their time; while some of these factors would operate in a different way to that proposed by Galtung and Ruge

(1965) in the different context of a newspaper of Empire as the *Times* was, others are still salient to this discussion. These factors are particularly useful when exploring news narratives as I do in Chapter 6; as Galtung and Ruge (1965: 67) observe, once an event has been reported as news, it is more likely to continue being reported as news and so contribute to a news narrative. In turn, this reinforces both the newsworthiness of the event and solidifies the discourse surrounding it.

The following factors are particularly relevant to the development of a suffrage news narrative:

- The more similar the frequency of the event is to the frequency of the news medium, the more probable that it will be recorded as news by that news medium.

- Once something has hit the headlines and been defined as 'news', then it will continue to be defined as news for some time even if the amplitude is drastically reduced. The channel has been opened and stays partly open to justify its being opened in the first place, partly because of inertia in the system and partly because what was unexpected has now also become familiar.

- The more the event can be seen in personal terms, as due to the action of specific individuals, the more probable that it will become a news item.

- The more negative the event in its consequences, the more probable that it will become a news item.

- The idea of personification: News has a tendency to present events as sentences where there is a subject, a named person or collectivity consisting of a few persons, and the event is then seen as a consequence of the actions of this person or these persons. The alternative would be to present events as

the outcome of 'social forces', as structural more than idiosyncratic outcomes

of the society which produced them.

<div align="right">(Galtung and Ruge 1965: 66-68)</div>

As Galtung and Ruge (1965: 66) indicate, the frequency of the event is significant in

two ways. Firstly, the more closely the frequency of an event corresponds to the

frequency of the news medium, the more likely it is that that event will be reported

as news by that news medium. As the timeline of WSPU arson in Chapter 4 shows,

these events were happening regularly – sometimes up to three arsons on the same

day, as on 2nd April, and at least weekly. This better fits the publication of

successive issues of the *Times* – not so frequently as to become impossible to report,

as with Galtung and Ruge's example of deaths during a battle, but not so infrequently

as to lose the interest of the press.

The presence of reports on arson is, to an extent, reflected by Galtung and

Ruge's (1965: 67) observation that there is "inertia in the system"; that "once

something has hit the headlines and been defined as 'news', then it will continue to be

defined as news for some time even if the amplitude is drastically reduced".

However, as Table 6.2 in Chapter 6 indicates, the suffragettes were perfectly capable

of escalating their action. Rosen (1974: 195) suggests that "[a]s repression mounted,

the WSPU more and more tended to see its opponents as tyrants and bullies who

embodied the quintessence of evil", and their actions reflected this animosity.

Galtung and Ruge's principle appears to operate somewhat differently here; they

argue that if an event has already been reported in the news, its amplitude – the

scale/significance of connected stories – can be reduced but will continue to be

reported as news. Rosen's observation is that the "amplitude" of the suffragette's

<div align="right">71</div>

actions was not reduced; this, I would argue, leads to a double effect where previous reporting of the suffrage campaign combines with the escalation of their response. This fits into a narrative of suffrage resistance and organisation; the presence of a narrative with which their activities can be viewed, the maintenance or increase in amplitude and previous reporting of the campaign all reinforce their newsworthiness. The suffrage campaign was headed by charismatic leaders who saw the value of making the campaign personal, for example in the WSPU's extravagant welcome of prisoners released due to hunger-striking, and so contributing to the factor of personification. This is clearly seen in the Emily Wilding Davison texts I examine; as well as reporting on her actions, information is offered about her background, academic qualifications and family.

The consequences of the event were also an issue. Galtung and Ruge (1965: 68) propose that "the more negative the event in its consequences, the more probable that it will become a news item". This could work for suffrage direct action in several ways: firstly, the immediate consequences of the direct action – a building burnt down, a meeting disrupted, windows broken. As Bearman (2005) claims, the WSPU supported a sustained campaign of arson and bombings.

However, the suffrage movement also challenged gender norms and the political hierarchy – something that non-suffragists found disruptive, unsettling or threatening. While not as immediate as broken windows or damaged buildings, this challenge, and the prospect of it being successful, was also a negative consequence. The WSPU had a strong leadership, and this contributed to their newsworthiness. As Galtung and Ruge (1965: 68) argue, "the more the event can be seen in personal terms, as due to the action of specific individuals, the more probable that it will become a news item". This relates to their idea of 'personification', or "that news has

a tendency to present events as sentences where there is a subject, a named person or collectivity consisting of a few persons, and the event is then seen as a consequence of the actions of this person or these persons" (Galtung and Ruge 1965: 68). They argue that newsworthiness is partly driven by the ability to see the people involved as individuals and the events as simply the result of actions by those individuals. The "alternative would be to present events as the outcome of 'social forces', as structural more than idiosyncratic outcomes of the society which produced them" (Galtung and Ruge 1965: 68). In the context of the suffrage movement, this might result in a focus on the Pankhursts and their activities or on court cases and trials of those involved in direct action rather than a focus on the social context underpinning the suffrage movement such as women's lack of enfranchisement, women's working conditions and restrictive gender roles.

Galtang and Ruge's work has informed previous corpus linguistic investigations. Caldas-Coulthard (2003) offers a case study for using Galtung and Ruge's (1965) factors as a framework to be populated by corpus data and then used for critical discourse analysis. She investigates three of the categories proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1965) in her examination of the news recontextualisations of Brazil and Brazilians: reference to elite nations, personalization and negativity. Through analysis of concordance lines she is able to examine "what kinds of social issues a particular lexical item is bound up in, and what attitudes are commonly associated with it" (Mautner 2009: 128). The results of the concordance line analysis then inform her focused analysis of individual texts.

Caldas-Coulthard's study focuses on connecting Galtung and Ruge's categories of newsworthiness with lexical items. Instead of focusing on the lexical level, I apply it on the level of the text and argue that newsworthiness both accounts

for news reports appearing in the paper in the first place, but also contributes to the organisation of the articles themselves. Through the inclusion and organisation of texts within the articles, the newspaper guides the reader towards interpreting the suffrage movement in a particular context. The context is not necessarily one of disorder and protest; it can be, as in the June 1913 texts, one of the many incidents taking place during a major sporting event.

2.3.3 Social actor theory

The third component of my critical discourse analysis approach is van Leeuwen's (2009) taxonomy of social actors. In it, he outlines a taxonomy of social actor representation, starting with the question: How can we represent social actors with a language like English? While Galtung and Ruge's work emphasises news actors through personification, van Leeuwen's emphasises how social actors can be active or passive, and the "broader discourse-semantic issues" such as the presence or absence of social actors (van Leeuwen 2009: 281). This taxonomy makes explicit some of the editorial decisions made by news staff; for example, on whether to present a social actor in terms of generic or specific reference – whether a social actor is "referred to as classes of people rather than as specific, identifiable individuals" (van Leeuwen 2009: 282). Such a decision can have ideological implications; it has a role in establishing "us" and "them" groups, and van Leeuwen offers the example of "non-European immigrants" being constructed as a "them" group though use of generalisation.

Van Leeuwen (2009: 286) demonstrates the usefulness of his taxonomy in an analysis of "ordinary people" in two British newspapers; one tabloid, *The Sun*, and one broadsheet, *The Times*. "Ordinary people" excludes politicians, sportspeople,

celebrities and so on, but instead is taken to be "ordinary people whose doings and sayings are reported in relation to their work" (van Leeuwen 2009: 286). This analysis demonstrates the usefulness of examining several types of representation of social actors in order to draw conclusions – an approach bearing some resemblance to triangulation discussed in section 2.3.

In his analysis, van Leeuwen focuses on nomination, assimilation and categorisation. Both newspapers used all kinds of nomination identified by van Leeuwen; however, he found clear differences in formalisation as indicated through the use and non-use of titles. *The Sun* tended to informalise everyone regardless of position or social class, while *The Times* reserved informalisation for children and women in specific gendered roles (wife and nanny). Van Leeuwen (2009: 287) argues that the newspapers conceptualise identity differently; in *The Sun*, your private identity – who you are to your family, friends and neighbours – is emphasised, while in *The Times* it was public identity – who you are to strangers – that was emphasised. Both newspapers used all forms of assimilation – aggregation, collectivisation and association – identified, but again he found differences in use. He observes that *The Times* used assimilation and association more frequently than *The Sun*, and this gives the impression that the newspaper was "preoccupied with the group identity, and less with the individual identity of ordinary people" (van Leeuwen 2009: 288); in contrast, *The Sun* focused more on individual identities and even when ordinary people's identities were derived from group identity, their individual identities were less likely to be subsumed into the group. Van Leeuwen (2009: 289) notes that *The Times* used categorisation slightly more often than The Sun, but points out that the striking difference between the two newspapers lies in *The Times'* functionalisation of ordinary people in terms of their roles as clients of

social institutions and their occupations, while *The Sun* focused on relational identification. In his analysis, van Leeuwen is able to focus on different aspects of news representation of "ordinary people" as social actors. The conclusions he draws from each section of his analysis are similar: *The Sun* focuses on people's private, relational identities. In contrast, *The Times* presents ordinary people in terms of their public identities, stressing their place society in terms of their occupation, engagement with social institutions and group identities. This critical awareness

Van Leeuwen (2009: 291) argues that this approach has two major benefits: firstly, it "brings out patterns – habits of representations – some of which do, and some of which do not accord with preconceived notions. Secondly, it can "provide the basis of critical evaluation, for identifying the positive and negative aspects of particular discourses". This focus on representation makes this approach a useful component of my analysis. In this thesis I focus on three categories of social actor – nomination, classification and association – in an analysis of the actions of Emily Wilding Davison and their aftermath. I trace Davison's representation as a social actor diachronically across ten texts, demonstrating that Davison's presence as a social actor shifts over the course of the news narrative, and that changes in her representation can be linked to other events.

Conclusion

My investigation of the suffrage movement has revealed gaps in knowledge: specifically, a detailed analysis of how the movement was reported in the contemporary press. I have also identified the major issues established by historians and outlined some of the factors contributing towards tension in the movement. These include the different and sometimes competing campaigns for equal franchise

and universal suffrage, the constitutionalist and militant groups and campaigns, the class and regional identities encompassed by different organisations, varying approaches to gender and gender roles, and the different origins and histories of the organisations. This historical awareness contributes to the triangulated approach; an understanding of the debates, terminology and issues of the times enables more sensitive, nuanced analysis.

The two approaches from linguistics – corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis – offer complementary strengths and allow for a fuller, less subjective analysis. The strengths of corpus linguistics lie in reducing researcher bias, enabling the examination of the incremental effect of discourse, allowing for the exploration of resistant and changing discourses, and triangulation. Together, these strengths enable a researcher to perform an informed analysis while decreasing the likelihood of a biased or superficial analysis. Discourse analysis allows the researcher to perform a detailed, focused and systematic analysis of a limited number of texts, paying particular attention to how the text functions as a whole, what is not said in the text and inconsistencies in the text. The three critical discourse analytical frameworks I use each offer a different insight into *The Times* Digital Archive texts that form my corpus through focusing on the factors affecting the transition from "event" to "news", the development of narratives and the subject's positioning within them, and the different ways of representing social actors in news reports. As I discuss, the representation of people in the news is not neutral; instead, newspapers help construct a social reality for their readers. Stubbs (1996) argues that repeated patterns of description "provide familiar and conventional representations of people and events" which, through repetition, "acquire...an aura of common sense, and come to seem natural and comprehensive rather than partial and selective". This is

crucial for understanding the power of newspaper discourse: their use of such repeated terms and patterns of language, and, in doing so, the things that appear to be natural and common sense, has reach. Their platform is greater and their audience wider than that of most individuals, and allow the newspaper to shape reality on a national and international level. Therefore, understanding how the suffrage campaign was represented in *The Times* is crucial to understanding how the suffrage campaign was understood by the public, and any misrepresentation of the movement in *The Times* can be assumed to lead to misconceptions in their readership.

3 Methodology

Introduction

This thesis draws on three methods for analysis: established corpus linguistic methodologies, critical discourse analysis and the historiography of the British women's suffrage movement. In this chapter I discuss the practical implications of these three methods for analysis. Reisgi and Wodak (2009: 95) argue that "[t]he historical orientation permits the reconstruction of how recontextualization functions as an important process linking texts and discourses intertextually and interdiscursively over time"; that texts do not exist in isolation but are linked to other texts and other discourses, and that the analyst can work towards re-establishing, as far as possible, the discourse environment of the individual texts. As newspaper texts about a contested subject, the texts forming the two corpora used in this thesis must be understood in their social and political context and their role in (re)producing discourse about the suffrage movement.

Section 3.1 details the research questions this thesis aims to answer. Section 3.2 outlines the steps I take in producing an analysis. I base this on Baker et al's (2008: 295) nine possible stages to what they describe as "corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis". Section 3.3 focuses on the data I use in this thesis. I begin with examining suitable pre-assembled corpora and, not finding any, explore the potential of digitalised newspaper archives. I focus on *The Times* Digital Archive, its online interface and the steps taken to obtain the data. I discuss some of the challenges in making this data suitable for corpus analysis and some of the features of *The Times* newspaper that it is important to take into consideration during my analysis. In

section 3.4 I explain my reasons for creating subcorpora out of *The Times* Digital

Archive material and discuss how the years 1908 to 1914 were selected for study.

Frequency issues in the data, the history of the suffrage movement and events of the

early 20th century were all factors in this decision. I argue that this combined

approach makes for research appropriately informed by the context in which the

news was produced. I outline the two corpora I assembled using texts from *The*

Times Digital Archive: the Suffrage corpus and the Letters to the Editor corpus. In

section 3.5 I discuss the corpus linguistics approaches I use: I focus on concordance

lines and (consistent) strongly associated collocates to group collocates of *suffrag**

terms into functional categories in order to identify discourses. In section 3.6 I

discuss the three critical discourse analysis approaches I use in Chapters 5 and 6,

where I analyse the news reports in their context – as articles rather than as

individual news reports or in the fractured readings of corpus linguistics. For the

analysis of these articles I use Galtung and Ruge's (1967) set of 12 culture-bound

factors influencing which news events became news stories to discuss how these

events became and were perpetuated as newsworthy events, Bamburg's (2004)

classification of master and counter narratives and van Leeuwen's (2004) taxonomy

of social actors.

3.1 Research questions

In this thesis, I will address the following research questions:

How and why did *The Times* use language to discursively construct the women's

suffrage movement between 1908 and 1914?

1. Using collocational analyses, what lexical choices contributed to *The Times'*

   representations of the suffrage movement? (Chapter 4)

2. How did the structure of the articles contribute towards representations of the movement? (Chapter 5, 6)

3. Using social actor analysis and analysis of named discourses, how was a key participant in the movement represented, and to what effect? (Chapter 6)

4. In what ways did representations of suffrage in Letters to the Editor differ from the newspaper as a whole? (Chapter 7)

5. How did the discourse around the movement change over time? (Chapter 4,5,6)

The detailed survey of suffrage historiography in Chapter 2 revealed that the suffrage movement was composed of many different organisations with different views on equal franchise or universal suffrage, differing campaigning strategies that made use of constitutionalist pressure on the government or militant direct action, different demographics of their membership in terms of class and region, different structures to their organisations and different approaches to gender. This diversity had implications for their representation in *The Times*. With limited opportunity for self-representation in *The Times*, the suffrage movement was largely represented in the newspaper by *The Times* correspondents; however, as Sama (1975) argues, *The Times* was editorially opposed to women's franchise. This thesis explores how editorial opposition to the suffrage movement and their demands affected the media representation of a movement characterised by its diversity. In particular, I examine how *The Times* conflated heterogeneous suffrage groups and identities to present a homogeneous movement focused on militant direct action.

I approach the issue of representation on both a lexical and textual level. The first question shifts my focus to the lexical choices made by *The Times*. Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 180) claim that an exercise of power such as that in *The Times* leads

to simplification of polyvocal, heterogeneous movements. They identify language as key to this process; the lexical item is therefore my starting point. Two terms emerged from the historical research: *suffragist* and *suffragette*, associated with constitutionalist and militant suffrage campaigners respectively. In Chapter 4 I examine these *suffrag** terms as they collocate with direct action terms, and in Chapter 7 I explore their consistent strongly associated collocates in the Letters to the Editor section of the newspaper. This focus on the set of *suffrag** terms enables me to explore whether *The Times* made the same associations between the different terms and the different campaigns as the historical research indicates.

The second research question moves from lexical items to the level of the text. While media historians have examined changes in lexical choice and style in *The Times*, the structure of articles has received relatively little attention. I examine what I will define as the 'suggestive placement' of texts within one article (as defined by XML in the files supplied by *The Times* Digital Archive). The lexical item is again a starting point for identifying articles that contain at least one text containing a *suffrag** term. I then examine the other texts in that article and explore the implicit connections. In Chapter 5 I present the evidence for suggestive placement and in Chapter 6 I offer a detailed case study of the articles reporting Emily Wilding Davison's actions and their aftermath. This case study, addressing the third research question, explores both lexical and textual dimensions of the representation of Emily Wilding Davison. Finally, I address the fourth research question in Chapter 7, and examine the representation of the suffrage movement in Letters to the Editor. Some letters to the editor were written by suffrage campaigners and supporters and I demonstrate that this difference in authorship was reflected in the different representation of the suffrage movement in this material. The fifth research question

is addressed through the focus on diachronic analysis throughout the thesis. This set of research questions allows me to explore the media representation of the suffrage movement at the level of the lexical item and at the level of the newspaper article. In the next section I outline the steps taken to perform these analyses.

3.2 Steps of the analysis

In this thesis I broadly use the nine stage model outlined by Baker et al (2008: 295) discussed in Chapter 2. I start with a detailed review of historical research into the suffrage movement in Chapter 2, identifying several important themes which provide a framework, firstly for corpus analysis and especially for the identification of categories, but also to identify discourses within the texts. In the case of historical newspaper discourses, with their emphasis on recent and unfolding events, an understanding of the context in which these events were taking place was essential. This was particularly important when establishing the political context in which the suffrage movement took place – the political parties, the politicians, attitudes within political parties towards suffrage, key people such as the Prime Minister, members of the Cabinet and members of the opposition, and the parliamentary process of introducing new legislation. While not necessarily explicitly discussed in news articles, this background is important in understanding the significance of some of the news reports – for example, Asquith stating his opposition to women's suffrage in a speech is significant and newsworthy because of his status as Prime Minister.

The next step of calculating strongly associated collocates for each of the suffrage terms (*suffragist, suffragists, suffragette, suffragettes*) by year is the first step towards establishing how clear these distinctions were. As discussed in section 3.5.1, calculating Mutual Information identifies which words strongly collocate

collocates with the search term; this not only offers some initial patterns to explore –

for example, different strongly associated collocates for *suffragist** and *suffragette** -

- but also filters a large amount of data to get a smaller amount of material that is

possible to analyse in more depth. Following this, I categorise strongly associated

collocates using categories derived from the historiography and those derived from

the data. As another way of filtering this data, I identify consistent strongly

associated collocates – those strongly associated collocates that appear in more than

a defined number of years. This identifies concerns that were consistently reported

rather than merely fleeting, and suggests areas which were long-term issues. It is

important to note that while consistent strongly associated collocates locate areas of

concern, the exact nature of the concern and the way it is expressed can change.

This investigation is structured diachronically for this reason; that while the

campaign for women's suffrage and the campaigners themselves were a source of

news and concern, the language used to report them could change. Concordance

lines of consistent strongly associated collocates enable me to explore these changes

by accessing the context of these collocates – what they're used to describe, whether

this changes diachronically and, importantly, how they are used in relation to other,

similar terms. As I demonstrate in Chapter 4, related terms from the same category –

in this case, the direct action category – are used to describe different activities,

encounters between different groups and at different times in the campaign. Finally,

I relate these to discourses as found in the historiography. As I have discussed in

Chapter 2, the suffrage movement was located at the centre of debates about the

greater involvement of government in the welfare of its citizens, the politics of

Empire and the role of men and women. Evidence of these discourses can be found

in *The Times* newspaper articles and letters to the editor. However, there are also

gaps and tensions between the newspaper discourse and discourses identified in *The Times*. Some features, such as the tensions between constitutionalist and militant suffrage campaigners, feature heavily in the historiography but not in *The Times*; others, such as direct action, are much more apparent in the newspaper articles than in historical research. Some of these can be accounted for by the criteria newspapers use to select news for publication; others suggest a geographical and class bias; others suggest a lack of awareness that comes from not writing from within the movement. However, it is also important to be aware of the ideological and political stance of *The Times*.

One of the strengths of this nine step model is that it is cyclical, allowing the researcher to shift between quantitative and qualitative approaches as data emerges. This was more in evidence during the actual process of analysis and learning about the corpus, but is reflected in the return to quantitative analysis in Chapter 7 after the more qualitative approach in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.3 Data

This section presents the initial survey of pre-assembled corpora for suitability before focusing on digital newspaper archives. I then describe *The Times* Digital Archive in more detail with particular focus on obtaining access to the machine-reading files underpinning the images supplied by the online interface.

3.3.1 Pre-assembled corpora

The advantage of having a ready-made corpus is that the work of licensing the material for use, cleaning up the data if necessary and constructing the corpus has already been completed. There are disadvantages to using a ready-made corpus;

namely, the corpus has been built to someone else's specifications. Secondly, that even if the corpora identified did not prove suitable for the purposes of this investigation, they still offered insight into the process of assembling a corpus of historical texts. I identified four corpora related to, but unsuitable for, my research. Some contained the type of texts I am interested in but were outside the time period under scrutiny. Other corpora were of the time period under investigation, but were composed of formal prose rather than newspaper and journalistic texts. However, they are still useful to illustrate the kinds of texts included in the corpus, such as the range of years and the size of the corpus.

The *Zurich Early Newspaper (ZEN) corpus* () consists of 349 complete newspaper issues published between 1661 and 1791, and contains 1.6 million words. It is not freely available, but must be ordered. While this contains the kind of texts I am interested in, the texts are from a much earlier time period and therefore would be unsuitable for investigating the suffrage movement. However, ZEN does provide an example of a newspaper corpus and their documentation (such as Lehmann, auf dem Keller and Ruef 2006) offers an insight into their decisions of how to construct, organise and code a large corpus of early English newspapers.

The *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* can be found online (https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/) and comprises of two sections: the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET) and the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts Extended Version (CLMETEV). Both comprise of texts arranged in the following time periods: 1710-1780, 1780-1850, and 1850-1920. Of this, the texts dating from 1850-1920 seemed most promising; while this does not include the early part of the suffrage movement in the 1830s and 40s, it does include the period leading up to the 1867 Reform Act until the two years after the 1918 Representation

of the People Act (Eustance, Ugolini and Ryan 2000: 3). In CLMET this consists of 3,982,264 words, while in CLMETEV this consists of 6,251,564 words. The texts themselves are taken from publicly available electronic text archives, such as Project Gutenberg, the Oxford Text Archive and the Victorian Women Writers Project. However, while the site described the composition of their corpus texts as "varied in terms of genre, ranging from personal letters to literary fiction to scientific writing (with, however, an inevitable emphasis on formal prose)", newspaper texts were not represented in the collection.

The *Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts* excludes major literary figures as their style of writing is already covered by other corpora. Instead it collects tracts and pamphlets published between 1640 and 1740 and organises these into the categories of religion, politics, economy and trade, science, law and miscellaneous. There are 120 different texts, amounting to 1.1 million words. As with the ZEN corpus, this time period is too early to study the suffrage movement.

The fourth corpus identified was the *TIME Magazine corpus* assembled by Mark Davies and which can be found at http://corpus.byu.edu/time/x.asp. It comprises of 100 million words of texts taken from issues of TIME Magazine published between the years 1923 and 2006. This is later than the period I'm interested in. A further problem is raised by TIME being a US publication; an initial search for *suffrag** revealed collocations from texts discussing the women's suffrage movement, but also collocations linked to other movements such as *Negro suffrage*. At this stage it is unclear whether these would appear in a British corpus or whether they are part of a specifically American discourse reflecting American politics and culture. While this corpus could provide additional data and offer an interesting

contrast, these reasons make it unsuitable for use as the primary corpus for this investigation.

As I have clearly demonstrated, a suitable corpus for this project does not exist. It was therefore necessary to create a corpus focusing on the time period and country being investigated.

3.3.2 Digitalised newspaper archives

Digitalised, searchable newspaper archives have the advantage over paper-based archives of the text being in machine-readable form – the search function meant that the original newspaper text had, at some point, been entered into a computer whether through manual input or Optical Character Recognition. By using digitalised archives, I was able to use considerably more texts than if I had to scan the material myself.

Two digitalised newspaper archives are accessible via the university library resources: *The Times* and *The Daily Mirror*. Both of these were being published in the time period 1908 – 1914 (*The Times* was founded in 1785 and *The Daily Mirror* in 1903). However, they occupied different roles as newspapers, with different readerships and intentions. As Matheson (2000: 570) notes, newspaper reporting was rapidly changing in terms of style and content as

> the news story became recognized as a self-contained language event. It no
> longer had to refer outside itself to the source text to be able to assert a fact:
> the journalist's role changed from a gatherer and recorder of news to a
> storyteller; and the news story could abandon the existing social conventions
> of its source texts or of formal social intercourse.

Part of this pressure came from new newspapers, such as *The Daily Mirror*, which appealed to a different audience. As Williams and Bromley (2003: 99) note, *The*

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Daily Mirror was originally intended to be "the 'First Daily Paper for Gentlewomen'", although they also note that this attempt at marketing the paper at women was largely unsuccessful. Instead, the newspaper championed the interests of the lower middle and working classes, appealing to these groups with its left wing politics and use of pictures. This also had an effect on its coverage of the suffrage campaign: Mercer (2004: 190) observes that "of the cheaper daily newspapers, the Daily Mirror devoted most space to the militant campaign, with the WSPU's tactics suiting the news agenda of the picture-centred Newspaper". In contrast, *The Times* was perceived as the voice of the establishment. It was also slower to adopt the new social conventions as described by Matheson (2000: 565), who notes that it took until the 1920s for "the conservative *Times* [to be] shaken out of its dignified prose" and that in 1912, with the sinking of the *Titanic*, *The Times* printed 15 telegrams from New York, Montreal and Toronto in the order they were received and despite the fact that the information given in later telegrams contradicted that given in earlier telegrams. Instead of producing "a single, intelligible report from a series of confused and even contradictory texts" (Matheson 2000: 567), newspapers served to aggregate information rather than synthesise it; "The process of interpretation seems to have been understood to happen in the reader's mind, not on the page" (Matheson 2000: 566).

These newspapers clearly offer different focuses for the research project centred around class, militancy and the difference audiences of these papers. *The Daily Mirror* would enable the research of the suffrage movement in a left-wing newspaper aimed at the lower middle and working classes, and would allow Mercer's claim about the coverage of the militant suffrage movement in it to be assessed. In contrast, *The Times* could be expected to adopt a stance more reflective of the

establishment and would offer an insight into how the movement was presented to a more conservative and perhaps more sceptical readership; Crawford (1999: 455) notes that "*The Times* was anti-suffrage for 50 years, only becoming less so towards the end of 1913". However, as Mercer explains, *The Times* also characterised news in a different way by aggregating reports from several sources and presenting them alongside each other. This meant that several, sometimes contradictory stances could be offered in the same newspaper – even in the same issue.

As described in section 3.3.3.2, gaining access to newspaper data in machine-readable format was not straightforward and for this reason, I focused on one newspaper. *The Times,* with its extensive reporting of Parliamentary, legal, court and social affairs and as an influential paper with a powerful owner, Lord Northcliffe, was therefore chosen as reflecting the ideology of the conservative, anti-suffrage establishment the suffrage movement struggled against.

3.3.3 *The Times* Digital Archive

The two corpora used in this research were assembled from material included in *The Times* Digital Archive for reasons outlined above. *The Times* Digital Archive is described on their website as a "full-text facsimile of more than 200 years of *The Times* [...] detailing every complete page of every issue from 1785"[6]. It is described in JISC as containing 8 million articles and advertisements and as grouping articles into the following categories: Advertising, Business, Editorial and Commentary, Features, Parliament, Law, News, People, Picture Gallery and Sport. Details of what may be found in these categories are also provided. These categories were manually assigned to *The Times* Digital Archive articles (Readings, 2011, P.C.) and are

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[6] http://gale.cengage.co.uk/times.aspx/

recorded in the XML files as metadata. This increases the accuracy of assigned categories, particularly those of articles where letters to the editor are combined with texts assigned to other categories and in articles where the letter header and footer are indistinct and therefore poorly scanned by OCR.

As my detailed survey in Chapter 5 demonstrates, the suffrage movement was most frequently written about in the following sections. The descriptions are from JISC.

- Editorial and Commentary ("leading articles ("Leaders") offering influential insight into the news, specialist contributors covering topics of the day and letters from readers covering every conceivable topic")

- Parliament ("detailed and authoritative reports of words speeches and debates in the Commons and the Lords")

- News ("from the news of the day to the latest political development, from the smallest news item to a story breaking worldwide, if it is (or was) newsworthy, it can be found in these pages")

JISC includes Letters to the Editor in Editorial and Commentary; however, as I discuss in section, Letters to the Editor were categorised separately in the XML metadata and so the LttE corpus could be extracted. In contrast to the categories described in JISC, Letters to the Editor are neither transcripts of meetings or written by the paper's correspondents and reporters. Instead they act as a public forum where leaders of organisations and members of the public engage, refute and support each other and articles appearing elsewhere in the paper.

The Times Digital Archive presented two challenges: first, in terms of gaining access to the data and second, in terms of creating a corpus out of the data supplied by Cengage. In the following sections, I will discuss these issues.

3.3.3.1 Online interface

The Times Digital Archive is usually accessed through an online interface. This allows the user to search for a particular term and to specify either a particular date or a time period within to search. Image and PDF files of the article are provided. The online interface poses several problems for corpus linguistic research.

The first issue is the scope offered by online interfaces. These are programmed to retrieve articles according to search inputs; while some researchers, such as MacQueen (2004) have used this to investigate the frequency of lexical items, these searches are not intended to provide the range of tools often used in corpus linguistics. It would be impossible to simply view concordance lines using the online search function and therefore impossible to perform concordance analysis, or calculate Mutual Information in order to identify consistent collocates.

The second issue was the inflexibility of choosing which texts to analyse and which to exclude. As MacQueen (2004) notes, searches of online archives are often programmed with an intended audience of historians with different needs from corpus linguists. MacQueen (2004: 127) notes that, in *The Times Digital Archive* and unlike some other online newspaper interfaces, there is "no automatic plural look-up feature, so s-inflected forms can be searched for directly". However, he did note that the newspaper "contains reprinted articles under the heading of "From *The Times* of [year]," usually reproducing verbatim what was written in the newspaper one-hundred years earlier" (MacQueen 2004: 130). This is potentially undesirable

for a diachronic study as it means that older usages of a lexical item appear when focusing on a particular year or month. However, the reprinting of these articles itself contributes to the discourse; there is limited space to reprint these older articles and so the articles are selected carefully. The effect of reprinting them could "resurrect" older discourses, reminding an audience of older perspectives and potentially contributing to the way the suffrage movement was presented in the news articles. For this reason, reprinted articles are included in the corpus.

A further problem is posed by the format of the files. These are available as PNG files or as images embedded in a PDF. While programs exist to convert text in PDFs to TXT format, the image file makes the information difficult to extract. However, in order to perform corpus analysis using a program like *WordSmith Tools*, the articles had to exist in a machine readable text format. There are two options, each with advantages and disadvantages. One option is to manually type up articles and saving them in a machine readable format: the advantage of doing such would be that the resultant machine readable text files would be typed with a high level of spelling accuracy and mark-up (e.g. paragraphs, indication of image placement) could be inserted as desired, but the obvious disadvantage is that, by virtue of the labour-intensive nature of this practice, it would result in a small corpus with limited data. The second option is to acquire the machine readable text files underpinning the image files on the online interface and so enabling the archive to be searched – something like a very detailed image map. The advantage of using these files is the amount of data that can be obtained and which increases the size of the corpus; the disadvantages are that the data may be in poor condition and require extensive cleanup, as well as potential difficulties with intellectual property, copyright and licensing.

3.3.3.2 Obtaining the data

As the online interface posed problems for corpus analysis of the news texts. I therefore negotiated with the owners of *The Times* Digital Archive for access to the files for the years 1903 to 1920, covering the period of time from the foundation of the Women's Social and Political Party in 1903 to two years after the Representation of the People Act 1918.

The data, as supplied, was 34GB in XML format. Each file contained the text of one issue of the newspaper. The OCR accuracy was between "50% and 98% depending on the original state of the newspaper and the typeface used" (Readings, 2009, P.C.), although in practice it seemed that some sections of the paper (notably advertisements and announcements) were in particularly poor shape, while the articles themselves seemed to have scanned with more accuracy. In addition to poor OCR characters, the texts included XML tags and word co-ordinate information. Some of these tags contained information about the author or date of publication; however, the word co-ordinate information linked the lexical item in the text file to where it appeared in the image so it could be highlighted. This therefore created a lot of 'noise' in the data and contributed to the size of the corpus. These factors all contributed towards making the data unsuitable for use as a corpus in the condition it was supplied.

The first step involved stripping the XML from the files using *WordSmith Tools* and converting the files to txt format. XML metadata about the author of the texts could be recoded if necessary, but the word co-ordinate information made the data difficult to use in analysis and so its inclusion in the corpus was undesirable. The corpus was reorganised as one article per file, rather than keep the one issue per file structure it was supplied as. This reorganisation would allow more flexibility

when choosing which sets of files to analyse. In this chapter, I refer to this as the txt corpus.

3.4 The Suffrage corpus and the Letters to Editor subcorpus

Two subcorpora were constructed from *The Times* Digital Archive data – the Suffrage corpus and the Letters to the Editor corpus. They were both created for a specific use. The Suffrage corpus is a focused corpus restricted to news articles published between 1908 and 1914. It contains all articles that can be found using the search term *suffrag** without restriction as to the category of article – the corpus encompasses all of the categories of article discussed in section 3.3.3. The Suffrage corpus will be used for the corpus analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 where general representation of the suffrage movement is examined, and Chapter 6 where I focus on nine texts taken from it in my exploration of the representation of Emily Wilding Davison. The Letters to the Editor (LttE) corpus is a smaller corpus compiled out of letters to the editor published in *The Times* between 1908 and 1914. Letters to the editor are included in the category Editorials and Commentary and as such, are included in the Suffrage corpus. The LttE corpus is therefore a subcorpus of the Suffrage corpus. However, while letters to the editor were categorised as Editorials and Commentary in the online interface of *The Times* Digital Archive, they had been manually identified and tagged as Letters to the Editor in the metadata of the files supplied by *The Times* Digital Archive (Readings, 2009, P.C.). The Letters to the Editor corpus is a highly focused corpus and used in Chapter 7 to examine ways in which discourse in the Letters to the Editor section of the newspaper differed from the newspaper as a whole. Table 3.1 summarises the number of texts in each corpus. As the figures show, the LttE corpus is much smaller than the Suffrage corpus. The

size of the Letters to the Editor corpus compared to the Suffrage corpus varies diachronically. On average, it is approximately a sixth of the size of the Suffrage corpus; this varies between a fifth of the size of the Suffrage corpus in 1912 and a ninth of the size of the Suffrage corpus in 1913.

Table 3.1: Number of texts by year in Suffrage and LttE corpora

Year	No. texts in Suffrage corpus	No. texts in LttE corpus
1908	569	99
1909	527	59
1910	458	86
1911	322	61
1912	733	148
1913	785	85
1914	387	58
Total	3781	596

The focused Suffrage corpus enables me to explore questions of self-representation and audience interaction with the press. The corpus analysis could have been carried out using the entire collection of texts – the txt corpus mentioned in section 3.3.3.2. However, using the whole collection of *The Times* Digital Archive texts as a corpus would make it more difficult to analyse the texts as suggestively placed within articles (as in Chapters 5 and 6).

The two corpora I have discussed in this section offer a more organised and selective category of texts within the data supplied by *The Times* Digital Archive. They enable a more flexible analysis and allow for different analytic frameworks – a large amount of data for corpus linguistic analysis, but focused on suffrage so as to

enable the kind of linear reading Tognini-Bonelli argues is fundamental to discourse analysis.

3.4.1 Selection of years

The data supplied included all years between 1903 and 1920. As a result, there was still a considerable amount of data after focusing on *suffrag**; this is summarised in Table 3.2. The suffrage movement had its origins far earlier than 1908 – the movement is generally recognised as coalescing in the mid-nineteenth century through a combination of factors including women's anti-slavery and philanthropic work (Hannam 1995) and the passing of the second Reform Act (Rendall 2000). Established societies united in 1897 to form the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (Holton 1986: 31) and the Women's Social and Political Union was founded in 1903. However, the period between 1908 and 1914 was when the suffrage movement was being reported most frequently and when the direct action campaign was most active. I therefore decided to limit the number of years investigated to 1908 to 1914. This was the easiest way of limiting the size of the corpus without limiting how many articles were examined per year and raising issues of selecting these articles.

This time period had particular significance for the suffrage movement. While this period does not include 1918, the year in which the first women were granted the vote, the outbreak of World War One meant that the newspaper's focus shifted away from the suffrage movement, the newspaper's output was more limited and the suffrage movement itself changed in response to war. In some cases, the suffragists suspended their activities and supported the war effort; other groups adopted different political stances such as pacifism (Smith 1998: 55). As Tusan

(1987: 229) observes, "[t]he war changed the course of suffrage politics, divided its principal organisations and threw up strange alliances, most notably that between the Pankhursts and Lloyd George". The outbreak of war changed the discourse of *The Times'* representation of the suffrage movement. While this would be interesting, I hypothesise that the discourse post-1914 would introduce too many other factors into the analysis; instead, I chose to focus on the movement at the height of its activity between 1908 and 1914.

The high levels of reporting on the suffrage movement during this time period was identified using frequencies of *suffrag** terms (and therefore, also the number of newspaper issues the lexical item appeared in) in the txt corpus, which had been tag-stripped and converted from XML to TXT format, but still existed as one issue of the newspaper per file. While not perfect and undoubtedly not completely accurate, this method does provide a way of comparing frequencies across the data. The search could have been further refined by making more extensive use of wildcards instead of some characters – *suffrag** picks up lexical items such as *suffrage, suffragist, suffragists, suffragette* and *suffragettes*, but not poor OCR characters such as *suHragist*. Using the wildcard, however, also introduced some noise in the form of *suffragan* (notably *Bishop Suffragan*). In section 3.4, I explained how I approached these other meanings and the importance they have for examining the discourse of newspaper representation of the suffrage movement. Table 3.2 shows the frequency of suffrage terms by year and the number of files in which the terms occurred.

Table 3.2: Frequency and no. files for *suffrag** in txt corpus

Year	*suffrag**	
	Frequency	**No. files**
1903	126	80
1904	154	78
1905	527	146
1906	615	185
1907	871	211
1908	2,320	274
1909	2,066	279
1910	2,353	256
1911	1,588	237
1912	3,414	291
1913	3,426	292
1914	1,320	196
1915	123	82
1916	187	83
1917	537	153
1918	382	148
1919	227	134
Total	**20236**	**3125**

The frequency of *suffrag** is particularly notable: there are nearly 3 times as many concordances of *suffrag** in 1908 as there were in 1907. This supports Smith's (1998: 36) observation of the gradually escalating nature of militant protest beginning in 1908 and 1909. It peaks in 1912 and 1913; as Holton (1986: 4) notes, the few militants who resorted to "extreme forms of violence" did so post-1912. The higher frequency of *suffrag** seems to reflect the suffrage campaigners' increasingly headline-grabbing activities, although it could also indicate more awareness of the movement, the increasing importance of the suffragist voice, or moral panic about women's suffrage. In 1914 it looked increasingly likely that the issue of women's

suffrage would be part of the election debate; some historians have argued that women would have been granted suffrage in 1914 and that World War One, far from showing women were worthy of the vote and aiding the cause, actually delayed their enfranchisement. While the year of the Representation of the People Act 1918 is not within the scope of this study, I hope that my analysis of 1908 – 1914 will be able to identify changing and conflicting attitudes and representations of the movements from their early news-worthy activities to the period in which women's enfranchisement was being discussed seriously as part of an election campaign.

3.4.2 Using *suffrag** terms to construct the corpora

In this section, I describe how the Suffrage corpus was selected, explain the issues under consideration when constructing the corpus, outline alternative methods of selecting articles for inclusion in the corpus and explain the reasons for choosing the methodology I used. I also discuss the rationale behind creating this subcorpus.

Two methods for extracting the corpus were rejected. A bottom up approach of selecting a corpus on the basis of keywords[7] found more frequently in articles discussing the suffrage movement than are found in a reference corpus had the advantage of allowing a more corpus-driven approach rather than being subject to researcher expectations. However, this approach was unfeasibly recursive: it was impossible to obtain keywords from a suffrage corpus when the suffrage corpus did not exist because it would be extracted on the basis of those keywords. An alternative was to extract the corpus by searching for lists of names and/or acronyms of organisations and prominent people in the suffrage movement (as provided by e.g.

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[7] Defined as "[words] whose frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm" (Scott 2013)

Smith 1998; Holton 1986); however, this risks bias on the basis of region, size, prestige and figurehead basis. There are also issues that contemporary concerns (as reflected in the newspaper) or terminology might differ from that used or focussed on by later historical research.

The approach selected uses very general terms to identify articles likely to be about the suffrage movement. The term selected was *suffrag**, in which the wildcard also identifies articles containing the lexical items *suffrage*, *suffragette*, *suffragettes*, *suffragist* and *suffragists* (among others). *Suffragan*, referring to "Bishop Suffragan", was explicitly excluded. While not perfect and likely to miss articles discussing particular figures or organisations (which, arguably, would not necessarily be examining suffrage representation but would instead be looking at the presentation of a particular person/organisation), this set of search terms offers the chance to get as wide a range as possible of articles discussing the campaign. Not searching for terms associated with particular organisations also has the effect of reducing bias and weighting the corpus in favour of well-known, prominent, London-based organisations and figures. While the reporting itself may favour such organisations, the corpus itself should not.

A corpus constructed in this way can contain noise – the lexical items being investigated may have different uses and occur in different contexts – for example, *suffrag** also finds articles discussing household suffrage or Prussian suffrage. This could affect the kind of analysis performed on the corpus. If there is the potential for noise, such as articles discussing Prussian suffrage, then comparison of frequency data could be difficult – for example, comparing occurrences of *suffrage* year-by-year and discussing the frequencies would be inaccurate if not all occurrences referred to equal or universal suffrage. On the other hand, analyses which categorise

lexical items (such as analysing collocates or colligates) can account for noise by not including them in the main analysis. This also has the advantage of exploring the shifting nature of discourse, and whether the discourse of women's suffrage affected the use of *suffrag** in other contexts such as other political campaigns. Therefore, what could be classified as noise allows a fuller examination of the media representation of the movement and enables me to examine changes in which political issues the terminology was associated.

Complete texts are used. Doing so had a distinct advantage when discussing these texts: in the period under investigation, newspaper articles could contain several related stories, not all of which may be directly reporting on the suffrage movement. A complete text contains all the stories in an article, rather than just those discussing the suffrage movement. As I will explain in Chapter 7, how these stories are linked and what that reveals about the perception of the suffrage movement is something I intend to explore. There are an average of 546 texts per year and a total of 7,089,889 tokens (running words)

3.4.3 Using small focused corpora

My corpora, through their size, may not include enough occurrences of a very rare discourse for me to recognise it. However, I argue that in the investigation of social discourses, corpora play a slightly different role. While corpora are used to reduce researcher bias in both selection of articles and the researcher's interpretation, they are also used to establish which were the most frequent discourses associated with a social discourse. Patterns associated with the dominant discourses will be shown even in smaller corpora, especially when these patterns are identified through 'fuzzy' categorisation such as semantic preference or discourse prosody. This has obvious

implications for careful selection of texts making up the corpus, but if a pattern is very rare in a carefully constructed corpus, it probably does not have the same influence in shaping the discourse as a more frequent pattern. This is demonstrated by Gabrielatos and Baker's (2008: 12) use of consistent collocates, defined as collocates appearing in seven out of the ten years they examined. Due to the nature of consistent collocates, a collocate must appear at least seven times in their corpus to be identified. This means that low frequency collocates that only appear once or twice in the corpus are excluded from their analysis. Rather than seeing this as a failure of their methodology, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008: 12) instead highlight it as a reason why consistent collocates are "more dependable than collocates derived from the whole corpus" more indicative of the "central semantic/discourse prosodies associated with [refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants]" and better able to reveal the incremental effect of discourse.

Because the Suffrage corpus contains all the texts published in *The Times* between 1908 – 1914 and contain the term *suffrag**, if particular linguistic "underlying regularities", as Sinclair (1994: 189) terms them, are so low frequency as to be difficult to observe in such a closed corpus then it has to be questioned how important they were in the discourse of *The Times* when discussing the suffrage movement.

3.5 Corpus Linguistic analysis

The corpus linguistic analysis centres around two main methods for obtaining data: concordance lines and strongly associated collocates derived through calculating Mutual Information, a measure of collocational strength. Before detailing my use of

strongly associated collocates, it is first necessary to outline some of the terminology and concepts drawn from corpus linguistics.

Sinclair (2004) identifies four main ways of analysing words; collocation, colligation, semantic preference, semantic association and semantic or discourse prosody. These concepts become progressively more abstract; they start with associations between words, into grammar, into semantic categories and finally with whole discourses. Collocation is defined by Evert (2007: 4) as "a combination of two words that exhibit a tendency to occur near each other in natural language" and by Hoey (2005: 5) as "a psychological association between words (rather than lemmas) up to four words apart and is evidenced by their occurrence together in corpora more often than is explicable in terms of random distribution". Hoey (2005: 43) defines colligation as a related concept; "just as a lexical item may be primed to co-occur with another lexical item, so also it may be primed to occur in or with a particular grammatical function. Alternatively, it may be primed to avoid appearance in or co-occurrence with a particular grammatical function"[8].

Collocation and colligation, therefore, focus on the word's behaviour within an ngram[9] or particular grammatical function. However, looking at the word's behaviour in these contexts can also help formulate observations about how that particular word functions in more abstract terms. Semantic preference, semantic association, semantic prosody and discourse prosody are a set of related concepts

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[8] This definition comes from Hoey's work with lexical priming; priming is a psychological process that occurs through exposure to language. Hoey (2005: 8) observes that "[a]s a word is acquired through encounters with it in speech and writing, it becomes cumulatively loaded with the contexts and co-texts in which it is encountered, and our knowledge of it includes the fact that it co-occurs with certain other words in certain kinds of context".

[9] Defined by Scott (2013) as "consecutive clusters" of words.

which are used to explore how words are linked to and create a discourse. As can be seen from this list, these terms are still being negotiated.

Semantic preference is "related to the concept of collocation but focuses on a lexical set of semantic categories rather than a single word or a related set of grammatical words" and is used to analyse "aspects of meaning which are independent of speakers" (Baker 2006: 87). Hoey (2005: 24) characterises Sinclair's use of the term as "the meaningful outcome of the complex of collocational and other choices made across a stretch of language" but does not use the term himself. As Hoey (2005: 24) explains, "one of the central features of priming is that it leads to a psychological preference on the part of the language user; to talk of both the user and the word having preferences would on occasion lead to confusion". Hoey (2005: 24) emphasises this shift in focus by describing the phenomenon as semantic association, defined as what exists when "a word or word sequence is associated in the mind of a language user with a semantic set or class, some members of which are also collocates for that user", drawing attention to the language user's role in having preferences.

Semantic prosody is a more problematic term and as Mahlberg (2007: 195) notes, it "is the most variable and often most difficult component to describe". Louw (1993) argues that a word's meaning is not confined to the word itself, but also found in its surrounds; this diffusion of meaning affects what words a speaker uses and avoids. The concept of semantic prosody has been criticised by Whitsitt (2005), who argues that there is a lack of clarity in its definition. Whitsitt (2005: 285) identifies three definitions (Louw's, Sinclair's and semantic prosody as a "synonym of connotation") that are different in scope. In addition, the philosophy underpinning this interpretation of semantic prosody, as expressed through the metaphor *imbue*

(Whitsitt 2005: 289) is unsatisfactory because it "assumes without explaining why that there are some words which are full and others empty, and that when a full word is next to an empty word, it seems unable to not "pour" its meaning into the empty, "innocent" one, which in turn seems unable to refuse" (Whitsitt 2005: 289). However, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008: 12) respond to this criticism, arguing that "the metaphor can equally well be understood in the context of the collocates adding (elements of) their meaning to the node" – that the node is not empty, waiting to be filled, but has meaning that is affected by its collocates.

Hoey (2005: 23) identifies three problems with the concept of semantic prosody: one, that not all prosodies can be easily identified as positive or negative; two, that Whitsitt's (2005) criticisms stand; and three, that the term is unclear and can be used in different senses. For these reasons, the term discourse prosody is used by some in place of semantic prosody. As Baker (2006: 87) describes, "discourse prosody [is] where patterns in discourse can be found between a word, phrase or lemma and a set of related words that suggest a discourse [...] discourse prosody focuses on the relationship of a word to speakers and hearers, and is more concerned with attitudes". For similar reasons, Stubbs (2001: 66) also prefers to use discourse prosody rather than semantic prosody; as he argues, the use of discourse prosody "maintain[s] a standard distinction between aspects of meaning which are independent of speakers (semantics) and aspects which concern speaker attitudes (pragmatics)". As such, I am using the term discourse prosody. Representation, by its very nature, involves the relationship of a word to producers and recipients of a communication event, and it is essential to be "more concerned with attitudes" when exploring the presentation of the suffrage movement and those involved in it in the press.

3.5.1 Concordance and collocation analysis

I will be primarily using the concept of collocation, the surface co-occurrence of lexical items, in this thesis. Evert (2007: 12) defines co-occurrence with an example: "two words are said to cooccur if they appear within a certain distance or collocational span, measured by the number of intervening word tokens". As Evert (2007: 16) notes, surface co-occurrence "strike[s] a balance between the restricted notion of syntactic cooccurrence and the very broad notion of textual cooccurrence". Its flexibility with spans enables close attention to be paid to "the process whereby words keep company with one another and thereby convey meaning via co-occurrence" (McEnery 2005: 21). In practical terms, this involves concordance line analysis examining repeated instances within a defined span.

I use WordSmith Tools version 5 (Scott 2008) to generate concordance lines. WordSmith Tools allows for both strings e.g. *suffragist disturbance* and context words within contexts search horizons to be searched e.g. *disturbance* with *suffragist* appearing within a span of +/-8 words from *disturbance*. The latter is useful when examining strongly associated collocates derived through Mutual Information; as I explain in the next section, Mutual Information is a measure of collocational strength within a defined span, and as such it is valuable for the analyst to be able to see the concordane lines.

McEnery (2005) uses collocational networks [10], generated through Mutual Information (MI), to examine patterns of collocates surrounding different node words. McEnery (2005: 23) explains, collocational networks give an insight into semantic prosody: "[s]emantic prosody is strongly collocational in that it transmits meaning beyond the sense of individual words": that some collocates may not have

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[10] See definition in section 2.2

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negative prosody when they appear independent of each other but do have negative prosody when they appear together. Mutual Information is defined by McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006: 56) as:

> a statistical formula [which] borrows from information theory. The MI score is computed by dividing the observed frequency of the co-occurring word in the defined span for the search string (so-called node word), e.g. a 4:4 window, namely four words to the left and four words to the right of the node word, by the expected frequency of the co-occurring word in that span and then taking the logarithm to the base 2 of the result.

Mutual Information is useful because it measures collocation strength – whether words are statistically linked together or whether they co-occur by chance. A negative MI score means that the words tend to avoid each other, an MI score of 0 means that the two words co-occur by chance, and the more positive the MI score, the more likely it is that the link between words is a strong one. Hunston (2002: 71) proposes an MI score of 3 or higher to be taken as evidence that two items are strongly associated collocates. However, Mutual Information is not a measure of statistical significance; McEnery (2005: 23) notes that, while MI is not a rigorous statistic and that "one cannot reasonably talk about 'statistically significant' results produced by it", it is "a very useful heuristic which describes data and helps in the process of interpreting complex data sets like large corpora". Baker (2013: personal correspondence) observes that "using MI alone will tend to give precedence to low frequency words that occur more exclusively with the node, rather than high or mid-frequency words".

McEnery uses strongly associated collocates, calculated using Mutual Information, visually represented in collocation networks to provide evidence of convergence and signification spirals. Through this, he is able to make explicit the

links between items that sociolinguists claim are key to these phenomena. Through moral panic discourse, convergence and spirals of signification work by "bringing together objects of offence and scapegoats, binding the offence to the offender and generating associations in their discourse" (McEnery 2005: 188). Collocational networks visually represent these links and can illustrate relationships between words, such as if a relationship is unidirectional or bidirectional.

In Chapter 4, I calculate MI for *suffragist*, *suffragists*, *suffrage* and *suffragettes* in the Suffrage corpus; in Chapter 7, I do the same in the LttE corpus. This forms the first step towards establishing how clear these distinctions between suffragists and suffragettes were. Identifying strongly associated collocates not only offers some initial patterns to explore – for example, different strongly associated collocates for *suffragist** and *suffragette** - but also filters a large amount of data to get a smaller amount of material that is possible to analyse in more depth. This is a data-driven method of filtering data – rather than simply choosing which collocates to work with and therefore risk focusing on interesting but infrequent collocates, this method instead calculates the strength of relationships between words. Calculating strongly associated collocates by year allows for diachronic analysis and to investigate changes in strongly associated collocates as the political and social context changed, as the suffrage movement changed, and as the newspaper's reporting of the suffrage movement changed.

As another way of filtering this data, I examine consistent strongly associated collocates in Chapter 7. Gabrielatos and Baker (2008: 11) use consistent collocates, or c-collocates in their analysis of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants. They obtain consistent collocates by calculating collocations of RASIM for every annual subcorpus; a collocate is deemed consistent, if it was a

collocate in at least seven out of the ten annual subcorpora" As they describe, the use of c-collocates is expected to provide insight into the "core semantic attributes of RASIM" and sets a higher minimum frequency for collocates. I define consistent strongly associated collocates as content words that are also strongly associated collocates of *suffragist*, *suffragists*, *suffragette* and *suffragettes* that appear in four or more years in the larger Suffrage corpus and three or more years for the smaller LttE corpus (out of seven years in total). I then perform a detailed diachronic concordance analysis of one collocate that is consistent in both the Suffrage and LttE corpora, one collocate that is consistent in the LttE corpus but not in the Suffrage corpus, and one collocate that is consistent in the Suffrage corpus but not in the LttE corpus. This investigation is structured diachronically because while the campaign for women's suffrage and the campaigners themselves were a source of news and concern, the language used to report them could change. Use of consistent strongly associated collocates identifies concerns that were consistently reported rather than merely fleeting, and suggests areas which were long-term issues. However, it is important to note that while this locates areas of concern, the exact nature of the concern and the way it is expressed can change.

3.5.2 Categorising data

Mahlberg (2007: 192) argues, "the kinds of descriptive categories we apply to interpret corpus data have an impact on the extent to which we can investigate social aspects of meanings", explicitly recognising that creating and using categories is not neutral, but an interpretative act. She uses a corpus of articles extracted from the Guardian in 2002 (the year of the Johannesburg summit) to examine discourses of

sustainable development (SD). These are identified through the use of concordances, which were organised so as to

> identify groups of examples that illustrate different aspects of meanings associated with SD. These groups of meanings contain examples whose concordance lines show similar patterning. The criteria for the groups are a combination of repeated surface patterns and similarities in meaning that are not automatically visible through an exact repetition of a sequence of words.
>
> (Mahlberg 2007: 198)

These are referred to as functional groups to "stress that they describe meanings of SD that are embedded in textual contexts". Through analysing both the contents of each group and in which section of the paper these functional groups appear, Mahlberg (2007: 214) is able to identify "meanings of SD that are important to a society in the sense that they are discussed in newspapers [...] highlight what makes SD newsworthy or what the *Guardian* regards as socially relevant. The examples illustrate events and activities taking place in the life of a society". Mahlberg's use of functional groups illustrates the usefulness of concordance analysis, and specifically grouping concordances, to examine social discourses.

A similar approach is used by Baker (2006) and Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) to examine the discourses of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (RASIM). Baker (2006) seems to use similarly fuzzy categories; he first identifies the three most dominant patterns – the quantification of refugees (Baker 2006: 79), the movement of refugees (Baker 2006: 80), official attempts to help refugees (Baker 2006: 82) and the tragic circumstances of refuges (Baker 2006: 84). Within these are other patterns – refuges as a liquid with swelling numbers (Baker 2006: 79), refuges as transported goods or packages (Baker 2006: 81) and as passive recipients of help (Baker 2006: 83). When these main patterns have been identified,

Baker (2006: 84) turns his attention to the remaining concordances; in all, eight categories emerge (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 21).

However, there are problems with this approach. Baker (2006: 89) identifies particular problems with euphemisms, similes, determiners and pronouns used to indicate the group being examined. As he observes, "taking anaphora and cataphora into account is likely to make the process of analysis more time-consuming, although it is likely to result in interesting findings" (Baker 2006: 90). Nevertheless, even with the limitations imposed by not analysing cataphora and anaphora, Gabrielatos and Baker (2008: 33) conclude that their study has been "exceptionally revealing in terms of enabling an understanding of the complex and often ambiguous media representations of RASIM in the United Kingdom".

Through grouping concordances according to semantic preference and discourse prosody, different patterns of discourse can be recognised. This method has been used to successfully analyse complex movements and changing discourses within movements, such as with Baker (2006) and Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), or to examine the way a particular term is used, as with Mahlberg (2007). In this thesis, I categorise strongly associated collocates using categories derived from the historiography and those derived from the data. I use Pugh (2000) as a starting point; however, the strongly associated collocates do not neatly fit into the categories indicated from historical research but do cluster into data-derived categories.

The combined historiographical and data-driven categories are functional rather than lexicogrammatical – they describe major issues and tensions in the movement on the basis of campaigning strategy, gender, experiences such as direct action, the legal system and prison, references to the structure and routine work of suffrage organisations, references to mainstream politics and opposition to the

movement. However, there are striking differences between the categories derived from the data and those that emerged from the historical research; issues that had been identified as important in suffrage-produced texts, such as class, regional issues and, indeed, for what kind of suffrage organisations campaigned, were not present in the corpora. This lack of alignment between the categories derived from historical research and the data-driven categories suggests that there are categories of strongly associated collocates that are more obvious in the newspaper discourse than what I may have expected from my review of the historiography of the suffrage movement; there is a gap here between the historiography and the newspaper discourse where the historical research does not account for the data. Gaps are interesting and raise questions of the difference between this newspaper discourse and the materials used by suffrage historians, different priorities (such as newsworthiness) and, key to this thesis, differences in the representation of the suffrage movement which would affect public perception.

Examining concordance lines of consistent strongly associated collocates – stage 8 in the process described in section 3.2 – enables me to explore the context of these collocates – what they're used to describe, whether this changes diachronically and, importantly, how they are used in relation to other, similar terms. As I demonstrate in Chapter 4, related terms from the same category are used to describe different activities, encounters between different groups and at different times in the campaign; in Chapter 4 I focus on a set of terms used to describe direct action. Connecting these observations to the historical context was vital. In the case of the direct action terms, it was essential to understand the suffrage history of direct action and in particular, what tactics were used in what years. It was also important to understand the political landscape and identify key figures. As I demonstrate in

Chapter 7, recognising anti-suffrage writers was crucial in identifying discourses associated with the anti-suffrage movement.

3.6 Critical discourse analysis

I use critical discourse analysis to explore Galtung and Ruge's (1965) factors identifying what makes an event worthy of press attention and in doing so, convert an event into news; Bamberg's (2004) theory of master and counter narratives; and van Leeuwen's (2009) taxonomy of social actors. These approaches recognise the created nature of news texts, the power exerted by pre-existing narrative structures in shaping a news audience's expectations and how news actors are represented/represent themselves in texts, and the complex positioning of a social actor when represented in text.

As I discussed in section 3.4, the texts in the Suffrage and Letters to the Editor corpora are diachronically organised news texts, and the three discourse analysis approaches I discuss all aid in understanding them as such. They are relevant when examining the media representation of the suffrage movement. The suffrage movement was complex and diverse; as discussed in Chapter 2, the suffrage campaign was not a united and homogeneous campaign and did not have unified views. It not only had to negotiate power expressed in Parliamentary Bills and debates, but also faced difficulty in how the movement were represented in a powerful press. As Baker and Ellece (2011: 99) summarise, power can be defined "in terms of how people have different capacities to control how texts and thus discourses are produced, distributed and consumed". While the suffrage movement had its own well distributed journals, newsletters and other periodicals (e.g. Crawford 1999: 458; DiCenzo 2000, 2004; DiCenzo, Delap and Ryan 2011), the

mainstream press, including *The Times*, with an exception in *The Manchester Guardian*, were not sympathetic to the demands of the suffrage campaign; they had a far greater control over the mainstream discourse and, as I demonstrate in this thesis, their representation of the suffrage movement differed from that in suffrage-produced texts. In the following sections I outline the frameworks of critical discourse analysis used in this thesis.

3.6.1 From news event to news report

The texts forming the Suffrage and LttE corpora are not only news texts but also historical texts and must be understood in their historical context; as such, I use the extensive historiography about the suffrage movement to contextualise my findings. However, as news reports they must be understood in the context of news gathering and publication. I take as my starting point Galtung and Ruge's (1965) factors affecting newsworthiness. As I discuss in section 2.4.2 in Chapter 2, these factors explain how an event becomes news. The process is not automatic, but instead reliant on factors such as frequency, personification and negativity. This awareness of the constructed nature of news is particularly important for the suffrage campaign with, in particular, the WSPU's deliberately public, headline-courting actions; as Crawford (1999: 451) notes, newspaper coverage was "driven by the desire to supply their readers with dramatic pictures and snappy stories, necessarily highlighted spectacle and extremes". A second pressure was that Northcliffe, owner of *The Times*, did not introduce a column covering the suffrage campaign but instead reported activities of the suffrage campaign only when "it presented itself as news" (Crawford 1999: 451). One of these activities was direct action, and in Chapter 4 I focus on direct action as it was reported so consistently throughout the time period

under investigation. I use Galtung and Ruge's principles in Chapter 5 to explain the focus on suffrage direct action and in Chapter 6 to account for the newspaper coverage of Emily Wilding Davison's actions and aftermath, paying particular attention to role of frequency and the reinforcing nature of the news. As Galtung and Ruge (1967: 67) observe, "once something has hit the headlines and been defined as 'news', then it will continue to be defined as news for some time"; at the same time, a news story develops. This is seen clearly in the ten news articles published in the aftermath of Emily Wilding Davison's actions at the 1913 Derby, her death, funeral and a similar act at Ascot.

3.6.2 Discourse and narrative

As historical news texts, *The Times* articles do not necessarily follow present day conventions in structuring news reports. Matheson (2000) discusses the implications for organising news reports; however, I identify a wider issue in how news reports are presented. Rather than one news report – one news text – per article as in present day newspapers, articles in *The Times* could be composed of several news texts. Analysing the structure of these articles is important and reveals that news texts are placed suggestively in a news article. As I demonstrate in Chapter 5, this suggestive placement meant that news texts that were, or appeared to be, connected to the suffrage movement were juxtaposed and in doing so, *The Times* encouraged an interpretation.

One of the tenets of critical discourse analysis is that there are multiple ways to communicate something and that our choices are not neutral; this is clearly seen in the decision to report the aftermath of Emily Wilding Davison's actions, her death and her funeral procession alongside the hearing of two suffrage campaigners

accused of arson. To make the different discourses at work in this set of ten texts clearer, I use Sunderland's (2006: 165) concept of a 'named discourse' as an operationalised "way of seeing the world" that has an 'ideological constitutive potential'; a discourse is not simply a way of seeing the world, but also shapes what we see. She argues that a discourse can be recognised by identifying lexical choices, with attention paid to repeated lexical choices, and how social actors are referred to (Sunderland 2006: 166). In this thesis, discourse "is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (Fairclough 1992: 64). Language is crucial; as Sunderland (2004: 7) observes, discourses are not visible. Instead, a discourse may be recognised in text "through its manifestation in characteristic linguistic 'traces'" in text (Sunderland 2004: 7). This approach means that language does not simply reflect a reality, but actively constructs a reality. As discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis, Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 180) argue that language is able to shape and shut down possibilities; this is especially significant in a diverse movement like the suffrage movement because the use and non-use of terms construct the movement differently in the pages of *The Times*. I explore the effect of consistent use of *suffragist** in connection with militant direct action in my examination of *suffrag** + direct action terms in Chapter 4. In Chapter 6, I identify discourses through lexical choice and linking lexical choice to the historiography. As I demonstrate, understanding the historical context of these news articles enables understanding of the lexical choices made. In turn, this allows for a richer analysis and enables the analyst to recognise traces of a discourse that they might otherwise miss.

The presence of suggestively placed texts in an article allows for dramatically different discourses to be juxtaposed. I use Bamburg's (2004) theory of master and

counter narratives to explore how different named discourses can be present in these articles and the effect they have on the reader. While Emily Wilding Davison can be presented positively – as a dedicated suffrage campaigner or loyal member of the WSPU – texts placed in the same news article focus on direct action and the trial of two WSPU members for arson, and focus on a discourse of suffrage campaigners as dangerous. These suggestively placed texts are a reminder of the master narrative of the suffrage movement; as discussed in Chapter 2, a counter narrative – that of Emily Wilding Davison's loyalty, commitment and intelligence – functions on the level of the individual. In contrast, the master narrative – suffrage campaigners as threatening and dangerous – functions on a hegemonic level, are more widespread, are more accepted, and are less easy to challenge.

I trace the development of both the master and counter narratives over the fifteen days and ten articles describing Emily Wilding Davison's actions and their aftermath. This diachronic analysis shows that different discourses were present or absent at different points in the narrative; some, like Emily Wilding Davison's commitment to the women's movement are present in all stages of the narrative; some, like discourses positioning suffrage campaigners as dangerous appear partway through the narrative while others, like that of mental illness, appear in the initial reports of Emily Wilding Davison's actions, are quashed, and are resurrected. By doing this I hope to demonstrate the complexity of discourses about the suffrage movement and suffrage campaigners, showing that while individual campaigners may be reported sympathetically, the suffrage movement as a whole was not.

3.6.3 Social actors

Finally, I use van Leeuwen's (2009) taxonomy of social actors to explore the different ways in which Emily Wilding Davison was represented after her actions at the Derby. As summarised in Chapter 2, van Leeuwen's taxonomy of social actors details how a social actor – Emily Wilding Davison – is present in the text. I use the same ten texts as detailed in the previous section and focus on three elements of his taxonomy: nomination, identification and association to explore how Davison is presented as a named individual, in terms of her gender and in terms of her suffrage affiliation. These elements were chosen because of their links to named discourses. Davison exists as an individual in the counter narrative and so it is appropriate to explore her representation through nomination. The master narrative focuses on suffrage campaigners' extensive property damage and its presence through suggestive placement in articles reporting on Emily Wilding Davison serves as a reminder of suffrage campaigners' threatened destruction; as such, I examine Davison's representation as a suffrage campaigner associated with the suffrage movement and in particular, the WSPU. Finally, one of the named discourses – that of Davison as a fragile woman – links to the gendered discourses discussed in Chapter 2, and therefore I analyse Davison in terms of her identification as a woman.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I outline the steps taken to obtain a corpus, create two subcorpora – the Suffrage corpus and the LttE corpus – and the corpus linguistic and critical discourse analysis concepts and frameworks with which I work with the corpus. As I have shown in Chapter 2, the suffrage movement was the locus for concerns about gender, class, region, politics and tactics (and intersections of these, such as violence

exhibited by female political demonstrators) – it was not merely a question of whether women should be granted the vote, but forced people to examine their beliefs about women's place in society. My research questions focus on both the lexical choices found in *The Times* and the structure of articles in the newspaper.

Taking four terms as my starting point – *suffragist, suffragists, suffragette* and *suffragettes*, I discuss how to calculate their strongly associated collocates and issues in categorising strongly associated collocates. These steps identify statistically significant patterns in the data; when I go on to calculate consistent strongly associated collocates, I add the dimension of recurrence. Both of these approaches mean that I am directed towards salient terms rather than interesting but low frequency or ephemeral terms, thus focusing on lexical items that are more likely to have contributed to the discourse through statistical association and their consistent presence in the years examined. As discussed in Chapter 2, corpus linguistic approaches like these reduce researcher bias by reducing the amount of input I, the researcher, has in selecting terms for analysis. This is a largely data-driven approach; while the survey of suffrage historiography provided the starting set of four *suffrag** terms, the terms I examine in more depth in Chapters 4 and 7 are not derived from the historiography but instead emerge from the data. In categorising the strongly associated collocates into functional categories I emphasise the actions and interactions of the suffrage movements; the leaders, details of organisations, experiences and political context. I then go on to analyse the direct action functional category in Chapter 4. In Chapter 7 I focus on consistent strongly associated collocates and examine one collocate that is consistent in both the Suffrage and LttE corpora, one collocate that is consistent in the LttE corpus but not in the Suffrage

corpus, and one collocate that is consistent in the Suffrage corpus but not in the LttE corpus.

I use a triangulated approach using three frameworks of critical discourse analysis to explore how one controversial suffrage campaigner, Emily Wilding Davison, was represented in *The Times* following her actions at the 1913 Derby. This enables me to examine her media representation from three angles – how her actions became and were reinforced as newsworthy, how suggestive placement of other texts within the articles reporting her actions contribute to master and counter narratives, and how Davison was represented as a social actor. I use a diachronic approach to explore how her representation shifted during the fifteen days covered by these ten texts, and compare when these shifts happen and what effect they create.

4 *The taint of militancy is not upon them*: suffragists, militants and direct action

Introduction

In this chapter I investigate the lexical choices made by *The Times* when reporting the women's suffrage movement by focusing on *suffragist* and *suffragette*. As described in Chapter 2, the terms used by those involved in the suffrage movement were a point of debate. The two terms in use, *suffragist* and *suffragette*, had a multiplicity of meanings and connotations depending on when, where and why they were used and who was using them. The term *suffragist* was considered the more inclusive term and so used to describe the movement as a whole. More specifically, it was used to describe constitutionalists who campaigned by lobbying Parliament and in particular, members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. The term *suffragette* was originally a pejorative first used on 10th January 1906 by the *Daily Mail* and in general currency by March 1906 (Rosen 1974: 65). It was variously used by and in reference to campaigners who saw the vote as an end unto itself (i.e. who placed less emphasis on female suffrage as part of a wider campaign for women's rights and instead saw the denial of the vote as a symbol of female oppression and its gain as a symbolic removal of that oppression), campaigners who were prepared to engage in direct action, campaigners who were members of a militant organisation such as the Women's Social and Political Union or campaigners who challenged the constitutionalist approach. While there is overlap between these types of campaigners, not all campaigners who used direct action were members of the WSPU – some were members of the Women's Freedom League and other militant organisations – and not all members of the WSPU engaged in direct action. Bearman (2005) argues that the WSPU made extensive use of paid agents in the

arson campaign. The suffragists themselves seem to have been very aware of the power of these terms as the reclamation by the WSPU of the term *suffragette* demonstrates; they even renamed their journal *The Suffragette*. The changing nature of the campaign may also have had an effect on how suffrage campaigners were described as different groups adopted different strategies, created alliances or sought to distance themselves from other groups or types of campaign. However, while the distinction between suffragists and suffragettes seem to have been important to those within the organisation, it is uncertain as to how clear this distinction was to those outside the movement. As Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) demonstrate, terms like *refugee* and *asylum seeker* can have distinct, neutral meanings in specialist media, but may be substituted for each other and acquire emotionally charged meanings in the popular press. I investigate whether a similar process happened for *suffragist* and *suffragette*: whether the terms on which they placed such importance and in which they saw such fine distinctions had comparatively less power outside suffragist-produced documents.

In section 4.1 I examine the frequency of suffrage terms in the Suffrage corpus. This indicates that the terms *suffragist* and *suffragists* were more frequently used to describe suffrage campaigners than *suffragette* and *suffragettes*. As this chapter makes clear, this was not due to extensive reporting of constitutionalist activity. Instead, as the subsequent analysis shows, direct action was associated with *suffragist* and *suffragists*. I identify strongly associated collocates of *suffragist*, *suffragists*, *suffragette* and *suffragettes* in section 4.2. I then categorise these collocates using categories indicated by historical research and those emerging from the data to categorise words not accounted for by historical research. In section 4.3 I examine six strongly associated collocates of *suffrag** in more detail: *disturbance**,

outrage*, *violence*, *crime**, *disorder* and *incident?*. My analysis reveals that these different terms were used to describe not only different actions, but also different interactions between the suffrage campaigners, the police and authority figures. As discussed in the previous chapter, the number of texts in the Suffrage corpus is not consistent but instead varies by year. Until section 4.4 I use raw frequencies; in a closed corpus such as the Suffrage corpus they offer an insight into how much suffrage direct action was being reported in *The Times*; in section 4.4 I examine what normalised figures reveal about the representation of direct action. Finally, in section 4.5 I discuss my findings. I argue that the six direct action terms examined in this chapter are three linked pairs: *disturbance** and *outrage** are both high frequency but non-specific terms, *disorder* and *incident?* are used to describe interactions with non-suffrage supporters, and *crime** and *violence* are low frequency terms used to negatively evaluate suffrage direct action.

4.1 Frequency of suffrage terms in the Suffrage corpus

Diachronic frequency information offers year-by-year information for words, and thus can indicate whether one term was more popular than others and whether this preferred term changed. Table 4.1 shows raw frequency counts for *suffragist*, *suffragists*, *suffragette* and *suffragettes* in the Suffrage corpus. I will discuss my use of raw frequencies in more detail in section 4.4; the salient point is that as I am working with a closed corpus as discussed in Chapter 3, raw frequencies are useful in indicating total usage in *The Times*.

Table 4.1: Raw frequency counts for the suffrage corpus

Year	*suffragist*	*suffragists*	*suffragette*	*suffragettes*
1908	165	302	30	57
1909	139	311	16	35
1910	156	197	9	11
1911	81	104	2	10
1912	388	502	18	30
1913	527	615	34	19
1914	263	270	15	21
Total	1719	2301	124	183

These frequency counts indicate that, out of *suffragette** and *suffragist**, *suffragist** was the more frequent term and therefore, the preferred term for *The Times*. The frequency data reveals other points: the plural of the term is more frequent, suggesting that groups of campaigners were more often reported. However, this could also indicate that *suffrag** as a noun (including *suffragists*) was used more frequently than *suffrag** as a modifier (i.e. suffragist pamphlets). The data also indicates diachronic patterns, as shown in figure 4.1. The small peak in 1909 could be due to the beginning of suffragette hunger strikes while in prison; in which case, it is more difficult to account for the declines in 1910 and 1911 as the hunger strikes and forcible feeding continued until the introduction of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill Health) Act in 1913. The increases in frequency in 1912 and 1913 could be attributed to the escalating campaign of direct action as well as major events – *davison* appears in the mutual information for *suffragist* in 1913, indicating *The Times* coverage of Emily Wilding Davison's attempt to stop a horse at the 1913 Epsom Derby and subsequent death. There is a decline for all terms in 1914 which

is probably due to the outbreak of the First World War and resultant change of focus in *The Times*.

Figure 4.1: Diachronic comparison of frequencies
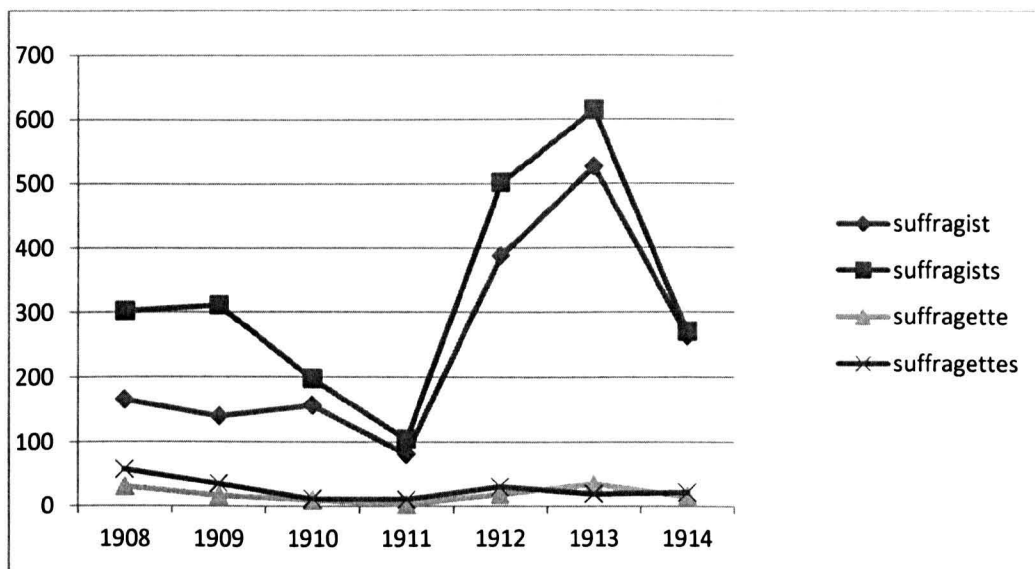
However, frequency information has its limits; it does not offer information into exactly what *The Times* was reporting, but only the words it used to describe those things. This raises several possibilities central to the section research question in Chapter 3: namely, was *The Times* making the same distinctions between suffragists and suffragettes as they themselves did, or was the paper attributing suffragette activities – those carried out by the WSPU – to suffragists and conflating the two groups? This chapter seeks to answer that question.

4.2 Classification of strongly associated collocates

Two methods of identifying categories were used. As I explain in Chapter 2, supported by Pugh's (2000) similar set of categories, it is possible to group suffragist concerns into the following: the tensions between suffragists campaigning for equal franchise as opposed to those campaigning for universal suffrage; the difference between constitutionalist and militant groups; issues of class, particularly those

between working class and middle/upper class dominated campaigns; issues of geography, especially tensions between Northern and London-centric organisations; issues of gender and gender roles; and that of the different origins of groups such as those with their roots in Trade Union activism. Some of these categories mapped onto the corpus data: words associated with constitutionalists and militants, geography and gender were identified as statistically strongly associated collocates of suffrage terms. However, words associated with the different campaigns for equal and universal suffrage, class and origins did not.

A further problem is that these categories account for some, but not all of the data. A corpus-driven method which uses the data as a starting point is therefore useful to identify categories of interest to *The Times*. Categories encompassing issues related to direct action, legal and prison, organisational, politics and opposition to the movement emerged. These categories reveal rather different concerns from those identified through research into suffragist-produced texts. The internal tensions of the movement – those of campaign focus, class and origins – are downplayed, creating the impression of a more homogeneous movement. Categories indicating newsworthiness – direct action, arrests, legal issues and treatment of suffragists in prison – are also present, and interestingly were less prominent in historians' research. This could be due to the effect of 'second wave' history examining historically neglected campaigns and organisations rather than those described in their founders' or members' accounts, notably the WSPU. The focus of historical research has shifted from direct action and the consequences for its proponents, but this was very much headline-grabbing news at the time. I also identified a category for organisational details, containing words such as *meeting, speakers, addressed, publications* and *campaign*. These words seem to relate less to

direct action and instead relate more to the day-to-day running of organisations and raising awareness of the campaign. I did not identify this as a concern of historical research; rather, I believe that this category is implicit in the type of suffragist-produced texts selected for historical research – records of meetings, pamphlets and newsletters. However, their presence suggests that *The Times* did not focus solely on suffragists' transgressions but that more prosaic events and activities also had a presence in the paper.

Strongly associated collocates were identified through calculating as outlined in section 3.6.2 in the previous chapter and categorised as discussed in section 3.6.3. The categories used can be summarised as follows: Categories 1 – 6 are those emerging from historical data; the categories struck through are those which were not represented in the corpus. Categories 7 – 12 are those identified though using the corpus data as a starting point and are as such data-driven.

1. ~~Equal franchise vs universal suffrage~~
2. Constitutionalist vs militant
3. ~~Class~~
4. Geography (regional vs London)/places
5. Gender/gender roles
6. ~~Origins~~
7. Direct action/attributed to
8. Legal and prison (incl. *treatment*)
9. Proper names
10. Organisational
11. Politics
12. Opposition

The complete tables of categorised strongly associated collocates by year can be found in Appendix 1. Each table shows all strongly associated collocates for *suffragist, suffragists, suffragette* and *suffragettes* sorted into the categories above; uncategorised strongly associated collocates are also noted. The frequencies for each

category i.e. combining the four *suffrag** terms and counting all lexical items assigned to that category – are shown in Table 4.2 and illustrated in Figure 4.2.

Table 4.2: Diachronic frequencies of categories

	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Constitutional vs. militant	1	1	1	1	4	3	3
Geography	0	0	0	0	6	2	0
Gender	9	8	5	3	8	11	6
Direct action	4	3	1	1	11	25	9
Legal & prison	4	9	2	1	15	12	4
Organisational	3	2	1	0	5	13	2
Political	1	0	0	0	4	4	0
Opposition	1	2	2	2	2	2	1
Proper names	0	0	0	0	0	3	0

Diachronically, the increased coverage indicated by the increasing frequency of categorised collocates correlates with the suffragette campaign of escalating direct action, and so shows that the campaign did attract media attention. This is reflected in frequencies of the direct action and legal and prison categories, suggesting the newsworthiness of these kinds of event. The years 1912 and 1913 show particularly high frequencies for all categories; this is especially noticeable for the direct action category. The gender category is the most frequent category in 1908, breaking the trend of the highest frequencies being found in 1912/1913. The legal and prison category has a small peak in 1909 – again, this seems against the trend for most of the categories which occur at lower frequencies in this year. The organisational category shows an increase in frequency in 1912 and 1913.

Figure 4.2: Diachronic frequencies of categories
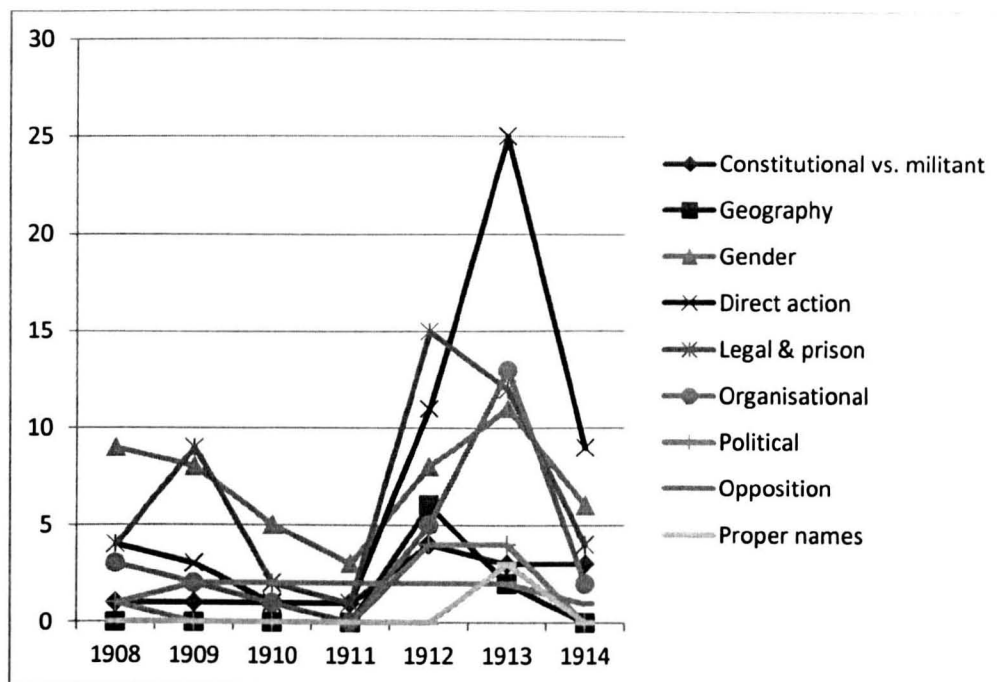
There were also terms that did not fall into categories. Many were functional terms such as *a, an, and, are, as, at, by, from, of, the, was, with*. Others dealt with locating the suffrage event temporally (*morning, tuesday, yesterday*) and to indicate numbers (*four, number, three, two*). These terms were left as unclassified because, while potentially revealing, I wanted to focus on content terms[11].

The tables in Appendix 1 show the distribution of strongly associated collocates across *suffragist, suffragists, suffragette* and *suffragettes*. More strongly associated collocates are associated with *suffragist* and *suffragists*; in 1911 there are no strongly associated collocates associated with *suffragette*, there are under five strongly associated collocates associated with *suffragette* in 1908, 1909, 1910, 1913 and 1914, and there are under five strongly associated collocates associated with *suffragettes* in 1910, 1911, 1913 and 1914. This is in contrast to the 80 strongly

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[11] Suffrage historiography suggests that suffrage campaigners worked in small groups of two or three when carrying out acts of direct action; examining numbers more closely may offer insight into this.

associated collocates associated with *suffragist* and the 83 strongly associated

collocates associated with suffragists in 1913, and indicates that *suffragist* and

suffragists were the preferred terms for *The Times*. This also indicates that there

appeared to be a conflation of terms associated with suffragettes and suffragists; this

is particularly clear in the direct action category. Suffragists organised and took part

in *demonstrations* ("Buckingham Palace was the scene of a suffragist

demonstration") and *deputations* ("a man who was prepared to receive a deputation

on the question of woman suffrage", "the deputation of women suffragists was

excluded"), both of which I have included in this category. However, there are

words linked to *suffragist* and *suffragists* through mutual information that reflect

suffragette activities and from which, in some cases, suffragists distanced

themselves, such as *interruption, bomb, fires* and *violence*. There are also words that

link people belonging to suffragette organisations to the suffragists, notably *davison*.

The following concordance on page 130 shows collocates of *davison*. Out of 51

instances of *davison*, fourteen collocated with *suffragist* (+/- 8 words) and none

collocated with *suffragette* within the same context search horizons.

The most common cluster in Concordance 4.1 is *davison, the suffragist who*. This

indicates that Davison was being publically identified as a suffragist rather than a

suffragette. This epithet is followed by a phrase describing her actions (*caused the*

accident, stopped the King's horse, interfered with) or the result of her actions (*was*

fatally injured, died from injuries, was injured during). These emphasise the serious

nature of her injuries and the deliberate nature of her actions – she is described as

having *caused, interfered* and *stopped*. Two concordance lines describe the response

to her death – line 1 describes the *Suffragist Outrage at Epsom*, again attributing the

event to a suffragist rather than a suffragette. Line 6 notes that *The women*

Concordance 4.1: 14 occurrences of *davison* that collocate with *suffragist*

```
1    at the inquest at Epsom on the body of Miss E. IV. Davison, the suffragist who stopped the King's ho

2    Henry Fitzwilliam, and Lady Noreen Bass. Miss Emil Davison, the suffragist who was injpred during th

3     The Suffragist Outrage at Epsoma; Death of i-liss Davison .. .. ... S St. Peters-square: Position o

4    E SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE AT THE DERBY. FUNERAL OF MISS DAVISON. MRS. PANKHRURST RE-ARRESTED. The funeral

5    Mx. Justice Philli- more. (p. 3) The Death of Miss Davison. The women suffragists have decided to gi

6     women suffragists have decided to give Miss E. W. Davison a public funeral, and a memorial service

7     SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE AT EPSOM. DEATH OF MIISS E. W. DAVISON. Miss Emily Wilding Davison, the suffragi

8     Cottage Hospital yesterday showed that Miss E. W. Davison, tho suffragist who caused tho accident,

9     r identity, 'it is believed that she is Miss E. W. Davison, who has been prominently associated with

10    in Manechester County Coutt by .iss Emily Wilding Davison, B.A., of Long Horsley, Northumberland, a

11   EAL. I A SUFFRAGIST'S APPEAL. REX v. EMILY WILDING DAVISON. (Bcforc i7ic LORD CH1I` JUTSTICE Of EXNG

12   RST RE-ARRESTED. The funeral of 3iss Emily Wilding Davison, the suffragigt who died from injuries re

13   ho inquired into the deiath of Bliss Emily Wilding Davison, the suffragist who died from injuries re

14   . DEATH OF MIISS E. W. DAVISON. Miss Emily Wilding Davison, the suffragist who interfered with the K
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suffragists have decided, describing the suffragist rather than suffragette response. This consistent absence of *suffragette* and the presence of *suffragist* suggests a case of misidentification or a conflation of the two factions. However, while this is the case for *davison*, it may not be the case for all instances of lexical items in the direct action category statistically associated with *suffragist* or *suffragists*. The high frequencies of *suffragist* could suggest that these activities were attributed to the suffragists, but it is also possible that the situation is more complex and their presence is due to suffragists' rejection of these activities. In the following section I focus on the direct action words to investigate their connections to different factions.

4.3 Direct action

Direct action is a promising category for several reasons. Firstly, those taking part in such activities sought publicity in order to raise awareness of their cause and thus, textual evidence of their activities should exist in the corpus. Crawford (1999: 732) notes "Fleet Street editors were approached" to cover the first procession and speeches at Caxton Hall, showing an early awareness on the part of the WSPU of the desirability of press attention; Crawford (1999: 377) notes that in 1912, part of the rationale behind the arson of Hurst Park racecourse was that "it would make a most appropriate beacon" following the death of Emily Wilding Davison. Secondly, direct action was most commonly associated with suffragettes and therefore, the pattern of distribution shown in section 4.4, in which many of the lexical items co-occur with *suffragist* and *suffragists* rather than *suffragette* and *suffragettes*, is unexpected and worth further attention.

The category of direct action can be broken down into sub-categories summarised in Table 4.3: what happens i.e. what is caused as a result of direct

actions; words connecting people or groups to events; and the tools used to create disorder. The first category is the most frequent, with 10 words. Four words are in the list of words used to connect people or groups to events, and three words are in the category of tools used to create disorder. The terms in the second category seem fairly straightforward; *attempt**, *attribute**, *cause** and *action** all establish a relationship – often a causal relationship – between people and events. Not all the terms in the third category are as straightforward, for example *fire** and *window**. However, as explained in Chapter 2, two methods of direct action were breaking windows and setting fires which explain their presence as strongly associated collocates. On first appearance, some terms in the first category appear vague – *disturbance, outrage, disorder* and *incident* all seem to be ways of referring to an event without revealing much about the nature of the event.

Table 4.3: Sub-categories of direct action

What happens	Connecting groups/people to events	Tools to create disorder
Disturbance*	*Attempt**	*Fire**
Deputation	*Attribute**	*Bomb**
Interrupt*	*Cause**	*Window**
Outrage*	*Action**	
Demonstration*		
Break*		
Damag*		
Crime*		
Violence		
Disorder		
Incident		

I discuss the value of examining consistent strongly associated collocates in Chapter 7; these are strongly associated collocates that are significant in four or more years in the Suffrage corpus. While consistency is not the focus of this chapter, it offers a data-driven approach to narrowing my focus on a smaller set of direct action terms for in-depth analysis.

*Disturbance** is one of the most consistent strongly associated collocates of *suffrag** terms and is found in five of the seven years under examination – 1908, 1909, 1910, 1912 and 1913. *Outrage** is less consistent and instead is found in 1912, 1913 and 1914, indicating its importance as the campaign of direct action escalated. In contrast to these terms, *violence* appears only as a strongly associated collocate of *suffrag** terms in 1913, suggesting its importance at the height of the campaign but that it was reported less often in previous years. These three words therefore offer different insights into the representation of direct action.

4.3.1 *suffrag** + *disturbance**

In this section I focus on *disturbance** and how it collocates with *suffrag**. As explained in section 4.5, *disturbance** is a consistent strongly associated collocate of a *suffrag** term because for all the years under investigation with the exception of 1911 and 1914. This consistency offers scope for a diachronic analysis. Historical research suggests that suffragette groups were more likely to create or claim responsibility for disturbances, and so *suffragette disturbance** should be present in the concordance lines. However, as seen in Table 4.4, the most striking point is how frequent *suffragist disturbance** is. It is also the most consistent term, appearing in all of the years under investigation. *Suffragette disturbance** only appears twice, both in 1912, while *suffrage disturbance** occurs in three years.

Table 4.4: Frequencies of *suffrag** + *disturbance** constructions

| Year | All | Frequency | | |
		*suffragist disturbance**	*suffragette disturbance**	*suffrage disturbance**
1908	14	9	0	0
1909	16	7	0	2
1910	10	7	0	3
1911	4	3	0	1
1912	25	12	2	6
1913	28	11	0	0
1914	14	3	0	0

1911 shows few occurrences of any of these patterns and 1912 shows a spike in variants, notably *suffrage disturbance** but also the two instances of *suffragette disturbances*; however, there seems to be a shift in the pattern in 1913 and 1914. As shown in Figure 4.3, there is a decrease in the bigram *suffrag** *disturbance** constructions in those even though the frequency of *suffrag** + *disturbance** in the stated context horizons peaks in 1913

As might be expected from newspaper reporting, place-names feature heavily. Downing Street and Westminster were targeted in 1908; Bow Street, Westminster and "PRESTOS" (possibly Preston) in 1909; Downing Street and Bow Street in 1910; Dublin, Oxford and Torquay in 1912; the Pavilion, Bow, Hyde Park, Westminster, Oxford, Covent Garden and Whitehall in 1913 and Buckingham Palace, Olympia and St. Paul's Cathedral in 1914. There seems to be a bias towards London, but whether this is on part of the suffrage campaigners, *The Times'* reporting or a combination of these is unclear. However, the locations in London that are reported reveal contemporary political, judicial, religious, military and

business places of importance; Whitehall and Downing Street were centres of governmental power, Bow Street was the location of the Bow Street Magistrates Court, Buckingham Palace was the residence of King Edward VII (r.1901-1910) and later King George V (r.1910-1936), St Paul's Cathedral was the seat of the Bishop of London, Olympia hosted the Royal Tournament – a display of military strength – and Covent Garden was a trading centre. The concordance lines reveal that *The Times* reported events when suffrage campaigners targeted sites that had a symbolic dimension to their literal power. However, as the concordance lines reveal, the campaigners being discussed were identified as suffragists.

It is unclear to what types of direct action *disturbance** refers. Other direct action strongly associated collocates in Table 4.3 more clearly state the nature of the direct action, particularly *fire**, *bomb** and *window**. In contrast, *disturbance** encompasses a range of acts; information is offered about a suffragist disturbance at 10 Downing Street. This news text appears under the heading "Suffragist Disturbance In Downing-street" and describes one of the very few instances of women chaining themselves to railings:

> The women had taken up a position near the entrance to the house, and when Mr. Asquith arrived they made a rush towards him. The police intervened when some of the women grasped the railings, raised cries of "Votes for women!" and refused to go away. Others succeeded in getting inside the hall at No. 10, but were ejected. Two of them contrived to attach themselves to the railings by steel chains, but these were broken by the police.
>
> (0FFO-1908-JAN18-009-001.txt)

Later occurrences use *disturbance** to describe window breaking, for example: "At Bow-street Police Court yesterday there were 159 charges arising out of the suffragist disturbances on Tuesday. There were 41 charges of throwing missiles and

breaking. windows in the houses of Cabinet Ministers" (0FFO-1910-NOV24-011-001.txt). *Disturbance** was also used to describe suffrage campaigners' attempts to publicise their campaign outside suffrage meetings and especially in places where their interruptions would be viewed as especially confrontational:

> Women <u>suffragists</u> created a <u>disturbance</u> during the morning service at St. Paul's Cathedral yesterday by interjecting in the prayers an appeal to the Church to interfere with the forcible feeding of women, while others prayed for Mary Richardson and Annie Kenney.
>
> (0FFO-1913-OCT20-008-005.txt)

> <u>DISTURBANCES</u> AT THEATRES. Militant <u>suffragists</u> last night visited practically every theatre in the West-end and caused what appeared to be organized disturbances by attempting to address the audiences or by scattering handbills relative to "the torture of women."
>
> (0FFO-1914-JUN13-009-010.txt)

These usages suggest that *disturbance** is used to describe non-property damaging activities in which the suffragists take part. The targeted locations suggest that the suffrage campaigners were deeply aware of the different kinds of power indexed by such sites and chose them accordingly to make an impact; this is reflected in the press attention given to them in *The Times'* reporting.

4.3.2 *suffrag + *outrage***

Like *disturbance**, *outrage** could encompass a variety of forms of direct action and for this reason, I focus on it in this section. Because of its association with direct action I would expect it to collocate with *suffragette**; however, as seen with *disturbance**, this may not be the case.

*Outrage** is less consistently found in the corpus; while it is found in the years 1909, 1912, 1913 and 1914 there are no occurrences in 1908, 1910 and 1911. *Outrage** is most frequently found as a strongly associated collocate of *suffragist*; there is one occurrence of *suffragette outrage** and no occurrences of *suffrage outrage**. As with *suffragist disturbance**, this links the suffragists, rather than the suffragettes, to the events reported.

Table 4.3 below shows a small peak in 1909, possibly due to the start of the direct action campaign, but the main peak is in 1913 with 73 occurrences. There is a dramatic increase in frequency between 1911, where there were no occurrences, and 1912, where there were 41 occurrences.

There is a pattern of attribution – *by, committed, attributed to, supposed to be the work of, perpetuated by* – linking *outrage** to those assumed to be responsible for it. This creates an effect of accountability and deliberate action. However, one concordance line in 1909 states that "forcible feeding of "suffragettes" is an outrage",

Table 4.5: Frequencies of *suffrag** + *outrag** constructions

Year	All	*suffragist outrage**	Frequency *suffragette outrage**	*suffrage outrage**
1908	0	0	0	0
1909	7	2	0	0
1910	0	0	0	0
1911	0	0	0	0
1912	41	20	0	0
1913	73	38	1	0
1914	32	19	0	0

raising the possibility that outrages could be committed against, as well as by, those in the suffrage movement. A close analysis of the source text reveals that this is not the case:

> But Sir Victor Horsley, in order to support his own particular view that forcible feeding of "suffragettes" is an outrage, apparently considers himself justified in making ridiculous charges and evil insinuations concerning the action and motives of those who were responsible for the case in question, and struggles to give plausibility to these charges and insinuations by making *ex cathedra* assertions regarding medical practice which, to say the least, are deplorably erroneous.
>
> (OFFO-1909-DEC18-012-002.txt)

This text appears in the Letters to the Editor section of *The Times* and is written by H. B. Donkin, a Consulting Physician to Westminster Hospital and to the East London Hospital for Children. In it, he argues that the use of nasal or oesophageal tubes to feed patients is "right and harmless" and "common use in private and hospital medical practice in all cases where patients – sane or insane, adults or children – either cannot or will not swallow food in the ordinary way". Horsley's objections to forcible feeding are described as peculiar, erroneous and libellous. Donkin's use of *outrage* to characterise Horsley's opposition to forcible feeding, therefore, uses a term primed for use to describe suffrage direct action to describe action taken against suffrage campaigners. By using *outrage*, Donkin further undermines Horsley's objections – not only are they at odds with the medical opinion of the time, but they're suspiciously sympathetic to the suffrage cause.

4.3.3 suffrag* + violence

Unlike *disturbance** and *outrage**, *violence* is much more to the point about the kinds of actions it encompasses and for this reason I have selected it as the next direct action term to examine in depth. *Outrage** and *disturbance** are collocationally linked to *suffragist**; however, this does not necessarily show that suffragists were linked to direct action as a whole. An analysis of *suffrag** + *violence* constructions can offer greater insight into the strength of this pattern – whether suffragists rather than suffragettes continue to be linked to direct action terms, or whether suffragists are linked to more ambiguous terms and suffragettes linked to terms less vague about the actions they encompass.

Table 4.6: Frequencies of *suffrag** + *violence* constructions

| Year | All | Frequency | | |
		suffragist violence	*suffragette violence*	*suffrage violence*
1908	1	0	0	0
1909	4	0	0	0
1910	1	0	0	0
1911	3	0	0	0
1912	10	2	0	1
1913	18	6	0	0
1914	1	1	0	0

Unlike *disturbance** and *outrage**, there are comparatively few occurrences of *violence*. The patterns of *suffrag** *violence* are also different – while *suffragist violence* does occur, the concordances lines also show the ways in which the leadership of groups within the suffrage movement attempted to distance themselves from violence. These attempts at distancing the movement from violence are particularly obvious in the early years of the direct action campaign; 1909 ("Suffrage

Societies, while condemning methods of violence", "deplore and condemn the methods of violence that have been adopted by the militants"), 1911 ("At every meeting I have been at since your promise of public support for woman's suffrage, speaker after speaker has denounced violence") and continue in the years when direct action peaked; 1912 ("Suffrage Societies disapproves of the use of violence as political propaganda", "have protested privately against the use of violence in the promotion of the suffrage") and 1913 ("those suffragists who are opposed to active violence should adopt a policy of " militancy").

Again, *suffragist violence* is the most frequent collocation, with one occurrence of *suffrage violence* and no occurrences of *suffragette violence*. While suffragists did distance themselves from suffragette activities, the collocation *militant suffragist*, lack of occurrences of *suffragette* and the frequency of *suffragist disturbance** and *suffragist outrage** suggest that *The Times* was not framing this as point of disagreement within the suffrage movement. Instead of making it clear that this was an established and on-going debate about methods of campaigning which had different factions taking different sides, *The Times* data makes it appear as if some suffragists denounce the methods of violence adopted by other, militant suffragists. This diminishes the complexity of the movement, making it appear that the disagreements over tactics were individual decisions and that the movement itself was disorganised and inconsistent, with the overall effect of undermining the suffrage campaign.

These concordance lines also offer evidence of the reaction to suffrage campaigns. This is seen in 1912 ("since enough had been done to show that the violence of the opponents of universal suffrage") and 1913 ("Hyde Park was again yesterday the scene of a riotous demonstration against woman suffrage speakers, the

violence shown them being even greater than on the two previous occasions"). In these lines, rather than carrying out violence, the suffrage campaigners experience violence directed against themselves.

4.3.4 *suffrag* + *crime*

Like *violence, crime* is more explicit about the direct action activities it encompasses. *Crime* has an immediate association with legal transgression, even if the activities themselves were not criminal. As described in Chapter 2, activities leading to arrest and court appearances tended to be associated with suffragette campaigners rather than campaigners aligned with the suffragist campaign. So far the direct action terms analysed show more frequent collocation with *suffragist* rather than *suffragette*, indicating that *The Times* did not make the same distinctions amongst suffrage campaigners as the campaigners themselves did. *Crime*, because of its strong association with the militant campaign, therefore offers a test case to explore the extent of this conflation of terms.

Again, like *violence, crime* is also relatively low frequency; this is shown in Table 4.7. It has very few *suffrag* + *crime* constructions, suggesting an unwillingness to grammatically link women to criminal activities. Unlike *violence, disturbance* and *outrage* it peaks in 1914, rather than 1913, indicating that this was one area that *The Times* not only continued to report, but actually developed, while other aspects of the campaign were reported less frequently.

Table 4.7: Frequencies of *suffrag* + crime** constructions

Year	All	*suffragist crime**	*suffragette crime**	*suffrage crime**
			Frequency	
1908	0	0	0	0
1909	1[12]	0	0	0
1910	0	0	0	0
1911	0	0	0	0
1912	5	0	0	1
1913	4	0	0	0
1914	11	2	0	0

As with *suffragist violence*, the collocation *militant suffragists* appears. In one case, the term *militant* is enclosed within quotemarks; the context indicates that the writer does not take their militancy seriously, and the quotemarks therefore suggest distance between the writer and the way they describe those involved in this aspect of the suffrage movement. The collocation *Millitant suffragettism* is used once in 1914. Co-occurring text shows the term occurs in a letter to the editor rather than in a report by one of the paper's correspondents; these letters were selected for publication but it seems unlikely that they were edited prior to publication. As I discuss in Chapter 7, letter writers could be campaigners and supporters both for and against the women's suffrage movement. *Militant suffragettism* is used by a writer hostile to the suffrage movement (0FFO-1914-JUN20-010-016.txt); the term *suffragette* was originally used as a dismissive diminutive, and the writer's use of this novel construction could index his distance and total disengagement with the suffrage movement. There is also one use of an adjective + direct action word – "the

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[12] The example here is " ome-coming ... 11 The Woman Suffragists... 11 Crime and Appeals . -. .. 11 Special Article". While the suffragist and crime reporting do not appear to be in the same article, it is possible that their location on the same page is meant to suggest a connection or common theme.

silly crimes of the "militant" suffragists". While *crime** itself seems to be a serious accusation and is not used frequently, the use of *silly* both makes the crime appear less serious and comments of the frivolity of those committing such crimes.

This ambivalence about the seriousness of suffrage crimes appears in the concordance lines for 1914. While crimes were attributed to suffragists ("SUFFRAGISTS AND INCITEMENTS TO CRIME" and "speeches were delivered boasting of the outrages lately committed by "militant" suffragists in the name of liberty and threatening crimes such as "burning down a palace" if women were not promptly given the Parliamentary Vote") and sometimes judged harshly ("Millitant suffragettism is crime - it is the breaking the law for selfish purposes"), other occurrences of *crime** negate the serious nature of such crimes as describing them as *silly crimes*. Evidence also appears of reactions to crimes from within the suffrage movement; one occurrence reveals criticism from constitutional suffragists:

> Mrs. Fawcett said that the recent serious out-break of destruction of historical monuments and buildings beloved by the whole nation was deeply deplored by constitutional suffragists. The commission of such crimes was an absolute negation of the principles for which they stood. (Hear, hear.) The militants were always saying that government was ultimately founded on physical force. Constitutional suffragists denied that. They said that the ultimate foundation was not physical force but moral force. Physical force could never be sufficiently powerful in itself to carry any great measure. If they believed it possible - and none of them could – that by physical menaces they could coerce the men into granting them enfranchisement, such a victory would be worse than defeat.
> (OFFO-1914-JUN13-009-010.txt)

This statement from the president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies makes it clear that not all those in the suffrage movement participated in or

condoned such destruction. Unlike *The Times*, Fawcett appears to choose her

terminology carefully: constitutionalists are described as *constitutionalist suffragists*,

whereas those involved in the destruction she describes and whose actions she

condemns are described simply as *militants*, rather than the *militant suffragist** or

*suffragist** that has been used by *The Times*. This report also reveals something of

the complexity of stances in *The Times*; the direct speeches recorded contributed to

the expression of different and sometimes inconsistent views within the papers. I

would argue that this careful use of terminology is indicative of an editorial policy

that enabled a range of views to be expressed rather than an editorial policy that

sought accuracy when describing the suffrage movement.

4.3.5 *suffrag** + *disorder*

Like *disturbance** and *outrage**, *disorder* is unspecific about the kinds of actions it

describes and could encompass a variety of actions or events. While it seems to

follow a similar pattern of distribution as *disturbance** and *outrage**, peaking in

1913, it is lower frequency. In this section I analyse concordance lines with the aim

of establishing a semantic profile for *disorder*, especially in relation to the lexical

items *disturbance** and *outrage**. *Disturbance** and *outrage** are also non-specific

about the acts they describe, but unlike *disorder* they are found much more

frequently in the corpus. This suggests that *disorder* may be used to describe

different events or situations, or carry different connotations, thus accounting for its

different frequency profile.

Table 4.8 shows that, even though *disorder* itself is low frequency, the

suffragist + direct action term pattern prevalent in *disturbance** and *outrage** does

not appear as frequently in *disorder* as in *disturbance** and *outrage**.

Table 4.8: Frequencies of *suffrag* + disorder** constructions

Year	Frequency			
	All	*suffragist disorder*	*suffragette disorder*	*suffrage disorder*
1908	3	0	0	0
1909	4	0	0	0
1910	0	0	0	0
1911	0	0	0	0
1912	6	1	1	0
1913	20	7	0	0
1914	0	0	0	0

A pattern that emerges in 1913 is *disorder at (a) suffragist [event]* – a demonstration or meetings. This has the effect of shifting the responsibility for creating the disorder away from the suffragists and instead creates the possibility that disorder at these events were created by those outside or protesting against the suffrage campaign. Seven of the 18 concordance lines for 1913 show this pattern:

1. Owing to the <u>disorder</u> which occurred at a <u>suffragist</u> meeting at the Thornton Heath Baths Hall on February 22, the Croydon Corporation has refused an application of the Women's Freedom League to hire the building for another meeting

2. <u>Disorder</u> at <u>Suffragist</u> Meetings. There was much <u>disorder</u> yesterday at <u>suffragist</u> meetings in Hyde Park, on Hampstead Heath, and on Wimbledon Common, and the speakers had to be protected by the police from large hostile crowds.

3. <u>DISORDER</u> AT <u>SUFFRAGIST</u> MEETINGS. Active hostility to suffragists was again shown at open-air meetings in various parts of London yesterday. In Hyde Park, at Hampstead Heath, and on Wimbledon Common many suffragist speakers had difficulty in obtaining a hearing, and eventually the meetings broke up in disorder

4. During a "free speech" demonstration in Trafalgar-square yesterday, intended as a protest against the prohibition of <u>suffragist</u> meetings, there were scenes of great <u>disorder,</u> and the police were compelled to take vigorous measures to disperse the crowd

5. <u>Disorder</u> at a <u>Suffragist</u> Demonstration. A suffrage demonstration in Victoria Park, in the east of London, yesterday afternoon, was marked by scenes of great disorder. The scenes of <u>disorder</u> at <u>suffragist</u> meetings on Sunday

6. police raid on the Bow Baths Hall on Monday night, which ended in the breaking up, amid scenes of great <u>disorder,</u> of the <u>suffragist</u> meeting held there

7. At Keighley yesterday there were scenes of some <u>disorder.</u> Mill-girls and <u>suffragists,</u> both militant and non-militant, were prominent at the street corners and young a roughs" broke up some of the meetings

In these extracts, *disorder* occurs when the suffrage campaigners encounter other groups – large hostile crowds, young roughs or the police – rather than something inherent to suffrage events and created by the suffrage campaigners themselves. The police have an ambivalent role; while they break up hostile crowds and so alleviate disorder, they also raid suffrage meetings and create disorder. These uses of *disorder* also stress the dangerous positions suffrage campaigners may find themselves in – in the course of campaigning, they may find themselves confronting the police, facing hostile crowds or being challenged by young roughs. The disorder is described *great* in extracts 4, 5 and 7 and *much disorder* in extract 2, again highlighting the risks of direct action. The meetings are described as breaking up in extracts 3, 6 and 7 which also contribute to the discourse prosody of danger being established. All eight extracts locate the suffrage activities temporally or spatially; all but one describe the geographic location or locations of the suffrage meetings or demonstrations. While this is a feature of news reporting it also serves to emphasise

that these activities took place in the public sphere – they happened in parks and squares and street-corners, and that in the course of their campaign members of the suffrage movement interacted with corporations and police – those with some authority rather than merely crowds of the general public. These situations contribute to the complex gender discourse surrounding the suffrage movement. As explained in Chapter 2, women were thought of as delicate and nurturing, unsuited to the male public, political sphere. The suffrage movement argued within the framework of gender essentialism that women's caring, nurturing natures were needed in a government that took an increasing interest in welfare and social reform. However, as seen through the direct action campaign, they also contested the prevailing social view that women were inherently gentle and belonged in the safety of the private, domestic sphere – the campaigners discussed in these extracts were prepared to bring their campaign into public view. As Atkinson (1998: 98) discusses in her analysis of suffragette photographs,

> Personal courage was required of the suffragette speaker [...] suffragettes had to quickly master a range of skills to overcome the prejudice against women daring to speak on politics. Frequently, they were accused of being prostitutes; they had to contend with ridicule, threats of violence, and being pelted with rotting fruit and vegetables and clods of earth.

As these extracts show, female campaigners who spoke in favour of women's suffrage often encountered heckling from crowds and this was something reported by *The Times*, although *The Times* does not appear to discuss how the crowd's hostility was manifested in the detail offered by Atkinson. Extending the franchise to women transgressed the social expectations of women's place with the public-private dichotomy, and women publically debating these issues were a visible expression of this. However, these extracts, particularly those reporting police

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actions, display an uneasy situation where the suffrage campaigners are both in need of police protection in the face of public hostility, and subjected to police power themselves. While the disorder resulting from the suffrage campaigners' actions can be risky and the campaigners themselves are shown to encounter hostility, the campaigners themselves do not appear to be represented as dangerous themselves and instead ultimately require male protection when faced with aggression.

Extract 7 also explicitly discusses terminology. Unlike Fawcett's careful discussion of constitutionalist suffragists and militants, this concordance line describes *suffragists, both militant and non-militant*, clearly identifying both militant and non-militant campaigners as suffragists. However, it also records the role of *mill-girls* and locates the events in Keighley, West Yorkshire; these indicate the presence of campaigners outside London and from working-class backgrounds. Liddington and Norris (1977) reject the view that the suffrage movement was composed of the middle- and upper-class London elite and refocus the campaign's demographic as working, working-class women in Northern industrial urban areas. Extract 7 does not identify the mill-girls as involved in the suffrage movement, but offers some evidence that suffrage campaigns outside London were reported.

Like extract 7, the following extract explicitly discusses militancy within the suffrage movement and disorder:

> The proceedings, indeed, were, as much a demonstration against militancy, as one in favour of woman-suffrage'. The entire absence of <u>disorder</u> and the unquestioned success of the demonstration are the reward of the great body of women suffragists who seek to convince the country that the taint of militancy is not upon them.
>
> <div align="right">(OFFO-1913-JUL28-008-009.txt)</div>

It is somewhat ambiguous as to whom is being identified as a suffragist in this extract. While the extract makes it clear that some suffragists are keen to distance themselves from militancy, the identity claimed by militants is elided; it is unclear whether it is the taint of suffragist militancy or that of suffragette militancy is avoided. This extract also defines a successful event as one not tainted by disorder and not involving or condoning militancy. It suggests that the interplay between militant and constitutionalist campaigns could have been more complex; in some reports *The Times* did distinguish, to some extent, between militant and non-militant campaigns and the non-militants were afforded greater legitimacy because of their distance from militancy. Their campaign was perceived as not only for the vote, but also as a rejection of the tactics employed by other members of the suffrage movement. However, *The Times'* use of *suffragist* to describe all suffrage organisations and campaigns, rather than using terms used within the suffrage-produced texts, serves to give an impression of a more homogenous and united movement.

4.3.6 *suffrag* + incident?*

In this section I discuss both *incident* and *incidents* which are both covered by the single letter wildcard ? rather than the multiple letter wildcard *. This is to avoid inclusion of unwanted words such as *incidentally* and *incidental*, which would make it harder to organise and see patterns in the data. The single character wildcard avoids this by including only *incident* and *incidents* plus single character OCR errors which are likely to be transcription errors of incidents e.g. *incidente*.

Incident? is both low frequency and unspecific about the types of action it describes, giving it a profile more similar to *disorder* than the higher frequency but non-

specific terms *outrage** and *disturbance** or the low frequency but specific terms *violence* and *crime**. As I have shown in section 4.5.5, *disorder* is used to describe hostile encounters between suffrage campaigners and the police or the (anti-suffrage) public.

Table 4.9: Frequencies of *suffrag** + *incident** constructions

Year	All	*suffragist incident?*	Frequency *suffragette incident?*	*suffrage incident?*
1908	0	0	0	0
1909	0	0	0	0
1910	2	0	0	0
1911	0	0	0	0
1912	9	5	0	0
1913	10	4	0	0
1914	2	1	0	0

Table 4.9 shows that while *suffragist** + *incident?* do collocate, there are no occurrences of *suffragette** + *incident?* or *suffrage* + *incident?*. This is consistent with the other direct action terms examined in section 4.5. While *suffragist** + *incident?* does account for around half of the occurrences, in this section I would like to compare the different usages for *disorder* and *incident?*. In this section I make more extensive use of longer extracts to examine language in terms of content; these extracts can be found in Appendix 2.

As the extracts show, there are some similarities between usage of *disorder* and *incident?*. While the pattern that emerges does not show a strong grammatical structure like *disorder at (a) suffragist [event]*, *incident?* also appears to be used when describing interaction between suffrage campaigners and non-suffrage supporters. Unlike *disorder*, which is used when suffrage campaigners and hostile

crowds or the police encounter each other, *incident?* is used when suffrage

campaigners appeal to, heckle, damage property belonging to or otherwise focus

their attentions on things relating to authority figures – members of Parliament

(extract 1, 3, 4, 5[13], 6, 7, 8, 10, 11), the aristocracy (extract 2) and the monarchy

(extract 12, 13, 14, 15,17). While *disorder* stresses the danger the suffrage

campaigners could find themselves in, *incident?* downplays the significance of the

events. I would argue that the danger being de-emphasised is to the authority figures

rather than to the suffrage campaigners. While extract 11 does describe a scene of

violence, the violence is directed towards the police and then the suffrage

campaigners, rather than the Prime Minister. The target of this protest, Asquith,

successfully avoids "any trouble" whilst getting away. Instead, the encounters are

between the suffrage campaigners, the police and the crowd – the suffrage

campaigners "attack" the police, and in retaliation "in anger the crowd turned upon

the suffragists". However, despite the earlier attack made on them, the police "draw

their batons to protect the women" and bring the situation under control. In this text,

the police are represented positively; they protect the women despite the women's

hostility towards them. In contrast, the suffrage campaigners appear to start a

protest, but quickly lose control over it due to the crowd's reaction. This pattern of

presenting a potentially threatening act as resolved and neutralised occurs in other

extracts; extract 6 describes a thwarted attempt at arson, extract 8 describes a

frustrated attempt to meet the Prime Minister and the steps taken to protect him, and

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[13] Mr Lewis Harcourt was MP for Rossendale, Lancashire 1904-1916 and the First Commissioner of
Works 1905-1910 in both Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith's governments. He was raised to the
peerage in 1917 so is sometimes referred to as Viscount Harcourt, but this is not contemporary to the
period focused on in this project.

extract 10 an attempt to damage a fresco in the House of Commons that failed to even break the glass.

There is an element of humour to some of the extracts – for example, the "whimsical" rebuke to heckling (extract 1), the campaigner who attempted to post herself to Churchill (extract 7) or the suffrage campaigners chanting a prayer for Mrs Pankhurst during a service (extract 9). These humorous examples of direct action stress the non-threatening aspects of the movement, and show the suffrage campaigners as something to be amused rather than threatened by. Other extracts focus on the non-confrontational nature of the encounters themselves – suffrage campaigners throw handbills (extract 15) or leaflets (extract 17) at the monarchy rather than throw stones at windows, and further underlined by the use of *trivial* (extract 17) to describe a harmless encounter. Both of these extracts come from 1913 and 1914 and suggest a different kind of tactic – to raise awareness of women's suffrage through supplying information rather than destroy things in order to make headlines.

There are some traces of dissent within the movement. Extract 1 notes that "the leading suffragists express much regret at the incident" while extract 4 discusses a resolution passed "against the lawless methods employed by a certain section of suffragists". The dissent noted appears to be from two sources – extract 1 could be the leading suffragists publically distancing themselves from the protest, while the "certain section" noted in extract 2 could be observed by those making the resolution. While these extracts include observations of differences within the suffrage movement, these differences seem to be presented as disagreements between factions rather than systematic differences in ideology and policy. This pattern does not appear to be as strong as other patterns like the pattern relating

suffrag* *incident?* to authority figures; however, I believe it is still worth discussing because it appears to support more general patterns found in *The Times* data of minimising the significance of differences within the suffrage movement.

While there are some similarities in use to *disorder* – both terms are used to describe suffrage campaigners' interactions with non-suffrage campaigners – a closer analysis reveals a very different set of usages for *incident?*.

4.4 Raw frequencies and normalisation

Throughout this chapter, I have used raw frequencies. Table 4.10 shows that there were two peaks in frequency, and that this pattern is shown by five of the six direct action words investigated. The smaller peak is in 1909, tallying with the beginning of the direct action campaign. The larger peak is in 1913, the height of the direct action campaign. The one exception to this pattern is *crime**, which peaks in 1914.

Table 4.10: Raw frequencies of *suffrag** constructions in the Suffrage corpus

Year	disturbance*	outrage	violence	crime*	disorder	incident?
1908	14	0	1	0	3	0
1909	16	7	4	1	4	0
1910	10	0	1	0	0	2
1911	4	0	3	0	0	0
1912	25	41	10	5	6	9
1913	28	73	20	4	18	10
1914	14	32	1	11	0	2
Total	**111**	**153**	**40**	**21**	**31**	**239**

The correlation between the peaks in Table 4.10 and the escalation of the direct action campaign indicates that the direct action campaign got press attention and was

reported in *The Times*, but also reveals something of the newspaper's response to the campaign. Until 1914, *The Times* tended to avoid describing direct action as *crime**, and it is only after 1914 and the peak of the direct action campaign that *crime** peaks.

The total number of texts in the Suffrage corpus is interesting in itself when compared to the direct action frequencies. Table 4.11 shows that the number of texts for each year mirrors the general patterns observed so far in this chapter; there is a small peak towards the beginning of the time period, a decline in 1910 and 1911, and increase in texts in 1912 which peaks in 1913 which is followed by a decline in 1914. Apparent anomalies such as the low frequencies for all direct action terms in 1911 are mirrored in the number of texts in the corpus in 1911. This, along with the relatively few strongly associated collocates obtained for 1911, suggests that the low frequencies of direct action terms examined in this chapter is not due to use of an alternative direct action term but is instead due to *suffrag** being mentioned in fewer texts in this year.

Table 4.11: Number of texts/year in the Suffrage corpus

Year	Number of texts
1908	569
1909	527
1910	458
1911	322
1912	773
1913	785
1914	387

As McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006: 43) describe, normalisation is particularly an issue when the corpora to be compared are of "markedly different sizes". Although the Suffrage corpus is a small corpus, there are still marked differences in the number of texts for each year with over twice as many texts in some years (1912, 1913) than in others (1911, 1914). Normalised figures are therefore given in Table 4.12 and visually represented in Figure 4.3.

Table 4.12: Frequencies of *suffrag** constructions normalised to 500 texts

| Year | Frequency | | | | | |
	disturbance*	*outrage**	*violence*	*crime**	*disorder*	*incident?*
1908	12.306	0	0.879	0	2.637	0
1909	15.184	6.643	3.796	0.949	3.796	0
1910	10.92	0	1.092	0	0	2.184
1911	6.212	0	4.659	0	0	0
1912	16.175	26.527	6.47	3.325	3.882	5.823
1913	17.836	46.501	12.74	2.584	11.466	6.37
1914	18.088	41.344	1.292	14.212	0	2.584
Total	**96.721**	**121.015**	**30.928**	**21.07**	**21.781**	**16.961**

Figure 4.3: Frequencies of *suffrag** collocates normalised to 500 texts

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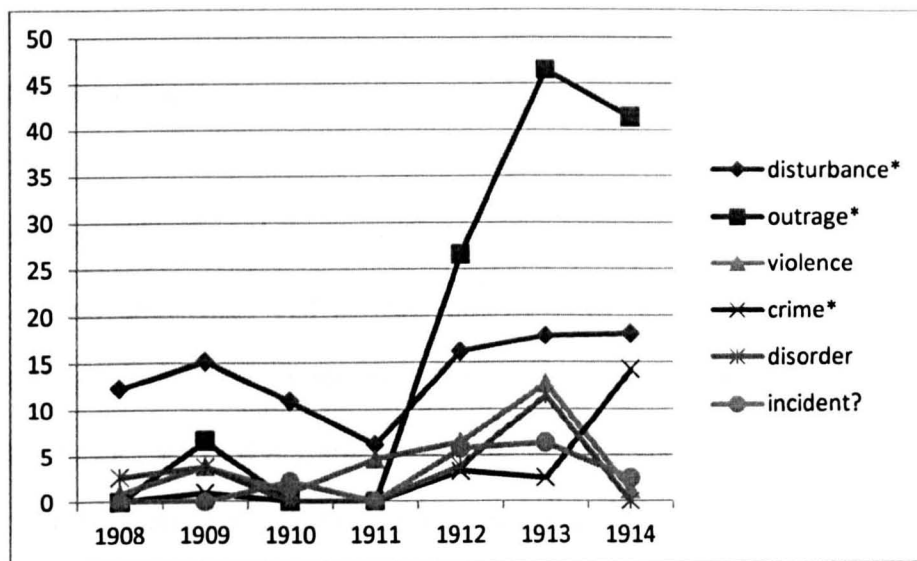
Frequencies normalised to a common base offer different insights. Table 4.12 shows the same collocates as Table 4.10 but uses normalised (to 500 texts) frequencies rather than raw frequencies. The pattern that emerges is similar; the two peaks occur in the same years, *violence* is still the least commonly used term and *disturbance** still starts as the most frequently used word but is overtaken by *outrage** in 1912. However, the normalised frequencies show just how dramatic the difference in frequency is between *disturbance** and *outrage** in 1913; *outrage** is over twice as frequent as *disturbance**. As with the raw frequencies, *outrage** peaks in 1913, but the difference in frequency between it and *disturbance** is much more obvious. The normalised frequencies show a less steep decline in frequency of *outrage** in 1914, suggesting that while the number of reports on suffrage campaigners and activities had fallen, they were still reported in terms of *outrage**. Until 1914, *crime** is the lowest frequency word out of the six terms examined; unlike the other direct action terms, its frequency shows a marked increase in 1914. This suggests a cause and effect relationship; that labelling activities as *crime** was a response to direct action and *The Times* was more willing to link crimes to suffrage campaigners, even if there is ambivalence about how capable campaigners were of committing serious crimes.

4.5 Discussion

The terms examined in this chapter can be paired – two relatively high frequency, non-specific terms *disturbance** and *outrage**, two low frequency, specific terms *violence* and *crime** and *disorder* and *incident?* which are both used to describe suffrage campaigners' interactions with non-suffrage supporters, but differ in which groups they are used in conjunction with. Reports shy away from using *violence* and *crime** to describe suffrage campaigning and instead use more ambiguous terms

such as *disturbance* and *outrage*; the actions encompassed by *disturbance* and *outrage* include the disruption of meetings and heckling as well as more destructive acts such as 'fire outrages' and bombs. This may be due to reporters being unwilling to describe women as being violent, but could also be due to, as Hall (2010, P.C.) suggests, most of the campaigners being relatively non-violent and the mere act of women actively and visibly demanding the vote was in itself an outrage and a disturbance. However, there is a change in the most frequently used direct action term; *disturbance** starts as the most frequently used term but is overtaken by *outrage** in 1912. Lexical priming can account for this; the readers of *The Times* would have been primed to expect relatively minor acts of civil disobedience if suffragist disturbances were reported. As the campaign escalated and more serious destruction was carried out, the paper, rather than attempting to break or modify readers' primings for *disturbance**, used a different term. Like *disturbance**, *outrage** is non-specific about the acts themselves, but its increased usage and the decreased frequency of *disturbance** after 1911 suggest that *outrage** was used for a different purpose and *The Times'* readers would have correctly interpreted it as having increased negative prosody. A similar process appears to have happened for *disorder* and *incident?*. In this pair, *disorder* is used when suffrage campaigners encounter non-suffrage supporters and especially if they face hostility from crowds. In contrast, *incident?* is used when suffrage campaigners attempt to attract the attention of authority figures. Although some of the activities are violent, these tend to have been unsuccessful whether through active prevention as in extracts 1 and 6, or through ineffectiveness on the part of the suffrage campaigner as in extract 10. This, together with other, more whimsical activities also described by *incident?*, establishes a different semantic profile for *incident?*. It both makes the suffrage

campaigners appear less threatening and even amusing, and reassures the readers that

the campaigners do not pose a real threat to authority figures and the institutions

embodied by them. On the other hand, the clashes between suffrage campaigners

and non-supporters are exciting both in terms of potential aggression and the novelty

of women's visibility and protesting – *The Times* describes "large hostile crowds",

"active hostility to suffragists", "scenes of great disorder" in three extracts and

meetings broken up by young roughs. The danger here is faced by the suffrage

campaigners rather than posed by them. Again, the carefully differentiated use of

two semantically similar terms creates different associations for the reader for each

term, and thus contributes to the reader's expectations about the nature and gravity of

the event described. The construction *suffragist* + direct action word was

consistently higher than constructions with *suffragette* or *suffrage*. Historical

research tends to frame the debate as between suffragists versus suffragettes, with

the suffragists supporting political lobbying and condemning the suffragettes'

campaign of direct action, and suffragettes engaging in direct action and spurning

political lobbying as slow and inefficient. While efforts have been made to

complicate the identities of those involved in the debate, this data from *The Times*

suggests that the internal divisions within the suffrage movement tended not to be

reported – instead, *suffragist* seems to have been used as an umbrella term covering

all those involved in the movement regardless of their organisational affiliations.

The reasons for this conflation are unclear; it is possible that, to an outside

organisation, these distinctions were not noticeable or newsworthy. However, *The*

Times' editorial policy was usually anti-suffrage, only becoming more in favour of

women's suffrage towards the end of 1913 (Crawford 1999: 455); until then, it was

not in favour of extending the franchise. Therefore, it was in their interests to

minimise diversity within the movement and to focus attention on proponents of direct action, and particularly, destructive episodes of direct action. This focused attention on aspects of the suffrage movement that were less acceptable and shifted attention from more persuasive elements within the movement. The selective focus on the direct action campaign also lent weight to anti-suffragist critics who deemed women unsuitable for the serious role of government due to their flightiness and lack of seriousness. This conflation of terms has implications for suffrage strategy; different groups sought to differentiate themselves from other groups in terms of tactics, aims and ideology. As demonstrated by Fawcett's opposition to crimes, there is evidence in the Suffrage corpus of suffrage organisations condemning other groups' strategies, particularly militant strategies. This reflects the divisions explored in suffrage historiography. However, crucially, the direct action terms examined in this chapter suggest that, to a public informed by *The Times*, the ideological distinctions between different factions did not exist. There were simply suffragists; some were militant and some were not, but they all belonged to the same group. In light of that, it was difficult for suffragist organisations to distance themselves from behaviour or groups they disapproved of and to position themselves as calm, reasonable and worthy of having the vote

Conclusion

The patterns analysed here are general ones, but *The Times* articles show a preference for *suffragist** over *suffragette** and different uses for related direct action terms. This stage of the investigation has worked from the corpus to the texts; that is, searching for patterns of usage of *suffrag** in the corpus, and gradually honing in on these through identifying strongly associated collocates, categorisation

of data, collocational analysis and analysis of extracts from individual texts. One of the most visible patterns is use of *suffragist* and *suffragists* in connection to activities where, from the historical research, I expected more use of *suffragette* and *suffragettes*. This suggests a conflation of diverse suffrage identities – that to an audience informed by *The Times*, suffragists were associated with and responsible for direct action. At the lexical level, *The Times* demonstrates the flattening of plural identities theorised by Deleuze and Guattari (1987).

In the following chapters I examine the suggestive links made between suffrage news texts and other news texts through their placement in the same news article, so addressing my third research question. In Chapter 5 I examine the evidence for such suggestive placement and in Chapter 6 I examine the case study of an event already mentioned in this chapter – the actions of Emily Wilding Davison. As these chapters show, the emphasis on direct action was also present at the level of the text; the Emily Wilding Davison texts are grouped together with texts reporting an arson and the hearing of two women – one a known "militant suffragist" – accused of "maliciously setting fire to the building". The presence of these texts alongside texts discussing Emily Wilding Davison emphasise the types of direct action discussed in this chapter – the disturbances, outrages, disorder, incidents, crimes, violence. This news presentation of direct action is juxtaposed with the more nuanced representation of Davison herself and serve to remind the readership of the master narrative of suffrage direct action. In Chapter 7 I use a similar approach to that used in this chapter to explore the representation of the suffrage movement in letters to the editor.

This chapter, therefore, sets up key arguments of this thesis: that *The Times'* representation of the suffrage movement was characterised by a focus on direct

action. This focus is accompanied by *The Times'* preferred use of *suffragist* to describe militant campaigners; *suffragette* is a dispreferred term.

5 Texts within articles: the role of suggestive placement

Introduction

In this chapter I examine the presentation of the news in the early 20[th] century articles published in *The Times*. The previous chapter focuses on the frequency and collocations of *suffrag** + direct action terms; here, I move from the lexical level to the textual level by focusing on what these terms do in the news reports in the Suffrage corpus. The *suffrag** + direct action terms offer an insight into the changing nature of the response to the suffrage campaign, and the changing nature of the campaign itself. However, these terms were not used in isolation, but contributed to the discourse about the suffrage movement. In order to examine the media representation of the suffrage movement, it is also necessary to examine this wider discourse.

It is important to consider the kind of texts that form the Suffrage corpus – they are all newspaper texts rather than texts produced by members of the suffrage movement. In order to better understand the process of transforming news events to newspaper texts I use the theory of newsworthiness proposed by Galtung and Ruge (1965). The criteria for newsworthiness they outline offers a framework with which to assess the development of the movement: firstly in terms of the different acts considered sufficiently newsworthy to report, but also within the context of contemporary news reporting as described by Mercer (2004) and Hampton (2001). Hampton (2001) argues that the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw a shift in news reporting from an 'educational' role to a 'representative' one. Rather than simply presenting readers with raw information, newspaper reporters and

editors began to mediate between the raw information and the newspaper audience and focus on representing their readers. This change in focus is reflected not just in the writing style, but in how news was gathered and arranged in the newspaper (Dibblee 1913). I argue that the collation and arrangement of texts within an article is not accidental but suggestive. I describe this as 'suggestive placement' and argue that it situates the suffrage texts both spatially, within the pages of *The Times*, and contextually, within the social, cultural and political setting in which the suffrage movement took place. The effect of this is to guide the reader into a newspaper-sanctioned interpretation.

The suffrage movement and, as the previous chapter reveals, direct action was extensively reported in *The Times*. Mercer (2004: 188) considers the potential news impact of suffrage campaigners' activities from the perspective of both the campaigners themselves and that of the newspaper editors. For the campaigners, especially those involved in the WSPU's campaigns, public and parliamentary awareness of their demands was essential. This was connected to a change in emphasis from "suffragette militancy [...] primarily intended to pressurize the government into legislating for women's suffrage" to a different strategy which "relied on drawing public attention to the cause, and so required extensive press coverage". However, from the perspective of the newspaper editor, suffrage direct action offered a reliable source of dramatic news stories. Mercer (2004: 188) observes that:

> [t]he disruption of politicians' speeches, militant deputations to parliament, window-smashing campaigns, and later the arson and bombing of unoccupied buildings added drama to domestic news columns and provided interesting material for the growing number of photo-news columns.

Direct action was a reliable source of suitably newsworthy news stories to be reported. However, as I argue in this chapter and in Chapter 6, suggestive placement meant that news texts about suffrage direct action were placed alongside texts reporting a different aspect of the movement or events unrelated to the suffrage movement.

I begin this chapter by discussing how early 20th century newspapers were assembled and organised. Section 5.1 offers an overview of theories of the press and newspapers' relationship with their readers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. I argue that this relationship was reflected in the way news was presented on the page. In section 5.2 I discuss how I classified the articles I examine according to the section of the paper in which they were published. I explain my focus on June in two years, 1908 and 1913 in sections 5.3 and 5.4. These months demonstrate different stages of suffrage campaign with particular respect to direct and militant action. June 1908 and June 1913 both saw extensive and sometimes controversial activity by suffrage campaigners which were reported in *The Times*. In section 5.5 I offer evidence for suggestive placement by analysing 210 articles from June 1908, June 1909, June 1910 and June 1913 and presenting them in terms of number of texts in each article, whether suffrag* terms occurred in only one or in more than one of these texts and a brief content summary. I demonstrate how suggestive placement functions in section 5.6 and section 5.7. I present articles showing suggestive placement in June 1908 in section 5.6 and offer in a detailed explanation of the links between the suggestively placed texts. In section 5.7 I show the range of other issues with which texts about the suffrage movement could be suggestively placed. In section 5.8 I compare the two years.

In section 5.9 I discuss what normalised frequencies reveal. Throughout this chapter I use raw frequencies; the Suffrage corpus is a closed corpus containing all the suffrage articles identified in the corpus and so raw frequencies reflect what was actually published in *The Times* and thus available to its audience. However, as I show, normalised frequencies also reflect diachronic trends.

Finally, in section 5.10 I discuss suggestive placement in News in Brief articles, and in section 5.11 I discuss suggestive placement in Letters to the Editor. Through investigating in which section of the newspaper texts about the suffrage movement were placed, I am able to argue for a shift away from short reports in the News in Brief section and suffrage campaigners themselves discussing the suffrage movement in the Letters to the Editor section in June 1908 to longer reports the suffrage movement in the main news section in June 1913. This appears to represent a shift in reporting the suffrage movement away from reporting the suffrage movement as a marginal issue only briefly described by the news reporters in the News In Brief section and supplemented by letter writers towards reporting the suffrage movement as a news event in its own right. However, as this thesis demonstrates, how *The Times* reporters reported the campaign was not how the suffrage campaigners themselves would report the movement or developments within it. By focusing on these years, I am able to analyse both similarities and differences in the representation of the suffrage movement, taking into account developments both within the movement itself and the activities and campaigns it supported, and changes in the newsworthiness of the suffrage movement that affected how it was reported in *The Times*.

5.1 Organisation of texts

The distribution of the search terms *suffrag** throughout the texts offers a first point in linking the concordance lines to the texts – the issue of whether the term is distributed equally throughout the articles or occurs in particular places. One of the issues in *The Times* Digital Archive is the different way news reports are organised. Whereas news reports in early 21st century reporting are organised as one news report per article, the early 20th century news reports that form the corpus may be organised as several news reports per article. Both the article and the news reports contained within them are meaningful units. In order to make a distinction between them, I will refer to these news reports as 'texts' and the complete article as the 'article'. As I discussed in Chapter 3, data from *The Times* Digital Archive was made as one file per issue of the newspaper. These files came marked up with XML to mark boundaries between one article and the next; I identified articles on the basis of that mark up.

The search term *suffrag** sometimes appears in all of the texts in a single article, implying that suffrage activities or issues were a common theme of these reports. At other times, *suffrag** only appears in one or some of the texts in a single article. While this could suggest that suffrage issues were not the common theme to these texts – that the suffrage campaign is only incidental to the reports – it could also suggest that the connections made between the suffrage campaign and other issues were less explicit and the newspaper was expecting its readers to make these connections themselves. Such connections could be made through the information offered in the texts or the suggestive placement of texts not containing *suffrag** into the same article as texts that do contain *suffrag**.

The role of the reader was tied to larger issues about the purpose of newspapers. The presentation of news was undergoing a period of transition. Part of this centred on the issue of what newspapers should provide their readers, how their readers were supposed to make sense of what they were offered, and, indeed, what the purpose of newspapers actually was. As Hampton (2001: 250) notes, theories of the press in this time period "centred around the relationship between the press, its readers and the political order". These relationships coalesced around what Hampton (2001: 214) describes as "two analytically distinct – yet in practice, sometimes overlapping – motifs"; the mid-Victorian concept of the press as educational and enabling the free discussion of ideas in order for a consensus around the 'truth' to emerge and a post-1880s conceptualisation of the press as a representative medium. Representation, as Hampton (2001: 224) understands it, encompasses "the image of the press as representing 'the people' either more directly or more completely than did Parliament itself". However, Hampton (2001: 220) also notes that representation is closely connected to commercialisation, observing that "commercialization could be seen to liberate the working-class consumer who, in a less commercial setting, would not receive adequate 'representation' – that is, the reader who was not interested in [the] sober, respectable reports of speeches and public meetings" which formed the educational press. Parliament and the voters who decided the composition of Parliament were property-owning, wealthy men; the commercial impetus to create a working-class market also created a press that, perhaps unintentionally and in the interests of making money, provided the working class with representation.

Hampton (2001: 228) argues that political and social events such as "the depression of the 1870s, the rise of the militant 'new unionism' of the 1880s, and the

emergence of the Independent Labour Party in 1893" made it more difficult for what

he describes as "the dominant classes" to conceptualise a political nation in which all

classes were integrated. While he does not explicitly make the connection between

the difficulty of integrating the different classes into a cohesive whole and the

overlapping motifs of educational and representative presses, I would suggest that

the different audiences of newspapers and the different aims of the newspapers to

educate or represent were closely connected and influenced each other. As

Matheson (2000) describes, different newspapers adopted different styles of

discourse at different times – some, like *The Times*, far later than other papers.

Matheson (2000: 561) claims that the 19[th] century newspaper "did not really have a

voice". Instead the newspaper served to collate information but not necessarily

interpret it; Matheson offers the following as examples of what kind of news was

printed:

> letters from correspondents or letters between public officials as news (and
> not, as a modern newspaper would, as readers' comments on the news) with
> little or no framing text from an editorial voice [...] Similarly, the newspapers
> printed verbatim reports of parliamentary or judicial proceedings, sometimes
> at great length; they printed speeches made at public meetings; they stole
> magpie-like from other newspapers, particularly from London and foreign
> papers. And they signalled the authenticity of these texts with explanatory
> headings such as 'Epitome of Opinion in the Morning Journals' (Pall Mall
> Gazette, 11 January 1878: 2) or phrases such as, 'The Board of Agriculture
> announces that...' (*The Times*, 1 December 1919). The phrases explicitly
> marked not just the source of the information but its status as information
> about the world.

These seem characteristic of Hampton's 'educational' motif, but as Matheson shows,

newspapers moved away from these styles at different times. While Hampton claims

that 1880 marked a major shift towards a representational rather than educational press, the examples Matheson uses demonstrate that characteristics of the educational understanding of the role of the press survived until the twentieth century. The suffrage campaign, therefore, was reported in *The Times* when *The Times'* reporting style itself was in a state of change.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century newspapers were under different pressures to present day newspapers; as Matheson (2000: 567) argues, newspaper editors were not under the same pressure to produce "a single, intelligible report from a series of confused and even contradictory texts". Instead, the readers were expected to do the work of interpreting the news report themselves. Matheson argues that late nineteenth and early twentieth century news reporting was characterised by "collecting, not collating or interpreting [...] Knowledge seemed to percolate out of simple accumulating" (Matheson 2000: 566). However, I would argue that, while newspapers from this period appear to lack explicit interpretation, the information collected and the way it was presented was not random. Dibblee (1913: 20) focuses on "the faculty of selection" on the part of the newsgatherer. He argues that it was this faculty of selection that guided the newspaper editor in choosing which news events made it into the newspaper as news reports; however, selection also determined how the news reports were arranged and presented:

> Finally the presentation of news in words and paragraphs leaves a wide opening for individual preferences and inclinations. Thus it comes about [...] that the same series of habits [...] express themselves, not so consciously but even more effectively, in its news columns.

Dibblee, as a contemporary newspaper manager and reader, recognised that while explicit interpretation may be absent, the decision to publish one news item over

another and the decisions about how to present news in themselves constituted an interpretive practice that would be understood by their audience. The presentation of news was significant for late 19th and early 20th century newspaper editors; as such, paying attention to the presentation of news reports is advocated by historians using newspapers as historical data. Bingham (2010: 230), in his discussion on the opportunities and challenges to historians offered by the digitalisation of newspaper archives, notes that "[i]t is also important to be aware of surrounding articles, pictures, headlines and advertisements, because this peripheral content also affects how the article in question is understood by the reader". He cautions that, while digitalised newspaper archives are a rich and exciting new resource for historians, an over-reliance on keyword searching "treats the newspaper archive as a repository of discrete articles; those relevant to the search are identified and plucked out of their context for the scholar to read" (Bingham 2010: 230).

Because Bingham's focus on the context of the article is important for those who will read and analyse the article as a unit, I want to explicitly focus on the connections made between texts within an article. I argue that knowledge is created by the arrangement and juxtaposition of texts occurring within an article. Unlike present day newspapers, the newspaper articles examined in this investigation may not appear as 1 text = 1 article. Instead, one article may be composed of several seemingly unrelated texts.

Figure 5.1 illustrates this. The article, shown surrounded by the solid grey line, is the entire collection of texts. An article can be composed of several texts. This one is composed of five texts, shown in Figure 5.1 with a black dashed line. In the paper edition of *The Times*, articles would be presented with a black border around the entire article and texts within that article would be divided by a short line.

Some of the texts within this article have headlines. Two of these headlines, "THE SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE AT THE DERBY" and "THE HURST PARK FIRE" serve to signal to the reader that these are continuing an established news story. The

Figure 5.1: Layout of an article composed of four texts

smaller headlines below these offer more details of the event being reported. One text has the headline "WOMAN INJURED IN HYDE PARK": this headline does not refer to an established news story but to a single event. Two of the texts do not have headlines; their status as separate texts is indicated by a short dividing line at the bottom of the previous text. This presentation of news texts is reflected in the XML

supplied in *The Times* Digital Archive files. Breaks between articles are indicated in

the TDA by a header at the beginning of each article which includes 0FFO-YEAR-

MONTHDAY-XXX-XXX e.g. 0FFO-1909-APR01-001-002. As explained in

Chapter 3, the TDA was supplied as one issue of the paper per file; these headers

were used to extract articles into separate files. What is in each article is, therefore,

derived from *The Times* data; the divisions between articles are not something I

added to the data when constructing the corpus. These texts may not appear to be

immediately related. However, the way these texts are grouped encourages a reader

to make connections between texts in the same article, and guides a reader towards

an interpretation. The way meaning is produced through groupings may seem

unfamiliar to modern readers, but as Dibblee's (1913) observations indicate, those

compiling these groupings were aware of the effect they were producing.

Suggestive placement, therefore, is an attempt to take into account historical styles of

presenting news and the different expectations they had of their readers. Early

twentieth century newspapers fall into an interesting research gap; research into

newspaper discourse from a (critical) discourse analysis perspective focuses on

contemporary-to-the-researcher newspapers rather than historical newspapers (c.f.

Bell 1991). Research into early twentieth century newspapers tends to be from

historians focused on their content; while Hampton (2001) and Matheson (2000)

discuss text production and changes in the role of newspapers, Bingham (2010)

discusses media representations of gender in the interwar period and Tusan (2005),

DiCenzo (2000, 2004) and DiCenzo et al (2011) discuss the role of suffragist-

produced texts and how they were positioned in relation to mainstream newspapers,

relatively little work appears to have been done on the ways texts were organised in

early twentieth century newspapers and how this reflects editorial policy and

expectations of the newspaper's readers. As the rest of this chapter will demonstrate, links between texts reveal how the suffrage movement was contextualised within *The Times*; exploring these links offers further insight into how the suffrage movement was positioned within political, cultural, social, economic and international news.

5.2 Classifying the articles

Articles were classified according to the section in which they appeared in *The Times*. The primary purpose of this was to observe the distribution of articles containing *suffrag** terms across the paper and to note where the suffrage movement was reported. This has implications for how the movement was perceived; a movement that was most frequently mentioned in the Prospective Arrangements section of the paper suggests something rather different to a movement that was most frequently mentioned in the Law Court reports. Prospective Arrangements contains announcements of social, court and rather genteel functions, while Law Court reports are reports of court proceedings. It can also offer an insight into how the movement was perceived – if suffrage campaigning organisations' meetings were reported in the main news reports while non-suffrage campaigning organisations' meetings were mentioned in the Prospective Arrangements section, it suggests that suffrage and non-suffrage organisations were represented differently in the paper simply through where their activities were reported. Classifying these articles by type of article, therefore, offers information about the representation of the movement. Table 5.1 shows the breakdown of June 1908, June 1909, June 1910 and June 1913 by type of article; the colours refer to the tables in Appendix 7. As I will discuss in sections 5.3 and 5.4, June 1908 and June 1913 mark different stages in suffrage campaign. June

1908 marks the beginning of the direct action campaign, and, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, 1913 marked a peak of *The Times'* reporting on the suffrage movement. While examining only two months in depth produces limited amounts of data, I would argue that these two months – drawn from different stages of the suffrage campaign, and at the beginning and end of the period I examine in this thesis – offer evidence that suggestive placement was a feature of articles reporting the suffrage movement in *The Times*. However, it is more difficult to draw conclusions about the pervasiveness of suggestive placement throughout this time period and, indeed, in articles reporting other issues and events. This is clearly an area which requires further investigation beyond the scope of this thesis.

Table 5.1: Number of articles in June 1908 and June 1913 according to classification

Type of article	Colour	1908	1909	1910	1913
Parliament reports	Pink	1	4	2	3
Law Court reports	Green	-	1	-	10
Index	Orange	2	3	3	11
News reports	Blue	29	15	37	50
News in Brief	Yellow	3	2	1	1
Letters to the Editor	Brown	8	-	12	4
Prospective arrangements	Purple	1	-	-	-
Court news	Dark blue		1	-	
Other		-	-	4	1
Total		45	26	59	80

These categories were derived through reading and classifying the data. The placement of different texts in the same article has an influence on these classifications – the articles classified as 'Parliament reports', for example, contain one long text and are usually signalled by "HOUSE OF COMMONS. The SPEAKER took the Chair at a quarter to 3 o'clock" (0FFO-1913-JUN10-013-002). Similarly, articles classified as Law Court reports indicate what kind of article they are by including a heading like "Law Report, June 16" (0FFO-1913-JUN17-003-001) or "HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE. KING'S BENCH DIVISION" (0FFO-1913-JUN09-003-002). 'Prospective Arrangements' was also straightforward; the one instance of this type of article (0FFO-1908-JUN27-004-003) identified has 'PROSPECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS.' as a heading. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, Letters to the Editor could be identified by their structure. Their function – that of a letter ostensibly directed to one person (i.e. the Editor) but which is intended by both the writer and addressee to be read by a wider audience (i.e. the readership of *The Times*) – is reflected in the form, which is organised as a letter with a salutation, a sign-off, a name, initial or pseudonym, and sometimes an address or location. Indexes could also be easily identified. A typical Index heading, such as the one found in 0FFO-1913-JUN05-009-001, begins with the date and title of 'Leading Articles': "THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 1913. Leading Articles:". Figure 5.2 reveals why: Leading Articles were the first type of article to be listed.

News in Brief articles were identified as such in *The Times* Digital Archive online interface as "**Category:** News in Brief". As each article in June 1908 and June 1913 was cross-checked with TDA image files through the online interface, this offered a reliable way to identify this type of article. The news report category, therefore,

contained articles that did not fit into the above groups. The TDA did categorise

news reports as "**Category:** News";

Figure 5.2: Screenshot of an Index, *The Times* Digital Archive, 5 June 1913

The Times, Thursday, Jun 05, 1913; pg. 9; Issue 40230; col A
Index
Category: Index

however, I also included some articles from other TDA categories as news reports. These included articles categorised by the TDA as "Editorials/Leaders"; these articles still responded to recent events, offered additional detail and reflected the newspaper's stance. In addition, the contemporary style of newspaper reporting meant that there was less of a distinction between editorials and news reports: for example, reporting in 0FFO-1908-JUN15-009-001, classified as a news report:

> If the object of the demonstration was to prove that the great masses of the people are deeply moved on this suffrage question, it cannot be regarded as an unqualified success, but in every other respect its success is beyond challenge. To begin with, the organization and stage-management were admirable, and would have reflected credit on the most experienced political agent. Nothing was left to chance or improvisation; and no circumstance that ingenuity or imagination could contrive was lacking to make the show imposing to the eye.

This text uses a semantic move similar to those identified by van Dijk (1998: 39); it praises the organisation and the stage management but ultimately claims that the event "cannot be regarded as an unqualified success" in its attempt to demonstrate the level of engagement among "the great masses of the people" around the "suffrage question". As van Dijk (1998:40) notes, the "strategies on which such local moves are based are intended precisely to manage opinions and impressions", defining an opinion in terms of the relevance attached to factual criteria and whether "the concept is used only or primarily to make a value judgement" (van Dijk 1998: 29). Teasing out the distinction between factual reporting and value judgement can be difficult; as this text shows, the two were linked.

5.3 June 1908 as the beginnings of WSPU property damage

June 1908 offers a point of comparison before the window-breaking and arson campaigns that feature so prominently in the texts from June 1913. Four suffragettes were arrested for padlocking themselves to the railings in front of 10 Downing Street on 17 January 1908, and were duly arrested for it (Rosen 1974: 98); however, padlocking themselves to railing seems to have been the exception rather than the rule when it came to suffrage direct action and much of the activity seemed to focus on public meetings, demonstrations and marches. This culminated in a meeting held in Hyde Park on 21 June which involved seven processions from different parts of London converging on Hyde Park. The WSPU colours of green, white and purple[14] were invented by Mrs Pethick-Lawrence for the demonstration; participants were

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[14] "White, Mrs Pethick-Lawrence later wrote, stood for 'purity in public as well as private life', green stood for 'hope, for 'the "green fire" of a new spring tide' that had 'kindled life in a movement apparently dead', and purple stood for 'dignity', for 'that self-reverence and self-respect which renders acquiescence to political subjection impossible'" (Rosen 1974: 103)

asked to wear white dresses with favours of purple or green, and "700 purple, white and green banners were made, each eight feet by three feet [...] ten silk banners, each eight feet by ten feet, and thousands of flags" (Rosen 1974: 104). The gathering was a success, and at the close of the meetings, participants resolved to call upon Parliament "to grant votes to women without delay'" (Rosen 1974: 105). Christabel Pankhurst's enquiry to the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith, was met with the response that there was no change to his response of over a year earlier – that the Government would introduce an electoral reform bill before the end of the current Parliament, that woman's suffrage would not be a part of that bill, but that it could be proposed as a private amendment providing there was overwhelming support for it amongst both women and men. As a result of Asquith's refusal to change policy in response to such a large and peaceful demonstration, the WSPU planned for a small deputation to attempt to interview Asquith on the 30 June, followed by a demonstration in Parliament Square. The deputation was not received by Asquith or his private secretary. The demonstration in Parliament Square was attended by both suffrage supporters and those hostile to the movement. Rosen (1974: 107) notes the violence:

> During the evening, women who tried to speak from the steps of buildings or while clinging to the railings around Palace Yard were repeatedly flung back into the crowd, both by police and by gangs of roughs. A cordon of police barred access to Palace Yard, and in trying to penetrate the cordon, twenty-five women were arrested.

Two members of the WSPU, Edith New and Mary Leigh, filled a bag with stones, took a cab to Downing Street, and broke two of the windows of 10 Downing Street. They were promptly arrested. Rosen (1974: 107) argues that this first instance of window-breaking was due to frustration at failure of large, peaceful gatherings such

as the Hyde Park demonstration, exasperation at politicians' unwillingness to engage with deputations and resentment of the violence with which women demonstrators were treated by both the police and anti-suffragist men. He (1975: 107) argues that the WSPU "attached no special importance to the breaking of two windows" and quotes Mrs Pankhurst's explanation to the police: "We cannot always control our women. It was no part of our programme to break windows in Downing-street. It was not prearranged. It was done by individuals on their own initiative".

June 1908, therefore, is of interest because of the kinds of direct action taking place within it. It sees both the public meetings, demonstrations and large public gatherings which characterised WSPU action at the time, but also sees the beginnings of different kinds of direct action, namely window-breaking. In contrast to 1913, window-breaking in 1908 was not systematic and not organised, or indeed endorsed, by the WSPU. However, this non-WSPU-sanctioned activity allows for another connection with 1913; both Edith New and Mary Leigh, the WSPU members who broke windows at 10 Downing Streets, and Emily Wilding Davison, the WSPU member who died after venturing onto the Derby racetrack, were carrying out activities outside the official WSPU campaign. This created tension within the WSPU, and especially concerned their public representation. They forced the WSPU to respond to them by either bringing them under the aegis of the WSPU or denying involvement with them, and put the WSPU in especial difficulty because of the highly newsworthy nature of their different actions.

5.4 June 1913 as a peak of reporting on suffrage activity

The results of Chapter 4 revealed peaks in frequency in 1913 for five of the six direct action terms examined: *suffrag* + disturbance, suffrag* + outrage*, suffrag* +*

violence, *suffrag** + *disorder* and *suffrag** + *incident*. The exception to this was *suffrag** + *crime**, which peaked in 1914. These peaks were evident for both the raw and normalised texts. The changes in how often these terms were used over the years indicate that the discourse surrounding the suffrage movement's use of direct action was not static, but changed over the years; different lexical items were used to describe different events, such as the distinction between *disorder*, used to describe suffragists' encounters with non-suffrage supporters and especially hostile groups, and *incident?*, used to describe suffragists' attempts to gain the attention of authority figures.

These changes in frequencies by year were also reflected in the breakdown of frequencies by month, and so were used to focus on a month where suffrage actions were particularly discussed. Exploring news texts at a monthly, rather than yearly, level enables a more detailed analysis that can trace a developing news narrative more closely. A breakdown of number of texts and number of concordance lines by month, as shown in Table 5.2, reveals that while April features the highest number of texts containing *suffrag** (85), the texts from January contain the highest number of concordance lines for *suffrag** (712). This indicates that while January contains very slightly fewer texts than April, the search term *suffrag** is found more frequently, and therefore used more densely in these texts.

Table 5.2: Frequencies for *suffrag** in 1913

Month	Number of texts	Frequency
January	84	712
February	67	223
March	81	235
April	85	230
May	76	307

June	81	205
July	58	149
August	48	113
September	34	70
October	60	171
November	58	158
December	53	135

However, there are other months in which there is a high number of texts containing *suffrag**: March (81), June (81) and January (84). There are also other months in which suffrag* was more frequent as evidenced by the number of concordance lines: March (235) and May (307).

These frequencies can be linked to events. Rosen (1974) provides enough detail to construct a timeline which may account for the frequencies of March, April, May and June; this timeline is provided in Appendix 3. Although he more closely traces the suffragette arson campaign and the arrest, imprisonment and release of campaigners, Rosen (1974: 191) notes that accompanying the "increase in scale of secretly-performed destruction", there was a "parallel growth of violent opposition" directed towards suffrage campaigners. Evidence of this opposition to the suffrage movement, while not recorded by Rosen with the same detail, may also be found in the Suffrage corpus.

Rosen summarises the number of acts of arson and the estimated value of the damage by month, which have been collated as Table 5.3:

Table 5.3: Damage by month (derived from Rosen (1974))

Month	No acts of arson	Total of estimated value (£)
March	5	7,000

April	8	14,110
May	11	36,475
June	10	54,000
July	3	23,100
August	5	10,350
Total	42	145,025

The timeline of events given in Appendix 3 show different phases of the movement and create a narrative of the suffrage movement. From 13 to 27 January militant action was suspended while the Reform Bill was debated in Parliament, and, given the focus of *The Times*, evidence of these debates would be found in the newspaper and the corpus. After the legislative debates of January, February to June see an escalation of arson in terms of frequency and/or expense of the damage caused as well as police raids, arrests and imprisonment of suffragettes, their hunger strikes, legislation to allow temporary discharge of suffragette prisoners and their release under this Act, and the actions of Emily Wilding Davison. The direct action terms explored in Chapter 4 offer an approach to confirm these two phases in the movement and indicate the months with the highest levels of suffrage direct action. The frequencies of different collocations of *suffrag** + direct terms by month are given in Appendix 4. The focus on issues other than suffrage campaigners' activities appears particularly marked in January 1913. As Table 5.2 shows, this month has the highest occurrences of *suffrag**, but as the tables in Appendix 4 indicate, the high frequency of *suffrag** does not appear to be due to reporting of direct action. This supports the conclusion obtained from the timeline of direct action events and particularly the suspension of direct action in January: that while suffrage was newsworthy in January 1913, it was the prospect of suffrage reform rather than suffrage direct action that was of concern.

1913 therefore offers a year in which there was extensive press coverage of the suffrage campaign in terms of direct action and in terms of Parliamentary debate. Within 1913, the historical record offered by Rosen and the breakdown of the frequencies of *suffrag** + direct action terms by month indicate that June was a month of particular activity and therefore suitable for more in-depth analysis.

5.5 Evidence for suggestive placement

In this section I analyse four months for evidence of suggestive placement. Articles from June 1908, June 1909, June 1910 and June 1913 in the Suffrage corpus were read and summarised in terms of headlines, subheadings, identifying separate texts within the article, and identifying whether *suffrag** appeared in all of the texts within an article or was present in at least one text but not in all of the texts in that article. In addition, I summarised the content in order to offer an insight into the news event. Figure 3.3 shows the information recorded for each article. Table 5.4 summarises the article 0FFO-1913-JUN30-010-006, and in doing so, demonstrates why a content summary was desirable. Only one of the texts within this article contains a *suffrag** term; the other does not. However, both texts are about the suffrage movement. The text containing the *suffrag** term announces a dinner held by the Women Writers' Suffrage League; the text that does not contain a *suffrag** term describes a section of the crowd (at least 2,000) led by Sylvia Pankhurst marching to Downing Street and displaying WSPU banners. While not explicitly signalled as a suffrage demonstration, the involvement of Sylvia Pankhurst and the presence of WSPU banners suggest that this text should be read in the context of the suffrage campaign. As this example shows, texts that did not contain the term *suffrag** were not necessarily not about the suffrage movement. Such texts contribute to the media

Table 5.4: Summary of article from June 1913

Article	Header	Header of 1st text	Summary of 1st text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 2nd text	Summary of 2nd text	Contains suffrag*
0FFO-1913-JUN30-010-006	DISTURBANCE IN WHITEHALL. ENCOUNTERS WITH THE POLICE AFTER A DEMONSTRATION	N/A	Demonstration in Trafalgar Square by the Free Speech Defence Committee, after which a section of the crowd (at least 2,000) led by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst marched to Downing Street. WSPU banners were used. Police had orders to clear the crowd and used sticks freely. Five men arrested and charged with obstruction and assault on the police.	NO	MISS LENNOX RE-ARRESTED	Re-arrested at Shirehampton, Bristol, on expiry of the period allowed by her licence, and taken back to Holloway Prison. Miss Pankhurst condemns the Cat and Mouse Act in her speech at Trafalgar Square, calling it an "outrage on humanity" and that Mrs Pankhurst was dying slowly as a result. Dinner to be held by the Women Writers' Suffrage League, a non-militant organisation, on July 2	YES

representation of the suffrage movement; it is for this reason that I examine representation on a textual level as well as on a lexical level.

Table 5.5 summarises the number of articles from June 1908, June 1909, June 1910 and June 1913, the number of articles containing more than one text, the number of articles in which *suffrag** is found in at least one text but not in all texts (i.e. with the potential to show suggestive placement) and the number of texts in which *suffrag** is found in all texts.

Table 5.5: Number of articles potentially showing suggestive placement

Year	Total no. articles	No. articles with >1 texts	Articles in which *suffrag** occurs in at least one text but not in all texts	Articles in which *suffrag** occurs in all texts within an article
June 1908	45	4	1	3
June 1909	27	9	7	2
June 1910	59	18	9	9
June 1913	79	21	14	7
TOTAL:	210	52	31	21

As the table indicates, articles containing more than one text made up a quarter of the total number of articles. Two-fifths of these were articles where *suffrag** was mentioned in all texts within that article; three-fifths of these were articles where *suffrag** was mentioned in at least one text but not in all texts within that article. These demonstrate that combining several news texts into one article was a relatively common practice; the high frequency of articles in which all the texts contain *suffrag** demonstrate that these texts were linked by theme – in these cases, the theme was likely to be women's suffrage and the campaign for women's rights. This

is clearly demonstrated in June 1910 where, out of the nine articles in which *suffrag** is mentioned in all texts within that article, six articles have a headline of "WOMAN SUFFRAGE". The remaining three are headlined with "WOMEN AND THE SUFFRAGE", "WOMEN'S CONGRESS" and "THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL". In the case of suggestive placements, links are less explicit but still present.

In the next two sections I explore suggestive placement in June 1908 and June 1913. As discussed in sections 5.3 and 5.4, June in both 1908 and 1913 saw suffrage campaigning. However, due to the escalation of the direct action campaign, the types of action were different. In section 5.6 I make a detailed study of the three articles showing suggestive placement in 1908, aiming to demonstrate the connections between the texts contained in the article. In section 5.7 I discuss the 21 articles showing suggestive placement that were identified in June 1913. I demonstrate the variety of texts found in articles alongside suffrage texts and show how, through suggestive placement, the suffrage campaign could be contextualised.

5.6 Suggestive placement in June 1908

June 1908 contains only 45 articles – just over half of that found in 1913. As discussed in section 5.3, June 1908 was also a month of suffragist activity; while the historiography of the suffrage movement discusses the WSPU-organised demonstration and speeches in Hyde Park on 21 June, the articles in *The Times* Digital Archive reveal a second procession organised by the NUWSS that took place on 13 June. The articles were categorised as different types of news article. There were some differences; June 1908 did not contain any Law Court reports, but did include two articles giving details of "prospective arrangements" – a diary of

upcoming events and social engagements for the week or day. Table 5.6 summarises

where these articles were found in *The Times*.

Table 5.6: Number of articles containing *suffrag** in at least one of the texts in June 1908

Type of article	Colour	1908
Parliament reports	Pink	1
Law Court reports	Green	-
Leading Articles/summary of contents	Orange	2
News reports	Blue	29
News in Brief	Yellow	3
Prospective arrangements	Purple	1
Letters to the Editor	Brown	8
Total		45

Of the 29 news reports, only three contain more than one text – a mere 10.3%

compared to the 42.9% found in 1913. One is an article in which *suffrag** is

mentioned in at least one text but not in other texts; two are articles in which all texts

comprising it mention *suffrag**.

Articles in which *suffrag** is mentioned in at least one text but not in other texts

1. 0FFO-1908-JUN19-014-002 – suffragists in a boat

Articles in which *suffrag** is mentioned in all texts within the article

1. 0FFO-1908-JUN12-012-004 – National Women's Anti-Suffrage League
2. 0FFO-1908-JUN13-009-001 – the NUWSS-organised procession

These three news reports focused on the domestic suffrage movement. The context

established – that of the women's suffrage movement in Britain – allowed for related

news also originating in Britain to be reposted and placed in the same article as these texts.

OFFO-1908-JUN19-014-002 reports on "Political Notes" and combines a text about John Burns, an MP and supporter of universal adult suffrage who was injured while rescuing a pedestrian with a text describing a small boat with a "Votes for Women" banner that sailed past the Houses of Parliament. The text reporting John Burns' injuries does not contain a *suffrag** term; the text describing the boat does contain a *suffrag** term. This second text includes reminiscences of other boats used in similar campaigns, such as evictions in Donegal, the building of new Tipperary and shadowing by police, so contextualising the suffrage campaigners' use of a boat within a history of other political protests. The text also reports on some of the business of Parliament, such as the resolutions arrived at by Manchester Education Conference, the Royal Commission into coastal erosion, a debate on Unemployed Workmen Bill, the penny postage between France and Great Britain and discussion of various other Bills. The inclusion of parliamentary reporting highlights the links between the suffrage movement and parliamentary issues. Although the suffragists' boat itself was greeted with some amusement – it is described as a "novel visit" and the boat described as a "saucy craft" – the text does note that the "unceremoniously" delivered invitation to Sunday's suffragist demonstration at Hyde Park "was listened to with all courtesy", even if a reply was not permitted due to the number of police boats.

The text that accompanies the *suffrag** text illustrate two different kinds of political newsworthiness; the first text, discussing injuries sustained by John Burns MP, focuses on the human and personal story, while the latter half of the *suffrag** text discusses the issues debated in Parliament that day which were considered

newsworthy due to their political significance. The first part of the second text, which discusses the suffragists' launch during a tea break at the House of Commons, therefore offers a bridge between these two different kinds of newsworthiness and leading the reader from the person-and-personality focused news of the first text to the issues-and-political-debate news of the latter half of the second text. Like the tea break they appear during, the suffrage news report acts as liminal space between different texts, different news and different focuses in reporting.

OFFO-1908-JUN12-012-004 is composed of three texts, one discussing the formation of organised opposition to the women's suffrage movement in the form of the National Women's Anti-Suffrage League, a second text describing the banners designed by the Artists' Suffrage League and a third text reporting on Austen Chamberlain, MP, speaking at a garden party at which members of the Worcestershire Unionist Women's Association were guests, in which he said he did not believe most women wanted the franchise and claimed that it would lead to conflict between men and women. There are clear links between the first text and the third text describing Austen Chamberlain's comments. The set of arguments against women's suffrage proposed by the newly formed National Women's Anti-Suffrage League include the argument that "many women object to having the vote forced upon them, since, if they voted against their husbands or brothers, it would create family discord, and if with them, it would duplicate their votes"; Austen Chamberlain is reported as saying that he "was not in favour of their enfranchisement, because he believed it might easily bring men and women into conflict and rivalry". The effect of these two reports being placed in the same article is to reinforce the anti-suffragists' argument that extending the franchise to women will lead to conflict between women and their families.

However, the second text also includes a report on banners designed and made by the Artists' Suffrage League for a demonstration and on display at Caxton Hall. The report praises these banners, describing them as "almost too bright and good for agitation's daily food, with their velvet and satin and silk, the delicacy of their design and the richness of their embroidery", and concludes that "[i]f only the weather is propitious to-morrow, the procession will certainly make a brave show. London will have a new experience; and, if it be true that who wins the eye wins all, the Artists' Suffrage League will not have laboured in vain". This fairly positive report, however, appears in the same text as one report reporting anti-suffragist views, and in the same article as another text reporting the formation of an organisation to oppose women's suffrage. In this context, Austen Chamberlain's comment that "the influence which women could and ought to exercise in politics could be better exercised in other ways" seems pointed; by placing these texts together, the report on the suffrage banners is not simply praise for the women's work but also suggests an area in politics to which women were suited and ought to restrict their influence.

OFFO-1908-JUN13-009-001 is also composed of two texts. One is Millicent Fawcett's report on the Woman Suffrage Procession organised by the NUWSS, the organisation she led, taking place that day. The other is a text titled "To-day's Programme" which gives information on organisations taking part, predicted numbers, significant people attending and the procession's route. Fawcett's report offers a full and detailed guide to both the procession itself – she described the imagery used on banners, the significance of women in academic dress and the speakers who will address the procession at its end-point at the Albert Hall – but also the arguments in favour of women's suffrage. She engages with the separate spheres

argument, acknowledging that "[t]he life experience of men and women in important and obvious respects differs" but using this to argue that "[i]n those respects in which men and women are alike the representation of men virtually represents women; but, in those respects where they differ, the non-representation of women is a blot on our so-called representative system". She also uses her piece to comment on a *The Times* Leading Article published on 16 April 1908 on the dispute between Church and State in Italy and the subsequent withdrawal of the male electorate who remain orthodox from political life. She poses the question that, if the article writer can show concern over the future of Italian political life with half its electorate excluded, the same concern should be shown for a state that excludes women: "a sex which within a few years has produced a Florence Nightingale, a Mme. Curie, a George Eliot, and a Queen Victoria possess elements of both character and intellect that the nation would be the richer for making further use of, and that consequently the State would gain and that women would gain by admittance to political citizenship". What is interesting about this article is that Fawcett's contentious claims are not countered by the second text in this article. Instead, the second text summarises the more logistical issues of starting times, participating organisations, predicted numbers and the procession's route through London. The two texts are also accompanied by a map titled "Plans of Starting Place for Great Procession, June 13th". Read in conjunction, these texts offer a more positive perspective on the suffrage movement. The provision of the map and the programme, placed and read alongside Fawcett's pro-suffrage report, offer the information needed to take part in or watch the procession. With the absence of anti-suffrage texts or reports within the article, this article creates a more positive representation of this demonstration and of women's suffrage.

While 1908 shows relatively few instances of suggestive placement, the three articles I discuss in this section are revealing. They show that the suffrage movement could be portrayed positively, such as through Fawcett's report or *The Times'* discussion of the Artists' Suffrage League's banners. The suffrage movement could also be portrayed in more negative terms, such as in the reports of the formation of the National Women's Anti-Suffrage League and Austen Chamberlain's speech. Suggestive placement in 1908, therefore, offers ambiguities to The Times' representation of the suffrage movement; it is neither a straightforwardly negative nor a straightforwardly positive thing. Instead, the newspaper can express ambivalence.

5.7 Suggestive placement in June 1913

There are 80 articles containing the term *suffrag** in at least one of the texts. These can be broken down into Parliamentary reports, Law Court reports, Index, News in Brief and news reports. Of these, as explained in Chapter 3, news reports are of most interest. While Law Court and Parliamentary reports offer very detailed, near transcripts of the discussions taking place within the law courts and Houses of Parliament, the news reports are most similar to the texts used by Galtung and Ruge in their 1965 criteria for newsworthiness; other texts in the TDA, such as Law Court reports or the Index, are both functionally and stylistically different from a news report. Unlike June 1908, these articles did contain any articles from the Prospective Arrangements section of *The Times*. Table 5.7 summarises where these articles were found in *The Times*.

Table 5.7: Number of articles containing *suffrag** in at least one of the texts in June 1913

Type of article	Colour	1913
Parliament reports	Pink	3
Law Court reports	Green	10
Index	Orange	11
News reports	Blue	50
News in Brief	Yellow	1
Letters to the Editor	Brown	4
Other		1
Total		80

Of the news reports, 21 contain more than one text – 42.9% of the total of the news reports. Of the articles containing more than one text, 14 of them are articles in which *suffrag** is mentioned in at least one of the texts but not mentioned in all of the other texts in the article, and seven of them are articles in which *suffrag** is mentioned in all of the texts within the article. This indicates that in 66.7% of articles, texts mentioning *suffrag** are grouped with those that do not. The news report articles containing more than one text are summarised below:

Articles in which *suffrag** is mentioned in at least one text but not in all texts

1. OFFO-1913-JUN05-008-001 – Derby
2. OFFO-1913-JUN06-008-006 – the Derby decision
3. OFFO-1913-JUN09-008-006 – the suffragist outrage at Epsom
4. OFFO-1913-JUN10-009-005 – Mr Wyndham's death
5. OFFO-1913-JUN13-008-005 – Mr Burns and his critics
6. OFFO-1913-JUN16-005-003 – suffragist outrage at the Derby
7. OFFO-1913-JUN17-005-008 – Mrs Pankhurst released
8. OFFO-1913-JUN19-004-008 – the London museum, RCS, music
9. OFFO-1913-JUN19-007-010 – zeppelin airships
10. OFFO-1913-JUN20-009-005 – outrage at Ascot
11. OFFO-1913-JUN21-010-005 – the Leicester contest
12. OFFO-1913-JUN25-010-008 – the suffragist conspiracy – release of Clayton
13. OFFO-1913-JUN30-010-004 – Ministers and Marconis
14. OFFO-1913-JUN30-010-006 – disturbance in Whitehall

Articles in which *suffrag** is mentioned in all texts within the article

1. OFFO-1913-JUN05-010-015 – Country house burned and dye
2. OFFO-1913-JUN10-006-001 – suffragists and Miss Davison's death
3. OFFO-1913-JUN11-015-002 – the suffragist outrage at the Derby
4. OFFO-1913-JUN19-004-008 – the London museum
5. OFFO-1913-JUN23-005-004 – suffragist outrages. Fire at St Andrew's University
6. OFFO-1913-JUN26-012-002 – woman suffrage. Attempt to burn a railway station
7. OFFO-1913-JUN27-068-008 – suffragists and water policy

I argue that the placement of these texts within the article creates meaning; if that is the case, then *The Times'* reporting of the suffrage movement did not simply report on it in isolation, only grouping texts reporting on the suffrage movement together. The 14 articles demonstrate that texts about the suffrage movement could be placed alongside texts reporting other issues, and so highlight or create connections between the contents of the articles. In terms of content, the 14 articles fall into six fairly broad categories – a much greater range than that seen in 1908. These categories can be summarised as follows:

1. Articles reporting things taking place at the same event; notably racing events (the Derby and Ascot) and an obituary.

2. General area of politics; includes discussion of House of Commons debates and choosing candidates for local elections.

3. Legal concerns; includes an article on suffragist conspiracy charges and a novelist's refusal of jury service while women do not have equal rights.

4. World news; – a report on the Woman Suffrage Conference taking place in Budapest is grouped with texts about zeppelin airships, the East Africa Press and the new Peruvian Cabinet.

5. <u>Social engagements;</u> includes reports about the London Museum and a speech by Marconi

6. <u>Assumption of suffrage influence and involvement;</u> includes reports of direct action by suffrage campaigners, such as the disturbance of Whitehall, but also reports on figures in the suffrage movement and possible connections between campaigns.

These categories highlight the range of issues the suffrage movement could be associated with. While suffrage involvement itself could be the connection between different texts, the associations were broader; the categories show that as well as being grouped with texts reporting politics and legal issues (as predicted by the categories of strongly associated collocates in Chapter 4), texts in which *suffrag** occurred were also found in articles discussing world news and social engagements. As discussed in section 5.5, texts can report suffrage actions without explicitly identifying them as such.

The concordance lines offer information more closely linked to the term examined; the focus on the articles offer context. Examining *suffragist damage* offers insight into the immediate associations of *suffragist*; information about the articles that collocation appears in offers a different kind of information. Suggestive placement reveals whether such suffragist damage is a political issue, a legal issue, whether it is geographically isolated or geographically dispersed, or the social context in which it could exist. The focus on direct action is only part of the suffrage movement – through examining the articles, it is apparent that the suffrage movement was associated with different facets of society, and they were mentioned in connection with museums and music (admittedly because of fears of damage by

"militant suffragists" just as the international Woman Suffrage Conference was reported alongside other world news.

5.8 Comparison of suggestive placement in 1908 and 1913

Part of the reason for less grouping of articles about the British women's suffrage movement in 1913 was that *suffrag** was used to describe things other than the women's suffrage movement in Britain. Other articles containing a single text reported on a greater variety of issues such as suffrage reform in Prussia and Belgium, the effect of universal suffrage on the political parties that compose the Austrian parliament, household suffrage in India and an international congress on women's suffrage. While these are all discuss suffrage, it is clear from these texts that suffrage takes different forms and that the universal suffrage introduced in Austria was different to the equal franchise that was the focus of the British women's suffrage campaign. The evidence from *The Times* is that links between the different suffrage campaigns through suggestive placement were not made, suggesting that the different campaigns and forms were conceptualised differently and not associated with each other.

The distribution of articles across the categories described is different to that found in 1913. While June 1908 contains fewer articles overall, it contains a greater number of articles categorised as News in Brief, Letters to the Editor and Prospective Arrangements. These suggest that the suffrage movement was reported differently – that in 1908 there was greater use of letters to report on the suffrage movement, that news relating to the suffrage movement was reported more frequently in the News in Brief section, indicating that the news reports written about the suffrage movement were shorter and perhaps not perceived as significant enough to warrant their own

article, and that social engagements organised in support of women's suffrage were reported alongside the Friends of the Clergy Corporation's Annual Festival, the attendance of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught at the Winchester Pageant, and Princess Alexandra of Teck opening the extension of the Nurses' Home of Queen Charlotte's Hospital, Marylebone. In contrast, in 1913, suffrage issues were most widely reported in news reports themselves. These news reports were also more likely to contain more than one text – 42.9% in 1913 as opposed to 10.3% in 1908. Of the 21 articles containing more than one text in 1913, seven of these articles discuss Emily Wilding Davison's actions at the Derby, the aftermath of these actions, her death and Hewitt's subsequent actions at Ascot.

5.9 Normalised frequencies

Thus far, this chapter has used raw frequencies. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Suffrage corpus is a closed corpus; raw frequencies therefore reflect what is in the corpus itself, including the variation in number of texts in each year. In order to make further comparisons, the figures were normalised to 50 articles – 50 articles rather than 100 articles because 50 is closer to the non-normalised total number of articles; these figures are shown in Table 5.8. The normalised frequencies show similarities as well as differences in the number of types of article for 1908 and 1913.

Table 5.8: Normalised frequencies of articles in 1908 and 1913

Type of article	Colour	1908	1913
Parliament reports	Pink	1.1	1.9
Law Court reports	Green	-	6.3
Index	Orange	2.2	6.9

News reports	Blue	31.9	31.3
News in Brief	Yellow	3.3	0.6
Prospective arrangements	Purple	1.1	-
Letters to the Editor	Brown	8.8	2.5
Other	-	-	0.6
Total		50	50

Perhaps most strikingly, the normalised frequencies show very similar numbers of news reports in both 1908 and 1913. This indicates that the proportion of news reports to other types of article was similar in both years, even though there were more articles overall mentioning the suffrage movement in 1913. Therefore, the amount of coverage in other sections of the paper – in articles categorised as other than news reports – is also similar in both 1908 and 1913. The categories these other articles are identified as are different and, with the exception of Parliamentary reports, tend to differ between the two years. There are comparatively more articles categorised as Letters to the Editor and News in Brief in 1908, and comparatively more articles categorised as Indexes in 1913.

The next part of this chapter focuses on the News in Brief and Letters to the Editor articles. They appear in both 1908 and 1913 and show changes in frequency in these two years – while News in Brief articles were more frequent in 1908, Letters to the Editor articles were more frequent in 1913. News in Brief articles contain slightly longer texts than the listings and brief reports found in the Indexes. The decision to place a news report into a News in Brief article was a conscious decision to present the report in this way; short news reports could also be combined with longer texts into one article;. Similarly, while Letters to the Editor articles were

usually composed of letters, this was not always the case and short news reports can be found in Letters to the Editor articles.

Examining suffrage texts in the context of the article is particularly revealing in these two types of article. As I discuss in the next section, News in Brief articles are composed of several short texts and have a particular focus on international issues; as Chapter 4 demonstrates, reporting on direct action is skewed towards domestic, militant action. The different focus on News in Brief thus offers a different perspective of suffrage campaigning activities and in particular, contextualises them within an international movement and within genteel domestic life. Letters to the Editor are interesting because they offer an insight into both self-representation and how the suffrage movement was perceived by other letter writers; I discuss this more fully in section 5.12 and in Chapter 7. Letters to the editor were grouped with other letters to the editor, and as I demonstrate, different debates involving a number of participants can be traced over a period of time. I demonstrate that letters presented in one article could be highly focused on the suffrage movement; however, 1913 also shows letters more loosely grouped into one article and suggesting that the suffrage campaign could also be contextualised within domestic, socially acceptable events and fundraising.

5.10 News in Brief

News in Brief articles comprise 6.67% of all articles containing *suffrag** in June 1908 and 1.25% of all articles containing *suffrag** in June 1913. As these percentages show, these articles are low frequency. Due to the format of News in brief articles, I have treated them as constituting a separate and distinct genre as I have done with letters, editorials or detailed reports of Parliament or speeches.

The format of News in Brief is a collection of short news report texts collected together in one article. As with other collections of texts within one article, I have counted these texts separately. They contain more texts within each article – between four and eight (1908 average: 4.3; 1913 average: 8) – while the news reports contain between one and six texts (1908 average: 1.3; 1913 average: 1.7). However, there are also fewer News in Brief articles in *The Times* than news reports – if they appear at all in an issue of *The Times*, it appears limited to one News in Brief article per day. News in Brief therefore differs from other news reports in several ways: they contain more texts, the texts they contain tend to be shorter, and there are fewer News in Brief articles appearing in *The Times*. The texts included in each News in Brief article are listed below:

1908:

1. OFFO-1908-JUN08-008-009 – recent storm, woman suffragists and the police, the temple gardens, the Royal Botanical Society, London County Council art scholarship
2. OFFO-1908-JUN17-009-016 – French Admiral's visit to Gibraltar, Belgian railway accident, Austrian student strike, Woman Suffrage Congress at Amsterdam
3. OFFO-1908-JUN19-009-020 – resignation of Servian cabinet, South African products, Woman Suffrage Congress, the ex-King of Annam

1913:

1. OFFO-1913-JUN13-005-013 – new Spanish cabinet, woman suffrage in the US, the American tariff, New York Mayoralty, fighting between Filipinos and Americans, the Morgan art collection, the New South Wales premier, Airmen's claim for damages

Despite the restrictions on the production and format of News in Brief articles, the texts included in the articles are thematically linked. In three of the four News in Brief articles, the focus is on international issues and women's suffrage in presented

in that context. Women's suffrage appears to be something that happens in other countries, whether this is the international Woman's Suffrage Congress that took place in Amsterdam or "the passage of the Illinois Bill enfranchising women so far as is possible without amendment of the State Constitution" and with it, the "bare possibility that the Federal Congress may take action in favour of a comprehensive suffrage reform". Although women involved in the British campaign for women's suffrage attended the Woman's Suffrage Congress (and their speeches and involvement were discussed in *The Times*), the placement of this text alongside texts discussing international issues and concerns has the effect of distancing the Congress from domestic issues.

One of the News in Brief articles has a different focus: rather than focusing on international issues, the texts composing it discuss domestic issues. In particular, they focus on administrative issues – disruption to railways following a storm, the Temple Gardens opening to children, the Royal Botanical Society gardens being opened to the public on that day, the announcement of an exhibition of work by London County Council art scholarship candidates and details of the 18 silver-mounted briar pipes given to constables of Goldalming Police-station by woman suffragists touring Surrey and Sussex as expression of their gratitude for the officers' attention during their visit to Goldalming. This places the suffrage movement in a different context again. Rather than being placed in a context of international issues or, as discussed in Chapter 4, of civil disruption, disturbances and violence, the suffrage movement here is read alongside texts discussing rather genteel everyday life. The text itself, rather than reporting tension between the police and suffrage campaigners, reports on presents given to the police force in gratitude for police

support – a rather different picture from that presented in the examination of direct action terms.

News in Brief, through the restrictions on format and frequency, offer a different set of contexts for the suffrage movement. Rather than presenting the suffrage campaign as a domestic movement with direct action at its core, News in Brief articles make links between women's suffrage and London society, and present women's suffrage in an international context.

5.11 Letters to the Editor

In June 1908, Letters to the Editor can be seen as a locus for debate about the suffragist movement. Letters to the Editor make up 17.8% of the total *suffrag** articles of that month. Key figures, such as Christabel Pankhurst and Millicent Fawcett, used the Letters to the Editor to respond both to views expressed by *The Times'* reporters and to views advocated by other writers. In contrast to June 1908, Letters to the Editor comprise 5% of the total *suffrag** articles identified in June 1913. One letter, written by George Bernard Shaw, appears to function as an open letter – espousing his views in a public forum, nominally directed at a person or organisation but with the intention of the letter to be read by a much wider audience. The other letters are responses to this. Unlike June 1908, when key figures in the suffrage movement both wrote and responded to letters in *The Times*, indicating that they were not only aware of the paper's potential in disseminating their message but also aware of the debates and discussions taking place in these pages. In June 1913 this was less apparent. While the suffrage movement was discussed in the Letters to the Editor section, the letter writers appear to be more ambivalent about the suffrage movement; they dispute the militant tactics and argue in favour of the separate

spheres ideology. However, it is also important to note that both June 1908 and June 1913 are only snapshots and not representative of the entirety of 1908 or 1913. The following list shows the texts included in each Letters to the Editor article in June 1908 and June 1913.

1908

1. OFFO-1908-JUN09-005-006 – the women political prisoners (Florence Fenwick Miller)
2. OFFO-1908-JUN12-012-005 – women should join procession (Agnes Grove), banner of Scriveners Company used without permission in procession (J C Wootton)
3. OFFO-1908-JUN12-012-006 – response to F F Miller re woman political prisoners (Susan G Baird), woman political prisoners (anon woman)
4. OFFO-1908-JUN15-009-002 – accomplishments of women (Millicent Garrett Fawcett)
5. OFFO-1908-JUN22-009-004 – start of suffrage movement (Edmund Gosse), objection to the leader on 15th June (Laura McLaren)
6. OFFO-1908-JUN24-010-002 – demonstration proves public demand (Christabel Pankhurst)
7. OFFO-1908-JUN25-005-003 – *Times* anti-suffrage coverage (Edith Milner), violence by men against suffragists (Eldred Horsley), lack of attention given to police contribution to successful day (N), Mary Astell as founder of women's rights movement (Arthur C T Veasey), book arguing for women's equality published in 1739 (E B L-M), details of woman campaigner for women's rights who petitioned her MP in 1830 (Nancy Bailey)
8. OFFO-1908-JUN30-009-013 – anti-suffragist movement in the US (Mary A Ward)

1913

1. OFFO-1913-JUN19-010-006 – Mrs Pankhurst's treatment (George Bernard Shaw)
2. OFFO-1913-JUN27-068-006 – response to GBS arguing against martyr label (Algernon Gissing)
3. OFFO-1913-JUN27-068-007 – how women prisoners should be treated (F B Meyers), suffragists putting lives at risk (Constance Leconfield), request for clarification of GBS's letter (Jessie Grosvenor), annual meeting of Oxfordshire Union, dinner of 175th anniversary dinner of Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain

4. 0FFO-1913-JUN30-010-007 – women too irresponsible for citizenship (John Massie), end does not justify the means and militants have set cause back (Louisa M Knightley)

All of the following should be taken with the caveat that these are just one month out of the whole year. As discussed in sections 5.3 and 5.4, June of both years saw frequent suffrage activity which was reported in *The Times*; that suffrage action was sufficiently newsworthy that it attracted attention in the main news reports and gave letter writers something to discuss and to which to respond.

The first difference between these sets of articles is that there were more letters in 1908 than in 1913, both in terms of the raw and normalised figures. This is despite visible suffrage actions in June of both years – the processions of June 1908 and Emily Wilding Davison's disruption of the Derby and subsequent death in 1913. As the news reports I examine in Chapter 6 show, the WSPU, as reported in, and so mediated by, *The Times*, was seen to have an ambivalent response towards Emily Wilding Davison's actions and death – an event reported in the news reports as discussed in Section 5.5. While their initial response was muted, Davison's funeral procession was a visual spectacle utilised by the WSPU to celebrate a fallen warrior in their fight. This shift in response occurred over a matter of days. As the letters of June 1908 indicate, letters to the editor had been used as a platform for debate about the suffrage processions, demonstrations and gatherings – the need for these events, the tactics and reports of the events were all discussed in the Letters pages. It might be expected that Davison's death would encourage similar responses in this part of the paper – if not support for Davison's disruption of the Derby, then at least reports of the event itself and discussions about what Davison hoped to achieve, the official WSPU response and the context in which Davison operated and in which her actions must be interpreted. However, while non-suffrage supporters do write, such as

Constance Leconfield's letter arguing that "endangering the life of a harmless jockey" would not persuade men to give them the vote, there seems a lack of the intense discussion that is a feature of the June 1908 articles. One reason for this could be that Davison's actions were not discussed in the context of the suffrage movement; due to the way this corpus was extracted, articles not containing the term *suffrag** were not identified and included in the corpus. The implications of this are clear: even if Davison's actions were being discussed in letters, these actions were not discussed in the context of the suffrage movement and were not interpreted as part of a wider discourse about women's suffrage, protest and women's bodies.

A second strand of discussion in 1908 focuses on the beginnings of the suffrage movement and attempts to establish a founder of the movement; as Edmund Gosse, the writer of that letter, asks, "[w]ho, then, did first define the political ambitions of her sex?". His question is prompted by Fawcett's mention of Caroline Herschel: as a woman born in 1750, would Herschel have views about women's suffrage? This discussion is sustained by men, women and anonymous contributors; the sources offered are different and demonstrate the plurality of the origins of the movement. Through establishing a history of the campaign for women's rights, it also attempts to establish the movement's credentials; this is seen in the kinds of foundations of the movement that are invoked. Mary Wollstonecraft, "Sophia, a Person of Quality", Mary Astell and Mary Street, a campaigner who presented a petition to her MP are all mentioned. Both Wollstonecraft and Astell were respected philosophers who published on women's rights and advocated gender equality, Mary Street offers a precedent for constitutionalist-style campaigning and Sophia's epithet, "a Person of Quality" emphasises the importance of moral standing to campaigners within the suffrage movement and those outside it. As important as identifying

people seems to be identifying a year: Mary Astell was published 100 years before Wollstonecraft's *Vindication*, in 1694 and 1697; Sophia was published in 1739; Mary Street's petition was discussed in Parliament in 1832 (Harrison 1983: 84). Holton (1986: 9) observes that "[m]ost present accounts assert that the ideas of the suffrage movement in Britain descended directly from Enlightenment political philosophy and nineteenth-century liberal theory", noting Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill and William Thompson as particularly influential. However, the discussion taking place in *The Times* letters page traces a lineage that reaches before the philosophers cited by Holton and reveals that contemporaries of the suffrage movement saw a different and older history informing it. This is particularly important when establishing the legitimacy of the movement; it was in suffrage campaigners' interests to represent the suffrage movement as having a historical precedent and to date the origins of the movement as far back as possible. Establishing such a precedent proves that the campaign for women's political equality was not a passing fancy or a particularly recent phenomenon, and provides legitimacy for the suffrage campaign.

There are also differences in who was writing these letters to the editor. While a public figure, George Bernard Shaw, wrote to *The Times* in support of women's suffrage in 1913 and was responded to by other letter-writers, the participants and nature of the discussion in 1913 is different to that taking place in 1908. 1908 saw key figures in the suffrage movement expressing their views and taking part in discussion – Millicent Fawcett, leader of the NUWSS, and Christabel Pankhurst, one of the leaders of the WSPU, both wrote letters in favour of women's suffrage from their different stances within the campaign. Fawcett offered evidence of the achievements of women such as Caroline Herschel and argued that the

accomplishments of such women in their fields were an argument against regulating women to a lower political status. Christabel Pankhurst argued that the popularity of the suffrage demonstrations proved a public demand. These arguments reflect the ideology driving the two groups; Fawcett's argument is an appeal based on women's merits and operates within a paradigm of "deserving" the vote, while Christabel Pankhurst's argument focuses on direct action and public demand and pressure. In contrast, the letters of June 1913 do not feature letters by suffrage campaigners, despite the events of June 1913 on which suffrage campaigners could be expected to comment, either to distance themselves from the Derby events or to support other direct action.

These differences in who was writing to the editor of *The Times* are reflected in the material discussed within the letters. The letters written in 1908, both by those involved with the suffrage movement such as Fawcett, Pankhurst and Fenwick Miller and others, engage with the suffrage movement differently to those letters written in 1913. As I have discussed in sections 5.5 and 5.6, both June 1908 and June 1913 featured extensive suffrage activity that would have prompted debate among those both opposed to and supportive of women's suffrage. However, while June 1908 sees key figures within the organisational structures of the suffrage movement (and who influence suffrage organisations' policy) engaging in debate about suffrage events, women's accomplishments and the need for women's suffrage, in June 1913 the debate in the Letters to the Editor section does not involve key figures within the suffrage organisations or the same engagement with policy. Instead the letters seem to be written by those outside the movement, or those within the campaign but not within the inner circle of leadership.

The texts within the articles in 1908 also appear to be more focused than those appearing within one article in 1913. In 1908, while there are some collections of letter texts published in the same article and they are not all on the same subject (i.e. recent suffrage direct action) they still are in the same field (i.e. still suffrage related; for example, discussing history of women's rights campaigns alongside suffrage direct action). In contrast, the one collection of several texts in a 1913 Letters to the Editor article (0FFO-1913-JUN27-068-007) has some seemingly unrelated texts – there are three letters, but there is also one text about the Oxfordshire Union's annual meeting in Banbury and one text about the 175th anniversary festival dinner in aid of the Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain held on the previous night. However, as seen with other articles analysed in this section, apparent lack of a consistently suffragist theme in texts within an article does not suggest no connections between these texts, but rather a different set of connections being made between the suffrage texts and other texts. The links being made in this article do not have the suffrage movement and campaigning at their centre, but instead indicate the impact of the suffrage movement. In this article, it was reported alongside the annual meeting of the Oxfordshire division of the National Union and therefore, the established political life of the country; and it was reported alongside the 175th anniversary of the Royal Society of Musicians and therefore, the social and cultural life of the country. Rather than being seen simply as the political campaign of the disenfranchised who lack a political voice and the opportunity to actively engage with political, this article makes links between the suffrage movement and the activities of an established political party. The implications of these connections are far-reaching; if The Times has accepted the suffrage movement as part of the political, societal and cultural life of London

society, even if only to the extent where these can be reported alongside each other without incongruity, then what parts of the suffrage movement are being reported? As these articles show, the parts of the suffrage movement that appear in *The Times* are the upper and middle class London-based organisations such as the WSPU and NUWSS; the regional, working class organisations that were also part of the suffrage movement are silent. As discussed in Chapter 2, the focus on upper and middle class London-centric campaign in suffrage histories was a major criticism of second wave suffrage historiography; a similar focus is found in *The Times*. Galtung and Ruge's work provides an explanation for this: they argue that proximity is one of the factors that make something newsworthy. The London-based organisations offer physical proximity to the newspaper's place of production; the upper and middle class focus, however, offers a cultural proximity. The audience of *The Times* value news about people like them or about a class they aspire to.

Conclusion

In this chapter I argue that there are important differences in the way news was presented in *The Times* in the early twentieth century texts that make up the Suffrage corpus to how news is presented in present day newspapers. Rather than being presented as a single text per article, *The Times* articles combine texts in a way that offers complex readings. As I have demonstrated in this chapter, the combinations of texts within an article are suggestive; this immediate context for reading means that the intended reader reads texts in combination and juxtaposed with texts appearing in the same article and that, therefore, texts can suggest or reinforce an interpretation. Media representation of the suffrage movement exists on a textual level through these suggested connections between texts within an article.

However, texts do not have to be taken at face value and a reader can read against the text if this reading is supported by other texts in the same article. As I discussed, the text detailing the work of the Artists' Suffrage League in OFFO-1908-JUN12-012-004 appears positive; it focuses on the creativity and skill of the artists involved in producing such work and their work making a powerful political point. However, because this text appears in the same articles as texts about opposition to the suffrage movement – the formation of the National Women's Anti-Suffrage League and comments made by the MP Austen Chamberlain – the effect is that the work of the Artists' Suffrage League, rather than making a point about the capabilities of women and need for women's political independence, merely demonstrates one of the limited areas of politics where women can meaningfully contribute.

Suggestive placement explores relationships between texts that are not accounted for in previous research. The way that *The Times* articles are presented poses a problem for present day analyses of textual structure and interaction (e.g. Hoey 2001) – these are not Hoey's "text colonies" of self-contained, individual texts that acquire no extra meaning when read together, but nor are these articles one cohesive unit that, if the texts making up the article are not read together, ceases to have meaning. Instead these texts can be read individually, but they gain something if read in conjunction with each other. Suggestive placement seems to function as another level of collocation as between texts in an article. Just as the relationships between words are important in establishing semantic prosody, the relationships between texts within an article can work in a similar way to encourage the audience into a particular reading.

Introduction

In this chapter, I present a case study focusing on the news narrative of Emily Wilding Davison in the days following her actions at the 1913 Derby. Davison, a member of the WSPU, was knocked down by the King's horse as she crossed the racetrack and died several days later. Her death posed a problem for the WSPU leaders; Davison was known for her use of innovative direct tactics which challenged the authority of the Pankhursts and other members of the WSPU's organisational inner circle, but, as with the circumstances of her death, were newsworthy and drew attention to the suffrage campaign. Her actions, death, its aftermath and her funeral were extensively reported in *The Times*; as section 5.7 reveals, Davison's actions and their aftermath was reported in at least five of the 14 articles in which *suffrag** is mentioned in at least one text but not in all texts, in two of the seven articles in which *suffrag** is mentioned in all texts within the article, and in another three articles in which there is only one news text. These nine articles make up 20% of the news reports identified in Chapter 5, demonstrating her significance in a month where the trial of WSPU leaders for conspiracy, the charging of two WSPU members for arson, the international Woman Suffrage Congress meeting and international suffrage issues were also reported in *The Times*. Emily Wilding Davison's death was also significant for the women's suffrage movement and resulted in the rapid production and publication of Gertrude Colmore's 1913 biography. Davison, therefore, is an important figure because her actions and the aftermath of her actions were reported widely and in detail, but also because of her

ambivalent relationship with the WSPU's leadership and, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, how she was constructed in the news discourse in *The Times*.

Chapter 3 focuses on how the structure of articles in *The Times* contributed to the representation of the women's suffrage movement. In this chapter I argue that the structure of news articles as discussed in the previous chapter guides the reader into an interpretation of news presented in the articles. Bamburg (2004) argues for the existence of cultural 'master narratives' which position social actors and which are oriented to and recognised by those immersed in the culture. However, master narratives can be challenged and resisted by counter narratives which create space for social actors to reposition themselves. I argue that focusing on the suggestive placement of texts within news articles offers a way to explore both master and counter narratives at work; in the case of the Emily Wilding Davison articles I examine, texts containing the counter narrative positioning Davison as a committed activist and intelligent woman are accompanied by texts reinforcing the dominant, master narrative of suffrage campaigners as destructive and threatening. These master narratives are reflected in the categories identified in Chapter 4. One of the most consistent categories in *The Times'* reporting focused on direct action, usually attributing activities to suffragists rather than suffragettes. This focused attention on proponents and episodes of direct action rather than reflected the diversity of ideologies and approaches within the suffrage movement, and not only made direct action one of the key features of the suffrage campaign but also erased the considerable number of suffrage activists engaged in constitutional campaigning. This focus is reflected in the consistent reporting of suffrage disorder and direct action alongside Davison in suggestively placed texts. In Chapter 5 I presented

evidence for this suggestive placement of texts within articles and discuss the implications of combining texts in this way for an intended reader.

In this chapter I explore its use in a detailed case study of 11 articles reporting on the actions, death, inquest, funeral and aftermath of Davison's actions; I identify both discourses associated with the counter narrative of Davison's repositioning and discourses associated with the master narrative present in the suggestively placed texts. I begin in section 6.1 by introducing Davison as she is described in suffrage historiography, and establish her relationship and history with the suffrage movement.

There are three aspects to my analysis of the representation of Emily Wilding Davison. In section 6.2 I discuss the diachronic element; this is a narrative taking place over a period of some twenty days and as such, it is important to examine these reports as a diachronically organised sequence of events forming a news narrative. In this section I describe the different stages of the narrative: reporting on the incident itself, reporting on Davison's injuries and death, reporting on the inquest, reporting on Davison's funeral procession and finally, reporting on the aftermath. I also summarise the texts used in each stage of the news narrative. I then identify the set of discourses around Davison, locate them with their historical context and identify points where these discourses come into conflict. I examine how they construct Davison simultaneously as a dedicated activist (section 6.2.1), as a woman affected by a gendered understanding of mental illness (section 6.2.2), as a woman isolated and separated from her social and familial relationships (section 6.2.3) and as a WSPU campaigner (section 6.2.4). However, as I discussed in Chapter 5, news articles in *The Times* can be composed of different texts, or that one text can contain more than one news report.

In section 6.3 I explore how meaning can be created through the suggestive grouping of texts within an article. This is something that cannot be discovered through collocational analysis, and instead relies on reading the article as a complete and linearly-organised unit. These suggestive groupings of texts are vital for understanding the representation of the suffrage movement. Through them, the reader is guided into connecting seemingly loosely related events together, and enables the newspaper to suggest suffragist involvement without explicitly saying as much. In the case of Emily Wilding Davison, the suggestively placed texts offer evidence of the master narrative she and her actions are situated within – that of unexpected, unwelcome events at the race (section 6.3.2) and, most consistently, the representation of suffrage campaigners as dangerous and engaged in property damage and arson (section 6.3.3). While Davison can be represented as dedicated to the suffrage cause and any speculation about her mental health firmly quashed at the inquest into her death, this takes place against a background of the master narrative – and, as my analysis demonstrates, alongside it. While a more nuanced representation of a suffrage campaigner emerges in the counter narrative of Davison's actions and their aftermath, the reader is not allowed to forget that whatever nuances emerge, suffrage campaigners are still threatening and disturbing.

In section 6.4 I use van Leeuwen's (2009) taxonomy of representation of social actors to highlight individual and group identities. As discussed previously, Emily Wilding Davison was difficult to place within the WSPU due to her history of unsanctioned actions, including those at the 1913 Derby, yet she was posthumously adopted as a martyr to the WSPU cause. This representation gains an additional layer of complexity due to its mediation by The Times; as demonstrated in Chapter 4, The Times conflated different suffrage organisations into one homogenous mass in

order to discredit the movement as violent, destructive and unstable. This time, rather than the problem of conflating groups i.e. suffragists and suffragettes, I will explore the tensions between individual and group identities.

One of the issues here is of who is controlling the discourse; as van Dijk (2001: 356) describes, "notions of discourse access and control" are important and can be revealed through critical discourse analysis approaches. Van Dijk (2001: 357) argues that "all levels and structures of context, text, and talk can in principle be more or less controlled by powerful speakers, and such power may be abused at the expense of other participants". In these texts discourses are both produced and mediated by those controlling the means of production; while *The Times* correspondents and editors have much to do with how Davison is presented and discussed, other discourses – such as those from the suffrage movement at her funeral – are also present. The discourses from sources other than the institution of the newspaper are still mediated by the newspaper.

6.1 Introducing Emily Wilding Davison

In many ways, Emily Wilding Davison is a mystery. She is amongst the most well-known of suffrage campaigners and one whose commitment to the suffrage cause may have resulted in her death, yet she is a puzzle. She crossed the racetrack at the 1913 Derby, was struck by the King's horse and died several days later. Charles Mansell-Moullin, the surgeon and suffrage campaigner who operated on her, reported that she did not regain consciousness (Moreley and Stanley 1988: 74); however, *The Times* reports that she regained consciousness but not the ability to speak.

The nine texts I will examine in this chapter are about her, yet her voice is absent in them. Emily Wilding Davison becomes a figure to whom others ascribe ideals and intentions; she left no note, no statement and apparently told no one of her plans before her actions at the 1913 Derby (Rosen 1974: 199). In the historiography, the items found on her body assume significance; Rosen (1974: 199) notes that the attending constable, on removing Emily Wilding Davison's jacket, found "two flags of purple, white, and green, 1 ½ yards by ¾ yards each, folded up and pinned inside the back of the coat" and a return railway ticket. Rosen (1974: 199) seems to rule out the possibility of her crossing the track after she believed the horses had passed, and argues that the issue is "whether she decided on her dash in advance, or acted on impulse having brought the flags in order to wave them as originally planned".

Without a note, statement or some indication of her plans, it is impossible to state conclusively whether her death was an accident, suicide or martyrdom. This enables others to portray her death in different ways and as part of different narratives – that of a mentally unsound suffragette putting lives at risk or as a dedicated activist willing to die for her cause. Davison, in her silence, becomes a blank slate, constructed through discourse as different kinds of campaigner. Her actions and death become the focus of competing efforts to construct her as mentally ill, dangerous or heroic with important repercussions for the suffrage movement. For her to be constructed as mentally unsound or simply and unqualifiedly dangerous would reflect badly on and discredit the suffrage movement; to be seen as a noble warrior who sacrificed herself for the cause offers credibility. The media representation of Emily Wilding Davison is not simply about one woman but becomes a focal point for different discourses within and about the suffrage movement.

Emily Wilding Davison was a member of the WSPU who had already taken part in several types of direct action: stone throwing, window breaking, arson, imprisonment and hunger strikes. Not all of these actions were approved by the WSPU; WSPU members carrying out independent action not sanctioned or cleared with WSPU leadership was not unprecedented. The first window breaking was carried out by Mary Leigh and Edith New, and Rosen (1974: 107) quotes Mrs Pankhurst's response to it to a police superintendent: "We cannot always control our women. It was no part of our programme to break windows in Downing-street. It was not prearranged. It was done by individuals on their own initiative". Similarly, hunger strikes (Rosen 1974: 120), Emily Wilding Davison's setting postboxes on fire (Rosen 1974: 156), the abortive arson at Nuneham House (Rosen 1974: 169) and Mary Leigh and Gladys Evans' window breaking activities all appear to have been carried out without prior knowledge of the WSPU leadership of Mrs Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst and the Pethick-Lawrences. Some of these activities were assimilated into WSPU practice; a window-breaking campaign in March 1912 resulted in the June 1913 trial of Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, Emmeline and Frederick Pethick-Lawrence and Mrs. Mabel Tuke for "wrongfully and maliciously conspiring and combining among themselves and/or amongst the members of the Women's Social and Political Union to procure certain members of the said union to commit trespass and damage to goods and property of the plaintiffs". Others, such as Emily Wilding Davison's destruction of postboxes, were not so warmly received. As a result, WSPU leadership regarded her somewhat ambivalently – while she was a committed militant, she was also regarded as too individualistic and unable to accept the strict limits and guidance imposed by the Pankhursts. Crawford (1999: 161) speculates that her independence was viewed by

the WSPU leadership as a "liability"; Stanley and Morley (1988: 74) indicate that her "habit of acting on her own initiative" led the WSPU leadership to view her as "an unpredictable thorn in the flesh". Stanley and Morley (1988: 153) also discuss the possibility that Emily Wilding Davison and her circle of militant activists "formed a rallying point for other women dissatisfied with the leadership", again challenging – however unintentionally – the WSPU leadership. However, many of Davison's actions created valuable publicity for the suffrage campaign and after her actions at the Derby, *The Times* describes her as one of the "most prominent of the militant women suffragists" and merely sketches out some of her actions, such as "the hose-pipe incident [...] in Strangeways Prison"[15], confident that this description does not need further detail.

Emily Wilding Davison's action at the Derby was not authorised by WSPU leadership; however, as these articles from *The Times* show, the leadership response to her death appeared to undergo a transformation as the WSPU leadership manage their public response to her death and funeral. As the texts I examine show, Davison's actions and death were considered newsworthy by *The Times* and, as the text describing the inquest into her death demonstrates, also offered a chance for suffrage campaigns to represent themselves more positively. In contrast to her actions at the Derby, Davison's funeral procession is enacted under the aegis of the WSPU and attempted to offer a powerful public reconfiguration of the militant suffrage campaigner.

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[15] This refers to an incident in October 1909 when Davison, in an attempt to avoid being forcibly fed, barricaded herself in her cell with the contents of the cell – two plank beds, a stool, a table and her mattress. Davison refused anyone entry into the cell and was only overcome when wardens forced a hosepipe through her window and turned the full force of the water on her. An account is offered in Colmore (1913).

In addition to the narrative of Davison's action and death, these events were part of a wider narrative of suffrage campaigners' direct action, particularly that of suffragettes within the WSPU. In the previous Chapter I presented evidence for the suggestive placement of texts within articles. The placement of these texts and the editorial choices made in grouping them then establish another narrative in which Davison's actions and death provide the main suffragette direction of narrative which, through their proximity with the Davison texts, other texts can imply suffragette involvement in the story they report.

6.2 Discourses of Emily Wilding Davison

The news narrative of Emily Wilding Davison can be broken into six stages: Action, Aftermath, Death, Inquest, Funeral and Hewitt's actions at Ascot[16]. As the dates show, the news narrative of Emily Wilding Davison's actions and their aftermath conformed to Galtung and Ruge's (1965: 68) set of "culture-bound factors influencing the transition from events to news". As discussed in section 6.1, direct action was disruptive and challenged the social order, and was considered newsworthy because the suffrage campaigners who used direct action did not conform to cultural expectations and were instead something transgressive and threatening. However, the news narrative of Emily Wilding Davison fulfilled several other criteria for newsworthiness. Events occurred at a frequency suitable for publication in *The Times* (the lack of a report on 8 June is due to that day being a Sunday and therefore, no paper was published for that day). The initial event of Davison's action was reported in *The Times* and therefore continued to be defined as news as the news story developed. The news events could be seen and was reported

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[16] As I will discuss later in this chapter, Hewitt's actions at Ascot took place later that month later that month and were initially thought to mimic those of Davison.

in personal terms. Finally, as the discourses found in suggestively placed texts with the Emily Wilding Davison texts show, direct action in the suffrage campaign was reported negatively. The six stages of the news narrative are as follows:

Action: Two articles, published on 5 June 1913: OFFO-1913-JUN05-008-001 and

OFFO-1913-JUN05-009-002

Aftermath: One article published 6 June: OFFO-1913-JUN06-008-006; one article

published 7 June: OFFO-1913-JUN07-008-003

Death: One article published 9 June: OFFO-1913-JUN09-008-006; also a very short

summary in the index on 9 June 1913 which was not included in the analysis

Inquest: One article published 11 June: OFFO-1913-JUN11-015-002; also a very

short summary in the index on 11 June 1913 which was not included in the

analysis

Funeral: One article published 16 June: OFFO-1913-JUN16-005-003

Hewitt: Two articles published 20 June: OFFO-1913-JUN20-009-003 and OFFO-

1913-JUN20-009-005

There are four major discourses in the Emily Wilding Davison narrative and three discourses present through suggestive placement. These discourses are not all present at the same time, but instead shift and fluctuate as the news narrative develops. Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show whether the main discourses and discourses found in suggestively placed texts are present or absent in the six stages of this news narrative. As I will discuss, the presence of a named discourse does not imply agreement; a named discourses functions as a locus for issues. As an example, the discourse of 'mental illness' was present in the inquest into Davison's death;

however, this discourse is present because the suggestion that Davison was mentally ill was strongly refuted rather than because the article supports the claim that Davison was mentally ill.

Table 6.1: Summary of present and absent discourses in Emily Wilding Davison reporting

	Action	Aftermath	Death	Inquest	Funeral	Hewitt
Commitment	present	present	present	present	present	absent
Davison as a frail woman	present	present	present	absent	absent	absent
Mental illness	present	absent	absent	present	absent	present
WSPU affiliation	present	absent	present	present	present	absent

Table 6.2: Summary of present and absent discourses found in suggestively placed texts

	Action	Aftermath	Death	Inquest	Funeral	Hewitt
Racing event	present	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
Things that shouldn't have happened	present	absent	absent	absent	absent	absent
Suffragists are threatening	absent	present	present	present	present	absent

As these tables show, discourses of Emily Wilding Davison and those found in the suggestively placed texts are not necessarily consistent; the only consistent discourse is that of Davison's commitment to the suffrage cause. Otherwise, at different times in the news narrative, she is presented as frail and vulnerable, as mentally ill and her affiliation to the WSPU may be stressed. These discourses can also be resurrected; while claims about Davison's mental ill-health are firmly denied at the inquest into her death, this discourse surfaces again, albeit in a modified form, after Hewitt's

actions at Ascot. News discourses found in suggestively placed texts are organised temporally and spatially when reporting about the Derby itself and thematically when reporting suffrage campaigners' activities alongside those of Davison. However, when texts about suffrage campaigners' arson is suggestively placed alongside texts discussing Davison's inquest and funeral – texts in which she is represented as an intelligent, honourable, passionately devoted martyr to the suffrage cause – suggestively placed texts focus on two members of the WSPU, Kitty Marion and Clara Giveen, and charges brought against them for the destruction of buildings at the Hurst Park racecourse through arson. While a counter-narrative of Emily Wilding Davison's character attempts to reposition Davison – and by extension all suffrage campaigners, particularly those engaged in direct action – these suggestively placed texts provide evidence of the master narrative and serve as a constant reminder to *The Times'* readers that suffrage campaigners were dangerous, unpredictable and destructive. In the next sections I will discuss these discourses in greater depth. All articles can be found with line numbers in Appendix 5.

6.2.1 Commitment to the suffrage cause

The Times does not present Emily Wilding Davison as unconnected to the suffrage movement or as anything less than a dedicated activist. This is demonstrated in one of the first articles to the published after the event on 5 June 1913:

> Miss. Emily Wilding Davison; according to the "Woman's Who's Who," joined the W.S.P.U. in. 1906. She was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for a disturbance at Limehouse in 1909, but was released after hunger strike. In the same year she was sentenced to a similar term for stone-throwing in Manchester, but was again released after hunger strike; a little later she was imprisoned with hard labour for stone-throwing at Radcliffe and

was forcibly fed. It was on this occasion that the hose-pipe incident took place in Strangeways Prison. She was released at the end of eight days. In November, 1910, she broke a window inside the House of Commons and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, but, after hunger strike, was released in eight days. In December, 1911, she was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for setting fire to pillar-boxes at Westminster. In November last she was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment for assaulting a Baptist minister by mistake for Mr. Lloyd George at Aberdeen. She was liberated, however, after four days' fast.

(OFFO-1913-JUN05-008-001)

As this extract demonstrates, Davison's actions are presented as a narrative of escalating action. She is first sentenced to imprisonment for "a disturbance"; she is then sentenced to imprisonment three times for stone-throwing and window-breaking; she then moves onto setting fire to pillar boxes and is duly sentenced to imprisonment; finally, she is arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for assaulting a man she mistakenly thought was a senior politician[17]. Davison's direct action, therefore, is shown to be in a clear progression from general disturbance – which, as Chapter 4 indicates, would suggest minor acts of civil disobedience – to damaging property intrinsically connected with government, to assaulting people. Her actions at the Derby, therefore, fit this pattern; if deliberate, she would have caused serious harm to herself and, potentially, many of the human (and economically valuable equine) participants in the race. In presenting Davison's actions as demonstrating a clear progression from violence directed towards property to violence directed at people, and ultimately violence that results in injury to herself and others, The Times appears to suggest that there is something inevitable about Davison's actions at the

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[17] Stanley and Morley (1988: 159) suggest that is unlikely that Emily Wilding Davison assaulted the Revd Forbes Jackson with a dog-whip precisely because it would have marked a deliberate choice to "hurt another living being".

Derby; that such an escalation of direct action would end in her injuries and subsequent death in such a public way.

Because Davison is presented as representative of "suffragists" in general rather than merely an individual campaigner, this also says something about suffrage campaigners in general: that they are dangerous and both inevitable and shocking in their capacity for violence. Davison's sentencing and imprisonment is shown as a clear consequence of her actions, and variations in the lengths and terms of her sentences are shown. Davison's reaction to imprisonment is also shown as consistent; resistance through hunger strike. The article only refers to "the hose-pipe incident [...] at Strangeways Prison", implying that their audience would be familiar enough with this incident to not require further explanation.

The Times presents similar information on 9 June 1913 when reporting the death of Davison. While it contextualises Davison's life through brief details of her background, parents and education, it also focuses on her record of direct action:

Miss Davison, who was born at Blackheath, being the daughter of Charles Edward and Margaret Davison, was one of the most prominent of the militant women suffragists and joined the W.S.P.U. in 1906. She was sentenced to imprisonment on several occasions, having been convicted of taking part in a disturbance at Limehouse in 1909; of stone-throwing in Manchester in the same year; of breaking a window in the House of Commons in 1910; of setting fire to pillar-boxes in Westminster in 1911; and of assaulting a Baptist minister in mistake for Mr. Lloyd George in November last. When imprisoned she habitually adopted the tactics of the "hunger strike." She was a graduate of London University and obtained a first class in the Oxford final honours school in English language and literature.

(OFFO-1913-JUN09-008-006)

The information is presented differently. In the text on 5 June 1913, Davison's actions are presented as a series of actions which directly result in imprisonment, hunger-striking and release, for example: "In the same year she was sentenced to a similar term for stone-throwing in Manchester, but was again released after hunger strike; a little later she was imprisoned with hard labour for stone-throwing at Radcliffe and was forcibly fed". In the article reporting her death on 9 June 1913, Davison's actions are presented as a series of actions that accumulate: "taking part in a disturbance at Limehouse in 1909; of stone-throwing in Manchester in the same year; of breaking a window in the House of Commons in 1910; of setting fire to pillar-boxes in Westminster in 1911; and of assaulting a Baptist minister in mistake for Mr. Lloyd George in November last". The syntactic repetition emphasises the escalation of events from creating a disturbance to violence directed at people. The statement "sentenced to imprisonment on several occasions" elides multiple terms of imprisonment of different lengths and with different conditions, such as hard labour, attached; similarly, "When imprisoned she habitually adopted the tactics of the "hunger strike"" again stresses the repetitive and normalised nature of her resistance to imprisonment. The combined effect of these stylistic choices is to present Davison's actions as extensive to the point where she can be said to "habitually" engage in forms of direct action; she is duly arrested, imprisoned and "adopt[s]" a "tactic" to extract herself from imprisonment – apparently cheating the terms of the sentence. Hunger striking had particular significance – it conjured up women resisting the State through their bodies, putting their health and lives at risk, the brutality and violence of forcible feeding and the Government's response to public outrage of the women's treatment in the form of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge

for Ill Health) Act which received its Royal Assent on 25 April 1913[18]. *The Times* describes Davison's use of hunger striking as a "tactic", presumably, pre- Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill Health) Act, to ensure her early release, rather than a legitimate form of political resistance that was difficult and dangerous. This connects to other issues of the legitimacy of suffrage campaigners' arrests and subsequent classification within the prison system – whether they would be classified as First Class, and so achieve recognition as political prisoners, or classified as Second or Third Class, and therefore ordinary, prisoners.

The article also notes that she "was one of the most prominent of the militant women suffragists". As discussed earlier in this chapter, Davison posed a problem for the autocratic style of leadership favoured by the Pankhursts and often acted independently, particularly when engaging in innovative forms of direct action; this problematic independence appears either lost or irrelevant to *The Times*. Either this was not noticed by them, or was not important to them. The issue here is of defining "prominence" – Emily Wilding Davison may have been considered unpredictable within the WSPU and not within its leadership or inner circle, but in terms of newsworthy events she was prominent. One of the issues in the media representation of the suffrage movement is that different people and events are recognised as significant – in suffragist-produced texts, the importance of people working in the background or engaged in non-newsworthy activities may be recognised; however, examining media discourse offers a different perspective and different people fade out or come into view.

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[18] http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1913/apr/25/royal-commission#S5LV0014P0_19130425_HOL_4

Davison's commitment to the suffrage cause is also demonstrated at the inquest into her death (OFFO-1913-JUN11-015-002); her half-brother states that she was "passionately devoted to the women's movement" and her reasons for her actions as "with the object of calling attention to the suffrage movement". Yates[19], appearing for Davison's mother and half-brother, asks "Did she do this by way of protest with a view of calling public attention to the fact that the Government have not done justice to women" and is blocked by the coroner, who states that "he did not propose to allow any political question". Within the confines of the courtroom, Davison's protest is simultaneously political and depoliticised. Her intelligence, reasoning faculties and devotion to the suffrage campaign are key parts of the evidence that she was neither insane nor "abnormal mentally" but the exact reasons for her actions and the background to the suffrage campaign cannot be discussed. A version of the suffrage campaign is therefore created where its existence is not disputed but is unconnected to the forces driving it.

Until now, Davison has been presented as dedicated to the suffrage campaign and a prominent activist associated with the WSPU, but her actions have tended to be presented as an individual acting alone. Apart from her arrest and imprisonment for taking part in a disturbance, it is unclear in the article whether her stone-throwing and assault were also committed as part of a group or as an individual acting alone.

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[19] Thomas Lamartine Yates, a barrister, member of the Men's Union for Women's Enfranchisement and legal advisor to WSPU women (Stanley and Morley 1988: 105)

6.2.2 Mental illness

There is a theme of mental illness when discussing both Emily Wilding Davison and Harold Hewitt, a man who disrupted the June 1913 Ascot in a similar way. However, there are several key differences in the way the two are reported.

The possibility of Davison as mentally ill was discussed from the beginning of the narrative in one of the two articles from 5 June 1913. This article (OFFO-1913-JUN05-009-002) discusses the race and Davison's actions, describing them as the "desperate act of a woman" rushing from the rails onto the course "apparently from some mad notion" that she could disrupt the race. This is followed up with:

> [the ordinary public] are disposed to look upon manifestations of that temper with contempt and with disgust. When these manifestations are attended by indifference to human life, they begin to suspect that they are not altogether sane.
>
> [...]
>
> Where women are concerned, the natural gallantry of the public always inclines them to take a favourable view, and accordingly they are gradually coming to the conclusion, that many of the militant suffragists are not altogether responsible for their acts

These quotes put forward a particular interpretation of suffrage campaigners' behaviour. Significantly, *The Times* does not present these views as issuing from the newspaper itself; instead, the newspaper purports to speak for "the ordinary public". The "ordinary public" is a construct that allows *The Times* to attack and undermine suffrage campaigners; the "they" that condemns militant action and which has come "to the conclusion, that many of the militant suffragists are not altogether responsible for their acts" is not something that the ordinary public believes so much as something *The Times* hopes they believe, even something that *The Times* hopes it

can influence. The language suggests the kind of "ordinary public" invoked — one that is not involved with the suffrage movement and is not sympathetic to their aims, and, as "natural gallantry" suggests, male. This indicates something of *The Times'* assumptions about their readers and the likely targeted audience of this article. The issue of Emily Wilding Davison's mental health recurs at the inquest into her death, reported on 11 June. Her half-brother was asked:"Did you know anything that would lead you to think that she was abnormal mentally?" (OFFO-1913-JUN11-015-002). His response was clear: that "his sister was a woman of very strong reasoning faculties, and passionately devoted to the women's movement". This appears to end speculations about Davison's mental health.

On 20 June, a man identified as Harold Hewitt attempted to disrupt a race at Ascot. He is described as "carr[ying] the suffragist colours in one hand and a revolver, which proved to be loaded, in the other" (OFFO-1913-JUN20-009-005) yet was not affiliated with the suffrage movement. Again, he is described as having a "crazy notion" resulting in "insane action". However, rather than focus on Hewitt's mental state, *The Times* article instead speculates about the effect of his actions on the "weak and ill-balanced" mind:

> What effect do they think their general display, to say nothing of its more questionable details, was likely to have upon weak and ill-balanced mind? It was calculated beyond doubt to stimulate the love of notoriety and the inordinate vanity which are amongst their characteristic features

> All exhibitions of the sort appeal powerfully to the passions and the weaknesses of the half-sane, and tend to work them up onto the state of dangerous exaltation which leads straight to crime

There is a shift from discussing the dangerous and "not altogether sane" women suffrage campaigners; instead of the focus on Hewitt's actions and whether he, too,

cannot be held responsible for these actions, *The Times* instead focuses on the effect Hewitt's actions would have on the "half-sane". These two extracts can be read alongside each other; in doing so, the extract discussing the effect of Hewitt's actions becomes a commentary on the "not altogether sane" tendencies of the suffrage campaigners. The inquest into Emily Wilding Davison's death established that she was not "abnormal mentally"; in light of this, *The Times* might be reluctant to speculate on Hewitt's mental state and instead transfers its concerns to another construct – that of the mentally "weak and ill-balanced" and "half-sane", who they claim might be inspired by such exhibitions and thus lured "straight to crime". *The Times* is free to make claims about the mentality of militant suffrage campaigners – "the love of notoriety and the inordinate vanity which are amongst their characteristic features" and to speculate on the effect of Hewitt's actions on them without offering proof that such people exist.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 7, the gendered ideology of separate spheres for men and women had particular implications for women acting outside the domestic, private sphere of the home. Women engaging in public, political life were viewed as aggressive and threatening, and *The Times'* response makes this clear: the expected reaction from their idealised, male "ordinary public" is one of disgust and contempt. The "natural gallantry" said to be in operation is a manifestation of patriarchal condescension – something to be offered to the weak and in need of protection. As D'Cruze (1995: 77) observes, the "Victorian middle-class" ideal of "a role for women which, although subordinating them as individuals, gave great importance to domestic life and the role of the "angel in the house"" continued to exert an influence into the twentieth century. A woman prepared to stay within the confines of her sphere could have male protection; however, a woman prepared to

engage in the public and political sphere forfeited "natural gallantry" extended towards her.

Mental illness itself had a gendered dimension. Harrison (1995: 158) describes the view that women's "frail and delicate physiology was ideally suited to nurturance, emotionality and sensitivity"; this fragility made women unsuited to the public sphere. However, "the idea of womanhood as being coincident with sickness and weakness [...] encompassed the culturally pervasive idea of women as being mad" (Harrison 1995: 166). The ideology of separate spheres relied on women being simultaneously too pure and sensitive for the public sphere, and too unstable and weak to take part in it. Harrison (1995: 168) goes on to discuss 'madness' as "forms of female rebellion" in which women express their anger and pain through "a role that was available within the bounds of socialization, prescribed social roles and experience". The association of suffrage campaigners with madness, therefore, works on several levels –womanhood as something pathological, women out of their rightful sphere, and women resisting the roles thrust upon them by social expectation.

6.2.3 Davison as a frail woman

Jones, Anmer's jockey, and Davison herself were injured in the collision. However, while they are linked through their involvement in the incident, the text highlights this connection by contrasting the two in terms of support, physical condition and travel. More detail is offered about Jones, his doctor and his condition:

> Herbert Jones, the King's jockey, who was injured in the suffragist incident during the race on Wednesday, was yesterday considerably improved in health. He was taken to the Great Eastern Hotel from Epsom on Wednesday evening, and yesterday morning his medical attendant, Dr. P. J. Spencer,

allowed him to proceed home to Newmarket by the afternoon express from Liverpool-street Station. He was accompanied by Mr. Fenn, secretary to Mr. Marsh, the King's trainer. His face was badly bruised and his left eye was closed and discoloured. He stated, however, that he was much better and was going on as well as he could expect in the circumstances.

(OFFO-1913-JUN06-008-006)

In contrast, the information offered about Davison is sparser:

Inquiries at the Epsom and Ewell Cottage Hospital yesterday showed that Miss E. W. Davison, the suffragist who caused the accident, had rallied during the day. She had been conscious since the previous afternoon, but was still unable to speak. She was able to take some nourishment.

A detective from Scotland Yard stayed at the hospital yesterday. No further action has, however, been taken by the police authorities.

(OFFO-1913-JUN06-008-006)

Davison is identified simply as "the suffragist"; information about her organisation or whether she was acting independently or as part of group is not offered. While the paragraph about Jones embeds him in a network of supportive and personal relationships – his medical attendant, the King's trainer and the trainer's assistant – that about Davison only mentions the detective stationed at the cottage hospital by Scotland Yard. This is a different kind of relationship; the detective is not there to assist Davison but instead acts in an official capacity as one employed by the state. The reasons for his presence are unclear; he could be there to guard Davison against retributive or anti-suffrage demonstrations, he could be there in an attempt to question Davison, or there should the hospital become a focal point for further suffragette activities.

A second issue is that of movement and travel. While Davison is described as being in the Epsom and Erwell Cottage Hospital and close to the racecourse, Jones is allowed to travel by express from a busy London station to his home in

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Newmarket. These could reflect a number of issues, not least the severity of Davison's injuries. However, the contrasts offered within this text help construct Jones as resilient and tough, and Davison as more passive. Her lack of travel and movement emphasise her lack of autonomy, and the aid offered to Jones to aid him in travelling home underlines her isolation.

Davison's physical state is also contrasted with that of Jones. Davison was more seriously injured than Jones; she died of her injuries. However, in the initial reporting that I have discussed above, Jones is described as "considerably improved in health" although the text described his "badly bruised" face and closed eye. He is able to offer a statement which confirms his resilience. The paragraphs discussing Davison mirror these areas, but she is depicted as being more passive. While she is described as having rallied and conscious, she is also "unable to speak" and thus unable to offer her own statement. In *The Times* Digital Archive, *rallied* is overwhelmingly used to describe markets (13 out of 28 occurrences) and political forces or groups (12 out of 28 occurrences). In the two occurrences (excluding the report on Davison) when it is used to describe individuals, *rallied* is associated with near death. The two extracts are given below:

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1. She had remained in a very critical condition ever since, and
   at one time was actually believed to be dying. She had since
   rallied, but, in the opinion of the medical officer of the
   infirmary, it was quite impossible that she would ever be able
   t
2. first to the effect that Mr. Martin was in a serious
   condition, and then to the effect that Mr. Martin had again
   rallied. The contents bill of a Liberal evening newspaper even
   reported that Mr. Martin was dead, and that two persons had be
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As seen in these occurrences, a person can only rally if they are very seriously ill or dying. By describing Davison as having rallied, *The Times* report does not simply

make a comment about her improvement, but simultaneously stresses the seriousness

of her condition and contributing to the discourse of her vulnerability.

6.2.4 WSPU affiliation

Emily Wilding Davison had a sometimes contentious relationship with the

leadership of the WSPU. However, her death offered an opportunity for the WSPU

to publicise their campaign. Moreley and Stanley (1988: 74) summarise a biography

written by Gertrude Colmore, a writer within Emily Wilding Davison's campaigning

circle, and printed by the WSPU-affiliated Women's Press as "a celebration of her

role as a public figure – and private nuisance – within the suffragette movement".

The tension between Davison and the WSPU leadership is apparent in Colmore's

biography, but is also apparent in *The Times'* reporting of Davison's actions, death,

inquest and funeral procession.

In one of the two articles of 5 June 1913, covering the race and the immediate

aftermath of Davison's actions, Davison is described as "prominently associated with

the Suffragist movement" and her entry in the Woman's Who's Who quoted. Her

possessions are also described: "A card of the Women's Social and Political Union[20]

was found on the woman and the colours of the Union were tied around her waist".

This "evidence of her connexion with the Suffragist movement gave rise at once to

the belief that she had deliberately attempted to spoil the race". The second article

about the "Memorable Derby" states that "[t]he evidence [...] is strong that her

action was deliberate, and that it was planned and executed in the supposed interests

of the suffragist movement". The evidence is probably the same as that described in

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[20] This was possibly the helper's pass card for the WSPU Summer Festival taking place that day.
Stanley and Morley (1988: 131) note that it was marked until 2:30-10:30pm – hours after the 3pm
race in which Davison was struck by the horse.

the other article from the same day, and highlights the role of a militant history and WSPU paraphernalia in assigning an identity to an unconscious figure. Part of this was due to the presence of WSPU printed materials left at the scene of acts of arson or wrapped around stones thrown through windows; WSPU materials, therefore, were associated with WSPU-claimed militant acts. It is important to note that thus far, Davison's allegiances and motivations have been constructed out of reference material and her possessions; Davison, being unconscious, is silent, and no member of the WSPU has come forward to explain her actions, let alone claim her.

Davison is reported to have "rallied" and have been "conscious since the previous afternoon, but [...] still unable to speak" on 6 June 1913 (0FFO-1913-JUN06-008-006); a "detective from Scotland Yard" stayed at the hospital but it is not until the report of her death on 9 June 1913 that *The Times* reports on the "number of lady friends" who visited the hospital and the "two visitors [who] draped the screen round the bed with the W.S.P.U. colours and tied the W.S.P.U. badge to the head of the bed" (0FFO-1913-JUN09-008-006). *The Times* also reports that her brother, Captain Davison, "a sister [...] and a lady friend of her mother" were also present at the hospital[21] (0FFO-1913-JUN09-008-006). While part of this delay is due to weekend publishing – Davison has various visitors on the Saturday, died on Sunday afternoon and this article was published on Monday - it is only after three days that *The Times* is able to discuss Davison's visitors. *The Times* notes that the visitors decorate Davison's bed with the WSPU colours rather than interact with Davison as her sister and the woman described as her mother's friend do,. It is difficult to unpack the significance of WSPU colours without knowing more about the women who hung them – were they Davison's friends, determined to acknowledge her

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[21] Stanley and Morley (1988: 140) speculate that the friend of Davison's mother may in fact have been Davison's close female companion or even partner.

actions within their context of militant direct action? Did they wish to comfort their dying friend with the imagery of the cause to which she was so devoted? Or were they representatives from the WSPU leadership keen to stake a claim on the publicity resulting from Davison's actions?

The WSPU is not mentioned in Davison's inquest. However, her half-brother, Captain Davison, does discuss her "devotion to the women's movement" and as discussed earlier, is unable to expand on a response to a question put to him due to the question being seen as overtly political. There is also a WSPU connection through the barrister appearing for Davison's family. Thomas Lamartine Yates was a member of the Men's Union for Women's Enfranchisement, legal advisor to WSPU women and married to Rose Lamartine Yates – a member of the WSPU and close friend of Emily Wilding Davison (Stanley and Morley 1988: 105, 123; Crawford 1999: 764). It is not clear whether *The Times* reporter was aware of this connection, nor clear how Yates came to represent Davison's family – as an unofficial WSPU legal advisor did he offer his services as part of that, or was it due to his wife's friendship with Davison?

Until now, the WSPU's presence has been relatively non-committal with little sign of organised activity. There were no public vigils outside the hospital, nor demonstrations outside the courtroom. This changes with Emily Wilding Davison's funeral procession through London to the station, where her body is taken to be buried in Morpeth. The funeral procession honoured Davison – Stanley and Morley (1988: 93-94) discuss its planning by Grace Roe, a friend of Davison – but was also a display of WSPU strength and values. Crawford (1999: 752) notes that, during the period 2-30 July 1913, contributions to the WSPU amounted to £1856 – almost exactly £1000 more than that taken in the following month; she directly attributes

this to the effect of Davison's "spectacular funeral". Davison's funeral procession, therefore, was not similar a tribute to an individual but also something

The procession itself is described as an extravagant but highly disciplined spectacle. The suffrage organisations were very aware of the power of public demonstrations; this procession seems to be part of that behaviour. Members of the WSPU were involved in the procession and had been asked to wear the same colours − white and purple, the colours of the WSPU representing purity and dignity, and black, the colour of mourning rather than the more usual green, the colour of hope (Crawford 1999: 137, Tickner 1988). The women are grouped by colour, adding to the organised visual spectacle. This is enhanced by the hearse and the pall which both use black and purple and so contribute to the visual coherence of the procession. This procession is not made out of people wearing any colours and mingled together; the organisation and strict colour scheme instead create something more precise and quasi-military. A woman cross-bearer and "young girls dressed in white and carrying laurel wreaths" (0FFO-1913-JUN16-005-003) lead the procession, drawing on both Christian and Classical imagery and demonstrating the WSPU's cultural fluency and with that, prestige. The banners use the lexis of a holy war and patriotism[22], again reflecting the almost military organisation, and in doing so confer on Davison a martyr's status.

However, *The Times* notes that Davison's internment in Morpeth was strictly private, and that "suffragists walked in single file to the graveside, each with a floral tribute" only after the ceremony. There is tension, therefore, in how much Davison is allowed to be part of the WSPU publicity. In life, she was apparently too

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[22] The phrase "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" here was used before Owen's poem, which bitterly reinterprets the patriotic phrase into "that old lie" used to attract young boys to the Front during WWI. As this usage predates the poem, it is meant in its patriotic sense.

individualistic to act under their auspices and was viewed as a rallying point for other WSPU members unhappy with the Pankhursts' style of leadership and keen to take matters into their own hands – potentially threatening the WSPU leadership's command over their followers. However, in death, she is a powerful symbol of the urgent need for women's political recognition. Given the WSPU leadership's focus on a hierarchical organisation with the core leadership in firm control over their followers, Davison could not be held as a WSPU martyr without a shift in how she was perceived.

6.3 Suggestive placement

Chapter 5 demonstrates that news articles were organised as more than one text per article and that "similar" news texts were grouped within one article. The texts placed alongside news reports about Emily Wilding Davison are often about suffrage campaigners and more straightforward direct action.

6.3.1 Racing event

The first three texts about Emily Wilding Davison's actions at the Derby are suggestively placed alongside texts discussing other events at the races. Two texts are suggestively placed alongside race reports; one text, discussed in section 6.3.2, is suggestively placed alongside texts describing other things that should not have happened. While I have labelled this as the "racing discourse", it would be better to understand this as discourse of a topic and its associated register; however, as a discourse, it reveals expectations and

The first report of the Derby itself on 5 June (0FFO-1913-JUN05-008-001) includes details of the races in general – disqualification of the favourite, the objection to the

winner and details of the royal party as well as reporting Davison's actions. The grouping here appears to be that of spatial and temporal proximity; these events all happened on the same day at the same event and include a mixture of things considered unusual, such as the disqualification of Craganour, and things expected, such as a detailed report of the royal party in attendance. An update of Davison's condition is offered in the report of Oak's Day on the 7 June 1913 (OFFO-1913-JUN07-008-003). There are connections to Davison on two counts; firstly, the strong impression "Wednesday's happenings" made on the crowd and secondly, Oak's Day is described as "peculiarly dedicated" to "ladies" and the race run by fillies. The dramatic nature of Davison's actions is stressed, as is her gender. However, the main point of connection appears to be that of the racecourse and Derby races, demonstrating that suggestive placement is not necessarily ideological but can be driven by other factors.

6.3.2 Things that should not have happened at the Derby

Like the articles discussed in the previous section, this article groups texts by their connection to the Derby. In the article of 6 June 1913 (OFFO-1913-JUN06-008-006), Davison's actions are reported alongside continued discussion of Craganour's disqualification, the issues this raised for bookmakers and "a riotous scene" by a "hostile crowd" on the Downs which required 200 police to "restore order". What these events have in common is their unexpectedness and their disruption of the day's smooth operation: there should have been a clear winner; the right gambles should have paid off; the crowd was supposed to have dispersed calmly; a woman should not have been on the course during the race. One of the factors identified by Galtung and Ruge (1965: 67) is that of "the unexpected within the meaningful and

the consonant" that "what is regular and institutionalized, continuing and repetitive at regular and short intervals does not attract nearly so much attention, *ceteris paribus*, as the unexpected and *ad hoc*". While the Derby itself is newsworthy – it concerns an elite nation, elite people, can be seen in personal terms and is culturally proximate – the unexpected events of the day add another dimension to its newsworthiness.

6.3.3 Suffragists are threatening

However, the most pervasive discourses indicated by suggestive placement is that of suffrage campaigners as dangerous and potentially violent. The discourses associated with Emily Wilding Davison have stressed her dedication to the suffragist campaign and affiliation to the WSPU movement; there is a notable absence of the discourse of the dangerous, violent, destructive suffrage campaigner in the texts discussing Davison. This discourse of the dangerous suffrage campaigner is present in the suggestively placed texts, meaning that Davison's actions, death and funeral are read alongside reports of arson, disturbances, arrests and injuries.

A text reporting on Davison's critical condition on 7 June ends with the sentence "Three members of the Women's Freedom League were arrested yesterday afternoon outside St. James' Palace, where they were holding a meeting" (0FFO-1913-JUN07-008-003). The Women's Freedom League (WFL) were a militant suffrage organisation formed by members defecting from the WSPU; as Chapter 4 reveals, *The Times* conflated militant and constitutional campaigners and so unlikely to make a distinction between the activities of the WSPU and WFL members when reporting news. As this addition to the text about Davison suggests, suffrage campaigners are troublesome and demonstrate in prestigious places –particularly

places where they are not supposed to be, whether than is on the Epsom racetrack or holding meetings outside St. James' Palace.

Davison's death on 9 June is reported alongside texts discussing a fire at Hurst Park racecourse and "disturbances" in Hyde Park. Both are attributed to suffragist campaigners; the fire as part of a sustained campaign of arson (Bearman (2005) puts forward a controversial theory of the extent of "suffragette violence"[23]) and the disturbance in response to "a number of meetings, at which the colours of the W.S.P.U. were displayed" held in Hyde Park. These two texts, presented in the same article as the report on Davison's death, align the narrative more strongly to a different type of narrative; rather than being focused on the expectations of the Derby and how these are overturned, this narrative focuses on suffrage campaigners as dangerous and volatile. The Hurst Park racecourse text gives an account of the speed and power of the fire; rather than listing each structure burnt in the fire, the text lists what was not damaged – only one structure, the half-crown stand, escaped. *The Times* notes that "[i]ncendiarism by suffragists is suspected" (0FFO-1913-JUN09-008-006). The Hyde Park text allows the reader to assume that they were organised or supported by the WSPU (c.f. Bearman (2005) for his theory of travelling WSPU arsonists slightly removed from the heart of the organisation). Public meetings and speaking events were held regularly in Hyde Park – possibly too frequently to be newsworthy in themselves. Instead, the text focuses on the reaction to the meetings by a "hooting and jostling mob", a member of which attempted to throw "a large missile" at the women (0FFO-1913-JUN09-008-006). The women eventually are escorted away by the police. This is described as a "disturbance" which, as shown in the concordance line analysis in Chapter 4, was associated with

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[23] http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=207572&sectioncode=26 for details

suffragist direct action. Here the roles seem reversed – rather than the suffrage campaigners creating the disturbance, the disturbance is created by an anti-suffragist crowd from whom the suffrage campaigners have to be protected. The placement of these texts emphasises the suffrage connection and reinforces the narrative of suffrage campaigners as problematic, trouble-making and potentially dangerous, even if the connections are tenuous – as with the suspected incendiarism – or the trouble was created by the crowd of non-suffrage supporters in response to suffrage campaigners' events.

The text reporting the inquest into Davison's death on 11 June is placed in the same article as a text reporting that two women, Kitty Marion and Clara Giveen, were charged with "loitering with intent to commit a felony". Their unusual movements, refusal to explain their movements and being found fully dressed in bed, with a copy of the *Suffragette* beside Giveen, taken together with "[A] large number of fires [...] occurred in the district" (0FFO-1913-JUN11-015-002), suggests to a readership aware of the protocols of suffragette arson that the women were involved in the WSPU arson campaign. Similarly, Davison's funeral is reported in the same article as a text discussing the women suspected of setting the Hurst Park racecourse fire, a text reporting that a woman was injured in Hyde Park following a disrupted WSPU meeting, and a text describing the activities of the Research Defence Society and British Union for Abolition of Vivisection. The Hurst Park racecourse text focuses on the "adjourned hearing of the charge against KITTY MARION (35), actress, and CLARA GIVEEN (26), no occupation, of maliciously setting fire to buildings at Hurst Park Racecourse on the night of June 8" (0FFO-1913-JUN16-005-003). Part of the hearing examines their identity as suffrage campaigners: a schoolmaster and member of the fire brigade describes "finding on the window ledge

of the telegraph office at Hurst Park a copy of the Suffragette and two copies of Votes for Women". As Rosen (1974) notes, suffragette arsonists often left suffragette materials behind them. He argues this was an attempt to have their arson attempts correctly attributed to them. The evidence being offered here, as in the adjourned hearing of 11 June, relies on the reader's familiarity with suffragette direct action and their habits to link the evidence offered about Marion and Giveen to the Hurst Park fire. The third text in the article reports on two events – a woman injured in Hyde Park when a crowd attempted to "hustle" members on the WSPU out of the park during a meeting (lines 86-93). The scene is described as "disorderly", which, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, is statistically associated with *suffragist** and so readers would expect the disorder to be caused by the suffrage campaigners. Instead, as with the report on 9 June on Hyde Park, the disorder was instigated by the crowd and it was the women had to be protected by the police. This text is followed by a short text without a headline reporting a bomb "found inside one of the leather-covered seats in the ladies' waiting-room at Eden-park Railway Station, near Beckenham". The only apparent connection to suffrage direct action is the location of the bomb – the ladies' waiting-room. The text discussing "the Vivisection Question" appears incongruous. However, the text discusses donations, a public dinner and two campaigning organisations – the Research Defence Society, a pro-vivisection society, and the British Union for Abolition of Vivisection, an anti-vivisection society. These methods of fundraising and the existence of pro- and anti-campaigning organisations bear similarities to the suffrage campaigns. In addition, the founder of the British Union for Abolition of Vivisection, Frances Power Cobbe, had been involved in the suffrage campaign since the early 1860s (Crawford 1999: 132). This text, therefore, positions the suffrage campaign within a context of other

social campaigns, rather genteel fundraising and possible links between the different campaigns through shared interests of those involved in the campaigns.

Examining suggestive placement provides evidence of a master narrative of suffrage destruction and disruption. In the texts focusing on her, Emily Wilding Davison is a more nuanced figure – the narrative focuses on her dedication to the suffrage cause and her commitment to the WSPU. While it sometimes presents her as frail and mentally ill, it also quotes her brother's assessment of her character and intellect. Her funeral procession is reported in detail, including the banners with their themes of martyrdom. However, alongside these texts about Emily Wilding Davison, *The Times* reports one act of major incendiarism, two charges of loitering, three arrests of suffrage campaigners, two meetings broken up by an aggressive crowd and one woman injured while escaping a hostile crowd. These offer a context to Davison's actions, a constant reminder that, while she was the only one involved in the Derby who died as a result of her actions, she was part of a movement that burned down property, whose members were frequently arrested – as had Davison herself – and who caused disruptive public events in parks. This contextualising information means that the readers of *The Times* are aware that Davison is dangerous, despite any attempts by her brother, Yates and the WSPU to reposition her actions within a narrative of honour, justice and martyrdom.

6.4 Davison the social actor

As demonstrated in Chapter 4, the term *suffragist* was associated with militant direct action, and therefore it is not too surprising that it occurs relatively frequently in the Emily Wilding Davison articles. *Suffragist* is the 78[th] most frequent lexeme, with a raw frequency of 39, and occurrs in 93.8% of the texts (15 out of 16 texts examined);

suffrage is less frequent – the 529[th] most frequent lexeme with a raw frequency of eight and appearing in six texts (37.5%) and *suffragists* is less frequent still – the 1439[th] most frequent lexeme with a raw frequency of three and appearing in two texts (12.5%). This tells us that *suffragist* is most frequently used, either as an adjective or as a singular noun. Data from clusters clearly show that *suffragist* was used as an adjective – *the suffragist outrage at Epsom* (3 occurrences) and *the suffragist conspiracy charges* (2 occurrences) – which account for some but not all of these occurrences. *Suffragist*, therefore, could describe both the act and the person carrying out that act; it was one of the ways in which a suffrage campaigner could be described in the text and one of the social roles they could adopt. The frequency of *suffragist* suggests that Davison might be represented most frequently as a suffragist social actor; however, as I demonstrate, Davison was represented not only as a suffragist but also as a woman and as a named individual.

As the previous section demonstrates, different discourses were used and dropped at different points in the narrative of Emily Wilding Davison's actions and their aftermath. While some, such as her commitment to the suffrage movement, were consistent throughout the narrative – Davison is not presented as fickle or half-hearted about women's suffrage – others, particularly the discourse questioning her mental health, were less consistent. In the case of discourse of mentally instability, *The Times* speculates that Davison was "not altogether sane" in reports of her actions and in the immediate aftermath; this speculation appears to end with her half-brother's assessment of her as "a woman of very strong reasoning faculties" at the inquest into her death, but is resurrected with Hewitt's apparently copycat actions later in the same month.

As a social actor, Davison is again presented in ways that shift as the narrative develops. Van Leeuwen's (2009) taxonomy of social actors is described by Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh (2010: 71) as "the only truly comprehensive framework in CDA studies that lend itself very nicely to the analysis of discourse when representation of actors are looked at from a social standpoint". Van Leeuwen's taxonomy of social actors emphasises the social relationships that exist for an actor and attempts to identify the ways in which social actors are constructed, positioned and understood within a network of personal, familial, social, professional and legal identities.

Emily Wilding Davison is described using her name (nomination), a gender description of *a woman* or *the woman* (identification – classification) and *a suffragist* or *the suffragist* (association and/or categorisation). Each of these emphasises a different aspect of Davison. In Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh's (2010: 73) hierarchy of van Leeuwen's classes nomination and classification are both types of determination (undefined by Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh (2010) or in van Leeuwen's 2009 taxonomy); determination is a type of personalisation, defined by van Leeuwen (2009: 285) as "representing [social actors] as human beings" as opposed to "represented by abstract nouns, or concrete nouns whose meaning does not include the semantic feature "human".

Nomination occurs when a social actor is "represented in terms of their unique identity" (van Leeuwen 2009: 284); this is simply "Emily Wilding Davison" or "Davison".

Identification "occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what society (or some sector of society) believes them to be, unavoidably and more or less permanently" (van Leeuwen 2009: 284). Within this

category, van Leeuwen identifies three types, one of which is **classification**. He defines this type as when "social actors are represented in terms of the major identity categories of a given society or institution [...] Each is realized by a closed set of nouns which form rigid, bony-structured categories in which all people must fit, even if in reality many people do not, or not easily" (van Leeuwen 2009: 284). He offers the examples of age, gender, class, wealth, race, religion and sexual orientation as examples of such identity categories. Davison's most salient classification is her gender.

Association is defined by van Leeuwen (2009: 283) as "groups formed for the purpose of engaging in a common activity or pursuing a common interest" while **categorization** is grouped with nomination and defined as the representation of social actors "in terms of identities and functions they share with others" (van Leeuwen 2009: 284). When it is used to describe a person rather than an act, *suffragist* falls into this category. *Suffragist* can be used to both describe Emily Wilding Davison's engagement with a common purpose (that of challenging the political and social hierarchy in order to gain votes for women) and to express her shared identity with other suffrage campaigners. For the purposes of this analysis, I will describe this category as association and so focus on Emily Wilding Davison's shared purpose with other campaigners rather than focusing on shared identities; as I discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4, *suffragist* was a contested term in the movement and not all suffrage campaigners described themselves as such.

Table 6.3 summarises Davison's representation as a social actor in the different stages of the narrative. She is most frequently represented in terms of her gender in the texts published immediately after her actions. This representation shifts towards identifying her in terms of nomination at her inquest and when

reporting Hewitt's actions. Representation in terms of association – as a *suffragist* –

is found less frequently (peaking at five occurrences compared to 12 (nomination) or

19 (classification)) but is relatively consistent and found in five out of the six stages

in the narrative.

Table 6.3: Davison's role as a social actor by stage in the narrative

	Action	Aftermath	Death	Inquest	Funeral	Hewitt
Nomination	5	3	5	12	2	9
Classification	19	-	-	1	-	3
Association	5	4	2	2	2	-

As these counts reveal, Davison was most frequently described in terms of

classification in reports of her actions or those of Hewitt. This serves three purposes:

in initial reports of her actions at the Derby, it avoids extensive speculation of her

suffrage links when these had yet to be established. However, in reports of Hewitt's

actions, it refocuses the report on something Hewitt and Davison share – they can

both be defined in terms of their gender – rather than the different motivations for

their actions. There was a political dimension to Davison's act; while Hewitt uses

the imagery of the suffrage movement, he did not appear to have a history of

involvement with the suffrage campaign. *The Times* observes on 20 June 1913 that

"on first sight it seemed clear that, like Miss DAVISON, he had committed his

insane action from some crazy notion that it would assist the suffragist cause"

(0FFO-1913-JUN20-009-003); however, the same text notes that "there is not yet

any evidence of his having been connected with the suffragist agitation in the past"

and concludes that he may have been affected by "religious mania". A third reason

is found in the adjectives used to modify *woman* in one of the two texts reporting

Hewitt's actions on 20 June (0FFO-1913-JUN20-009-003). Describing Davison as

"[t]he unhappy woman" and "the wretched woman" depoliticises her actions by stressing a conjectured mental state – as discussed in section 6.5.2, her brother had already submitted evidence at the inquiry into her death that Davison was not "abnormal mentally". With Davison as a depoliticised social actor, *The Times* is able to draw comparisons between her "wretched", "unhappy" actions and those of Hewitt, who, in the diary entries *The Times* quotes in the second article of 20 June, "speaks of "giving his body to fight against society convention" and [...] seems to indicate that he had formed the intention of committing suicide" (0FFO-1913-JUN20-009-005).

In contrast, while nomination is the only kind of social actor identification used in all diachronic stages of the news narrative and does appear in reports of Davison and Hewitt's actions, its usage peaks during the inquest into Davison's death held on the 11 June 1913. The inquest is a significant point in the news narrative; as seen in the detailed exploration of discourses of Emily Wilding Davison, the inquest focuses on Davison as an individual and embeds her into a family context. Her identity as a suffrage campaigner or as a woman becomes less relevant; the witness offering insight into her character and quoted in *The Times* is her half-brother rather than one of her campaigning colleagues. His testimony reveals that she was "passionately devoted to the women's movement" and that her intentions may have been to "[call] attention to the suffrage movement" but does not label her as a suffragist or suffragette. As such, Davison's identity as an individual is stressed rather than her identity as part of a group. Nomination is again used in the articles discussing Hewitt's actions. As discussed previously, these articles construct Davison as depoliticised and focus on a conjectured mental state of unhappiness and wretchedness. In these articles, use of Davison's name again stresses her

individuality but so as to make her actions an aberration, the actions of a mentally ill individual rather than as part of a widely known political protest.

Davison is identified through association comparatively infrequently but relatively consistently; the only stage in the new narrative where she is not identified in terms of her suffrage links is when reporting Hewitt's actions. Hewitt's actions are reported extensively and this is partly due to Davison; as Galtung and Ruge (1965) observe, once a news event has been defined as newsworthy, it is more likely to continue to have a presence in news reporting. Hewitt's actions are so similar to Davison's that he is described as an "imitator" (0FFO-1913-JUN20-009-003) in one article on 20 June 1913, and therefore the reporting of her actions in *The Times* made it more likely that his would also be reported. As discussed, the reporting of Hewitt's actions makes links between Hewitt and Davison on the basis of (conjectured) shared mental instability; describing Davison in terms of her political beliefs and associations undermines that link and, therefore, the strength of the comparison of Hewitt to Davison.

Davison is least present as a social actor in the report of her funeral. She is described in the headline as "Miss Davison" and in the first sentence as "Miss Emily Wilding Davison, the suffragist who died from injuries received in an attempt to interfere with the Derby" (0FFO-1913-JUN16-005-003). Instead, throughout the text, she is referred to as "the body" and in terms of metonymy – "the coffin" and "the hearse" Davison as an individual is less important than what she can be used to represent; instead of Davison having a presence as a social actor through nomination, classification or association, she is instead emphasised as a non-living object, at the heart of the procession but unable to fully take part. The text focuses on the route of the procession, the re-arrest of Emmeline Pankhurst and the striking imagery and

organisation of the procession. As Tusan (1987: 140) observes, this procession "converted irritation into awed respect, and secured for the WSPU its unlooked-for martyr-saint". This is also reflected in the discourses present; as Table 6.1 summarises, Davison's commitment to the suffrage cause and her links with the WSPU are stressed, but discourses that highlight her vulnerability or question her suitability as a martyr are not present

6.5 Where do these shifts in Davison's media representation happen?

These two frameworks – the named discourses in section 6.5 and 6.6 and van Leeuwen's identification of social actors in section 6.7 – offer different insights into *The Times'* representation of Emily Wilding Davison and are particularly useful when examining the diachronic development of a news story. As the analyses demonstrate, her representation was not consistent. Instead, different named discourses were present at different stages of the narrative; likewise, Davison's presence as a social actor in the news texts changes diachronically. Table 6.1 summarises the named discourses in Emily Wilding Davison reporting, Table 6.2 does so for suggestively placed named discourses and Table 6.3 summarises Davison's role as a social actor by stage in the narrative. These approaches demonstrate that there were three main points in the development of the representation of Emily Wilding Davison.

The first point is the initial reports of her actions. In terms of named discourses, this is the only point in the narrative where all four Emily Wilding Davison named discourses are present – commitment, frail woman, mental illness and WSPU affiliation – and the only point in the narrative where the named discourses of "races" and "things that shouldn't have happened" are present. This is

also the point in the narrative where Emily Wilding Davison is most present in terms of her classification of gender. Here, Davison's actions are presented within the context of the race rather than in terms of suffrage direct action. Her actions are something that disrupts the race, as indicated by the suggestively placed texts that appear alongside this text in the article. Although Davison is sometimes identified through association as a "suffragist", the focus is on her classification as a woman rather than her association with the movement. Her actions appear that of an individual – one connected to the suffrage movement but without precedent (and without that, the apparent sanction of WSPU leadership).

The second point is at the inquest into her death. At this point, the two discourses stressed are her commitment to the women's cause and the suggestively placed discourse of the danger posed by suffrage campaigners; the discourse of mental illness is present because it is strongly denied. This marks one of the most obvious points in the news narrative where the master narrative and counter narrative clash. In particular, Davison's brother stresses discourses that counter the master narrative of suffragist campaigners as threat by focusing on the individual – as noted earlier, the master narrative is said to be hegemonic while counter narratives operate on the level of the individual. In terms of social actor representation, Davison is represented in terms of nomination – her name. The inquest marks a point where there is tension between Davison's individual characteristics and the context of suffrage direct action. In terms of discourses, Davison's individuality through her background and specific engagement with the suffrage movement is underscored, and the suggestively placed texts remind the reader of the wider context of her actions; that of suffrage direct action and, in particular, arson. Nomination is used 12 times in this article; classification is used once and association twice. Such

extensive use of Davison's name highlights this individuality. Davison is, for the most part, not positioned as a suffragist and this is all the more significant when the hearing of Giveen and Marion includes speculation, through the presence of the *Suffragette*, of their suffrage association.

The third point is at the reported actions of Hewitt. This stage in the narrative sees a resurgence of the discourse of mental illness without the other Emily Wilding Davison discourses or the other suggestively placed discourses. This stage in the news story sees use of Davison represented in terms of nomination. As discussed in section 6.7, this focus depoliticises Davison and instead draws on perceived similarities between Davison and Hewitt; it is only able to do that if the "suffrage" element of Davison's presence as a social actor is ignored. The mental illness discourse is used for similar reasons; Hewitt's motivations were, at this stage, unknown and as *The Times* acknowledged, "there is not as yet any evidence of his having been connected with the suffragist agitation in the past (lines 8-10, 0FFO-1913-JUN20-009-003). As such, named discourses focussing on commitment to the women's suffrage movement and association with the WSPU could not be present; if they were included, they would emphasise the political dimensions of Davison's actions and so foreground the differences between Davison and Hewitt's actions. This has implications for newsworthiness; as Galtung and Ruge (1965) argue, apparent continuity reinforces the newsworthiness of events. By reducing the similarities between the acts, it would disrupt the apparent links between the two events and make it harder to view Hewitt's actions as continuous.

This section demonstrates that, while the frameworks I employ are very different, they draw attention to similar stages in the news narrative. The social actor taxonomy places representations of people foremost while named discourses and

master and counter narratives prioritise repeated ideas and worldviews. However, these frameworks align. The stages at which Davison is most strongly represented as a certain type of social actor are also stages where the master and counter narratives are in tension or where the most named discourses appear; as this section reveals, the different discourses and different types of social actor present in these stages work in combination to create a media representation of Emily Wilding Davison.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates how suggestively placed texts within an article can offer an insight into different narratives. Through examining the reporting of Emily Wilding Davison's death as a detailed case study, I am able to identify a set of discourses – those of her dedication to the suffrage cause, claims of mental illness, her frailty as a woman and her connections to the WSPU. Emily Wilding Davison acted as a focus for discourses of suffrage campaigners, which in turn reflect their complex gendered political and social context; the discourses identified place Emily Wilding Davison – and, through her, the suffrage campaign – as a figure of different kinds of contested gendered identity, particularly gendered representations of madness. These discourses are not in constant use throughout the diachronic news narrative but instead become more or less prominent at different times, and as I demonstrate, *The Times'* reporting emphasises different discourses to construct Emily Wilding Davison as a particular type of campaigner or to make links between her news events and other news events. This is most clearly seen when examining the discourse of mental health; this is stressed (and other discourses focusing on her suffrage campaigning not used) when reporting the actions of Hewitt in order to emphasise a reported similarity between them and background the potential for

Davison's act to be politically motivated. This emphasis is also seen in the analysis of Davison as a social actor; as I show in my analysis, Davison is described through a gendered classification in the reporting of Hewitt's actions. This serves to locate a common factor in the two news actors (they both can be gendered) and so shifts the focus away from Davison's identity as a suffrage campaigner.

This chapter also demonstrates how suggestively placed texts reveal master and counter narratives. As I showed in Chapter 5, news articles in *The Times* in this time period could be arranged as multiple texts in one article. In Chapter 5, I examined what texts appeared alongside suffrage texts and how this juxtaposition of texts created meaning for a reader. In this chapter, I show that suggestively placed texts can maintain a master narrative should one of the texts in an article challenge or counter the dominant master narrative. This is seen clearly in the Emily Wilding Davison texts; while Davison is represented consistently in terms of her dedication to the suffrage campaign and a counter narrative focusing on her intellect and commitment emerges, the texts these reports are placed alongside reinforce the master narrative that suffragists are threatening and dangerous.

7 *Maenads, hysterical young girls, miserable women and dupes of the suffrage leaders*: the suffrage movement in Letters to the Editor

Introduction

In this chapter I explore consistency in the Letters to the Editor corpus. In Chapter 4 I examined strongly associated collocates, and devised a set of categories to account for most of the content terms. This led me to focus on terms describing direct action and show how the use of these terms changed over time, primarily in the choice of term. In this chapter I use strongly associated collocates in the Letters to the Editor corpus, but rather than try to apply the categories identified in Chapter 4, I focus on consistent strongly associated collocates in this corpus. Consistency is interesting for two reasons: firstly, consistency is a different dimension of difference; rather than focusing on changing terms, it focuses on changes within terms that themselves are consistent. This offers a different insight into the corpus and one that reveals more subtle differences in the discourse. Secondly, consistent collocates offer a temporal dimension to representation; they show what were consistent areas of concern within the letters to the editor – issues that were both recurring and sustained. McEnery (2006, 2009) and Bachmann (2011) apply this concept to key keywords, focusing on keywords which are "key in all, or the majority, of subsections of a corpus" (McEnery 2006: 20) in order to identify transient and permanent keywords (McEnery 2009: 99). Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) use consistent collocates, which they term c-collocates, in their research on discourses of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants in the UK press. They argue that c-collocates indicate "consistent and, arguably, core aspects of the linguistic means

used to construct the representation of RASIM in the corpus" and that the "examination of what has remained constant over time is also a valid and helpful component of the diachronic element of a study". Both of these concepts are useful for examining the suffrage representation in the Letters to the Editor corpus; the LttE corpus is diachronic, collecting letters published between 1908 and 1914, and therefore can show changes over time. Examining consistency reveals some of these core aspects of the representation of the suffrage movement in these letters; as I explain in the next section, letters to the editor are important because they reveal something of the public response to the suffrage movement. Instead of examining the lexical choices made by *The Times* newspaper itself when reporting, this chapter explores the lexical choices made by both suffrage and anti-suffrage campaigners.

I start by explaining why letters to the editor are interesting in section 7.1. I outline different kinds of letters and discuss the significance of letters to the editor in terms of their function. While letters to the editor reveal something of the general public's response to the suffrage campaign, I argue that letters to the editor were used by pro- and anti-suffrage campaigners as a campaigning tool. In section 7.2 I describe the Letters to the Editor (LttE) subcorpus. I then compare terms that emerge as consistent strongly associated collocates in both the Suffrage and LttE corpora (section 7.4), terms that are consistent strongly associated collocates in only the Letters to the Editor corpus (section 7.5.1), and terms that emerge as consistent strongly associated collocates in only the Suffrage corpus (section 7.2.1). Comparing these terms enables me to explore not only how terms that appear in only one of the corpora are used and why that is the case – the example of *suffrag* party* – but also allows me to examine how terms present in both corpora are used different in each,

as with *suffrag* leaders* and *suffrag* prisoners*. As I demonstrate, there are significant differences in how terms are used in these corpora.

7.1 Why are letters to the editor interesting?

Letters to the editor reflect a different part of newspaper discourse. While selected for publication and collated into articles by newspaper employees, the texts themselves are assumed to have not been written in-house. Instead it is assumed that they were sent in by readers; the presentations of the letters support such an interpretation by offering names (or pseudonyms) and details of the location of the writer.

Letter writers had a variety of motivations for writing them – suffrage supporters keen to represent themselves and correct information given about them, anti-suffragists eager to espouse their views, members of organisations clarifying their positions (including, for example, a member of a trade organisation stating their banner was used without permission in the suffrage demonstration), people who felt they, as educated members of society, ought to have an opinion on the suffrage movement, and, of course, those who simply felt compelled to share their views with the world. However, letters were not just written to the editor, published and forgotten about; rather, letter writers responded to both articles and other letters published. These letters, responses, and responses to the responses mean that letter writers engaged with each other and for a variety of reasons – for correction, persuasion and disagreement. Far from being seldom read or ignored, the Letters to the Editor section of the newspaper was a public forum for exchange of views where readers could issue widely-read responses to news events, reports in the paper and to each other. Pederson (2002: 659) argues that these properties means that "letters to

the editor offer a unique source, allowing understanding of grass-roots opinion" in the provincial Scottish newspaper she examined.

Letters to the editor, therefore, differed from news articles in terms of their function. However, they also differed in terms of their form. They were laid out as a letter – however, unlike a letter to a friend or personal response, the writer is not writing solely for the named recipient. As such, letters to the editor can be interpreted within a framework of media audiences such as that offered by Fairclough (2000) and O'Keeffe (2006). O'Keeffe (2006: 14), in her examination of spoken media discourse, argues for "an alternative model [...] sensitive to the interactive complexity of a media interaction" and that "seeing media interactions as akin to overheard conversations does not fully describe the situation either since media audiences, unlike overhearing audiences, are ratified by the other participants in the interaction and their talk takes cognisance of this audience". Like the spoken media interviews analysed by O'Keeffe, letters to the editor have some elements of personal communication (a conversation, a letter) in a public discourse setting. The audience, however, is not restricted to the named recipient – in this case, the editor. Others who observe the interaction are not merely accidental overhearers whose presence is, at best, unintentional; their presence is essential for this type of media discourse to exist. Without this audience, the interaction would be simply personal communication.

The editor has different roles within the letters. They are sometimes directly addressed with a comment, a clarification or a complaint. However, the editor is sometimes in a position of mediating communication – a letter writer might respond to a previous letter published in the paper, but rather than address that writer directly (Dear Miss Smith, with regard to your letter of April 9th...), they go through the

editor (To the Editor of *The Times*, with regard to Miss Smith's letter of April 9th...).

There are three main types of letter in the Letters to the Editor corpus:

1. Basic letters (responding to events etc)

2. Response to an article ("To the Editor of *The Times*, I am writing with regard to your article published last Monday")

3. Response to another letter ("To the Editor of *The Times*, I am writing with regard to the letter by Miss Smith appearing last Monday")

The first type of letter initiates a discussion. Sometimes this is responded to and sometimes it is not. Because of the public nature of the Letters to the Editor page and the timespan involved in producing the paper, discussions can involve multiple participants and take place over several days or even weeks.

The second type of letter takes part in a dialogue, but instead of initiating a discussion it responds to something already published within *The Times* and in doing so, positions the newspaper article as something that can be responded to and which does not exist in isolation. Rather than simply being passively consumed by its audience, these letters to the editor demonstrate that readers of *The Times* engaged with the articles contained within the paper and could express their agreement or disagreement in a public forum that was read by other people who had access to the same material that provoked the response. Newspaper reports did not stand alone but could be critiqued, corrected, praised or condemned within the same paper in which they were originally published.

Like the second type of letter, the third type of letter to the editor is a response; however, instead of responding to a newspaper report, it responds to another letter published in the Letters to the Editor section of the paper. Again, these letters

emphasise the dialogue that took place within this section of the newspaper. Readers did not only respond to events or newspaper reports but could also respond to each other. The resultant discussions could involve multiple participants and continue over days or even weeks. Participants could also explore tangents and move the discussion away from the original topic – for example, the discussion about origins of the suffrage movement in 1908.

As demonstrated in Chapter 5, newspaper layouts suggestively placed texts within the same article, and letters were not exempt to this. While letters were usually placed with other letters, these letter texts were not necessarily separated by stance; letters either sympathetic or hostile towards the suffrage movement could be published in the same article. Letters sometimes appeared alongside notices or short texts – for example, 0FFO-1913-JUN27-068-007, in June 1913, includes letters and short reports of events run by the Oxfordshire Union and the Royal Society in the same article. However, the placement of letters and news report texts in the same article seems relatively rare.

Letters to the Editor, therefore, occupy an interesting place in the corpus. While printed in *The Times*, they were not produced by the newspaper reporters or staff themselves. Instead, letters to the editor allowed members of the public to represent themselves and have their own voice in the newspaper, albeit restricted to the format and physical space given to letters to the editor. Significantly, suffrage supporters (and, indeed, anti-suffragists) from a variety of backgrounds and holding a variety of political and social beliefs could write; while the leaders of the WSPU and NUWSS occasionally wrote a leader in *The Times*, often a report on an event planned by the organisation they led, Letters to the Editor allowed suffrage supporters who were unaffiliated with an organisation, ambivalent about

organisations' tactics, on the fringes of organisations or simply not prominent figures within the suffrage organisations to express their views and in doing so, represent themselves.

As Tusan (2005: 146) describes, suffrage organisations had their own papers which "emerged as its own genre of advocacy newspaper, dedicated to serving the needs of a new radicalized women's political culture that needed its own voice". *The Times* was part of the mainstream press whose "[i]naccurate and inconsistent reporting coupled with negative reporting of events led suffrage organization to believe that they each required their own separate national medium to cover the progress of these growing societies" (Tusan 2005: 146); a similar view, that *Votes for Women* "was presenting not propaganda, but the truth about the militant campaign, and that it was the mainstream press which was expressing a biased opinion in need of correction" is argued by Mercer (2004: 473). It appears that, while suffrage campaigners wrote some Letters to the Editor, the proliferation of suffragist-produced texts such as newspapers (e.g. *Votes for Women, Common Cause*, the *Suffragette, The Freewoman*) meant that suffrage campaigners were not dependent on *The Times* to facilitate self-organisation or communicate to their supporters. They had other printed media options for this which not only had more supportive editorial guidelines, but were actually embedded in the movement. However, suffrage campaigners did not totally reject *The Times* as their letters to the editor demonstrate. Instead, I would argue that these letters to the editor written by suffrage campaigners to *The Times* had a different role; instead of using *The Times* to organise their supporters, suffrage campaigners used letters to the editor as a way of communicating with the public, publically disseminating accurate information about the campaigning and countering information found in *The Times* news reports. The

letters to the editor published in *The Times* could be expected to be read by suffrage supporters, anti-suffragists and those ambivalent about the suffrage movement. Suffrage supporters writing to the editor of *The Times* were writing for a different audience with differing levels of knowledge about and support for the suffrage movement. They could not presume that readers of the Letters to the Editor were well-informed about the campaign. As Chapter 4 demonstrates, *The Times* reported direct action heavily as a suffragist campaign and in doing so, conflated different suffrage factions and failed to convey the diversity within the movement. As Chapter 5 explains, suggestive placements meant that readers could be guided into making associations between the suffrage movement and events tenuously or not connected with them through the placement of different texts presented within the same article. These chapters illustrate some of the systematic ways of reporting and presenting news that both contributed to the suffrage campaigners' perception of the mainstream presses' as "[i]naccurate and inconsistent reporting" (Tusan 2005: 146) and suggest that readers informed solely by *The Times* encountered a different representation of the suffrage movement to that in suffragist-produced texts.

Suffrage supporters writing to the editor of *The Times* were not writing to a sympathetic audience; instead, their letters to the editor were in themselves a form of campaigning and advocacy, representing the movement in their own words and attempting to engage an audience ill- or misinformed by the mainstream press. What the suffrage supporters responded to is also revealing, as is who responds. The detailed analysis of articles from June 1908 and June 1913 shows that leading figures in the suffrage movement were the authors of more letters in June 1908 than in June 1913, despite highly newsworthy events in June 1913 on which they might be expected to comment. This could be for a number of reasons – the relocation of key

members of the WSPU leadership to France, the decision to focus their energies on other forms of campaigning or simply activist burnout. While this thesis focuses on the years between 1908 and 1914, it is important to acknowledge the longer history of the movement and, therefore, the potential for repetitive and cyclical discussions. Holton argues that the suffrage movement emerged in the mid-nineteenth century and that there were women who campaigned for women's suffrage for almost the entire duration of the movement. She (1996: 21) discusses the life of Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy in depth, tracing her campaigning life from its beginnings in the 1860s to her last years of active campaigning alongside Emmeline Pankhurst in the WSPU. While some arguments against the suffrage movement may have changed; others were stubbornly persistent.

The issues discussed in the letters also demonstrate a shift. In June 1908 the letters are written by those who claim involvement in the suffrage campaign[24]; the letters themselves debate suffrage policy, the role and usefulness of different forms of campaigning, the success of recent demonstrations and the status of imprisoned suffrage campaigners. In contrast to this, the letters of June 1913 are written by those who appear more distanced from the movement; there is the impression that the debates taking place within these letters will not influence suffrage organisations' policy. These writers attempt to distance themselves from some aspects the suffrage movement; for example in OFFO-1913-JUN30-010-007, the letter writer states that "[t]he end – the suffrage for women – is most desirable, and will be attained in time, but the means adopted by the militants are most reprehensible, and have put back the cause for many years".

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[24] See Appendix 7 for a detailed breakdown of articles, including summaries of the Letters to the Editor

What the suffrage campaigners responded to reveals something of what they considered important – misapprehensions they felt it important to publically correct, debates they felt it important to publically engage in. In doing so, they were also able to provide a voice that ran counter to how they, as suffrage campaigners, were represented in the rest of *The Times*; that not only contested the reporting in *The Times*, but which provided an alternative focus. For these reasons, I analyse the Letters to the Editor as their own subcorpus.

7.2 The Letters to the Editor (LttE) corpus

As described in Chapter 3, the Letters to the Editor (LttE) corpus is a subcorpus of the main Suffrage corpus, extracted by identifying texts in the Suffrage corpus that were tagged <ct>Letters to the Editor</ct> tag. As explained in Chapter 3, these texts were manually identified and tagged, thus reducing the likelihood of misidentification due to OCR errors. Like the Suffrage corpus, this corpus spans the years from 1908 to 1914. There are an average of 85 texts per year and a total of 395,597 tokens (running words). Table 3.2 in Chapter 3 summarises the number of texts in the LttE (and Suffrage) corpora.

All of the texts comprising the LttE corpus also appear in the Suffrage corpus. This focuses the LttE corpus on texts containing the terms found with *suffrag**, and in doing so, removes one of the variables for comparison between the LttE and Suffrage corpora. In comparing them I am focusing on the differences between articles discussing the suffrage movement and letters to the paper discussing the suffrage movement, rather than comparing articles about the suffrage movement with general Letters to the Editor. By doing this, I focus on differences between articles and letters rather than on differences that can be accounted for by different

topics. There were differences in the collocations of *suffragist*, *suffragists*, *suffragette* and *suffragettes* in the two corpora; as will become apparent when examining the strongly associated collocates, there was limited overlap between strongly associated collocates found in the Suffrage corpus and strongly associated collocates found in the LttE corpus.

7.3 Consistent strongly associated collocates

As discussed in Chapter 3, mutual information is useful because it identifies statistically associated items. It is a measure of collocation strength and the higher the MI score, the stronger the link between the two items (McEnery, Xiao and Tono 2006: 56). It measures how "likely it is that the two items co-occur by chance" (McEnery, Xiao and Tono 2006: 56). A MI score of 3 or above is considered necessary for a collocation to be deemed significant – the two words are not simply co-occurring by chance but are instead statistically more likely to co-occur. As discussed in Chapter 3, mutual information is not the most statistically robust way of calculating relationships between words and is used as a more indicative method; however, for the purposes of this research, strongly associated collocates are identified to filter out some of the completely non-associated terms and give a set of strongly associated collocates that can be analysed in more detail through other corpus linguistic methods (such as collocational analysis) or critical discourse analysis.

The number of strongly associated collocates in both the Suffrage and the LttE corpora fell in a similar range: 22 – 199 terms in the Suffrage corpus and 26 – 169 terms in the LttE corpus. However, as Table 7.1 shows, the number of strongly associated collocates in each year shows different patterns in the Suffrage and LttE

corpora with peaks and troughs in different years. These figures indicate that the number of strongly associated collocates peaked earlier in the Suffrage corpus than in the LttE corpus. More terms mean that more terms met the criteria for statistical association; this means that they were more likely to be used with *suffragist*, *suffragists*, *suffragette* and *suffragette*.

Table 7.1: Number of strongly associated collocates of *suffrag** terms

Year	No. sig collocates in Suffrage corpus	No. sig collocates in LttE corpus	No. shared items	% shared collocates
1908	77	199	16	
1909	65	30	8	
1910	48	157	19	
1911	26	95	5	
1912	115	67	16	
1913	169	35	16	
1914	70	22	5	

While the highest number of strongly associated collocates of *suffrag** terms in the Suffrage corpus was found in 1912 and 1913 – towards the height of the suffrage movement's direct action – the highest number of strongly associated collocates of *suffrag** terms in the LttE corpus is found in 1908 and 1910. As discussed in Chapter 3, 1908 was the year before the direct action campaign began in earnest while 1910 was the year immediately after it began. These figures, therefore, are not surprising. News values (discussed in Chapter 2 and used in Chapters 5 and 6) meant that reporting would focus on expensive and dramatic direct action acts, such as arson, and my analysis of direct actions terms shows high frequencies of strongly associated collocates in both of these years. What this indicates is that these terms were used often enough to establish a link between the strongly associated collocate

and the *suffrag** term; in the case of the high frequency of strongly associated collocates in the Suffrage corpus in 1912 and 1913, it means that the suffrage movement was written about sufficiently often and at length to have enough text to obtain so many strongly associated collocates, that terms were repeated and implies that these repeated collocates formed an expected language with which to discuss the suffrage movement.

In contrast, letters to the editor were a forum for public debate – debate that seems to be focused in the year before and the year after 1909, the year in which the direct action campaign began. This suggests that the suffrage movement was again discussed extensively enough to derive these terms through MI. These are not the years with the highest frequency of texts but in a paper like *The Times* the wordcount for letters could vary; it is possible that the letter wordcount was higher in 1908 and 1910 than in 1912 i.e. fewer texts but with a higher wordcount in these texts. Comparatively few of these strongly associated collocates appear in both the Suffrage and the LttE corpora, as Table 7.2 shows. While the number of strongly associated collocates fall into roughly similar ranges for both the Suffrage corpus and the LttE corpus (a low of 26 and high of 169 in the Suffrage corpus; a low of 30 and high of 199 in the LttE corpus), the overlap between terms is comparatively low; the highest number of overlapping terms is 35, found in 1913. This indicates that the same terms are not being used with the same degree of frequency in the two corpora – not that the same terms are not used at all, but that they are used sufficiently infrequently in one of the corpora that they are not associated with *suffragist*, *suffragists*, *suffragette* or *suffragette*.

In Chapter 4, strongly associated collocates led to the development of categories, some based on themes discussed in the historiography and others driven

by the data. The terms largely broke down into the following: terms reflecting the distinctions between constitutionalists and militants, terms relating to geography and places, terms relating to gender, terms relating to direct action, terms relating to legal and penal issues, proper names, terms relating to the organisation of groups, terms relating to politics and terms relating to those opposing the suffrage campaign. The full tables of categorised strongly associated collocates can be found in Appendix 4 and are summarised in Table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2: Diachronic frequency of categories in the LttE corpus

	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	Total
Constitutional vs. militant	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	**3**
Geography	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	**3**
Gender	6	1	5	6	0	1	1	**20**
Direct action	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**1**
Legal & prison	6	1	3	0	1	2	1	**14**
Organisations	7	0	5	0	2	1	1	**16**
Political	7	0	6	4	0	0	1	**18**
Opposition	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	**4**
Proper names	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	**4**
Total	**30**	**2**	**25**	**10**	**5**	**5**	**6**	

As Table 7.2 shows, when compared to Table 4.2 in Chapter 4, there are differences in the frequencies of some categories. Most strikingly, direct action only appears once: *suffragist crime* in 1914. This is in contrast to direct action in the Suffrage corpus – a total of 52 terms categorised as direct action appear between 1908 and 1914, and at its peak in 1913, there were 23 strongly associated collocates. However, as table 7.3 shows, there are also categories of strongly associated collocates that appear more frequently in the LttE corpus than in the Suffrage corpus.

In the Suffrage corpus, there are a total of 8 strongly associated collocates in the political category between 1908 and 1914; in contrast, the LttE corpus has 18 terms categorised as political in the same time span. In general, strongly associated collocates found in the LttE corpus were less easily placed into the categories established in Chapter 4. Part of this is due to the function of letters as a dialogue. There appear to be more mental process verbs – *believe/belief, ascertain, considered, convinced* and *desire* – and some verbal process verbs – *demand, call/called*. These process verbs appear to be more a characteristic of letters to the editor in general rather than a characteristic of letters to the editor which include suffrage terms – a stylistic issue rather than a content one.

In this chapter I focus on consistent strongly associated collocates. Consistency (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008) is a useful concept because it reveals issues that were consistently written about over a period of years and therefore locates areas of concern and, in the case of newspaper texts, newsworthiness. I define a consistent strongly associated collocate as content items appearing in four or more years in the larger Suffrage corpus and three or more years for the smaller LttE corpus (out of seven years in total)[25]. The consistent strongly associated collocates I analyse in this chapter are shown in bold in the list:

- o Suffrage corpus:
    - Anti (1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914)
    - Demonstration (1908, 1911, 1913, 1914)
    - **Disturbances (1909, 1910, 1912, 1913)**
    - **Leaders (1908, 1909, 1912, 1913)**
    - Meeting (1908, 1909, 1913, 1914)
    - Militant (1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914)
    - Miss (1908, 1909, 1912, 1913,)
    - Movement (1908, 1910, 1912, 1913)

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[25] While consistent, *anti* occurs as a bound lexeme i.e. *anti-suffrage, anti-suffragist* and, very rarely, *anti-suffragette*

- Police (1909, 1912, 1913, 1914)
- Prison (1908, 1909, 1910, 1913)
- **Prisoners (1908, 1909, 1910, 1912, 1913, 1914)**
- She (1908, 1909, 1912, 1913, 1913)
- Woman (1908, 1909, 19010, 19011, 1912, 1913, 1914)
- Women (1908, 1909, 19010, 19011, 1912, 1913, 1914)
- Yesterday (1908, 1909, 1910, 1913, 1914)
  o LttE corpus:
  - 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)**

As Chapter 4 established, *suffragist* was the preferred term for suffrage campaigners; this is supported by there being no strongly associated collocates for *suffragette* in 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1913 and no strongly associated collocates for *suffragettes* in 1910; when there are strongly associated collocates for these terms they tend not to be content items e.g. *and*. These strongly associated collocates indicate concerns and issues that were relatively consistent between 1908 and 1914 in the Suffrage and LttE corpora. They can be categorised within a relatively limited set of functional categories: constitutional vs militant, direct action, gender, legal and prison, organisational, and politics in the Suffrage corpus and an even more limited set of categories for the LttE corpus: organisational, politics, and legal and prison in the LttE corpus. However, within these consistent strongly associated collocates there can be changeable discourses that can develop and shift over time.

In the next two sections I explore two terms that are consistent strongly associated collocates in both corpora: *suffrag* leaders* and *suffrag* prisoners*; one term that is a consistent strongly associated collocate in the LttE but not in the Suffrag corpus: *suffrag* party*; and one term that is a strongly associated collocate in

the Suffrage corpus but not in the LttE corpus: *suffrag* disturbance**. *Suffrag* leaders*, *suffrag* party* and *suffrag* prisoners* were selected because they were consistent and significant in the LttE corpus and because they represented all three functional categories in which the consistent strongly associated collocates could be categorised. *Suffrag* disturbance** was selected because, as I demonstrated in Chapter 4, it was a high frequency direct action term encompassing a range of militant direct actions.

7.4 Accounting for similarities

In this section, I analyse *suffrag* leaders* and *suffrag* prisoners*. These two terms emerge as consistent strongly associated collocates in both the Suffrage and Letters to the Editor corpora. However, as I will demonstrate, these terms were used in very different ways in the corpora. In the Suffrage corpus, *suffrag* leaders* is associated with legal and criminal processes – *suffrag* leaders* are brought to trial and imprisoned. In contrast, in the LttE corpus, *suffrag* leaders* are used with a rhetorical strategy that uses language associated with anti-suffragists to counter criticisms of the movement. The second term, *suffrag* prisoners*, is used with *suffragist, suffragette* and *suffrage* in the LttE corpus. This strategic use of different suffrage identities, particularly *suffrage*, creates a neutral space where leaders of different suffrage organisations can advocate on behalf of imprisoned members of other organisations.

7.4.1 *suffrag* leaders*

In this section I will focus on the collocate *suffrag* leaders*. In the Suffrage corpus, *suffrag* leaders* tends to be associated with trials, sentencing, imprisonment and

treatment of the suffrage campaigners during imprisonment. In the LttE corpus, *suffrag* leaders* tends to be associated with the authority held by these leaders – its use, abuse and how is ought to be directed.

7.4.1.1 *suffrag* leaders* in the Suffrage corpus (excluding LttE texts)

The occurrences in the Suffrage corpus mainly centre on the suffrage leaders' connections to arrests, trial and court cases. However, it also includes texts positioning the British suffrage movement within an international context, reporting violent crowd reactions to demonstrations and situating the suffrage movement within a context of other domestic strikes and actions. In contrast to the careful positioning of *suffrage leaders* found in the LttE corpus, these concordance lines demonstrate that *suffragist leaders* was the term in use in *The Times'* news reports as non-suffrage-authored texts.

There is one usage of suffragist leaders as a comparison: a judge declaring, in 1912, that "their motives were no purer than the jury declared the motives of the suffragist leaders to be"; clearly demonstrating negative prosody as the comparison between the target's motives and those of the suffragist leaders is not a complimentary one. This usage also indicates how far this perception of the suffrage movement, and particularly that of the suffragist leaders, was embedded in public consciousness. The suffragist leaders are compared to promoters of a coal strike who have caused losses to traders and the "community at large", but "have not been required to suffer either in pocket or in person"; the link is made to a domestic strike, but one where the leaders of the strike are removed from the effects the strike has on the wider community.

The rest of these concordance lines are organised into the following categories. They and the frequency for each category are found in Table 7.3. As this table shows, the majority of reporting on *suffragist leaders* occurs within the domain of legal and prison as discussed in section 7.4 on categories derived from strongly associated collocates. Relatively few occurrences present the suffragist leaders as at the heart of direct action; in one occurrence, two suffragist leaders are described as taking shelter from a mob and a second occurrence is an appeal to suffragist leaders to not unleash their forces. Instead, the suffragist leaders are presented as suffering the consequences of their part in direct action through dealings with the police, trial and imprisonment.

Table 7.3: Categories of *suffragist leaders* in the Suffrage corpus

	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Trials of suffragist leaders	1	-	-	-	10	2	-
Imprisonment of suffragist leaders	-	-	-	-	3	1	-
Actions of suffragist leaders	1	-	1	-	-	-	1
Suffragist leaders & the police	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
International issues	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
Internal issues	-	-	-	-	1	0	-

Trials of suffragist leaders

1908

```
1. rbert Gladstone as witnesses at the resumed hearing of the
   summonses against the suffragist leaders. She mentioned that
   Mr. Lloyd-George was present in Trafalg
2. Iuskott observed that he wished that gentleman had been
   defending the three suffragist leaders who were before the
   Court on the previous day. After eviden
```

1912

1. Trade Unionists and the Police.. .. .. 3 The
   Malatesta Case .. .. .. 13 Suffragist Leaders Sentenced .. 8
   Horse-dealing Frauds .. .. .. 3 Science, Art,
2. , suggested that a question on the subject should be asked in
   Parliament. (p. 3) Suffragist Leaders Sentenced. The trial of
   Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Ml
3. hese erections were not in accord with those of his
   predecessor. (p. 3) Trial of Suffragist Leaders. The trial of
   Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhu
4. TRIAL OF SUFFRAGIST LEADERS. THE CHARGE OF CONSPIRACY. CASE
   FOR THE PROSECUTION. The tria
5. TRIAL OF SUFFRAGIST LEADERS. _ . ~~~~~~~I THE E, VIDENCE 3OR
   THE PROSECUTION. COUNTSEL AN
6. TRIAL OF SUFFRAGIST LEADERS. THIE DEFENCE OPENED. MR. PETHICK:
   LAWRENCE'S SPEECH. The tri
7. entine .. .. .. 12 Charge against a Photographer at Aldershot
   4 The Trial of the Suffragist Leaders .. .. 4 Science, Art,
   Music, and Drama: The Discovery of the
8. T LEADERS. THIE DEFENCE OPENED. MR. PETHICK: LAWRENCE'S
   SPEECH. The trial of the suffragist leaders, Mrs. Pankhurst
   and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, vas c
9. ' REPORTS OF MEETINGS. FURTHER EVIDENCE FOR THE .PROSECUTIONT.
   The trial of the. suffragist leaders , Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr.
   and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, was con
10.   E 3OR THE PROSECUTION. COUNTSEL AND MINISTERS'
   RESPONSIBILITY. The trial of the suffragist leaders, Mrs.
   Pankhurst and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, for c

1913

1. TS REARRESTED. Annie Kenney, Agnes Lake, and Rachel Barret,t
   three of the seven suffragist leaders who were sentenced by
   Mr. Justice Philtimore at the Old Ba
2. d at the Old Bailey last week for being concerned in a
   conspiracy with the women suffragist leaders, was released
   from Wormwood Scrubs Prison at 8 o'clock on M

In this set of concordance lines, *suffragist leaders* are, without exception, associated

with the WSPU. The 10 occurrences in 1912 refer to a mass WSPU action where

"without prior warning, 150 women armed with hammers and instructions as to their

use and timing, broke shop and office windows in the West End of London

(Crawford 1999: 747). Mrs and Christabel Pankhurst, Emmeline and Frederick

Pethick-Lawrence and Mabel Tuke were charged with conspiracy to commit damage

under the Malicious Injury to Property Act in March; their trial took place in May. As the formatting of these concordance lines indicate, the trial made headline news; "trial of the suffragist leaders" is present in three headlines and three contents page summaries, suggesting that it was sufficiently interesting to attract readers.

In these concordance lines, *suffragist leaders* is used as a passive agent in a verb phrase; they appear before the Court, they are "sentenced" and eventually they are released. While the judge is named in one of the occurrences from 1913, he is not named in any of the occurrences from 1908 or 1912. Only one article refers to Frederick Pethick-Lawrence's speech in their defence. The effect is that these suffragist leaders appear powerless, caught in the legal system and subject to the decision of the court. This is in contrast to the power of the suffrage movement with its daring direct action, and some of the newsworthiness of the trial may be due to the contradiction between a powerful movement with its own values and sense of righteousness (encapsulated in Colmore's repeated phrase "rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God" and demonstrated in the banners at Emily Wilding Davison's funeral procession: "Fight on and God will give the victory") and its leaders being brought before the court and subject to judgement.

However, an earlier text from 1908 suggests that the suffrage leaders were not always so powerless. In 1908, an article reports that "Christabel Pankhurst applied to Mr. Curtis Bennett for two summonses to compel the attendance of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Herbert Gladstone as witnesses at the resumed hearing of the summonses against the suffragist leaders"; as this concordance line suggests, suffragist leaders were sometimes reported as being active in their own trials.

Imprisonment of suffragist leaders

1912

1. to share the privileges which had been granted to them. She
   complained that the <u>suffragist leaders</u> were only allowed
   visits by friends once a fortnight and cou
2. ourse taken by the Ministry with regard to the treatment of
   the imprisoned woman <u>suffragist leaders</u>. (p. 8) Dock Strike to
   Continue. The Dock Strike Committee 1
3. nister and the Government with regard to the treatment of the
   imprisoned woman <u>suffragist leaders</u>, and announced his
   withdrawal as a protest. Sir Godfrey Ba

1913

1. ased before to-morrow, if then, unless Secretary Wilson takes
   peremptory action. <u>Suffrage leaders</u> characterize Mrs.
   Pankhurst's detention and deportation as
2. trike, but to adopt a thirst strike. The Government had now
   tried to subject the <u>suffragist leaders</u> who had just been
   released to the last indignity of criminal

Reports of imprisonment are found later in the Suffrage corpus in the year before and

the year that the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act 1913 was

passed. This law allowed the temporary release of a hunger or thirst-striking

prisoner and her re-arrest when recovered. Unsurprisingly, these concordance lines

all refer to the treatment of imprisoned suffragist leaders and focus on their ill-

treatment. In four out of the five concordance lines, other people act on behalf of the

imprisoned suffragist leaders, usually to raise awareness of their treatment and

advocate on their behalf. This is shown more clearly when longer extracts are

examined: the second concordance line in 1913 is shown to be part of a longer

speech given at a WSPU meeting. In only concordance line do the suffragist leaders

have agency: "Suffrage leaders characterize Mrs. Pankhurst's detention and

deportation as an outrage".

Significantly, this concordance line demonstrates how suffragist leaders

respond to an imprisoned suffragist leader; while some suffragist leaders have the

ability to criticise the imprisonment of one of the leaders of the WSPU, they are

imprisoned more often than they are in a position to criticise imprisonment.

Actions of suffragist leaders

1908

> 1. cial assault on a shop in which Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs.
>   Martel, two of the woman suffragist leaders, had taken refuge.
>   The windows were smashed, and the mob' i

1910

> 1. ed that the movement for enfranchisement had been set back by
>   the action of the suffragist leaders. While answering further
>   questions, Mr. Law was subjected to

1914

> 1. fragist disturbances. The minister, the Rev. George Bayrs,
>   appealed to the local suffragist leaders for a promise to
>   respect the character of the building .and

These concordance lines show that, while direct action was threatening, the actions

of the suffragist leaders were not necessarily so. The suffragist leaders here hide

from a mob and set back their own movement through their own actions rather than

break windows or cause public disturbances. Given the focus on direct action

attributed to the suffrage movement in Chapter 4, the impotence of their leaders is

surprising and, as Galtung and Ruge (1965: 65) note, "[t]he more unexpected the

signal, the more probable that it will be recorded as worth listening to". As I

demonstrated in Chapter 4, suffrage direct action was extensively reported, opening

a channel that facilitates further reporting of direct action. These news events are

therefore newsworthy for two reasons; their connection to an ongoing news story and

the news actors present in them. Reporting the suffragist leaders as vulnerable or

undermining the movement they lead is newsworthy because, rather posing a threat, they are presented as almost comically counterproductive; reassuring because the suffrage movement hardly needs to be opposed because its own leaders will do the work of any opponents.

Suffragist leaders and the police

1913

```
1. seen of her. It was apparently the intention of the officials
   to arrest the two suffragist leaders at the stage door, and
   taxicabs were in waiting. Suddenly th
```

1914

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1. litical police, hundreds of whom prowl round the dwellings and
   meeting-places of suffragist leaders. It adds:- At private
   meetings at times police spies are fou
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These concordance lines indicate that police interactions varied. The first concordance line discusses the attempted arrest of two suffrage campaigners; the second offers an insight into the police surveillance tactics used to monitor suffrage campaigners. While police tactics to control the suffragist leaders varied, the police were not necessarily successful. The first concordance line refers to an attempted arrest that ends as a brawl:

> It was apparently the intention of the officials to arrest the two suffragist leaders at the stage door, and taxicabs were in waiting. Suddenly the door flew open and three or four detectives rushed out. Running round to the main entrance, they dashed into a solid body of women in the centre of whom Miss Annie Kenney could just be seen. A struggle followed, the detectives and uniformed policemen rushing into the mass with their heads down to protect their faces from the possibility of attacks by hatpins, and striking out in all

directions. In a few moments men and women were rolling on the ground and over into the gutter

<div align="right">(OFFO-1913-JUL15-010-006.txt)</div>

Liddington (2005: 204) describes the "detailed reports being made of suffragette meetings and telephone calls", photography of convicted prisoners and fingerprinting of prisoners. As Liddington notes, fingerprints were especially valuable after the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act 1913 came into effect; they aided the police in identifying and re-arresting the correct prisoner. Suffrage campaigners, and particularly their leaders, therefore present a problem to the police through their aggression (and the aggression of their followers) and their elusiveness.

International issues

1908

```
1. or individuals, can control" Whatever may be the issue of the
   case, one of the suffragist leaders expressed herself as
   sanguine that within two years New York
```

1909

```
1. as been marked by some violence and has aroused the active
   sympathy of the woman suffragist leaders. THE CHILIAN NAVY.
   SANTIAGO DE CHILE, Dec. 15.* The Chilian
```

1910

```
1. those of a corrupt mining State. But that argument will hardly
   avail the English suffragist leaders, who are constantly
   holding up the suffrage States of Aneric
```

As described by Eustance, Ugolini and Ryan (2000: 11) , the "establishment of an international alliance of suffrage societies had been advocated as early as 1899"; the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) was formed in 1904 and held

<div align="right">282</div>

regular conferences. This international aspect of the suffrage movement was reported in *The Times* – as the concordance line from 1908 shows, English suffrage campaigners were informed about the suffrage campaign in other countries. This extended to offering solidarity with other protest movements. The concordance line in 1909 is from a short news article containing texts about the United States Steel Corporation, the Sugar Treaty and a strike by 25,000 blousemakers which "has aroused the active sympathy of the woman suffragist leaders". These concordance lines demonstrate that, while international issues in which suffragist leaders were mentioned were not frequently reported, they did have a presence in *The Times*. However, international issues involving suffragist leaders appear to have been reported in the earlier years of the corpus, with no concordance lines after 1910. This suggests that the focus of news reporting on the suffrage movement shifted towards reporting of domestic rather than international issues.

Internal issues

1912

    1. DIVISION OF <u>SUFFRAGIST LEADERS</u>. SECESSIONS FROOM THE UNION.
       Tlle following statement, sign

Only one concordance line reflects internal divisions within the WSPU. This one occurrence is from 1912, comparatively late in the corpus, and suggesting that the suffrage movement was newsworthy enough through the volume of their actions reported in *The Times* and the trials of their leaders six months ago to be reported.

As these concordance lines indicate, suffragist leaders are associated with police covert monitoring and arrests, trials and imprisonment. They are held to be responsible for direct action even though, as these concordance lines reveal, they

were not reported as taking an active part in it. Instead, the suffragist leaders are put on trial and imprisoned. Their trials are extensively reported. Simultaneously, when the actions of the suffragist leaders are reported, it is not in the context of the disturbances, disorder and outrage seen in Chapter 4, but instead in the context of suffragist leaders weakening their own movement.

When *suffrag* leaders* are reported in Suffrage corpus – the news reports – they are always reported as *suffragist leaders*. This is in contrast to the collocates in the LttE corpus where *suffrage leaders* is also used. This reflects the findings of Chapter 4 where direct action, despite being associated with the WSPU and campaigners who identified as suffragettes rather than suffragists, was represented in *The Times* as the work of suffragists. This usage gives the effect of homogeneity, flattening the significant differences within the suffrage campaign.

7.4.1.2 *suffrag* leaders* in the LttE corpus

As in the previous section on *suffrag* leaders* in the Suffrage corpus, *suffrag** is found in the form of *suffragist*; however, there are four occurrences of *suffrage leaders* (one in 1910 and three in 1912). There are no occurrences of *suffragette leaders* in either corpus. As discussed in Chapter 4, this effectively erases differences between the different campaigns; in Chapter 4's examination of direct action terms this had the effect of creating the impression of a unified movement in which direct action was universally present rather than the contentious and divisive tactic it was within the suffrage movement. Consistent use of *suffragist* had the effect of erasing differences within the movement and contributing to a discourse where distinctions between different identities and organisations within the suffrage movement were diminished.

In the LttE corpus, the focus of *suffragist leaders* is less contentious than that on suffragist direct action – it is expected that some of these letters are actually discussing suffragists rather than suffragettes. Significantly, *suffragist leaders* appears in letters that seem to have been written by non-suffrage campaigning members of the public and who are suggesting (generally unhelpful or uninformed) courses of action for the suffrage campaign to take. This suggests that *The Times'* consistent use of *suffragist*, as seen in Chapter 4, shaped the discourse of the suffrage movement both in the terms used by non-suffrage campaigners, but also in terms of their perception of the unity of the movement. In contrast, letters written by campaigners involved with the WSPU and/or militancy refer to *suffrage leaders* rather than *suffragist leaders*. This suggests two things: firstly, that different factions within the suffrage movement were sensitive to the terminology used to describe them and were keen to use terms that more accurately described their relationships to other factions and how they positioned themselves within the suffrage campaign. Secondly, it hints that *suffragette* was a dispreferred term – at least while writing to *The Times*.

The apparent negative prosody in the LttE corpus appears to function differently. In the LttE corpus, *suffrag* leaders* tends to be associated with the authority of these leaders rather than their arrest, trial or imprisonment. More strikingly, some instances that initially appear to be negative about the power of these leaders over their followers and the flaws of their positions are used in pro-suffrage arguments. Compared to the occurrences in the Suffrage corpus, more contextual reading is required to establish the prosody and tone in the LttE corpus. What can be interpreted as negative prosody based on the text provided in the concordance line can appear much more positive when the entire paragraph or text is

read, and highlights the difficulty in identifying prosody from concordance lines alone.

Positive representation of *suffrag** leaders

1. Mrs. Pankhurst can only regain her liberty by allowing herself to be bound over to keep the peace for 12 months. I ask you, Sir, if a man were a leader of a political movement and had to choose between imprisonment and a year's inaction - for the alternative does mean inaction to the <u>suffragist leaders</u>, since to drive to the House of Commons in a pony trap has been construed a breach of the peace - would he consider that he could in honour "come out of prison whenever he likes"? If public opinion concedes that he could do so, then I can only say that women's sense of honour is higher than men's. (OFFO-1908-FEB17-008-002.txt)

2. TO THE EDITOR OF *THE TIMES*. Sir,- I leave to our <u>suffrage leaders</u> the task of adequately replying to Mrs. Humphrey Ward's contribution to your Saturday issue, but may I call attention to two points? (OFFO-1910-JUN07-009-008.txt)

These two occurrences are straightforwardly positive. In the first, the letter writer argues in favour of Mrs Pankhurst's decision to be imprisoned, situating her choice within a context of difficult political decisions, and arguing that her imprisonment reflects her sense of honour. The second situates herself as affiliated with the suffrage movement by subordinate to the leaders, who she invokes as being more capable of a comprehensive response. These occurrences show an appreciation of the suffrage leaders' position as leaders. The first compares Pankhurst to "a man [who is] leader of a political movement", so acknowledging the discrepancy in treatment and imprisoned suffrage campaigners' struggle to be afforded the privileges granted to political prisoners.

Uninformed use of suffrag* leaders

1. Mr. Asquith, Mr. Churchill. and Mr. Harcourt, if they have not
   definitely advocated this solution, have all made it quite
   clear in public utterances that they are prepared to consider
   it favourably. The two leading Liberal suffragist newspapers
   have supported the proposal. Is not the time ripe for a
   conference of <u>suffragist and anti-suffragist leaders</u> to
   consider this solution of the question? I am, &c.. ARNOLD
   WARD. January 28. (OFFO-1913-JAN29-008-001.txt)

2. It would certainly not be possible for anti-suffragists to
   make common cause - in any concerted or organized way - with
   Mrs. Fawcett and her party, in working for provincial suffrage
   for women, unless, in return for anti-suffrage support, the
   <u>suffragist leaders</u> were ready to make some substantial
   concession on their side, say, to forgo the introduction of
   any woman suffrage Bills, on the lines at present adopted,
   into Parliament during the coming period of years, whatever
   that period may be, while the Federal question raised by the
   case of Ulster is being threshed out. (OFFO-1914-MAY20-013-
   004.txt)

It was difficult to establish prosody for these texts. They appear to be written by
those outside the suffrage movement and therefore employ arguments that
demonstrate a lack of awareness of the deep tensions between suffrage and anti-
suffrage campaigners;

Using negative rhetoric for effect

The first extract is from a letter written by a woman who describes herself as " not an
ultra-feminist nor a member of any militant society, but one of those who have kept
as far as possible outside the "movement" because their temperaments are
incompatible with the highest civic virtue" but who objects to the assessment of
women involved in the suffrage movement as hysterical.

1. The suffrage movement draws with a wide net, and in all large
   assemblies of human beings (men as well as women) you will
   find some neurosis and hysteria and degeneracy; neurosis being
   the scourge of modernity. Equally true is it that many women
   threatened or afflicted with the scourge have found their cure

in the work exacted by the <u>suffrage leaders</u>, and when they have found it their medical man knows them no more. (OFFO-1912-APR04-007-003.txt)

2. One more statement I should like to make. Suffragettes are variously described by Cabinet ministers and in leading articles as "maenads," 'hysterical young girls," "miserable women," "dupes of the <u>suffrage leaders</u>," and so on. My division at Holloway consisted latterly of about 60 prisoners, whose mingled wrath and amusement at the latter qualification may he imagined when I give the result of an informal census. Three of them were under 25; about ten, I should judge, would never see 30 again; ten or 12 confessed to over 45; and five to over 55 – the large majority, in short, women well past middle ago. Among them Mrs. Brackenbury, a General's widow, aged 79 (the youngest of us all); Mrs. Saul Solomon, widow of a well-known African statesman); two rescue workers from Scotland, a missionary – all elderly women; three hospital nurses, three University graduates. A few people obviously of means and leisure, but the greater part women who earn their bread, among whom some had lost their situations over this venture, but gazed with absolutely fearless eyes into the future. (OFFO-1912-APR19-006-007.txt)

Rather than having straightforwardly positive or negative prosody, these occurrences in the LttE show rhetoric associated with the anti-suffragist movement and non-suffrage supporters deployed for rhetorical effect. In both occurrences, the writer takes a negative stereotype of the suffrage movement, states it baldly then proceeds to refute it. The first writer uses the example of mental and social ills caused by the suffrage movement. This was a discourse popularised by anti-suffragists; however, the letter writer immediately claims that, rather than causing "neurosis and hysteria and degeneracy", women affected by these complaints are helped to the point of a total cure by working for the suffrage movement. Similarly, the second writer lists popular descriptions of suffrage campaigners as ""maenads," 'hysterical young girls," "miserable women," [and] "dupes of the suffrage leaders,"" before describing the demographics of her fellow prisoners at Holloway and contrasting these to the popular stereotype of suffrage campaigners.

Bolt (2000: 49) explicitly links the anti-suffragist views of suffrage campaigners with the gendered ideology of separate spheres, writing that "women's assertive opinions – and behaviours – only served to confirm anti-suffragists' conviction that women out of their sphere and men's control were irrational, combative, hysterical and undeserving". The suffrage campaigners who wrote these letters appear aware of the links between women's rejection of the domestic sphere and their subsequent instability – that a woman out of her place was a chaotic, disordered woman, and order could only be restored by returning to the gendered organisation of public and private spaces. What these writers do is posit alternative spaces and organising forces within the suffrage movement that simultaneously removed women from the domestic, private sphere and men's control while maintaining a hierarchy and which continued to place women within a community. Rather than the wild, uncontrollable force described by the anti-suffragists, these letter writers focus on the discipline offered by the work of the suffrage movement and the mixed community of elders and "women who earn their bread" found in Holloway, so providing the structure and embeddedness within social roles that the anti-suffragists argue that the suffrage campaigners lack. The language used by these two letter writers demonstrates their knowledge of and engagement with anti-suffrage discourse; they use the negative descriptions associated with that discourse for rhetorical effect, but also engage with the wider argument of social roles, community and spheres.

7.4.2 suffrag* prisoners

Suffrag prisoners* appears as a statistically associated term for both *suffragette* and *suffragist*. As the concordance lines from the LttE corpus demonstrate, *suffragette*,

suffragist and *suffrage* all appear as modifiers to prisoners; however, rather than being used randomly or inconsistently, these different modifiers were used for different purposes and to create or strengthen different relationships within the suffrage movement.

7.4.2.1 *suffrag* prisoners* in the LttE corpus

One of the key findings in Chapter 4 was the regularity with which *suffragist* and *suffragists* were used. In this section I examine suffrag* collocates in the Letters to the Editor section and pay particular attention to the use of suffrag* terms to create links between different factions within the movement.

suffragist prisoners:

1909

```
1. in which to call attention to the extra- ordinary conduct of
   the Government in relation to the woman suffragist prisoners
   in Birmingham Gaol ? Prison Rule No. 72, section 6, says:-
   (6). A. barrister o
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1910

```
1. the prisoner may be ordered to a special punishment cell.
   These cells Miss Florence Cook, one of the suffragist
   prisoners, has described as damp underground dungeons, which
   are provided with seareely
2. w, slight though the change has been, the atmosphere in
   Holloway has changed for the better once the suffragist
   prisoners first came there. When I was in the remand hospital,
   I found that more talking
3. etary goes on to characterize my statement that bail was
   refused at l;e⁴vcastlo to my wife and other suffragist
   prisoners by direct orders from the Home Office ass"
   absolutely untrue." I need not say t
4. OR OF THE TIMES. Sir,-As one of those who drew the attention
   of the Home Office to the cases of two suffragist prisoners,
   Miss Selina Martin and Miss Leslie Hall, I venture to ask your
   leave to comme
5. d circular that it is their duty to grant bail unless they
   suspect an intention to abscond. Some 450 suffragist prisoners
```

have been dealt with In these four years; not one of them has ever escheated

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. ETFLL S3MYTr, 3[us.Dov. In view of Mr. Philip Snowdens question con

1913

1. ion .of the Home Secretary to save him and the community from the painful necessity to deal with suffragist prisoners by the method of' forcible feeding which 'to 'thohn, as - to. all humane perso
2. S. Sir,-During the past fortnight I have received a number of letters respecting forcible feeding of suffragist prisoners, and I have been urged, as President of the Royal College of Physicians, to
3. d to the above authoritative statement I submit (1) that there is at present no forcible feeding of suffragist prisoners; (2) that since April only in three cases of suffragist prisoners' has forci
4. he cruelty and degradation involved in their methods of dealing with the form of protest adopted by suffragist prisoners are now asking in the so-called " Cat-and-Mouse " Bill for additional powers w

suffragette prisoners:

1908

1. to keep the peace. They were placed in the second division, end since then the rule has been for all <u>suffragette prisoners</u> to be placed in the second division, and in some cases even in the third divi
2. tenced to seven days' imprisonment, and she was placed in the first division. Following this all the <u>suffragette prisoners</u> (and there were many batches, in some cases containing 60, 60, and 70 prison

suffrage prisoners:

1909

1. had not developed into any symptoms such as fainting or vomiting as has been the case with other <u>suffrage prisoners</u> before they were released. Mrs. Brailsiord is free of heart disease, and she has
2. and conditions of release were judged in a quite different spirit from that brought to bear on other <u>suffrage prisoners</u>, and since on that occasion ours were the gravest offences. we could but assume

1912

1. stice to support Mrs. Fawcett's appeal against the injustice of refusing to the rank and file of the <u>suffrage prisoners</u> 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 <u>SUFFRAGE PRISONERS</u> 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 <u>suffrage prisoners</u> 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 <u>suffrage prisoners</u>, invariably so through out Scotland, where forcible feeding has not been attempt

1913

1. ES. Sir,-Of the alternatives put by f. J3. Wells in *The Times* of to-day as to the treatment of the <u>suffrage prisoners</u>, 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 <u>suffrage prisoners</u> 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 <u>suffrage prisoners</u>,
    published in the Lancet of August 24, 1912, will, I think,
    show that the legali

As the concordance lines show, *suffrage prisoners* seems to be used when links are

fostered between the different factions within the suffrage campaign, such as

Fawcett's response to the treatment of prisoners. Rather than emphasising their

differences as with the use of *suffragette prisoners*, or erasing the different

ideologies and motivations within the movement as with the use of *suffragist*

prisoners, the use of *suffrage prisoners* emphasises the commonalities. The use of

suffragist prisoners again appears to reflect the language of those slightly outside the

campaign; while the writers of these letters may be sympathetic towards or even

related to imprisoned suffrage campaigners, their use of *suffragist* to describe largely

militant campaigners seems to reflect the findings of Chapter 4: *suffragist*, rather

than indicating a suffrage campaigner affiliated with constitutionalist campaigns, is

instead used to describe all campaigners within the movement. The two occurrences

of *suffragette prisoners* come from a single letter from 1908. Significantly, this

letter was written by Sylvia Pankhurst, who at the time of writing the letters was one

of the leaders of the WSPU; the WSPU is the organisation most closely associated

with militancy and any subsequent imprisonment. As the data in Chapter 4 shows,

suffragette was rarely used to describe suffrage campaigners' use of direct action;

instead, this was overwhelmingly described as *suffragist disturbance** etc. As the

LttE corpus shows, this term was not in frequent use; its use in one text, by one

author in one year suggests that this was a more idiosyncratic use.

However, these concordance lines also reveal attempts by suffrage campaigners to carve out a different space for their campaigners as expressed through the terminology used. Rather than subsuming all imprisoned suffrage campaigners under the label of *suffragist prisoners* or adopting the infrequently used and WSPU associated *suffragette prisoners*, the use of *suffrage* suggests that campaigners attempted to find a more neutral term. This opens up a different space where suffrage campaigners can be conceptualised as belonging to a wider campaign; their affiliation to the suffrage movement as a whole is stressed rather than their membership of a particular organisation or their support of a particular ideology or set of tactics. As a strategy, this gives Fawcett the authority to comment on the treatment of campaigners not affiliated with her organisation and who disagreed with the approach and/or the ideologies adopted by the NUWSS. While it may have been difficult for her, as leader of the constitutionalist NUWSS, to protest the treatment of the largely WSPU-affiliated prisoners, by reconceptualising the imprisoned campaigners as suffrage prisoners and therefore, as President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, a group of women for whose welfare she could legitimately be concerned, the writers of these letters are able to draw links between the different ideologies and factions.

7.4.2.2 *suffrag*prisoners* in the Suffrage corpus (excluding LttE texts)

As Table 7.4 indicates, *suffrag* prisoners* is a higher frequency collocate in the Suffrage corpus with a particularly high peak in 1912. This coincides with peaks in direct action strongly associated collocates found in Chapter 4, evidence of a major trial discussed in this chapter and evidence from historical research, notably the introduction of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act 1913 in

response to the numbers of detained suffrage campaigners protesting through the means of hunger and thirst strikes. However, while *suffragist prisoners* is much higher frequency than in the LttE corpus, both *suffrage prisoners* and *suffragette prisoners* are found more frequently in the LttE corpus, despite the much smaller size of the LttE corpus.

Table 7.4: Frequency of *suffrag* prisoners* in the Suffrage corpus

	suffragist prisoners	*suffrage prisoners*	*suffragette prisoners*
1908	9	1	0
1909	27	4	1
1910	6	1	0
1911	1	1	0
1912	62	3	0
1913	21	2	0
1914	7	0	0

This suggests that the tactical usage of *suffrage* prisoners to cross boundaries between organisations and ideologies was not present in the Suffrage corpus. Instead, *suffragist prisoners* is the preferred term, reflecting a reality in which suffragists again experience the majority of the consequences of direct action.

7.5 Accounting for differences

In this section I examine two terms that occur in one corpus but not the other. The term *party* is a consistent strongly associated collocate in the LttE corpus but not in the Suffrage corpus; *disturbance** is a consistent strongly associated collocate in the Suffrage corpus but not in the LttE corpus. The collocates examined in the previous section indicated different usages of the term depending on the corpus, and,

therefore, the part of the newspaper; the two collocates discussed here are either low frequency or absent in one of the corpora while present in the other. This indicates that part of the newspapers avoided such terms; *suffrag* party* is overwhelmingly associated with anti-suffragists and apparently did not belong in news reports. In contrast, *suffrag* disturbance** is not found in the LttE corpus but is used extensively in the Suffrage corpus.

7.5.1 *suffrag* party* in LttE but not in Suffrage

While *suffrag* party* is found in the Suffrage corpus and its usage there is not solely due to the presence of Letters to the Editor, it is only in the LttE corpus that it appears as consistent strongly associated collocate. Of the 14 concordance lines here, one is from a letter by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, one from a letter by the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, two from letters by John Massie and five from letters by Mary A. Ward. Mary A. Ward published her fiction under her married name of Mrs Humphry Ward and is better known as such; however, Joannou (2005: 564) notes that "much of her discursive writing and correspondence appeared under the name Mary A. Ward". *Suffrag* party*, therefore, while not an exclusively anti-suffragist term, is strongly associated with anti-suffrage usage and used only by those outside the suffrage movement.

It is important to note that a suffrage, suffragist or suffragette party did not exist. Instead, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies formed the Election Fighting Fund (EFF) "to support Labour candidates during by-elections and in this way attack the Liberal government by promoting more three-cornered contests" between Labour, Liberal and Conservative candidates (Holton 1986: 76). Holton goes on to describe some of the tensions inherent in pursuing this policy,

mainly related to alienating proven supporters of women's suffrage among the Liberal party, fears that the Labour party might be perceived to have been bought by suffrage campaigners and so act in the interests of those outside the Labour movement, and resistance to the suffrage movement by Labour candidates. As such, while the NUWSS did campaign on Labour policies to the extent that some NUWSS leaders felt that EFF campaigners focused on Labour politics to the detriment to their commitment to the suffrage campaign, and Liberal supporters within the NUWSS were uncomfortable with the level of support given to the Liberal Party. The WSPU took a different approach. In 1912, it announced that it would, in future, "extend its attacks to Labour Party candidates on the grounds that they formed a part of the Liberal government's 'coalition' of support" (Holton 1986: 84). Rather than have a formal agreement to support a political party, the WSPU campaigned against candidates hostile to women's suffrage or belonging to parties that did not support women's suffrage.

Despite the difference in size of these corpora, usage in the Letters to the Editor corpus accounts for between up to 100% of annual usage of *suffrag* party* in the Suffrage corpus (which, as discussed in section 7.2, includes the LttE corpus) There are only two years where it accounts for less than 20% of usages. This can be seen in Table 7.5 below. This indicates that the letters from writers affiliated with or sympathetic to the anti-suffrage campaign contributed heavily to occurrences found in the Suffrage corpus.

Table 7.5 Frequency of *suffrag* party* in the LttE corpus compared to Suffrage corpus

	Suffrage	Letters to the Editor
1908	5	3
1909	5	0

1910	6	3
1911	3	1
1912	6	2
1913	10	2
1914	3	3

The concordance lines from the LttE indicate that these anti-suffrage letter writers viewed the suffrage party as a threat. One of the issues here is examining what this suffrage party was; as discussed earlier in this section, historical research indicates that while some suffrage organisations had close relationships with established political parties, single-issue suffrage parties did not exist. If a suffrage party exists in these texts, it is a construction of the writers rather than reflecting a real-world entity.

The concordance lines can be grouped into four areas of concern: that it is militant, that it does not represent most women, that it is growing, and that it is insignificant.

The *suffrag* party* is militant:

1   umphed and obtained a hearing, in spite of the presence of at least a hundred hostile members of the <u>suffragette party</u> who remained in the meeting till its close. I am, Sir, yours truly, LAURA McLAREN

2   ent, but who are disgusted at the lawless and senseless proceedings of the militant section of the <u>suffragist party</u>. They ask us in what manner they can most effectively dissociate themselves from t

3   ttention to one paragraph it contains, which, though not myself belonging to the extreme wing of the <u>suffragist party</u>, nor sympathizing with their methods, seems to me to call for some comment. She say

4   mons, Oct. 30. TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES. Sir,-The latest action on the part of a wing of the woman <u>suffrage party</u> and the results entailed for the moment on its leaders might, I think, have given ri

The *suffrag* party* is unrepresentative of most women:

```
1    heir sex do not so naturally rush into the conspicuous
     atmosphere of public meetings as those of the Suffragist
     Party. Nor will you be misled by the co operative
     infrequency of mass meetings of women
2    electors, indeed, of both sides as soon as it was
     understood that she had nothing to do with the suffrage
     party and was opposed to the grant of the Parliamentary
     vote. The suffrage party is ind
```

These concordance lines reflect two strands of criticism: firstly, objection to the militant or extreme methods associated with the suffrage movement and secondly, that the suffrage movement was unrepresentative of women. Militancy or extremism is associated with one wing or section of the suffrage movement, suggesting that these letter writers were aware that the suffrage movement encompassed campaigners who did not use militant tactics. Despite this, only the militant or extreme section of the suffrage party is discussed; while anti-suffrage and at least one non-suffrage letter writers may have been aware of the diversity of the suffrage movement, they focus on the militancy in their letters. This focus has a similar effect to use of suffragist as a generic term for all suffrage campaigners; it conceals the divisions between different suffrage organisations and instead redirects attention to the "lawless and senseless" actions of the "militant section".

The second criticism is that the suffrage movement does not represent the majority of women who do not want the vote. There is a clear connection between this criticism and that of militancy. Two letter writers distance themselves from the suffrage movement before expressing support for (some) aspects. One writer describes herself as not "belonging to the extreme wing of the suffragist party, nor sympathizing with their methods"; it is only after establishing this distance she is able to criticise an anti-suffrage letter. Further complexity is seen in a letter written

by Mary A. Ward. In it, describes "the sympathy with which Miss Willoughby's canvassers have been received by the electors, indeed, of both sides as soon as it was understood that she had nothing to do with the suffrage party and was opposed to the grant of the Parliamentary vote. The suffrage party is indeed solidly and universally unpopular throughout this densely crowded division, and the Hoxton electors, men and women, do not draw distinctions". She observes, however, that when approached "in the name of women's work under the existing law, and through existing institutions, [these electors] thaw at once". Mary A. Ward writes in the context of local government elections in which women could stand as candidates; while she supported women's involvement with local government as an extension of the domestic sphere, women's involvement in national (and, by extension, international politics) was unacceptable because they could not take up arms to defend their country. The relationship between lack of representativeness and militancy is therefore more complex. While militancy alienates some women from the suffrage movement and discouraged them from supporting the campaign, it is not the sole reason. Instead, women could also be resistant to being enfranchised; as a letter from the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League (and signed by Mary A. Ward) notes that there are a

> vast number of women who view with alarm the prospect of the governing power in the country being put into the hands of their sex do not so naturally rush into the conspicuous atmosphere of public meetings as those of the Suffragist Party.
>
> (OFFO-1910-NOV22-012-008.txt)

Here, attending the "conspicuous atmosphere" of meetings held by the Suffrage Party is possibly the only sign that that a woman supports the suffrage campaign and

wants to franchise. As this chapter demonstrates, women wrote to the editor without

being a member or closely affiliated with the suffrage movement.

The *suffrag* party* is growing:

```
1      te, in the most explicit terms, that he places his
       services at the disposal of the great and growing
       suffrage party. ' You may certainly say from me,' said
       the Chancellor of the Exchequer,' that if it
2      affairs a vast new field might open to women. Advance on
       these hnes would mean the rise of a middle suffrage
       party in which many who have hitherto been opponents
       might find themselves working side
```

The *suffrag* party* is insignificant:

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1      vulable to poll as many votes as myself. The inference
       is that in Parliamentary elections the Woman Suffrage
       Party is a quantité négligeable, and that, accordingly,
       timid members of Parliament ma
2      OR OF THE TIMIES. Sir,-One result of this remarkable
       election is to expose the weakness of the Woman Suffrage
       Party. In two cases they ventured to run candidates, and
       thle result has been ludicrous; i
3      he second readings of such Bills had been passed of
       recent years; and this fact furnishes the woman suffrage
       party with matter for continual boasting. These
       majorities, however, invite a little conim
4      unce the Imperial claim. My own hope is that the logic
       of events will force this renunciation on the suffragist
       party. Meanwhile, support of a possible Federal solution
       in this country must not be h
```

Anti-suffrage letter writers express two almost contradictory beliefs about the

suffrage movement. It is both growing and, simultaneously, displaying its

weaknesses and insignificance. Again, there is some ambivalence from anti-suffrage

campaigners. In a letter published on 15 May 1914, Mary A. Ward explores the

possibility of an alliance between suffrage campaigners and those resistant to or

otherwise unaffiliated with the suffrage movement:

the rise of a middle suffrage party – in which many who have hitherto been

opponents might find themselves working side by side in the promotion of a

settlement by consent. But for such a settlement it would be necessary that those who are now resisting the woman suffrage movement in its present form should have some assurance from the *suffragist party* and its leaders that the line of demarcation between such local assemblies as might arise under Federalism and the Central Imperial Parliament would be loyally accepted and observed.   (0FFO-1914-MAY15-009-006.txt)

In this letter, the "rise" refers to the formation of a middle ground that may be found between suffrage and anti-suffrage campaigners. In contrast, the "great and growing suffrage party" is found in a letter written by John Massie objecting to Lloyd George's support of the NUWSS having previously opposed the opening of the franchise to women. Both occurrences place the *suffrage party* as something that can create alliances between unlikely allies and disadvantage the anti-suffrage campaign. However, the suffrage party is also constructed as something insignificant – it is described as a *quantité négligeable*, its weaknesses are exposed, its members mistakenly boast, and in the letter by Mary A. Ward discussed earlier, she expresses her hope that a renunciation is forced on the suffrage party. The middle ground described by Ward is predicated on the suffrage party conceding to its opposition and accepting women's franchise at the level of local government, but not at the level of Parliament.

The suffrage party is therefore constructed as an entity that can grow, have wings or sections, can be unrepresentative of women, and can engage in political processes such as elections. The occurrence of *suffrage party* in the LttE corpus indicates an anti-suffragist presence in the Letters to the Editor section, using a term that is not used by suffrage supporters and the presence of which in the Suffrage corpus can largely be accounted for with usage in the LttE corpus.

7.5.2 *suffrag* disturbance** and direct action in the Suffrage corpus but not in the LttE corpus

As discussed in Chapter 4, disturbance* was a high frequency, non-specific term used to describe minor acts of civil disobedience. Table 4.4 in Chapter 4 summarises the frequencies for this term, which peaks in 1913 with 28 occurrences. In contrast, *suffrag* disturbance** is not found in the LttE corpus, despite being such a major part of news reporting on direct action. Only two of the direct action terms identified in Chapter 4 are found in the LttE corpus: *outrage** and *crime**. This is striking – some of the most consistent significant terms to describe direct action in the Suffrage corpus are simply not present in the LttE corpus, suggesting that direct action is described and discussed in very different terms.

In two out of three occurrences for *suffrag* outrage** and in both of the occurrences for *suffrag* crime** the collocate is found in the headline, as shown below:

1   THE MOTIVE OF <u>SUFFRAGIST CRIME</u>. PAYMENT OR MIMICRY. TO THE
     EDITOR OF THE TIMES. Sir,- Mr. McKenna's defence of the
     treatment of the s
2   large amount of space given to the sex is not without
     interest. On page 8 there are three columns, under two
     headings, " More <u>Suffragist Crime</u> " and "'Women of Ulster-
     Recapturing the Roman Spirit." The first column contains a
     list of the destructive

1   t OF THE TIMES. Sir,- The Home Secretary stated in the House
     of Commons on Thursday last that four remedies for dealing
     with <u>suffragist outrages</u> had been put forward for his
     consideration, but on examination had proved impracticable. He
     was of opini
2   THE BERMONDSEY <u>SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE</u>. TO THE EDITOR OF THE TMIES.
     Sir,-Now that the tumult of election strife is over in
     Bermondsey, and our pe
3   THE <u>SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE</u>. TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES. Sir,-
     Following up their action at the Bermondsey by-election to-
     day, the Wom

The placement of these direct action terms in the headline rather than in the body of the letter indicates editorial placement and does not necessarily reveal if and how letter writers used the terms. *Suffrag* crime** is used in a headline for a letter, as well as in a headline for a news report quoted by Frances Balfour, president of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, in her letter of 5 June 1914 (OFFO-1914-JUN05-010-005.txt). While not a militant herself, she is intensely sympathetic to the motivations driving the militant campaign, arguing that their actions cannot be understood out of context and that "you do not make good citizens by telling them that they are un-worthy of their birthright". By quoting a previous headline, Balfour focuses her response on those who would say that "woman citizens" are "unfit for responsible citizenship, and then blame them for the crude actions of irresponsible savages".

The only letter to use *suffragist outrages* in the body of the letter is one from 16 June 1914 (OFFO-1914-JUN16-012-004.txt) suggesting that deporting militant campaigners to St Kilda offered too easy an escape and instead advocating deportation to "mid-ocean [islands] not so easily reached, such as St. Helena. Mauritius, and others, which are under our Colonial Office, and which might meet requirements as a place of detention for women charged with malicious damage to property and arson"; a serious suggestion. Two sets of letters appear under a headline of suffragist outrage. A letter published on the 29 October 1909 (OFFO-1909-OCT29-008-002.txt) by Edith How Martyn of the Women's Freedom League (WFL) presents an open letter to the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith, from the WFL, justifying and taking responsibility for the action. Her letter is accompanied by suggestively placed letters from Helen Fraser of the NUWSS condemning the action and Christabel Pankhurst of the WSPU denying WSPU involvement but

supporting direct action. However, a letter published the next day on 30 October 1909 (0FFO-1909-OCT30-008-002.txt) expresses the "shame felt in this borough at the outrage upon decency and order which the recent flinging of ink bombs into the ballot-boxes by militant suffragists represents?"; a second letter by Edith How Martyn is placed alongside it expressing regret for possible injuries caused to an election official. While *suffragist outrage* does reflect the tone and content of the first letter of 30 October 1909, it does not for the second letter published in that article on 30 October 1909 or the letters published on the 29 October. As discussed in Chapter 4, *outrage** was used to signal acts more destructive than those indicated by *disturbance**; even through the letters themselves do not use the term and focus on the motivations and desired outcomes of direct action, the term is still present in the headline. The headline appears to be an attempt to align the actions discussed in the letters with the newspaper's use of *outrage* to describe non-specific but destructive acts – itself a kind of suggestive placement by encouraging a particular reading of the letters.

Conclusion

This chapter, in taking a similar approach to Chapter 4, reveals differences in the representation of the suffrage movement in the Suffrage corpus – in the newspaper as a whole – and in the Letters to the Editor corpus. In their letters, suffrage campaigners were able to explain and justify their views and actions, and, as I demonstrate in this chapter, they were able to utilise the platform offered to them in the Letters to the Editor pages to reposition themselves and their leaders.

The Letters to the Editor pages also allowed anti-suffragists a similar platform. They utilise this to construct an idea of a suffrage party that is dangerously

militant and unrepresentative of most women, and which is simultaneously growing and without political significance or influence. This enables anti-suffragists to dismiss the suffrage movement as weak, but also express concern over its growth and position itself as a solution to this problem. The solution offered is to form an alliance with the suffrage movement that would involve the suffrage campaign's concession on issues that many anti-suffragists found acceptable, such as the involvement of women in local government but not in an international government. This use of *suffrag* party* is particularly significant as a suffrage party did not exist; historical research shows that suffrage campaigners engaged with the political system by lobbying MPs, sending deputations, and offering or withdrawing support to MPs., especially at election time. In this sense, a suffrage party is something that is created by and exists for anti-suffrage campaigners and as their use of the term indicates, is something that they can summon as a threat or an object of ridicule.

Suffrage campaigners use letters to the editor to reposition their leaders and to create links between different organisations within the movement. In the Suffrage corpus, *suffrag* leaders* is associated with trials, prison and arrests; in contrast, suffrage campaigners describe their leaders positively and make use of familiar negative rhetoric – particularly that of mental illness, which, as described in the case study of Emily Wilding Davison in Chapter 6, was associated with suffrage campaigners. Rather than causing or exacerbating mental illness, suffrage leaders instead offer a disciplined alternative for the maenads, hysterical young girls and miserable women of this chapter title. One of the themes of this thesis is how suffrage identities are conflated as specifically suffragist identities, so making a diverse movement homogeneous and erasing the very real differences that existed. The letters to the editor corpus offers evidence of how suffrage campaigners made

these links between factions of the movement; rather than subsuming all suffrage identities as *suffragists*, they instead use a more neutral term: *suffrage leaders*. By using such a term, leaders from different parts of the movement are able to comment on issues affecting other parts of the moment; most notably, this occurs when Fawcett, leader of the non-militant NUWSS, is able to criticise the treatment of the largely militant WSPU prisoners.

There are also differences in how direct action is described in the LttE corpus. While the Suffrage corpus was marked by its extensive use of direct action terms obtained through Mutual Information, the LttE corpus has no strongly associated collocates in the direct action category. When direct action terms are used, they tend to be used in headlines – produced by the editorial staff rather than the writers – or in quotations. By using direct action terms in the headline, newspaper editors are able to make links between the content of the letter and the representation of direct action in the newspaper.

This chapter marks the end of my analysis of the Suffrage and Letters to the Editor corpora. In the next chapter, I make more general observations about my findings, link these to wider issues of the media representation of disempowered groups, discuss some of the limitations of this thesis and consider some of the implications for future work.

8 Conclusion

Three major findings emerged from this thesis: the extent of the newspaper focus on direct action, the conflation of distinct suffrage identities and the role of suggestive placement in establishing a master narrative against which a counter narrative can be written. These findings provide evidence for the process of "do[ing] away with the body and corporeal coordinates through which the multidimensional or polyvocal semiotics operated" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 180). As I demonstrate, the media representation of the women's suffrage movement in *The Times* focuses on direct action carried out by a minority of suffrage campaigners rather than the considerable diversity of the movement identified by suffrage historians. In the following sections I summarise how this focus serves to represent the suffrage movement as a homogeneous movement and the effect of such a conflation of diverse identities. I discuss the limitations of the present approach in section 8.4, focusing on issues with working with a 'noisy' corpus, and I explore the implications of this thesis in section 8.5. I argue that suggestive placement offers a nuanced approach to analysing historical news texts that takes into account their presentation. This thesis also has implications for researchers studying the media presentation of other complex protest movements and, in my use of newspaper texts, I demonstrate that non-suffrage produced texts are a rich resource for examining responses to the suffrage movement.

8.1 Newspaper focus on direct action

The focus on direct action was identified through both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method in Chapter 4 identified strongly associated

collocates for *suffragist*, *suffragists*, *suffragette* and *suffragettes* for each year between 1908 and 1914. These strongly associated collocates were then categorised according to themes identified by Martin Pugh (2000) supplemented by those derived from the data. Direct action emerged as one of the most consistent categories, indicating its salience and prompting more detailed investigation. The quantitative method used in Chapter 6 also indicated the significance of direct action. The news articles I examined for their reporting on Emily Wilding Davison showed suggestive placement with news texts reporting arson at Hurst Park racecourse and the arrest and hearing of Kitty Marion and Clara Giveen, the WSPU members charged with the arson, placed alongside news texts reporting the actions, aftermath, death and funeral of Emily Wilding Davison. The placement of these "arson texts" provide a master narrative focusing on the threat of suffrage direct action and its terrifyingly destructive potential.

The focus on direct action is not surprising; as my discussion of Galtung and Ruge (1965) shows, reporting on direct action is consistent with principles of newsworthiness – it concerned elite nations and, often, people; it could be seen in personal terms; it had negative consequences; it occurred in a time span amenable to newspaper production, and, finally, reporting suffrage direct action reinforced its future appearance in *The Times*. However, this focus on direct action had the effect of giving an unbalanced view of the suffrage movement, heavily skewing it towards reporting of direct action and, as discussed in the next section, paying less attention to the significant differences in suffrage identities. I would argue that this had an effect on a public informed by *The Times*; while *The Times* did report processions and meetings, their reporting of direct action was pervasive and became associated with the suffrage movement rather than the array of constitutionalist methods many

suffrage campaigners employed. As the suffrage-authored letters to the editor in Chapter 7 show, suffrage campaigners attempted to counter arguments found in *The Times* by repositioning key elements of their campaign, such as the role of their leaders, and by discussing direct action in ways not identified through the particular quantitative methods I utilised – perhaps through circumlocution – or deemphasised to the point of direct actions terms not appearing as strongly associated collocates. The suffrage response highlights the disputed nature of suffrage representation in *The Times*; that *The Times'* focus on direct action could be challenged and alternative positions argued.

The Times used a variety of terms to report direct action. I found that each has different nuances. I examined six terms in detail: *disturbance**, *outrage**, *violence, crime**, *disorder* and *incident?*. While all six terms described direct action, they had different semantic profiles and were used to describe different acts and different interactions between people. The two low frequency terms, *disorder* and *incident?*, are used in reference to parallel situations; *disorder* was used to describe the risks of direct actions and the difficult situations suffrage campaigners sometimes found themselves in. They faced hostility from unsympathetic crowds, but also encountered aggression from the police breaking up suffrage meetings. In contrast, *incident?* was used when suffrage campaigners' interactions were presented as ineffectual and harmless. It was used when suffrage campaigners focused their attention on authority figures including Members of Parliament, the aristocracy and the monarchy. However, rather than posing a threat, the suffrage campaigners' actions are neutralised or ineffective – the authority figures targeted are not in any real danger. In other occurrences of *incident?*, suffrage campaigners are presented as amusing in their harmlessness. Two low frequency terms appear to show some

distinction between different groups of suffrage campaigners. The term *violence* is used to describe the reaction to suffrage campaigners, but is also used when reporting some suffrage leaders, organisers or factions distancing themselves from other suffrage leaders, organisers or factions presumably using violence. However, because *The Times* tended to use *suffragist* to describe all suffrage campaigners, these criticisms from within the movement appear as individualistic, unsystematic or arbitrary rather than the organised opposition it was. The lowest frequency term, *crime**, was rarely used – perhaps out of unwillingness to associate women with criminal activities. The highest frequency terms were *disturbance** and *outrage**. These two terms appear non-specific and could be used to describe a variety of types of direct action. However, while *disturbance** was the most frequent direct action term until 1911, it was overtaken by *outrage** in 1912. This could be due to changes in acts encompassed by the direct action campaign and its escalation.

8.2 Conflation of suffrage identities

Chapters 4 and 7 addressed Research Questions 1 and 4. These two Research Questions focused on the lexical dimension of *The Times'* representation of suffrage campaigners. The historical research reveals that suffrage campaigners identified as both suffragists and suffragettes; the term *suffragist* was usually associated with constitutionalist campaigners and *suffragette* associated with militant campaigners, particularly members of the Women's Social and Political Union. The following table summarises the distinctions between the two terms.

Table 8.1: Summary of differences between "suffragist" and "suffragette"

Suffragists	Suffragettes
Considered more inclusive term	Members of a militant organisation
Constitutionalists	Challenged constitutional approach
Campaigned by lobbying Parliament	Prepared to engage in direct action

As the analysis of *suffrag* prisoners* in Chapter 7 demonstrates, these different terms are found in letters to the editor written by suffrage campaigners and are strategically used to make links between different factions within the campaign, especially when creating spaces where members affiliated with one form of campaigning advocated on behalf those affiliated with another. However, while these distinctions were meaningful and in use by suffrage campaigners, *The Times'* preferred term for suffrage campaigners regardless of organisational affiliation, ideology or campaigning tactics was *suffragist*. As the direct action collocations in Chapter 4 indicate, activities usually associated with militant campaigners and especially the WSPU were associated with *suffragist*. The following table summarises this conflation of meanings under the term *suffragist*; if *suffragette* is avoided, then all of the associations of *suffragette* become associated with *suffragist*.

Table 8.2: Summary of conflated associations of "suffragist"

Suffragists
Considered more inclusive term
Members of a militant organisation
Constitutionalists
Challenged constitutionalist approach

Campaigned by lobbying Parliament
Prepared to engage in direct action

However, not all suffrage activities were reported, or reported with the same level of detail as direct action. The above table summarises the combined associations under *suffragist*, but as my research demonstrates, not all of these associations were present in *The Times'* news reporting. While constitutionalist activities like processions and deputations were reported, it was not with the same frequency as direct action. If constitutionalist activities were not being reported, it would be difficult to report militant activities in that context; opposition to the constitutionalist approach could not be reported without discussing what it opposed. However, as Holton (1986: 31) argues, militant campaigners developed their strategies as a frustrated response to the perceived ineffectiveness of "existing parliamentary tactics" and must be understood as such. Instead, Table 8.3 summarises what is left in *The Times'* reporting on suffragists: members of militant organisations who were prepared to engage in direct action. As this chart indicates, the range of associations of suffragist in *The Times* makes for a short list.

Table 8.3: Summary of resultant associations of "suffragist" in *The Times*

Suffragists
Members of a militant organisation
Prepared to engage in direct action

The militant and direct action associations are both emphasised and linked with suffragist identities. To a readership informed by *The Times*, this is what suffragists

are. Suffragette and suffragist identities are conflated but also reduced, limited in their scope.

This is also seen in the news reports following the actions and deaths of Emily Wilding Davison. Davison, a member of the WSPU, had a difficult relationship with its leadership; nevertheless, her funeral procession through London was held under the WSPU's aegis. She is consistently described as a suffragist, and furthermore, the suggestively placed texts within the news articles explicitly describe direct action as suffragist activities. The women, Kitty Marion and Clara Giveen, are charged with "loitering with intent to commit a felony" on 11 June 1913; *The Times* reports that Marion was "known to be a militant suffragist" yet carefully notes the presence of a copy of the *Suffragette*, the WSPU newsletter. A news article of 16 June 1913 reports their charge of "maliciously setting fire to buildings at Hurst Park Racecourse" and gives detail of the hearing. Again, the presence of "a copy of the *Suffragette* and two copies of *Votes for Women*", this time on the Hurst Park telegraph office window ledge, is offered as evidence against them. The *Suffragette* was published as the official paper of the WSPU after the split with the Pethick-Lawrences in 1912; the Pethick-Lawrences retained control over and continued to publish *Votes for Women* (Crawford 2001: 460). Other news texts reporting direct action use the presence of pro-suffrage newsletters as evidence of a suffrage claim of the direct action. A witness called at the hearing remembered that "he remarked to a companion, "Here come two ladies. I think they are suffragists. One of the women turned around and, smiling, said, "I don't think""; this is notable because he identified the women as suffragists rather than suffragettes, indicating that he associated suspicious behaviour with suffragists – and perhaps was not even aware of the different terms in use and their different associations.

8.3 Suggestive placement

Research Questions 2 and 3 focused on how the structure of the articles contributed towards representations of the movement. I addressed this question in Chapters 5 and 6, first by examining the organisation of the articles and then by focusing on the representation of one key figure in *The Times'* reporting of the suffrage campaign.

As I demonstrate in Chapter 5, news articles in *The Times* from this period were not organised as early 21[st] century news articles. Instead, not only were news texts structured differently – chronologically rather than in terms of importance – but articles themselves were structured differently. Rather than being organised as one news text per article, each article could contain several separate news texts on different news events. As I demonstrate in Chapter 5, the placement of other news texts in the same article as a suffrage news text was not merely random, but instead was suggestive. I examined all of the articles found in the Suffrage corpus in the June of 1908, 1909, 1910 and 1913 – a total of 210 articles. I demonstrate that the practice of placing more than one text in an article was relatively common; furthermore, two fifths of all such texts show evidence of links between the texts. This is borne out by a detailed analysis of June 1908 and June 1913.

My analysis of the discourses of Emily Wilding Davison presents a detailed case study of the *The Times'* reporting of her actions, their aftermath, her death, inquest, funeral procession and finally, the very similar actions of a man later that month. I examine the discourses of Emily Wilding Davison: these focused on her commitment to the suffrage cause, her involvement with the WSPU, the serious nature of her injuries and her frailty, and the mental health of both Davison and Hewitt. These discourses present a complex portrayal of Davison in which her

dedication and intelligence is contrasted with allegations of madness. These discourses also change during the period I analysed; this was particularly noticeable in the case of the discourse of mental illness. Initial reports of her actions speculate on mental illness providing an impetus for her actions and the possibly "that many of the militant suffragists are not altogether responsible for their acts", and, indeed, "that they are not altogether sane". This speculation is quashed by Davison's brother's evidence at the inquest into her death; however, it resurfaces in the reports on Hewitt's actions, albeit in a modified form. This time, concerns over mental illness entre around the "weak and ill-balanced mind[s]" of others who might be influenced by such actions.

The Emily Wilding Davison texts do not appear as one text per article, but other texts are found in the same articles. While the suggestive placement of these texts may be due to spatial and temporal proximity of news events – the initial reports of Emily Wilding Davison are found in articles reporting on the Derby – most of these suggestively placed texts refer to another act of direct action at a racecourse. These texts detail the hearing of two suffrage campaigners charged with deliberately setting fire to buildings at Hurst Park racecourse. While Davison is positioned differently – as an intelligent, educated women passionately devoted to her cause – this is a counter narrative. The suggestively placed texts provide the master narrative. In this master narrative, suffrage campaigners are represented as the dangerous, violent instigators of arson, causing massive property damage. The audience is not allowed to forget the place suffrage campaigners occupy in *The Times'* representation; the counter narrative cannot be allowed to exist unchallenged.

8.4 Limitations to this study

This thesis can only make claims about the data used. I focus on *The Times* for reasons detailed in Chapter 3; however, *The Times* is not representative of all newspapers of this period and these findings and conclusions cannot be extrapolated to other news sources. What I hope to have provided is an insight into the media representation of the women's suffrage movement in one newspaper; to make broader claims about the media representation of the suffrage movement, more and different forms of media must be examined.

A second limitation was offered by the data. As discussed in Chapter 3, *The Times* Digital Archive was created by scanning physical copies of the newspaper then obtaining a machine-readable XML file through Optical Character Recognition (OCR). This created a 'noisy' corpus – a corpus with noise in the signal. As I discussed in the previous section, as more historical texts are digitalised and become available for use in a corpus, this problem of using such noisy texts will only become more of an issue. Corpus linguists are addressing this issue; Corpus Linguistics 2013 includes a workshop on "Corpus Analysis with Noise in the Signal"[26] organised by Alistair Baron, Paul Rayson and Dawn Archer that brings together "studies which highlight and quantify the impact of noisy textual data on corpus-based research and/or present methods to negate the effect of this noise". These noisy texts include non-standard orthography from historical texts, computer-mediated language varieties, learner corpora and "[i]naccurately digitised texts, e.g. badly OCRed or badly transcribed corpora" (Baron, Rayson and Archer, 2012). OCR, however, differs in key ways from the human-produced non-standard orthography; the spelling variation seen is not consistent or phonological. For example, the letter "e" may be

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[26] http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/cans2013/

transcribed as "o", "c", "e", "d" or "b" depending on the quality of the image and any marks that appear in the scan – these may be intentional, such as quotemarks, or unintentional marks resulting from damage to the original paper or dust. Such issues pose a challenge to a researcher working with these texts. In the case of this thesis, the size of the corpus provides some buffer. However, this is not an ideal situation and I very much look forward to improved methods of correcting and working with noisy corpora.

Finally, the challenges of producing an interdisciplinary thesis should be acknowledged. This thesis draws extensively on feminist suffrage historiography and the history of early 20th century British politics; however, I am not a historian. I have sought to be respectful and sensitive to the different methods and approaches used by historians, and I hope that this work can offer some useful insights to "proper" historians, but I also hope I can accept their inevitable corrections with grace and humility. Despite the challenges of an interdisciplinary approach, this thesis offers a sustained argument in favour of such combined methods. The linguistic analysis is stronger for its grounding in the historical cultural, social and political context, while the historical analysis has a firm foundation in quantitative and qualitative text analysis. In this thesis I clearly demonstrate that while *The Times* did report suffrage activity, it was framed in terms of militant direct action and associated with suffragist terminology. While suffrage historians have suspected that *The Times* reported the suffrage movement in terms of militant direct action (Crawford 2013: personal correspondence), they have not had the tools with which to conduct a quantitative lexical analysis of large amounts of data. An interdisciplinary approach, as well as offering complementary approaches from different disciplines with which to corroborate such hunches, can also provide the

tools with which to gain new insights, such as the extent to which *The Times* reported all suffrage activities as the work of suffragists.

8.5 Implications for future work

The implications of the findings are three-fold: firstly, I offer an insight into the presentation of early twentieth century news reports and demonstrate how the placement of texts within an article is not an accidental or neutral act. Instead these texts are grouped and should be read as grouped texts in order to establish the context, note the different narratives present and perform an informed reading. Use of historical news texts as a corpus or for linguistic analysis is increasing as more newspapers are digitalised and machine-readable texts become available. However, I argue that these historical news texts cannot be treated and analysed in the same way as present-day news texts. At present, most analyses of the language of the news focuses on present-day news and makes clear assumptions about the organisation and presentation of news texts; for example, that news is not presented chronologically but in order of importance, relevance and/or interest and that news is organised as one text per article and that texts can be read individually and without the context of surrounding texts. As my research demonstrates, suggestive placement offers a rich and nuanced method for analysing such texts that acknowledges the different constraints operating in the historical period under investigation. Further research into suggestive placement itself could investigate the extent it was used in other newspapers; more fundamentally, an awareness that meaning is found in the presentation of articles and above the level of the text has implications for researchers working with historical newspapers.

Secondly, I hope to offer an insight into how protest groups may be represented in mainstream media. The power dynamic at work meant that the majority of suffrage campaigners, with the exception of very occasional pieces by prominent figures such as Millicent Fawcett, were not able to influence to influence the content of *The Times'* news report. While they were able to express themselves in letters to the editor and in the suffrage press, *The Times* consistently used terms apparently at odd with suffrage self-representation and, as described in section 8.1.2, conflated diverse elements of the movement into a homogeneous militant whole. With such a focus on direct action, *The Times'* coverage of the suffrage movement could even have been a contributing factor in the length of time it took for the franchise to be extended to women. Bearman (2005) argues that it was direct action itself that caused this delay – instead, I would argue that it was not direct action itself inasmuch the perceived homogeneity of the movement and the apparent willingness of all "militant suffragists" to engage in direct action responsible for the delay. This last point is particularly salient when discussing current protest movements. This thesis was written contemporaneously with protests against the Conservative government of 2010 – indeed, part of Chapter 4 was written in an occupation. Examination of present-day news reports shows similar processes of conflation, notably within protest marches and particularly in the case of property damage, for example, the Conservative Campaign Headquarters at Millbank in the student protest march of 10 November 2010. Subsequent media coverage focused on direct action and the diverse body of student protesters ignored in favour of reporting on the minority. The effect of this was to present all student protesters as willing to engage in property damage, resulting in more hostile media coverage. By focusing on a movement with a known outcome in the form of the Representation of the People

Act 1918, this thesis offers a historical perspective on the media representation of protest movements with implications for the study of present-day protest movements.

Thirdly, by focusing exclusively on a mainstream, non-suffrage produced newspaper, I hope to have demonstrated the value of examining such texts in themselves. Most suffrage historiography focuses on suffrage-produced texts and only uses mainstream, non-suffrage-produced newspapers to supplement suffrage-produced texts with additional information or to confirm details of events. By focusing on *The Times*, I am able to focus on something different; rather than tracing developments in the suffrage campaign, I am able to explore outside perceptions of the suffrage movement and how the press responded to direct action. This research would not be possible without the vast contribution of research into the suffrage movement through suffrage-produced texts; however, I hope to have expanded the kinds of texts useful for suffrage historiography.

This thesis makes a major contribution to interdisciplinary studies, and in particular explores points of contact between history and linguistics. The combination of methods drawn from history, corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis offers a flexible approach that allows both fine-grained analyses of individual texts and a broader diachronic analysis across seven years and 7 million words. I investigate Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) claim that language wielded by the powerful is used to silence, simplify and conflate complex, plural movements and offer compelling evidence for this process on a lexical and textual level.

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Appendix 1: Categorised strongly associated collocates for the Suffrage corpus

1908 – 569 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant		militant		
Geography and places				
Gender and gender roles	she, woman, women	female, lady, miss, mrs, woman, women		
Origins				
Direct action	agitation, demonstration, disturbance	demonstration		
Legal and prison	prisoners	Holloway, imprisoned, prison		
Proper names				
Organisational issues	leaders, movement	meeting		
Politics	westminster,			
Opposition		anti		
Uncategorised	a, another, are, arguments, at, have, in, on, some, the, their, who, with	after, all, are, at, by, first, from, had, hall, have, made, many, new, now, number, of, party, say, several, some, the, themselves, three, two, were, who, whom, yesterday	a, in, the	and, are, by, from, help, house, of, the, who, would

1909 – 527 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant		militant		
Geography and places				
Gender and gender roles	she, woman	female, him, miss, woman, women, women's		
Origins				
Direct action	disturbances	deputation, interruption		
Legal and prison	feeding, gaol, prisoners	feeding, imprisoned, police, prison, release, treatment		
Proper names				
Organisational issues	leaders	meeting		
Politics				
Opposition	anti	anti		
Uncategorised	a, are, at, in, said, the, who, with	against, are, at, being, by, downing, editor, from, green, made, number, of, other, party, prevent, section, stated, street, the, three, two, were, who, winson, yesterday	a	as, be, in, of, the, to

1910 – 458 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant		militant		
Geography and places				
Gender and gender roles	miss, woman, women	woman, women		
Origins				
Direct action	disturbances			
Legal and prison	prisoners	prison		
Proper names		.		
Organisational issues	movement			
Politics				
Opposition	anti	anti		
Uncategorised	a, an, as, by, during, has, is, pro, there, tuesday, two, was, when, who	all, and, are, by, from, have, more, number, other, said, so, the, their, two, were, who, yesterday	a, the	and, by, the

1911 – 322 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant		militant		
Geography and places				
Gender and gender roles	woman	woman, women		
Origins				
Direct action	demonstration			
Legal and prison	police			
Proper names		.		
Organisational issues				
Politics				
Opposition	anti	anti		
Uncategorised	a, an, as, at, the, was, with	all, are, been, by, census, the, were, with		and, of, the

1912 – 773 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant	militant	constitutional, militant	militant	
Geography and places	dublin, english, london	dublin, english, london,		
Gender and gender roles	miss, mrs, she, woman, women		miss, woman, women	
Origins				
Direct action	disturbances, incident, outrage, outrages, window	breaking, damage, ejected, interrupted, window, windows		
Legal and prison	convicted, feeding, forcible, police, prisoners, released, sentenced, treatment, trial	case, imprisoned, police, prison, released, treatment, trial		
Proper names				
Organisational issues	leaders, meeting, movement, speakers, suffragists			
Politics	liberal	liberal, labour, political		
Opposition	anti	anti		
Uncategorised	a, after, an, at, by, even, every, friends, further, last, other, out, recent, tion, two, up, views, well, who, whole, whom	among, are, at, being, believe, both, by, done, extreme, four, have, held, , last, night, non, now, number, out, passed, point, section, set, should, some, support, their, two, well,	a, of	by, have, that, the, to

were, when, who

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1913 – 785 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant	militancy, militant	militant		
Geography and places	hyde, london			
Gender and gender roles	her, male, miss, she, woman, women	male, miss, mrs, woman, women		
Origins				
Direct action	bombs, breakers, demonstration, disorder, disturbance, disturbances, fire, outrage, outrages, violence	actions, attempt, attempted, attributed, committed, damage, demonstration, disturbance, fire, fires, interrupted, outrage, outrages, violence, window		
Legal and prison	conspiracy, court, police, prisoner, prisoners, released, sentenced	police, prison, proceedings, suspected, treatment		
Proper names	albert, davison	george		
Organisational issues	addressed, campaign, colours, leader, leaders, meeting, meetings, movement, literature, publications, speaking	campaign, meeting		
Politics	liberal, ministers	liberal, unionist		
Opposition	anti	anti		
Uncategorised	a, again, air, an, another, attempt, between, case,	about, again, against, among, are, at, been, being,	a, she, that, the	and, are

	cause, deal, during, found, hall, held, I, large, last, near, night, on, open, papers, park, quantity, reported, some, supposed, taken, <u>tho</u>, two, view, was, well, were, who, with, yesterday	body, both, by, cause, caused done, early, end, four, given, have, having, held, known, large, many, morning, never, night, non, number, occurred, on, park, prevent, set, several, side, stated, street, supposed, the, their, themselves, those, three, to, two, various, well, were, who, yesterday		

1. In spite of this unprecedented recognition and the generally sympathetic tone of his speech this expressed fear lest the suffrage might be exercised by an undesirable minority of women provoked vigorous and prolonged hissing. Mr. Taft bore the interruption good-naturedly and completed his speech with a whimsical rebuke. To-day the leading suffragists express much regret at the incident. (file OFFO-1910-APR16-007-017.txt)

2. A suffragist incident occurred as Lord and Lady Aberdeen were ascending the steps leading to the Viceregal box in the grand stand (file OFFO-1912-AUG29-004-003.txt, corrected spelling)

3. SUFFRAGIST SENTENCED. THE INCIDENT IN THE LOBBY OF THE COMMONS. (file OFFO-1912-JUN27-006-010.txt, corrected spelling)

4. The efforts of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and others to wreck the Conciliation Bill had upset the minds of many of the woman suffragists and window-breaking was the result. A resolution was passed, with a few dissentients, protesting against the lawless methods lately employed by a certain section of suffragists, and expressing the view that these incidents in no way affected the justice of their claim for political enfranchisement (file OFFO-1912-MAR09-007-008.txt, corrected spelling)

5. THE SUFFRAGIST INCIDENT AT NUNEHAM HOUSE. A TRUE BILL AGAINST MISS CRAGGS (file OFFO-1912-OCT19-008-017.txt, corrected spelling)

6. The Suffrage Incident at Nuneham. Helen Craggs was sentenced to nine months' hard labour at the Oxford Assizes on Saturday for having been found in the grounds of tr. Lewis Harcourt's house, Nuneham, on July 13, provided with picklocks, skeleton keys, and other implements with intent to break into and set fire to the building (file OFFO-1912-OCT21-007-001.txt, corrected spelling where possible)

7. A SUFFRAGIST INCIDENT. Before Mr. Churchill's meeting a woman suffragist, named Glunas, who had been refused admission to the hall, fastened to her clothing a card addressed to Mr. Churchill, and entering the post-office requested to be delivered by express messenger (file OFFO-1912-SEP12-007-008.txt, corrected spelling)

8. The occupant of the car gave his name to the policeman as Lord Glenconner, but a rumour got about that the Prime Minister was also in the car, and shortly afterwards some local suffragists called at the Liberal Club, presumably in order to interview Mr. Asquith. They were, however, unable to obtain any information regarding the Prime Minister, who is reported to be staying some 20 miles from Edinburgh. In order to avoid suffragist incidents his place of

residence is not being disclosed (file OFFO-1912-SEP16-008-005.txt, corrected spelling)

9. During the morning service yesterday at Barry-road Wesleyan Church, East Dulwich, a number of suffragists in the congregation chanted a prayer on behalf of Mrs. Pankhurst while the Litany was being said. The women were not ejected, and the <u>incident</u> did not cause any disturbance. (file OFFO-1913-DEC22-010-012.txt, spelling corrected)

10. HOUSE OF COMMONS <u>INCIDENT</u>. During the evening Miss Sylvia Pankhurst secured admission to St. Stephen's Hall and threw a stone at the new fresco representing a Parliamentary incident of the time of Charles I. Speaker Lenthall being held down in his chair. The missile, fortunately, did not break the glass. (file OFFO-1913-JAN28-006-002.txt, spelling corrected)

11. A <u>SUFFRAGIST</u> INCIDENT. Mr. Asquith succeeded in getting away in his motor-car without any trouble, the suffragists being held back by the strong force of police. The women, however, made an attack upon the police and two of the constables had pepper thrown into their faces, one being temporarily blinded. In anger the crowd turned upon the suffragists, and the police had to draw their batons to protect the women. Though the affair looked ugly for a time the police ultimately succeeded in quelling the disturbance (file OFFO-1913-JAN30-007-005.txt, spelling corrected)

12. Herbert Jones, the King's jockey, who was injured in the <u>suffragist</u> <u>incident</u> during the race on Wednesday, was yesterday considerably improved in health. (file OFFO-1913-JUN06-008-006.txt, spelling corrected)

13. <u>SUFFRAGE</u> PETITION TO THE KING. <u>INCIDENT</u> AT THE ROYAL PROCESSION. FIVE WOMEN ARRESTED. Five woman suffragists were arrested yesterday during the King's progress to Westminster and conveyed to Cannon-row Police Station, where they were afterwards charged (file OFFO-1913-MAR11-008-002.txt, spelling corrected)

14. <u>SUFFRAGISTS</u> AND THE KING. <u>INCIDENT</u> AT THE COLISEUM. Militant suffragists made the visit of the King and Queen to the Coliseum on Saturday night the occasion of a "protest" against forcible feeding. (file OFFO-1913-OCT13-005-011.txt, spelling corrected)

15. <u>SUFFRAGIST</u> INCIDENTS. There were two suffragist incidents during the day. While Queen Alexandra, with Princess Victoria, the King and Queen of Norway, and Prince Olav, was driving from Marlborough House to St. James's Palace shortly before noon, a woman in Marlborough Yard managed to break through the police cordon and endeavoured to throw some handbills into her Majesty's carriage. (file OFFO-1913-OCT16-009-007.txt, spelling corrected)

16. At one of these he alluded to the rumour of "regrettable <u>incidents</u>" which it has been suggested may spring from the introduction of the question of woman suffrage into the [Church] Congress debates. Dr. Talbot thought this expectation would be disappointed. He had, he said, great confidence in the good sense of his fellow countrymen and country-women, and, though it was not always justified, he adhered to his belief that such incidents would be avoided. (file OFFO-1913-SEP30-003-001.txt)

17. Then happened the inevitable <u>suffragist</u> <u>incident</u>, though happily it was of the most trivial character. Just before the Royal carriage passed into Princes-street a woman at an upper window threw a bundle of leaflets in the direction of the King. (file OFFO-1914-JUL07-010-007.txt)

18. There was up to last night nothing to show that Pike is connected with the militant suffragist <u>campaign</u>, although it is remarkable that yesterday's <u>incident</u> followed closely upon an alleged suffragist plan of making an attempt to enter the precincts of the Palace by force or craft. (file OFFO-1914-JUN08-052-007.txt, spelling corrected)

Appendix 3: Timeline of suffrage activity based on Rosen (1974)

January

- 13[th] January 1913 – Evelyn Sharp able to persuade Mrs Pankhurst to suspend militancy until amendments had been acted on
- Week of 20[th] January 1913 – the Reform Bill in Parliament debated in Parliament
- 23[rd] January 1913 – Argument made by Bonar Law that the women's suffrage amendments so completely change the character of the Franchise Bill that they'd have to be introduced as a new Bill
- 27[th] January 1913 – Speaker's ruling made public
- 28[th] January 1913 – WSPU attempt to march to the House of Commons; some windows broken in Whitehall and around 30 women were arrested

Late February

- 18[th] February 1913 – "a bomb set by Emily Wilding Davison and accomplices wrecked five rooms of a partially-completed house that [David] Lloyd George was having built near Walton Heath, Surrey" (Rosen 1974: 189).
- 23[th] February 1913 – "suffragettes who attempted to hold a meeting on Wimbledon Common were attacked by a mob" (Rosen 1974:190)
- 24[th] February 1913 – plate glass window of the Croyden WSPU smashed (Rosen 1974:190)
- 25[th] February 1913 – suffragist meeting in Worthing closed due to hostility of audience (Rosen 1974:190)

March

- 1[st] March 1913 – Mrs Drummond opened first of a series of WSPU meetings in Hyde Park and is heckled by crowd (Rosen 1974: 191)
- 1[st] March 1913 – band of men rushed the WSPU platform in Wimbledon Common and drag the speakers away (Rosen 1974:191)
- 6[th] March 1913 – "McKenna, the Home Secretary, submitted the draft of a Bill which would authorize the re-arrest of prisoners who had been released because of self-induced ill-health" (Rosen 1974: 191)

- 9th March 1913 – Major act of arson at Heaton Park Pavilion, Newcastle; estimated value £400
- 10th March 1913 – Major act of arson at railway station, Saunderton; est value £1,000
- 12th March 1913 – Cabinet considered McKenna's Bill and its introduction is authorised
- 12th March 1913 –"inspectors from Scotland Yard raided the Notting Hill studio of Olive Hocken, an artist, and found wire-cutters, fire-lighters, hammers, bottles of corrosive fluid, and five false motor car licence plates" (Rosen 1974: 191)
- 16th March 1913 - Major act of arson at house, Cheam; est value £2,000
- 19th March 1913 - Major act of arson at Lady White's house, Englefield Green; est value £2,300
- 29th March 1913 - Major act of arson at station waiting rooms, Croxley; est value £1,500

April
- 2nd April 1913 - Major act of arson at Garden Suburb Free Church, Hampstead; est value £100
- 2nd April 1913 - Major act of arson of Art Gallery pictures, Manchester; est value £110
- 2nd April 1913 – in the Old Bailey, Mrs Pankhurst was found guilty of charged placed against her in February (Rosen 1974: 192)
- 4th April 1913 - Major act of arson at Roughwood, Chorley; est value £2,500
- 5th April 1913 - Major act of arson at racecourse stand, Ayr; est value £2,000
- 7th April 1913 - Major act of arson at The Chase, Norwich; est value £2,000
- 8th April 1913 – Annie Kenney was arrested but released on bail after undertaking temporarily to cease her involvement with the militant campaign (Rosen 1974: 192)
- 10th April 1913 – WSPU held their last meeting at the Albert Hall; the management would not let it to the WSPU in future (Rosen 1974: 193)
- 11th April 1913 - Major act of arson at Nevill Cricket Pavilion, Tunbridge Wells; est value £1,200
- 12th April 1913 – "Mrs Pankhurst, who had undertaken a hunger strike in prison was released [...] on a fifteen-day special licence to recuperate" (Rosen 1974: 192)
- 15th April 1913 - Major act of arson at Loveleigh, St Leonards; est value £5,000

- 15[th] April 1913 – "E.R. Henry, Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis of London, informed the Union that it would no longer be permitted to hold meetings in the parks of metropolitan London" (Rosen 1974: 193)

- 25[th] April 1913 – Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act (Cat and Mouse Act) received the Royal Assent (Rosen 1974: 193), allowing hunger-striking prisoners to be released when their health was threatened and then re-arrested when they had recovered. The time spent recuperating was not counted as part of the currency of the sentence.

- 27[th] April 1913 - Major act of arson at cricket pavilion, Perth; est value £1,200

- 30[th] April 1913 – "police raided the WSPU's offices at Lincoln's Inn House, and arrested Ms Beatrice Saunders, the financial secretary of the Union, Harriet Kerr, the office manager, Rachel Barrett, an assistant editor of the *Suffragette*, Geraldine Lennox, a sub-editor, Agnes Lake, the business manager, and Mrs Drummond" (Rosen 1974: 193)

- 30[th] April 1913 – Police raid Anne Keeney's flat (19 Mecklenburgh Square) and the Victoria House Press, printing the *Suffragette* for the first time.

May

- First week of May 1913 – WSPU transferred the printing of the *Suffragette* to National Labour Press, Manchester

- 1[st] May 1913 – Anne Kenney arrested

- 3[rd] May 1913 - Major act of arson at Ashley Road School, Aberdeen; est value £400

- 6[th] May 1913 – "Private member's women's franchise Bill, which included the wives of householders, defeated on its Second Reading by a vote of 266 to 219" (Rosen 1974: 198)

- 6[th] May 1913 - Major act of arson at St Catherine's Church, Hatcham; est value £15,000

- 7[th] May 1913 - Major act of arson at Bishop's Park stand, Fulham; est value £200

- 8[th] May 1913 – "Home Secretary asked that customs officials be instructed to hold at port of entry any issues of the *Suffragette* that might be printed abroad" (Rosen 1974:197)

- 9[th] May 1913 - Major act of arson at Oak Lea, Barrow; est value £6,000

- 9[th] May 1913 – manager of National Labour Press arrested

- 10th May 1913 - Major act of arson at Farington Hall, Dundee; est value £10,000
- 10th May 1913 - Major act of arson at boat warehouse, Nottingham; est value £1,600
- 12th May 1913 - Major act of arson at boat clubhouse, Nottingham; est value £1,600
- 14th May 1913 - Major act of arson at The Highlands, Folkestone; est value £500
- 18th May 1913 - Major act of arson at buildings in Storeys-way, Cambridge; est value £850
- 21st May 1913 - Major act of arson at Scottish Observatory, Edinburgh; est value £75
- 26th May 1913 – Mrs Pankhurst re-arrested
- 28th May 1913 - Major act of arson of stables and outhouses, North Sheen; est value £250
- 30th May 1913 – Mrs Pankhurst released on seven day licence, having refused to eat or drink whilst imprisoned

June
- 3rd June 1913 - Major act of arson at Rough's Boathouse, Oxford; est value £3,000
- 4th June 1913 – Emily Wilding Davison trampled by the King's Horse at the Epsom Derby
- 4th June 1913 - Major act of arson at Elmscross, Bradford-upon-Avon; est value £7,000
- 5th June 1913 - Major act of arson at cricket pavilion, Muswell Hill; est value £1,000
- 8th June 1913 - Major act of arson at racecourse stand, Hurst Park; est value £6,000
- 9th June 1913 – Emily Wilding Davison dies from her injuries without regaining consciousness
- 10th June 1913 - Major act of arson at a residence, East Lothian; est value £2,500
- 18th June 1913 - Major act of arson at parish church, Rowley Regis; est value £6,000
- 20th June 1913 - Major act of arson at a residence in Olton; est value £1,000
- 21st June 1913 - Major act of arson at Batty's Marine laboratory, St Andrews; est value £500
- 30th June 1913 - Major act of arson at Ballikinrain Castle, Balfron; est value £25,000
- 30th June 1913 - Major act of arson at railway station, Leuchers Junction; est value £2,000

Appendix 4: Direct action collocates for 1913

Frequencies for January

Collocation	Number of texts	Number of concordance lines
suffrag disturbance*	0	0
suffrag disorder*	0	0
suffrag outrage*	0	0
suffrag violence*	2	3
suffrag crime*	0	0
suffrag incident*	1	1

Frequencies for March

Collocation	Number of texts	Number of concordance lines
suffrag disturbance*	0	0
suffrag disorder*	0	0
suffrag outrage*	1	1
suffrag violence*	0	0
suffrag crime*	0	0
suffrag incident*	0	0

Frequencies for April

Collocation	Number of texts	Number of concordance lines
suffrag disturbance*	0	0
suffrag disorder*	0	0
suffrag outrage*	4	5
suffrag violence*	0	0
suffrag crime*	0	0
suffrag incident*	0	0

Frequencies for May

Collocation	Number of texts	Number of concordance lines
suffrag disturbance*	0	0
suffrag disorder*	0	0
suffrag outrage*	1	1

suffrag* violence*	1	1
suffrag* crime*	0	0
suffrag* incident*	0	0

Frequencies for June

Collocation	Number of texts	Number of concordance lines
suffrag* disturbance*	1	1
suffrag* disorder*	2	2
suffrag* outrage*	7	10
suffrag* violence*	1	1
suffrag* crime*	0	0
suffrag* incident*	1	1

ABOYEUR'S DERBY.

DESPERATE ACT OF A SUFFRAGIST.

FALL OF THE KING'S HORSE.

DISQUALIFICATION OF THE FAVOURITE.

The race for the Derby yesterday was marked by two incidents for which it will be long remembered, not only by the vast gathering at Epsom, but by all who take an interest in English sport. The King's horse was brought to the ground by a woman suffragist, who rushed from the crowd at Tattenham Corner, apparently with the object of seizing the reins. The horse fell and rolled on the jockey, who, however, was not severely hurt. The woman was knocked down, and received such serious injuries that she had been, when this incident—there has been no parallel to it for about 70 years—was the disqualification of the favourite, Craganour, after the horse had passed the post leading by a neck, and the declaration by the Stewards that the race had been won by Aboyeur, a horse which had been deemed so little worthy of consideration that the odds against it were 100 to 1.

Apart from these occurrences, the one stirring incident...

THE SUFFRAGIST SCENE.

HIS MAJESTY'S JOCKEY INJURED.

The vast crowds round the course had been following the race with the usual tense excitement, and the horses had reached Tattenham Corner when the King's horse was seen to fall...

A REMARKABLE PHOTOGRAPH.

THE ROYAL PARTY.

The King, who travelled to the course by train, was wearing a dark grey frock-coat suit with a white flower in the buttonhole...

none could detect the smallest symptom of decay in the enthusiasm of the people. The race was watched with the same excitement, generally silent, but now bursting forth into a cry of encouragement to some horse or jockey and now breaking into a cheer.

When the favourite was seen to pass the post there was evidence in the roar of cheering of the support which had been given to it, and later when the news of disqualification was received by the crowds the babel of tongues was extraordinary. The figures were eventually announced as follows :—

Aboyeur	..	..	..	1
Louvois	..	..	..	2
Great Sport	..	..	..	3

THE RACE DESCRIBED.

OBJECTION TO THE WINNER.

Much interest before the race is always concentrated in the paddock, where visitors catch such glimpses of the Derby colts as may be obtainable; but they are, of course, all clothed, and so surrounded by enthusiasts, moreover, that there is usually little to be seen. Nothing, as far as could be made out, looked better than Mr. Hulton's Shogun—perfectly trained, hard, and full of muscle ; as also was Lord Rosebery's handsome chestnut filly Prue, who evoked cordial admiration. Mr. Bower Ismay's Craganour completely satisfied those who had reason to hope for his success, as did Mr. Walter Raphael's Louvois. The French colt, M. Aumont's Nimbus, scarcely impressed critics very favourably, seeming to be somewhat deficient in scope and quality.

In good time the fifteen filed out on to the course, his Majesty's Anmer leading—a handsome colt enough, but a long way from the first class, and the only regret was that something better could not be produced to carry the Royal purple, scarlet, and gold. He moved well in the canter, perhaps none of the others, however, striding out with such brilliant action as Prue, though Shogun must have delighted his adherents by his style of sweeping over the ground. Craganour, with his head in the air, was a less attractive mover. The decisive moment was approaching, and one gathered that Mr. Bower Ismay's colt was more strongly than ever in favour; in fact, small doubt seemed to be felt that Craganour must win. The point was speedily to be settled, for almost as soon as the horses had reached the post they lined up to the gate and were immediately sent on their way. That no fear was entertained of Craganour's ability to stay was shown by the manner in which his jockey took him to the front, or at least raced after the actual leader, Mr. A. P. Cunliffe's Aboyeur—one of the few who had not been regarded as worth consideration. He had run once this year, a poor fourth to Mr. Leopold de Rothschild's Hippeastrum for the Easter Stakes at Kempton Park on the first day of the season, and small notice was taken of his prominence, it being imagined that he would drop back when the serious part of the struggle began.

At Tattenham Corner, and after rounding it, he still maintained his place, however ; meantime, Wootton was endeavouring to bring Shogun nearer to the leaders and apparently meeting with no little obstruction, Mr. Leopold de Rothschild's dark blue jacket was not far away, the bearer of Mr. Hall Walker's blue and

sion that the hose-pipe incident took place in Strangeways Prison. She was released at the end of eight days. In November, 1910, she broke a window inside the House of Commons and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, but, after hunger strike, was released in eight days. In December, 1911, she was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for setting fire to pillar-boxes at Westminster. In November last she was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment for assaulting a Baptist minister by mistake for Mr. Lloyd George at Aberdeen. She was liberated, however, after four days' fast.

NARRATIVES OF SPECTATORS.

A card of the Women's Social and Political Union was found on the woman and the colours of the Union were tied round her waist. This evidence of her connexion with the Suffragist movement gave rise at once to the belief that she had deliberately attempted to spoil the race. Some people who were close by her at the rails expressed the view that she rushed on the course under the impression that all the horses had passed. Others expressed the opinion that she was crossing the course to get to a friend on the opposite side and fainted when she saw the horses galloping towards her. Earl, the jockey who was riding Agadir, narrowly missed running into her.

A spectator who watched the race at Tattenham Corner states that the leaders had rounded the corner, when he suddenly saw a woman dart from the crowd, which at this point was of huge proportions. The duty of the police is as a rule, something of a sinecure while the race is being run, for the crowd are always willing to give the horses as much room as is necessary. A police officer tried to stop the intruder ere she could reach the horses, but he was too late, and before the onlookers could realize what was taking place the woman had clutched hold of Anmer's reins, and both horse and jockey had fallen to the ground. The general impression of those who saw the incident at close quarters seemed to be that the woman had seized hold of the first horse she could reach—which happened to be the King's—not with the intention of disqualifying any particular horse, but of interfering with and, if possible, spoiling the race as a whole. As far as the spectator could see, the woman was knocked down by the King's horse, but no other horse appeared to touch her. The incident, however, had a disconcerting effect on the other jockeys, who turned round in their saddles at the untoward occurrence. It appears that immediately after the woman fell a placard bearing the words "Votes for Women" was raised by somebody in the crowd, suggesting that the whole thing had been prearranged. Directly the crowd realized what had happened there was a wild rush to the scene, and it was then obvious that Jones had been injured. The mounted police formed a cordon round the victims of the accident, and after a few minutes they were removed in an ambulance.

Immediately after the accident the King ordered inquiries to be made as to the nature of his jockey's injuries, and when the ambulance bearers arrived at the weighing room his Majesty's messenger was awaiting them. Before the King and Queen left Epsom they received a reassuring report from the doctor and were also informed of the condition of Miss Davison. Their Majesties gave directions that they should be kept informed of any change in Jones's condition, and some time after their

A Memorable Derby.

The Derby of 1913 will long remain memorable in the annals of the Turf. In an open race, splendidly contested, the favourite passed the winning-post first by a head, to be disqualified by the Stewards. No Derby winner has been disqualified since 1844, the year of the notorious "Running Rein" scandal, and the occurrence of an event so exceptional is itself enough to make yesterday's race a landmark in the recollections of the racing community. The flag was raised after the weighing in, and Craganour's supposed victory was hailed with enthusiasm by the crowd, which was as large and as varied as usual. Soon, however, rumours began to circulate that the Stewards were asking for explanations of the running, and at the end of half an hour it was known that they had awarded the race to Aboyeur. The Stewards, it should be observed, took action upon their own initiative. No objection, it is stated, was raised by Mr. CUNLIFFE, the owner of Aboyeur. The official report which they have issued declares that their objection to REIFF, the rider of the first horse, was made upon the ground that he had jostled the second horse. They heard the evidence of the judge and of several of the jockeys who had taken part in the race, and upon it they found that Craganour did not keep a straight course and that he interfered with Shogun, Day Comet, and Aboyeur. It is explained that the "all "right" signal was put up by an irresponsible person without official instructions—a circumstance which seems to show a certain want of discipline somewhere. The sensations which this decision caused must have been of the liveliest order. Some of the bookmakers had actually begun paying out money on the supposition that Craganour had won, and, as the news of his victory was at once telegraphed all over the world, there must have been many men in many lands yesterday who for a brief spell rejoiced in the glad illusion that they had made a good thing of the Derby. Their disappointment was the more bitter when they learnt the full truth. On the other hand, the backers who had put their money on Aboyeur had a day more exciting still. Their horse, against whom odds of 100 to 1 were laid, made a magnificent struggle for victory from start to finish. For half an hour they thought that he had just missed it, and then came the joyous surprise that after all he, and not Craganour, was the Derby winner.

The desperate act of a woman who rushed from the rails on to the course as the horses swept round Tattenham Corner, apparently from some mad notion that she could spoil the race, will impress the general public even more, perhaps, than the disqualification of the winner. She did not interfere with the race, but she nearly killed a jockey as well as herself, and she brought down a valuable horse. She seems to have run right in front of Anmer, which JONES was riding for the KING. It was impossible to avoid her. She was ridden down, the horse turned a complete somersault and fell upon his rider. That the horse was the KING's was doubtless an accident; it would need almost miraculous skill or fortune to single out any particular animal as they passed a particular point. Some of the spectators close to the woman supposed that she was under the impression that the horses had all gone by and that she was merely attempting to cross the course. The evidence, however, is strong that her action was deliberate, and that it was planned and executed in the supposed interests of the suffragist movement. Whether she intended to commit suicide, or was simply reckless, it is hard to surmise. She very nearly took JONES's life and her own. Had Anmer brought down the other horses which were close behind him, a scene might have followed of which it is horrible even to think, and nobody could have maintained, had it occurred, that it was not a natural consequence of what she did. She is said to be a person well known in the suffragist movement, to have had a card of a suffragist association upon her, and to have had the so-called "Suffragist colours" tied round her waist. It is further alleged that just after she had run out in front of the horses, holding her hands above her head, a placard with the words "Votes for Women" was raised by some

person in the crowd. These circumstances are not, of course, conclusive, but they are, to say the least, suggestive.

The case will, of course, become the subject of investigation by the police, and we may possibly learn from the offender herself what exactly she intended to do and how she fancied that it could assist the suffragist cause. A deed of the kind, we need hardly say, is not likely to increase the popularity of any cause with the ordinary public. Reckless fanaticism is not regarded by them as a qualification for the franchise. They are disposed to look upon manifestations of that temper with contempt and with disgust. When these manifestations are attended by indifference to human life, they begin to suspect that they are not altogether sane. They say that the persons who wantonly destroy property and endanger innocent lives must be either desperately wicked or entirely unbalanced. Where women are concerned, the natural gallantry of the public always inclines them to take a favourable view, and accordingly they are gradually coming to the conclusion that many of the militant suffragists are not altogether responsible for their acts. The growth of that belief will not improve the prospects of woman suffrage. The bulk of the suffragist party, and the abler of its leaders, are doubtless conscious of this truth. They seem, however, to be quite unable to lay the spirit which some of them have helped to raise, and to prevent the perpetration of crimes, the utter inanity of which as a means of political propaganda is even more striking than their wickedness. We are much mistaken if yesterday's exhibition does not do more hurt to the cause of woman suffrage than years of agitation can undo. The militant school will long have reason to remember Aboyeur's Derby.

THE DERBY DECISION.

NOVEL POINTS RAISED BY THE DISQUALIFICATION.

A CASE FOR A FULL STATEMENT.

Discussion on the most eventful of races for the Derby continues, and as a matter of course strong differences of opinion were expressed yesterday as to the action of the Stewards in disqualifying Craganour and awarding the race to Aboyeur. This was certain to be so, for the reason that enormous pecuniary interests were at stake. Mr. Bower Ismay's Craganour had for a long time been favourite for the race ; and a colt does not keep his position in the Derby " market " unless large sums of money are coming in on his behalf.

By far the best view of the finish is obtained by occupants of the little private stand on the far side of the course ; they look down on the horses, who pass, it may, almost be said, close to them, and profound astonishment at the Stewards' ruling was expressed by many of those who were in this particularly favourable situation for observing. The idea was that both jockeys were at fault, so far as fault was to be found, indeed it is stated that Aboyeur made an attempt to savage Craganour, and that the bumping, at this point at any rate, was due to the horses themselves. It is held to be strange, moreover, that if there were grounds for an objection one was not made by Mr. A. P. Cunliffe, the owner of the colt originally placed second.

This is one side of the subject ; the other is that the Stewards were convinced that the riding had been culpably reckless if not actually foul and the evidence they called was held to confirm their impression. The great question is of what this evidence consisted. In the ordinary way it is undesirable that what witnesses say when Stewards are conducting investigations should be reported, but in such an altogether exceptional case as the disqualification of a Derby winner, who has also been a Derby favourite—it would be absurd to ignore the importance of this latter consideration—it seems urgently necessary that the multitude of those who are concerned, the world in general, indeed, should know precisely what was alleged, and by whom, and what reply was forthcoming to the allegations. A curious fact is that, though the colt ridden by the French jockey Reiff was disqualified, no caution or reprimand seems to have been given by the Stewards. The horse's owner is deprived of the race which few men have an opportunity of winning twice in a lifetime ; but, so far as what has come to light reveals, no blame is bestowed upon the rider, who is nevertheless accused of having done dangerous mischief throughout the contest.

One thing certain is that jockeyship has seldom if ever been at so low an ebb as it is at the present time, and not a little riding which gives rise to suspicion of foul intention is

merely due to sheer inability to control a horse whose rider is perched on the animal's withers. It has happened more than once of late years that the Derby has not been won by the best horse among the starters, and Wednesday's race appears to be another instance. If it were run again there is little doubt that Aboyeur would not be generally chosen as the probable winner, nor would confidence in Craganour be extreme. Mr. Hulton's Shogun was galloping in a vigorous fashion, which many believe would have ensured success, when he was so seriously hampered that his chance vanished, and others assert that Mr. Raphael's Louvois suffered from interference which not improbably lost him the prize. It has been asked whether an appeal from the Epsom Stewards is possible. There is no hope in this direction for any one who may have cause to wish for a reversal of the judgment. Two of the Stewards of the Jockey Club, Major Eustace Loder and Lord Wolverton, act, in conjunction with Lord Rosebery, as Stewards of the Epsom Meeting, so that the two could only rehear the case which they have settled assisted by their colleague, Mr. F. W. Lambton, and if by any chance he differed he would be in a minority.

PROBLEMS IN PAYMENT.

BOOKMAKERS AND THEIR CLIENTS.

All manner of awkward problems have been raised by the disqualification of Craganour. Much of the trouble that has arisen over the settlement of bets and the decision of sweepstakes would have been avoided if it had not been for the irresponsible person who gave the unauthorized " All Right " signal, which was thereupon transmitted all over the course some minutes before it became generally known that an objection had been made by the Stewards to Craganour.

Anybody who has ever been on a racecourse knows that there is always an interval of two or three minutes before the bookmakers begin to pay out their losses. They are waiting for the " All Right " signal. Once that is given to them, they resume their business. Naturally, therefore, when they received the orthodox signal on Wednesday, some of the bookmakers began to pay the large number of persons who had backed the favourite. Those who through constant attendance at race meetings are best qualified to judge say that from seven to eight minutes' passed between the hoisting of the " All Right " signal and the general circulation of the news on the course that Craganour had been objected to. Within those seven or eight minutes a good deal of money was paid out by bookmakers to those who honestly believed that they had won with Craganour. In Tattersall's ring, however, the news of the objection was known almost immediately ; but in Barnard's ring, which is some distance from the heart of things, a large amount of money had been paid out on bets ranging from 1s. to £15 before it was even suspected that anything was wrong. One bookmaker illustrates the difference between the two rings by a narrative of his own experiences. He does business in both rings. He paid out no money at all over Craganour in Tattersall's ring, and over £80 in Barnard's ring. Only £2 10s. of the £80 had been returned to him by last night. Other bookmakers who were also paying out when the news of Craganour's disqualification arrived had better fortune. One who had paid out more than £100 had had practically the whole amount refunded. Another was astonished to receive £7 back after the last race yesterday.

No very large amounts can have been paid out in these circumstances. Much of the big betting business is not done on the turf at all, and even in Tattersall's ring at least 75 per cent. of the bets made on this year's Derby were with men known personally to the bookmakers. One bookmaker, however—though not in Tattersall's—is known to have paid out as much as £300 before he discovered his mistake. Probably, therefore, several thousands of pounds were paid out by the smaller bookmakers in error over Craganour.

The result of the Derby has given rise to a series of problems in the settlement of sweepstakes. Such matters are, of course, subject to the Rules of Racing. Sweepstakes on the race are decided on the final placings, and not on those of the judge. In some sweepstakes it is customary to award a prize to the last horse. Craganour was the last horse, as the following Rule of Racing shows :—

If an objection to a horse which has won or been placed in a race be declared valid, the horse shall be regarded as having been last in the race, and the other horses shall take positions accordingly.

On a great betting race like the Derby, too, there must have been many wagers on the respective abilities of two horses. If, for instance, a person wagered that Craganour would beat Shogun, he lost, because Craganour, according to the Rule of Racing, finished last.

THE SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE.
CONDITION OF JONES.

Herbert Jones, the King's jockey, who was injured in the suffragist incident during the race on Wednesday, was yesterday considerably improved in health. He was taken to the Great Eastern Hotel from Epsom on Wednesday evening, and yesterday morning his medical attendant, Dr. P. J. Spencer, allowed him to proceed home to Newmarket by the afternoon express from Liverpool-street Station. He was accompanied by Mr. Fenn, secretary to Mr. Marsh, the King's trainer. His face was badly bruised and his left eye was closed and discoloured. He stated, however, that he was much better and was going on as well as he could expect in the circumstances.

Inquiries at the Epsom and Ewell Cottage Hospital yesterday showed that Miss E. W. Davison, the suffragist who caused the accident, had rallied during the day. She had been conscious since the previous afternoon, but was still unable to speak. She was able to take some nourishment.

A detective from Scotland Yard stayed at the hospital yesterday. No further action has, however, been taken by the police authorities.

From the point of view of the crowd yesterday's racing, unattended as it was by any untoward incident, was of the most enjoyable kind. About half-an-hour after the last race had been run, however, a riotous scene occurred on the Downs and the services of about 200 police were enlisted to restore order. The special force, which had been drawn from all the divisions of the Metropolis, had been mustered preparatory to dismissal for the day when on the side of the rising ground opposite the grand stand a disturbance arose and two uniformed officers and several detectives were seen struggling with a hostile crowd, and the whole of the force in waiting was ordered to the scene of the trouble. The officers ran down the slope and charged the disturbers. They were sufficiently strong to surround and protect a marquee that had been attacked and to rescue the officers who had been assailed. In less than ten minutes order had been restored and several men arrested.

OAKS DAY AT EPSOM.

THE KING AGAIN PRESENT AT THE RACING.

A MISHAP AT TATTENHAM CORNER.

The most eventful Epsom Meeting of recent times came to an end yesterday, and the King was present once more. It was Oaks Day, but the sensations of the Derby still seemed to be uppermost in men's minds. Wherever one went, among the bookmakers in the chief betting rings, through the booth fair on the hill, or among the crowd at Tattenham Corner, one heard as much of the fascinating two days old topic, with its thousand and one variations, as of the business in hand. The Oaks seemed in the circumstances to be of smaller moment than usual. This was not the fault of the fillies, who ran a fine race in "record" time, or of the ladies, to whom Oaks Day is supposed to be peculiarly dedicated. It was simply because the Derby has so overshadowed everything else in the racing world for the moment that any normal event, even one of the "classic" races, comes in some measure as an anti-climax.

It was only necessary to mix with the crowd at Tattenham Corner just before the big race started to realize how strong an impression Wednesday's happenings have made on the public in general. There were crowds of spectators behind the rails on either side of Epsom's famous bend, and many more people were attracted to this point than one usually sees there on Oaks Day. It is hardly to be believed that any one expected to see a repetition of the extraordinary affair in the Derby, but it was undoubtedly the memory of the fall of the King's horse that brought many to Tattenham Corner and kept them in a state of suppressed excitement while the race for the Oaks was being run. The police, too, mounted and on foot, who were present in strong force, were as watchful and alert as the keenest-eyed chaperon at a subscription dance.

There was a heavy shower a few minutes before the start of the race for the Oaks. It cleared the course in 30 seconds, and its effect on the dry turf was probably responsible for the one thrilling moment which the spectators at Tattenham Corner experienced. The horses were sweeping round the bend in the grand manner. It was a glorious moment, but the excitement of watching the galloping fillies suddenly gave way to a cry of anxiety when one was seen to slip, throw its jockey heavily on the course, and fall on its side some yards away. The crowd rushed on the course, but the mounted police and an ambulance man were there before them, and the jockey, Crisp, was quickly borne away. Tattenham Corner, of course, has been responsible for many such mishaps, but it was strange that there should have been a fall in the Oaks at the point to which onlookers had been undoubtedly attracted by the accident in the Derby.

AN UNEVENTFUL DAY.

Yesterday's crowd was not nearly so large as that on Wednesday, but it was said to be up to the average for Oaks Day. The weather was not as gallant as it might have been, if one regards Oaks Day as a sort of Ladies' Day by popular sanction. As a matter of fact the proportion of women to men on Derby Day was probably greater than it was yesterday, and this has of late years been the common experience. In any case such claim as the fillies may have had to a sort of feminine festival has now been rudely upset, as far as its picturesque side is concerned, for two years in succession by the weather. Last year there was almost continuous rain. Yesterday heavy banks of cloud rolling up from the Downs to the southward threatened more discomfort than they actually caused. Still, the outlook was sufficiently discouraging to lead many of the ladies to hide their dainty frocks under wraps and raincoats.

Epsom Races remain one of the most representative institutions in the country. The King watched the racing from the Royal box. The stands and enclosures were full of distinguished people. And away on the hill were the costers—they came down to the course for an unconscious parade at one time, all in the glory of "pearlies"—and the rest of the populace, who never miss cheering when the Royal Standard is broken over the King's box. It was not a very eventful Oaks Day. It was one of those days on which a foreigner sees the English crowd at its best. And, if he had a love of landscape, he could not have failed yesterday to rejoice in the green freshness of these swelling Surrey uplands.

The King, who wore a light overcoat over a morning coat suit, and a black silk hat, remained for the greater part of the afternoon on the stand, where he was joined by Prince Christian. The adjoining balcony was not nearly so full as usual, but watching the racing were Lord and Lady Allendale and the Hon. Margaret Beaumont, Mrs. Montagu Tharp, Lord and Lady Cadogan, Mr. and Lady Barbara Smith, the Hon. George and Mrs. Lambton, and Mrs. Featherstonhaugh. On the opposite side of the course Mr. and Mrs. W. K. D'Arcy entertained a few friends on their private stand, and on the adjoining stand the Duke of Roxburghe was an interested spectator.

The Raja of Pudukota, Lord and Lady Wolverton, General Brabazon, Lord Cholmondeley, Lord Harewood, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Enniskillen, Lord Londonderry, and Lord and Lady Derby were walking about in the paddock during the saddling operations for the big race. Among the general company were Lord Crichton, Lady Milbanke, Admiral Sir Adolphus FitzGeorge, Lord Annaly, Mr. and Mrs. Leopold de Rothschild, who again had a large party with them in their box, Colonel Fludyer, Lord Durham, Admiral the Hon. Sir Hedworth Meux, Lady Kinnoull, Lord Herbert Vane-Tempest, Lord and Lady Villiers, Sir Lindsay Lindsay-Hogg, Lord Rosebery, who had Lord Dalmeny and the Hon. Neil Primrose with him in his box, Lord Falmouth, Lord Carnarvon, Mary Lady Gerard, the Hon. Henry Fitzwilliam, and Lady Noreen Bass.

Miss Emily Davison, the suffragist who was injured during the race for the Derby on Wednesday, was much worse yesterday, and in the afternoon an operation was performed by Mr. Mansell Moullin at the hospital at Epsom. Later it was stated that Miss Davison's condition was extremely critical, and that her relations had been communicated with.

Three members of the Women's Freedom League were arrested yesterday afternoon outside St. James's Palace, where they were holding a meeting.

THE SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE AT EPSOM

DEATH OF MISS E. W. DAVISON.

Miss Emily Wilding Davison, the suffragist who interfered with the King's horse during the race for the Derby, died in hospital at Epsom at 4.50 yesterday afternoon. She underwent an operation on Friday and had remained in a grave condition ever since.

A number of lady friends called at the Epsom Cottage Hospital on Saturday afternoon to inquire as to the condition of Miss Davison. Two visitors draped the screen round the bed with the W.S.P.U. colours and tied the W.S.P.U. badge to the head of the bed. A sister of Miss Davison and a lady friend of her mother stayed at the hospital for many hours, and on Saturday night Captain Davison, a brother of the patient, arrived. Only members of the staff of the hospital, however, were present when the end actually came.

Miss Davison, who was born at Blackheath, being the daughter of Charles Edward and Margaret Davison, was one of the most prominent of the militant women suffragists, and joined the W.S.P.U. in 1906. She was sentenced to imprisonment on several occasions, having been convicted of taking part in a disturbance at Limehouse in 1909; of stone-throwing, in Manchester in the same year; of breaking a window in the House of Commons in 1910; of setting fire to pillar-boxes in Westminster in 1911; and of assaulting a Baptist minister in mistake for Mr. Lloyd George in November last. When imprisoned she habitually adopted the tactics of the "hunger strike." She was a graduate of London University and obtained a first class in the Oxford final honours school in English language and literature.

An inquest will be opened at Epsom Court House at 3 o'clock to-morrow afternoon.

FIRE AT HURST PARK RACECOURSE.

About 1 o'clock this morning the grand stand at Hurst Park Racecourse, Hampton Court, was discovered to be on fire, and in a few minutes it was enveloped in flames.

By the time the firemen got the outbreak under control the greater part of the stand had been destroyed, including the Royal boxes. A good deal of the furniture of these latter was got out and saved, and a fire which broke out at the stables some little time after that at the grand stand was speedily extinguished. The only structure which it seemed would entirely escape was the half-crown stand. Incendiarism by suffragists is suspected.

DISTURBANCES IN HYDE PARK.

A certain amount of disturbance was witnessed in Hyde Park again yesterday afternoon when a number of meetings, at which the colours of the W.S.P.U. were displayed, were held. Little attention was paid at first to these meetings, four of which were, at one time, proceeding simultaneously. After a time, however, the crowd began to hustle the speakers, and eventually the women were escorted away by the police, followed by a hooting and jostling mob. One man, who was detected in the act of throwing a large missile at the women, was arrested.

THE SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE

AT THE DERBY.

VERDICT OF MISADVENTURE.

A verdict of "Misadventure" was returned at Epsom yesterday by a coroner's jury, who inquired into the death of Miss Emily Wilding Davison, the suffragist who died from injuries received in stopping the King's horse in the race for the Derby on June 4.

Mr. C. F. Gill, K.C., watched the proceedings on behalf of the Stewards of the Epsom Meeting, and Mr. L. Yates appeared for Miss Davison's mother and her half-brother, Captain Davison.

The Coroner (Mr. G. H. White) said the King's jockey, Herbert Jones, though not seriously hurt, was not well enough to give evidence.

Captain Henry Jocelyn Davison, R.N. (retired), said that his sister, Miss Davison, was 38 years of age.

The Coroner.—Did you know anything that would lead you to think that she was abnormal mentally ?—Nothing.

In reply to Mr. Yates, the witness said his sister was a woman of very strong reasoning faculties, and passionately devoted to the women's movement. Asked his opinion why she did this act, Captain Davison said he could only think, from what he knew of her character, that it was with the object of calling attention to the suffrage movement. He felt perfectly certain it was an accident. He thought she realised the danger, but accepted it, hoping she would be saved from it.

Mr. Yates.—Did she do this by way of protest with a view of calling public attention to the fact that the Government have not done justice to women ?

The Coroner said he did not propose to allow any political question.

Police-sergeant Bunn, who saw the incident from Tottenham Corner, said that the horses came along in a heap, not strung out at all. He saw Miss Davison as she rushed forward. She threw her hands up in front of the horses, and was knocked down. Most of the horses had passed, but there were about three still to come. The whole thing was so instantaneous that he could not say whether she purposely allowed some of the horses to pass her. Miss Davison was quite unconscious when picked up. So far as he knew she was quite alone. At the Epsom Cottage Hospital he found two flags of the suffragist colours pinned inside her jacket, a marked racecard, and a half return ticket from Epsom to Victoria.

Police-constable Eady, who was stationed on the outside of the course, about 40 yards from the straight, said he saw Miss Davison's head shoot out from under the bar on which she had been leaning just as the leading horses were passing. One of the leading horses seemed to swerve, as if it had narrowly missed her. She raised her hands before she was quite upright, facing the other horses which were coming on, and she was then struck by a horse—it seemed to him with its front feet.

The Coroner.—In your opinion would it be possible for her to pick out any particular horse that was going along ?—I do not think it would be possible the way they were bunched together.

The Foreman.—In your opinion was the action deliberate ?—Yes.

Dr. Thorney said Miss Davison was taken to Epsom Cottage Hospital suffering from severe concussion, and later symptoms developed which made it evident that there was fracture of the base of the skull. As she became worse she was operated on on Friday to relieve pressure on the brain, but she never regained consciousness and died on Sunday afternoon.

The Coroner said it was evident that Miss Davison did not make specially for the King's horse, but her intention was merely to disturb or upset the race. If she found that this was her intention, they would probably be of opinion that it was a death by misadventure. Her object was not, he thought, to take her own life, but it was an exceedingly sad thing for an educated lady to sacrifice herself in this way.

The jury, after an absence of an hour and 25 minutes, returned the following verdict :—

"That Miss Emily Wilding Davison died of fracture of the base of the skull, caused by being accidentally knocked down by a horse through wilfully rushing on to the racecourse on Epsom Downs during the progress of the race for the Derby ; death was due to misadventure."

CHARGE OF LOITERING

Two women, describing themselves as Kitty Marion, actress, and Clara Giveen, of independent means, were charged at Richmond yesterday with loitering with intent to commit a felony.

Mr. E. P. Knight, who prosecuted, said that early on Monday morning Police-constable Hill saw the defendants in Kew-road. He asked them where they were going, and one of them replied, "We want to get over the railway bridge by the gasworks." The policeman said, "I am an artist and often keep late Marion said, "I am late out," and Miss hours." They went away, and eventually entered the residence of Dr. Casey in West Park-road. They let themselves in with a latchkey. Miss Marion was known to be a militant suffragist. Between 12 and 1 o'clock on Monday officers went to Dr. Casey's house. Miss Marion was found downstairs on a couch fully dressed, except for her hat and boots. Miss Giveen was upstairs lying on a bed, also fully dressed. By her side was a copy of the Suffragette.

A large number of fires had occurred in the district. The defendants refused to explain their movements on that night. Mrs. Casey stated that one of them told her on Saturday that they were going to a party on Sunday night and would go to her house if they lost the last train home. Mrs. Casey apparently spread and gave one of them a latchkey.

The defendants were remanded on bail in their own recognisances of £1,000 each and two sureties of £500 each.

The Mayor said that obviously this was a case where the prosecution must produce a great deal more evidence than they had put forward that morning.

Last evening the accused were again arrested. They will be brought up at Kingston to-day to answer a charge of arson. It is understood that the charge relates to the fire at Hurst Park early on Monday morning.

THE SUFFRAGIST' OUTRAGE AT THE DERBY.

FUNERAL OF MISS DAVISON.

MRS. PANKHURST RE-ARRESTED.

The funeral of Miss Emily Wilding Davison, the suffragist who died from injuries received in an attempt to interfere with the Derby, took place yesterday at Morpeth, Northumberland. On Saturday, the body was brought by train from Epsom and escorted across London from Victoria to King's-cross by some thousands of sympathisers with the militant movement. A halt was made at St. George's Church, Hart-street, Bloomsbury, where a short memorial service was held.

The Women's Social and Political Union had announced that the procession would pass through Grosvenor-gardens, Grosvenor-place, Piccadilly, Shaftesbury-avenue, Hart-street, Bloomsbury-square, Southampton-row, Russell-square, Guildford-street, Judd-street, and Euston-road, and despite the warning given by the police that the procession might be given to ordinary traffic, the advertised route was adhered to. In many of the streets the crowd was so thick that it was with the utmost difficulty that the police kept a clear passage for the procession, and the coffin only reached King's-cross a minute or two before the train was scheduled to leave for the North.

Mrs. Pankhurst had expressed her intention of taking part in the ceremony, and a carriage was reserved for her in the procession. She left the flat in Westminster where she has been staying since her release, dressed in deep mourning, but she was immediately arrested by detective officers who had been watching the building and was removed to Holloway in a taxi-cab. Her non-appearance at Victoria Station delayed the procession for half an hour, and when the procession moved off at about half-past 2 Buckingham Palace-road and Grosvenor gardens were crowded. Instructions had been given for the members of the union to wear white, black, or purple, and to carry either Madonna lilies, red peonies, or purple irises, and they were grouped in 11 sections, according to the colour of their dresses. A cross-bearer, who had accompanied the greatest difficulty at times in forcing her way through the crowd, headed the procession, being followed by young girls dressed in white and carrying laurel wreaths. A number of purple banners, with such inscriptions as "Fight on and God will give the victory," "Thoughts have gone forth whose power can sleep no more," and "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori," were carried, and a band accompanied each section playing either a Dead March or the Marseillaise. The hearse, preceded by personal friends and followed by Miss Davison's relatives, was drawn by four black horses, the coffin being covered by a purple pall on which two broad arrows had been worked in silver. In the most part the crowd was quite orderly and reverent as the procession passed. On one or two occasions it looked as if the procession would be broken up, and shouts of "Three cheers for the King's jockey" were raised, but the back of the police saved the situation.

At King's-cross Station the coffin, covered with a large wreath, was placed in a railway van attached to the 5.30 train. Over a thousand floral tributes had been received and these were sent to Morpeth by a later train.

At Morpeth yesterday large crowds witnessed the funeral procession from the railway station to St. Mary's Church. The interment was strictly private. The words "A veritable princess of spirituality" are inscribed on the memorial stone. After the ceremony, sightseers walked in single file to the graveside, each with a floral tribute. The crowds were orderly, but some motor-car mishaps were reported owing to the congested state of the traffic.

THE HURST PARK FIRE.

SUSPECTS AGAIN REMANDED.

The adjourned hearing of the charge against KITTY MARION (35), actress, and CLARA GIVEN (26), no occupation, of maliciously setting fire to buildings at Hurst Park Racecourse on the night of June 8 took place at the Kingston County Bench on Saturday.

Mr. Bodkin represented the Director of Public Prosecutions, who, he said, had taken over the conduct of the case since the previous hearing, and Mr. Ian Macpherson again appeared for the defendants.

Mr. Joseph Davis, chairman and managing director of the Hurst Park Racecourse (Limited), stated the approximate amount of the damage done by the fire was £7,000.

William Brown, fireman at Hampton Court Palace, deposed to seeing two women going along Hurst-road towards the racecourse as he was walking in the opposite direction to the Palace about 10.45 on the night in question. As he passed them they turned their faces away from him. Each of the women was carrying a portmanteau and one was wearing a rather light green coat. While on duty at the Palace he heard the fire hooter from the Metropolitan Water Board works at Hampton and ran to Hampton Court Bridge in order to see where the fire was. Just before reaching the bridge he saw the same two women, who had apparently come over the bridge, turn into the Hampton-road. They were not carrying anything with them. They had been unable to pick out the two women from 14 others at Richmond Police Station, but he thought the defendants were the two women.

Police-constable Bailey, who discovered the outbreak at the racecourse, and a member of the Molesey Fire Brigade, deposed to finding on the cricket field, after the fire, a copy of Votes for Women.

Mr. B. J. Bonar, schoolmaster and a member of the Molesey Fire Brigade, deposed to finding on the cricket field a copy of Votes for Women.

Witnesses were called to speak as to the alleged movements of the two defendants after the fire. A tram-driver named John Middleton, of Teddington, said he saw two women, one of whom he had since identified as Miss Marion, walking along the Hampton-road. Later Percy James Smith, a tramway conductor, was standing outside the depot at Fulwell when he remarked to a companion, "Here come two votes. I think they are suffragists." One of the women turned round and, smiling, said, "I don't think." They walked faster than he, and in the direction of Richmond. The witness had since identified the defendants as the women. Police-constable George Hill repeated the evidence he had given, at Richmond, when the women were charged on suspicion with loitering, them until they reached Dr. Casey's house at West Park-road, Kew, and left themselves in with a latchkey.

Miss Constance Louise Collier, King Henry's-road, Hampstead, said she knew the two defendants to be friends. Miss Marion had stayed with the witness and asked if they might give her house as their address it at any time they did not wish to give their own. She gave them that authority.

The defendants were remanded until Saturday next, again being admitted to bail, themselves in £2,000 each and one surety each of £1,000. Mrs. Peek and Mrs. Williams were the sureties.

The Ascot Outrage.

The unhappy woman who threw away her life at the Derby has quickly found an imitator. During the race for the Gold Cup at Ascot yesterday a man rushed out on the course in very much the same way as Miss Davison did at Epsom, and with similar results. A horse and his rider were thrown without serious hurt to either, and the man was knocked down and picked up frightfully injured. At first sight it seemed clear that, like Miss Davison, he had committed his insane action from some crazy notion that it would assist the suffragist cause. As he ran in front of the horses he carried the suffragist colours in one hand and a revolver, which proved to be loaded, in the other. It is said, however, that there is not as yet any evidence of his having been connected with the suffragist agitation in the past. A Bible was found in his pocket with the name of Harold Hewrrr written in it, and there is some reason to believe that he was affected by what is popularly known as "religious mania." However this may be, it is clear that he took as his example the wretched woman who received her death-blow at the Derby. In no class is the imitative instinct more strongly developed than in the emotional type of monomaniac: a fact which goes far to account for the "epidemics of crime" with which criminologists and policemen are familiar. But Hewrrr, if that be his real name, was more successful in his immediate purpose than the woman whose action he copied. From the accounts of the incident which we give elsewhere, it will be seen that, unlike Miss Davison, he seriously interfered with the race and that not improbably he affected the result. Tracery, the horse which he threw, started as second favourite. At Ascot, it may be explained, horses pass the grand stand twice—first as they come out of the straight, and a second time just before they reach the winning-post. As the competitors for the Gold Cup passed it for the first time yesterday, Tracery was lying third. By the time they had reached the far side of the course, opposite the stands, he was working into second place, and as they came to the long curve before passing the stands for the second time, he went to the front and was well clear at the moment when he came down.

The choice which Hewrrr made of the spot for his attempt showed the cunning often exhibited by madmen. Those of our readers who know the course, of which we publish a plan elsewhere, will remember that at a point on the curve in question the outer rails end and a growth of furze bushes begins. At this point Hewrrr lay hidden in the deep ditch behind the furze. As the horses came up close to the inner rails, he crossed the greater part of the course and stood square in front of Tracery with both his arms spread out. He was, of course, knocked over, but the worst injury he received seems to have been caused by a blow on the head from one of the other horses, who naturally swerved to avoid the horse and men on the ground. Tracery was so little hurt that he trotted in riderless, while the race went to Prince Palatine, the favourite. It is, we are afraid,

quite useless to point out to the instigators and the perpetrators of such exceedingly foolish actions that attempts to spoil sport, whether they succeed or they fail, are not likely to win favour for any cause from a sporting nation. It is no doubt equally useless, so far as they are concerned, to insist that these actions are wicked as well as futile. Miss Davison was killed; Hewrrr is in grave danger of death. Their courage may be admitted, but the sound moral judgment and the common sense of this country rightly refuse to admire courage of a suicidal kind, or to be impressed by it. Nor is it only their own lives that these fanatics endanger. It is hardly credible that Miss Davison should not have bethought her of what were the probable consequences to others of the step she took. Any woman, however unacquainted with horses, must have known, had she cared to think, that to check a racehorse in full career must almost certainly bring down the other horses and riders on top of both. That is not an altogether unknown accident, and the results are frightful. The possibility, and even the probability, that such consequences might follow on performances like Miss Davison's was freely discussed after the Derby, and the public did not hesitate to reproduce very strongly the callousness of those who might risk them for any end whatever. Hewrrr, at any rate, had full warning both of the possible injuries to others which he might cause and of what the public think of such acts and of those who commit them. Nevertheless, he followed the example, and followed it with every sign of full deliberation.

But while reasoning is thrown away upon fanatics, we trust that there are some of the sympathisers with militant suffragism to whose judgment and to whose right feeling an appeal may be made. Do all of them really think that the men of this nation will be convinced by acts like those of Miss Davison and Hewrrr that women are fit to take part in the grave and responsible business of government? Do they think that such acts will cause any feelings in the great majority of the community but indignation and contempt? Do they think that acts of the kind ought to cause any other feelings? Do they themselves consider those acts either wise or morally defensible? Even supposing that their end were right, are these either right or prudent means to attain it? If, as we believe to be the case, very many of them disapprove of these criminal follies, why have they not the courage of their opinions? The funeral of Miss Davison was made the occasion of a political demonstration. We cannot help thinking that those who took part in it may be morally answerable for the incident of yesterday. They marched in procession through the streets to show their admiration for a deed which the overwhelming majority of their countrymen and country-women condemn as both wicked and foolish. What effect do they think their general display, to say nothing of some of its more questionable details, was likely to have upon weak and ill-balanced minds? It was calculated beyond doubt to stimulate the love of notoriety and the inordinate vanity which

THE ASCOT OUTRAGE.

CONDITION OF THE INJURED MAN.

To those who mixed among the spectators on the heath at Ascot yesterday it was obvious that the outrage of the previous day had not created the same deep impression as the Derby Day incident, the general feeling being one of relief that for the third time during the season the jockey Whalley had escaped serious accident, and of indignation that Tracery had been robbed of a possible chance of victory. As the day wore on, in fact, the matter was rarely discussed, there being an obvious desire to look upon it as an act of a madman and to forget as soon as possible the one blot on the success of Ascot Week. It was recognized that everything possible is being done to protect racecourses, but in the case of open spaces like Ascot Heath and Epsom Downs it is quite impossible to patrol and protect every inch of the ground.

Harold Hewitt, the man who brought Tracery down, and who is lying in the South Ascot Cottage Hospital, has recovered consciousness, but he remained in an extremely critical condition yesterday.

A Ledbury correspondent telegraphed yesterday :—

On visiting this morning Harold Hewitt's birthplace, Wellington Heath, in which village Hope End is situated, I found the tenants very much concerned at the news of Hewitt's act. From information obtained from villagers it appears that he has always been eccentric on religious matters. He was passionately fond of outdoor life. While at Hope End he made several plantations on the estate, and was never happier than when working among the labourers, all of whom greatly respected him.

One of the oldest villagers stated that Mr. Hewitt helped him the whole of one winter, planting and making rockeries and ponds. He used to breed wild ducks, and was very fond of all animal life, but was much against hunting and shooting. He was very fond of music, and played the violin. He was always quiet and unassuming, and rarely attended social gatherings. Some years ago he told an old inhabitant that he never wished to come into the estate, as he felt that his younger brother was far more suitable to be the squire. At one time he kept a poultry farm in the Eastern Counties, and was passionately fond of farming of every description. During harvest he rose at daybreak and worked on the land until late at night, doing his share with the labourers employed on the estate. He always went to bed early and rose early, and was a total abstainer and non-smoker. He never enjoyed living in England, and was against class distinction. He much preferred living in Canada, where he spent much of his time. He had ofttimes expressed a wish that he would die before his aged father.

THE MAINTENANCE OF ORDER ON RACECOURSES.

From inquiries made yesterday it would seem as if the owners and managers of racecourses are not in the least apprehensive of a recurrence of the racing outrages on Epsom Downs and at Ascot.

It is recalled that during the popular excitement over the rejection of the first Reform Bill by the House of Lords some disturbances occurred on racecourses ; but no attempt appears to have been made even then actually to stop the races. A curious incident happened on a country course some years ago. The bookmakers frequenting the races were so incensed at the curtailment of the facilities previously given them that they and their adherents assembled, to the number of 300 or 400, on the course and declared that they would not allow the races to proceed unless their grievance was redressed. As the force of police present was unable to cope with the bookmakers and clear the course, the Committee yielded on the point.

The good order of the enormous crowds of spectators has always been a remarkable feature of English race meetings. No difficulty is ever experienced in clearing the course. The moment the bell rings, or a steward is seen riding over the course as a preliminary to the starting of a race, the people disperse and take up positions behind the rails. So keen is the popular delight in the sport that there is never any fear of attempts to spoil it. Most of the courses are provided with double rails. Hitherto the spectators have been allowed in some cases to line the inner rail ; and as it has been found that those who lean over the rail, especially at a bend, run the risk of injury to themselves, or tend to frighten the horses, it is likely that in future they will be kept behind the outer rail. This precaution has arisen indirectly out of the events at Epsom and Ascot ; and it is the only one that occurs to the managers of racecourses, or that it is possible, in the circumstances, to take.

THE INSURANCE OF RACEHORSES.

Underwriters were not a little relieved to learn that Tracery was uninjured by the outrage at Ascot, for the horse was only insured a week ago. The values placed on racehorses may easily amount to £25,000, £30,000, or more. A few years ago a common premium was about £6 per cent. per annum, but now about £5 per cent. is sometimes accepted, and as a result of such a substantial reduction some underwriters consider the business no longer attractive.

THE FINAL DAY.

A THUNDERSTORM ON THE HEATH

Just as there is nothing more delightful than Royal Ascot on a fine day, so there are few more depressing spectacles than the sight of the Heath suddenly converted into a wilderness of umbrellas and mackintoshes as was the case yesterday afternoon. All the week, owners, trainers, and jockeys alike had been praying for rain to improve the going, but yesterday's thunderstorm broke out too late to be of any real service. There had been occasional showers during the morning, which possibly had their effect on the attendance, which was not so large as usual on the last day of the meeting, and it was raining as the King drove to the course in a motor-car. The race for the Wokingham Stakes, however, was decided in fine but cloudy weather, and almost immediately afterwards the storm broke.

As the rain swept in gusts down the course, there was a general rush for shelter, and on the popular side the crowd round the course quickly melted away. When the race for the Windsor Castle Stakes was run the storm was at its height, but the drooping spirits of the spectators revived when it was seen that there was a possibility of cheering a Royal victory and of congratulating the King's jockey on his recovery. Almost in the last stride, however, La Marquise, the King's horse, was deprived of the lead and the crowd of the opportunity of a loyal demonstration. Later in the afternoon the weather improved somewhat, but there were continual showers, and Ascot Week ended under a leaden sky in strange contrast with the blazing sunshine of the opening day.

THE ROYAL PARTY.

The King, the Duke of Connaught, Prince Arthur of Connaught, the Crown Prince of Sweden, and Prince Maurice of Battenberg watched the racing from the balcony. On the same tier were :—

Lady Londonderry, the Marquis de Soveral, the Duke and Duchess of Portland, the latter wearing a black dress over white and cerise and white feathers in her hat, Lord and Lady Chesterfield, Lord and Lady Granard, the latter dressed in black, and Lady Mar and Kellie, who wore a dress of black chiffon and a soft grey ruffle. In another part of the stand were Lady Sefton, who was dressed in lavender silk with a black hat, Mrs. Hall Walker, whose dark blue dress had a knot of pink carnations at the waist, Lord and Lady Villiers, the latter dressed in white, Lord and Lady Cadogan and Lord Annaly and the Hon. Lucia White. Herr von Kuhlmann, Lady Blanche Conyngham, and the Marquise d'Hautpoul were among the guests entertained by Lord Churchill in his private box, and in the stand reserved for men were Mr. Chaplin, Lord Crewe, Mr. Tom Baring, Lord Rosebery, Lord Dalmeny, Lord Falmouth, Mr. Leopold Rothschild, Lord Harewood, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, Sir Walter Campbell, Lord Coventry, and the Duke of Roxburghe.

Appendix 6: Categorised strongly associated collocates for the LttE corpus

Underline = also in Suffrage corpus (see Ch 4); *Italics* = only in LttE corpus

1908 – 99 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant	tactics		tactics	
Geography and places		America, York		
Gender and gender roles	ladies	mr, she	her, ladies	man
Origins				
Direct action				
Legal and prison		<u>prison</u>	court, division police, prisoners	prisoners
Proper names				
Organisational issues	<u>leaders</u>, members, <u>movement</u>, suffragette	movement	suffragist	suffragists
Politics	party, vote	commons, house	party, votes	political
Opposition				

Uncategorised	allow, am, amp, an, arguments, attempts, attributes, be, called, contention, day, does, editor, entirely, forced, given, has, he, if, league, letters, many, may, mind, must, no, nor, one, opinions, perhaps, pro, proof, quite, since, stands, strong, tee, there, upon, who, will, you	address, against, all, , are, ask, association, belief, both, can, case, city, claim, come, depend, earnest, effect, first, found, go, had, have, here, highly, however, importance, increased, ing, interrupted, letter, logic, m, made, , my, new, occasion, only, opposed, out, regard, represent, say, self, should, signatures, speak, stand, still, sympathy, themselves, there, those, time, to, true, two, well, who, yet, , your	an, are, being, but, cause, did, does, en, find, grave, in, , like, many, more, most, placed, recently, represent, second, so, something, there, thousands, us, was, we from, were, who	a, amp, at, be, but, controversy, educated, employed, from, get, go, going, had, hardly, has, have, hundreds, inferior, intend, it, leaguo, non, now, number, opinion, outside, protection, reached, rights, should, so, societies, success, th, was, what, who, whom, would

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1909 – 59 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant				
Geography and places				
Gender and gender roles		he		
Origins				
Direct action				
Legal and prison		prison		
Proper names	.			
Organisational issues				
Politics				
Opposition				
Uncategorised	can, editor, have, outrage, which	are, at, been, being, do, editor, from, has, if, methods, not, only, such, their, they, who, would	is	as, be, on, to, who

1910 – 86 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant				
Geography and places	albert			
Gender and gender roles	his, <u>miss</u>	lady, miss, she		
Origins				
Direct action				
Legal and prison	division, prisoner, <u>prisoners,</u>	<u>prison</u>		
Proper names	martin .	balfour, betty, eleanor shackleton		
Organisational issues	meetings, <u>movement,</u> organizations, secretary, societies			
Politics	candidate, constituency, parties, party	party, vote		
Opposition	<u>anti</u>	<u>anti</u>		

Uncategorised	al, , am, an, as, ascertain, been, believe, best, beyond, bo, bodies, break, considered, dealt, described, direct, do, down, each, ever, first, go, has, havo, life, made, , matter, ment, more, my, myself, nor, objects, official, only, opinion, opponents, orders, other, , past, point, position, present, recently, say, seem, so, some, statements, tell, there, together, two, until, us, when, whose, will, with	able, acts, always, apparently, appear, are, arguments, aware, before, cannot, certain, come, consider, convinced, demand, desire, direct, discover, editor, few, formed, from, give, had, half, have, including, into, j, letter, make, many, minority, more, much, never, nor, nothing, office, only, opponents, orders, out, , passage, perhaps, point, proportion, raise, seek, shall, side, some, state, suggests, their, them, themselves, there, they, those, too, trying, two, viz, well, were, when, who, wo, yesterday		

1911 – 61 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant				
Geography and places				
Gender and gender roles	mr, mrs	mr, mrs, sir, woman's		
Origins				
Direct action				
Legal and prison				
Proper names	.			
Organisational issues				
Politics	house, politics	electors		unionist
Opposition				
Uncategorised	amp, as, at, c, demand, hand, have, in, I, less, measure, methods, ministers, no, or, other, present, seems, test, than, ward, well, who, yours	about, ago, always, any, appeal, are, be, believe, census, desire, every, evidence, feel, for, govern, less, many, may, ment, more, no, now, obviously, our, out, people, ready, reason, secure, so, than, that, themselves, there, they, through, very, w, west, whether, whom, country,		and, are, as, be, intention, it, less, more, same, still, subject, their, upon, what, will, with

would, years, yours

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1912 – 148 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant		militants		
Geography and places				
Gender and gender roles				
Origins				
Direct action				
Legal and prison	prisoners			
Proper names	.			
Organisational issues	meeting, movement			
Politics				
Opposition	anti	anti		
Uncategorised	alike, associated, cannot, does, editor, got, matter, most, only, opinions, or, other, outside, remark, say, says, than, up, us, views, was, we, will	alike, all, are, as, being, but, call, do, forward, havc, have, its, known, markham, may, miss, must, now, other, put, quite, should, show, some, t, taken themselves, upon, use, was, well, who, would		and, day, great, have, that

1913 – 85 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant				
Geography and places				
Gender and gender roles	women			
Origins				
Direct action				
Legal and prison	prisoner, prisoners			
Proper names	.			
Organisational issues	leaders			
Politics				
Opposition	anti			
Uncategorised	are, at, body, desire, have, was, who	accept, admit, again, agree, and, are, can, fair, following, has, have, never, only, should, their, there, very, were, who, would		and, that, would

1914 – 58 texts

	suffragist	suffragists	suffragette	suffragettes
Equal franchise vs universal suffrage				
Constitutional vs militant				
Geography and places				
Gender and gender roles		men		
Origins				
Direct action	crime			
Legal and prison		criminals		
Proper names	.			
Organisational issues	leaders			
Politics	party			
Opposition		anti		
Uncategorised	on, out, to, who	are, can, editor, have, or, prepared, we, whether	is, that	I, when

Article	Header	Header of 1st text	Summary of 1st text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 2nd text	Summary of 2nd text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 3rd text	Summary of 3rd text	Contains suffrag*				
0FFO-1908-JUN01-003-002	MR BURNS AT OLDHAM	N/A	President of the Local Government Board, Mr Burns, visited Oldham to speak as president of the Oldham Liberal Union. Was frequently interrupted by woman suffragists	YES										
0FFO-1908-JUN03-014-006	THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN FRANCE. (FROM OUR PARIS CORRESPONDENT)	N/A	Comparison of the suffragist movement in France to that in Britain, state of movement in France, describes "slow infiltration of feminist ideas into the French adminisstration"	YES										
0FFO-1908-JUN04-007-020	THE PRUSSIAN ELECTIONS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT) BERLIN, JUNE 3	N/A	Refers to the "indirect system of the suffrage in Prussia"	YES										
0FFO-1908-JUN05-011-002	The King's Visit to Russia	N/A	Debate on the King's visit initiated by Labour members. Mentions "votaries of universal suffrage here" i.e. UK in comparison to Russian autocracy	YES										
0FFO-1908-JUN06-009-011	THE PRUSSIAN ELECTIONS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT) BERLIN, JUNE 5	N/A	Continued absence of complete results of polling, mentions "Prussian suffrage system"	YES										
0FFO-1908-JUN08-008-009	THE RECENT STORM	N/A	Cumbrian Railway Company expected to resume normal service; bridges repaired	NO	WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS AND THE POLICE	18 silver-mounted briar pipes given to Superintendent Jennings and constables of Goldalming Police-station by woman suffragists touring Surrey and Sussex as expression of their gratitude for the officers' attention during the visit to Goldalming	YES	THE TEMPLE GARDENS	Inner Temple Gardens opened for children	NO	ROYAL BOTANICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON	Gardens and collections of the Society in Regent's Park open to public today	NO	LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL ART SCHOLARSHIPS	Exhibition of work by scholarship candidates	NO
0FFO-1908-JUN08-008-015	THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS	N/A	Co-operative Congress met at Newport to set forth the progress of the co-operative movement. Women's Co-operative Guild requested them to consider women's suffrage and they passed a resolution in favour. Mayor of Newport opened an exhibition of co-operative products produced on strict trade union terms	YES										
0FFO-1908-JUN09-003-012	INTERNATIONAL MINER'S FEDERATION. OPENING OF THE CONGRESS IN PARIS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT). PARIS, JUNE 8	N/A	Began its sittings; German and Belgium representatives raised te necessity of suffrage reform in Prussia and Belgium	YES										
0FFO-1908-JUN09-005-005	THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS	N/A	Discussions taking place at the Congress. Resolution proposed in favour of woman's suffrage. Shipment of bullion left on a P&O steamer from Bombay to London	YES										
0FFO-1908-JUN09-005-006	THE WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS. TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	N/A	Letter from Florence Fenwick Miller objecting to women as second class prisoners (rather than first class, as male political prisoners would be)	YES										
0FFO-1908-JUN11-010-008	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	N/A	Brief report on "crusade week" organised by National Women's Social and Political Union - mentioned coaches, colours of the union and handbill with extended cricket/fair play metaphor	YES										
0FFO-1908-JUN12-011-001	LORD MORLEY ON INDIA	N/A	Speech made as guest of the Indian Civil Service Dinner Club at annual dinner. Long near-transcript, mentions household suffrage	YES										

ID	Title	Sub-title	Description	Y/N	Title 2	Description 2	Y/N	N/A	Notes	Y/N
0FFO-1908-JUN12-012-004	WOMEN AND THE SUFFRAGE. A COUNTER-MOVEMENT	N/A	Development of organised opposition to women's suffrage - formation of the National Women's Anti-Suffrage Association and a summary of common arguments against women's suffrage	YES	TO-MORROW'S DEMONSTRATION	Description of suffrage banners designed by the Artists' Suffrage League.	YES	N/A	Mr Austen Chamberlain, MP, speaking at a garden party at which members of the Worcestershire Unionist Women's Association were guests, said he did not believe most women wanted the franchise and that it would lead to conflict between men and women	NO
0FFO-1908-JUN12-012-005	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	N/A	Letter from Agnes Grove urging Liberal women to join the next day's procession in order to show, by constitutional means, Liberal women's desire for the franchise	YES	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	J C Wootton, Clerk to the Scriveners' Company, points out that a banner representing the arms of the Scriveners' Company will be carried in the woman's suffrage procession the next day, but the company have not authorised its use	YES			
0FFO-1908-JUN12-012-006	THE WOMEN "POLITICAL PRISONERS"	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Susan G Baird in response to Mrs Fenwick Miller (Jun 9th) objecting to the comparison of suffrage prisoners, who could be freed upon payment of a fine, with prisoners who do not have the option of a fine	NO	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from "Woman" arguing that suffragists should not be described as political prisoners because they went to prison not for their opinions, but for their behaviour in public places	YES			
0FFO-1908-JUN13-009-001	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROCESSION	N/A	Long report by Millicent Fawcett - read in more detail?	YES	TO-DAY'S PROGRAMME	Details of organisations, predicted numbers, significant people attending and route	YES			
0FFO-1908-JUN13-011-002	POLITICS, OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL	N/A	Prime Minister is guest of the National Liberal Club and spoke. Discusses suffrage, mentions "monster procession" that will march	YES						
0FFO-1908-JUN13-015-001	THE AGITATION IN THE AUSTRIAN UNIVERSITIES	N/A	Students striking in Austrian universities and technical high schools over whether a professor shall or shall not continue with a series of lectures after he published a pamphlet held to offend religious opinion. Has also caused political cleavage; universal suffrage has meant the largest party is Christian Socialists	YES						
0FFO-1908-JUN13-015-001	PARLIAMENT. HOUSE OF COMMONS	N/A	Very long report. Joke about whether the terms of the Prevention Of Crime Bill could confine a suffragette for life.	YES						
0FFO-1908-JUN15-009-001	WOMEN AND THE SUFFRAGE.	SATURDAY'S PROCESSION	Long report on the Woman's Suffrage Procession.	YES	WORKING WOMEN IN TRAFALGAR-SQUARE	Working women's organisations from Lancashire held demonstration in square	YES			
0FFO-1908-JUN15-009-002	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	N/A	Letter from Millicent Garrett Fawcett. Mentions Caroline Herschel(!!!). Argues that the accomplishments of distinguished women in their spheres is itself an argument against relegating women to a lower political status	YES						
0FFO-1908-JUN15-011-001	SUMMARY OF CONTENTS									
0FFO-1908-JUN15-011-004	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROCESSION	N/A	review of previous day's procession headed by Mrs Fawcett and gender essentialist arguments against women's suffrage	YES						
0FFO-1908-JUN16-009-003	WOMEN'S NATIONAL LIBERAL ASSOCIATION AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE	N/A	Letter from Mrs S A Byles, Chairman of Executive about resolution carried thanking the Prime Minister for his promise to afford facilities for the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women	YES						

ID													
0FFO-1908-JUN17-009-016		FRENCH ADMIRAL'S VISIT TO GIBRALTAR. GIBRALTAR, JUNE 15	Visit of Admiral Phillbert	N/A	BELGIAN RAILWAY ACCIDENTS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT) BRUSSELS, JUNE 16	Minster of Railways gave bare facts about the accidents rather than discussing deeper considerations	NO	THE AUSTRIAN UNIVERSITY STRIKE. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.) VIENNA, JUNE 16	Several hundred students involved in demonstration and occupation of the approaches to Parliament. Withdraw after persuaded by Social Deputy and compelled by police	NO	WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONFERENCE AT AMSTERDAM. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.) BRUSSELS, JUNE 15.	International conference opens with representatives from England, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, the United States, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Denmark, Germany, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Holland, Norway, Russia, Austria, Iceland, Sweden and Switzerland	YES
0FFO-1908-JUN19-009-020		RESIGNATION OF THE SERVIAN CABINET. BEGRADE, JUNE 18	Servian Cabinet resigns in order to facilitate the work of the Skrupshtina	N/A	SOUTH AFRICAN PRODUCTS. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.) CAPE TOWN, JUNE 18.	South African National Union and the National Alliance are amalgamating	NO	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONGRESS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.) BRUSSELS, JUNE 18	Miss Ford and Miss Frances Sterling, the English delegates, describe their campaign. Miss Ashton attacks Liberal party for not supporting women's suffrage	YES	THE EX-KING OF ANNAM. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). PARIS, JUNE 17	The ex-King of Annam, Than Thai, was deposed for "cruelties of a revolting kind inflicted on the women of his harem" has been reported of similar conduct at the villa in Saigon where he is in custody	NO - connection to women's welfare though?
0FFO-1908-JUN19-014-002	POLITICAL NOTES	GALLANT CONDUCT OF MR BURNS	Sympathies expressed in the lobby to Mr John Burns, who injured himself rescuing a pedestrian caught between to cars	NO	A NEW SUFFRAGIST MOVE	Small boat with "Votes for Women" banner and Mrs Drummond, reminiscences of other boats used in similar campaigns (evictions in Donegal, building of new Tipperary, shadowing by police). Resolutions arrived at by Manchester Education Conference. Royal Commission into coastal erosion. Debate on Unemployed Workmen Bill. Penny postage between France and Great Britain. Discussion of various Bills.	YES						
0FFO-1908-JUN20-006-001	THE PAN-ANGLICAN CONGRESS	N/A	Very long, mentions negro suffrage	YES									
0FFO-1908-JUN22-008-004	THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN FRANCE. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT, JUNE 21	N/A	French suffrage movement, including a comparison of the British and French suffrage movements	YES									
0FFO-1908-JUN22-008-005	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONGRESS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)	N/A	Brief reports from Brussels, June 19 about Mrs Despard, Mrs Billington Grieg and Miss Amy Sanderson describing campaign in Britain and Amsterdam, June 20 which describes conclusion of the congress and resolutions passed (incl. recognotion of the attitude of the British Government)	YES									
0FFO-1908-JUN22-009-003	WOMAN SUFFRAGE. DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE PARK. (BY OUR SPECIAL ORRESPONDENT.)	N/A	Long report on demonstration. Final paragraphs is about suffragist figures at Mme Tussard's - Mrs Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs Pethick Lawrence and Miss Annie Kenney	YES									
0FFO-1908-JUN22-009-004	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	N/A	Letter from Edmund Gosse keen to establish who kicked off the suffrage movement	YES	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Laura McLaren arguing against the leader of last Monday (Jun 15th)	YES						
0FFO-1908-JUN22-011-001	SUMMARY OF CONTENTS												
0FFO-1908-JUN22-011-004	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION	N/A	Report of demonstration again and response to Laura McLaren's arguments	YES									
0FFO-1908-JUN23-009-004	THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ARMY. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.) VIENNA, JUNE 19	N/A	Settlement of military differences between Austrian, Hungarian and Austro-Hungarian Ministers which should not be deferred until after the introduction of universal suffrage.	YES									
0FFO-1908-JUN23-009-004	WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS AND MR. ASQUITH	N/A	Letter from Christabel Pankhurst to Mr Asquith, and reported speeches from Mrs Pathick Lawrence, Mrs Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst from WSPU reception in Queens-hall	YES									

ID	Title	Column C	Column D	Column E (YES/NO)	Col F	Col G	Col H (YES/NO)	Col I	Col J	Col K (YES/NO)	Col L	Col M	Col N (YES/NO)	Col O	Col P	Col Q (YES/NO)
0FFO-1908-JUN24-010-002	THE PRIME MINISTER AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Christabel Pankhurst arguing that the demonstration proves public demand and if "agitation by way of public meetings" has no effect on Gov'ment will "militant means once more will be resorted to". Assistant to the Director of Public Prosecutions appointed	YES												
0FFO-1908-JUN24-015-006	WILLS	N/A	Deaths and estates of Sire Alexander Condie Stephen, Mr Benjamin Howarth Thwaites, Surgeon-Major Theodore Duka, Miss Louisa Stevenson LL.D (suffrage supporter), Mr James Davenport, Mrs Isabella Carr, Mr George Robinson, Miss Martha Briscoe. Correction to notice of will of Timothy White	YES												
0FFO-1908-JUN25-005-003	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Edith Milner, signatory of the National Woman's Anti-Suffrage League, praising the Times' recent articles against women's suffrage and reinstating the claims	YES	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Eldred Horsley about violence displayed to suffragists by men at Hyde Park and questioning the double standard	YES	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from "N" arguing that Mrs Pethick Lawrence has not paid attention to the role of the male police force in making the day a success (oh noez, won't somebody think of teh menz)	NO	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Arthur C T VEASEY arguing that Mary Astell, rather than Mary Wollstonecraft was the first to advocate women's rights	NO	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from E B L-M giving details of a book by "Sophia, a Person of Quality" who argues for female equality and published in 1739	YES	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Nancy Bailey giving details of Mary Street who campaigned for women's rights and who presented a petition to her MP, which was discussed in Parliament in 1832	NO
0FFO-1908-JUN27-004-003	PROSPECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS	N/A	Diary of events for the upcoming week, includes a convention of women in Caxton-hall followed by a demonstration in Parliament Square organised by the National WSPU	YES												
0FFO-1908-JUN27-011-006	N/A	N/A	Women's Franchise Declamation Committee gives letter to Asquith with evidence that women want to the vote. Miss Mary Phillips gatecrashes Asquith birthday parade wearing a votes for women sash and selling copes of Votes For Women. Police did not interfere. Suffragist goes to 10 Downing-street and handed in a presentation copy of the journal for Asquith	YES - but only in birthday parade section												
0FFO-1908-JUN29-005-012	SCHOOL SPEECH DAYS	N/A	Details of speeches given at Rugby, Clifton College, St Edmund's and Wycombe Abbey. Wycombe Abbey was a girls' school. Representative said it was not for women to "command the vote" but to be good citizens and useful and true members of the community. Results given for the Westminister Schools Challenge	YES												
0FFO-1908-JUN29-007-011	THE FEMINIST CONGRESS IN PARIS. IRRELEVANT DISCUSSION. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.) PARIS, JUNE 28	N/A	Round-up of day's discussions	YES												
0FFO-1908-JUN30-009-013	IS WOMAN SUFFRAGE INEVITABLE?	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Mary A Ward about anti-suffragist movement in the US	YES												
0FFO-1908-JUN30-014-008	TO-DAY'S ARRANGEMENTS	N/A	Day's events, arrangements etc including the National WSPU convention at Caxton-hall and demonstration in Parliament-square. Followed by Parliamentary Notices	YES												

Article	Header	Header of 1st text	Summary of 1st text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 2nd text	Summary of 2nd text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 3rd text	Summary of 3rd text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 4th text
0FFO-1909-JUN01-003-008	ITALIAN POLITICS	N/A	Vote of censure against Italian Ministry of the Interior defeated. Issues of interference in elections, but Times reports the minister is right in saying that universal suffrage won't solve problems of corruption.	YES	N/A	Reaction of "great provincial journals"	NO				
0FFO-1909-JUN01-007-002	THE PASSING OF GERMAN LIBERALISM	N/A	Discussion of German political ecosystem. Notes that the Liberals everywhere lose ground when universal suffrage is established	YES							
0FFO-1909-JUN01-009-015	THE BANK HOLIDAY	N/A	Bank holiday visitors to various attractions; mention of the suffragist group at Madame Tussard's	YES							
0FFO-1909-JUN02-013-001	COURT NEWS	N/A	Roundup of activities of royalty/rich/important. Mentions Asquith's break in North Devon, suffragists also staying in the area and trying to approach him								
0FFO-1909-JUN03-006-003	TUBERCULOSIS EXHIBITION	MR. BURNS ON CONSUMPTION	Address by Mr Burns at the Tuberculosis Exhibition organised by the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption and Tuberculosis, freely interrupted by suffragists until they were removed by the police	YES	THE MILK AND DAIRIES BILL	Meeting of the Tuberculosis (Animals) Committee and their resolutions	NO				
0FFO-1909-JUN03-011-001	SUMMARY OF CONTENTS	N/A									
0FFO-1909-JUN10-005-006	THE UNITED STATES	A WILL CASE (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT). NEW YORK, JUNE 9	Plaintiffs (Consuelo Duchess of Manchester, Lady Lister-Kaye and Miss Emily Yznaga) suceed in getting their father's will declared null and void	NO	WOMAN SUFFRAGE. JUNE 8	Dr Doane, Episcopal Bishop of Albany, addressing graduates of Agnes College, cautions against woman suffrage and warns that "the quite decent appeal of the few so-called "suffragists" will be so drowned out in the riot and howling dervish performances of the "suffragettes" that it will fail to have any effect"	YES	THE "BLACK HAND". MARION, OHIO, JUNE 9	US secret service police arrest what they believe to be one of the principals in the Black Hand organisation. Found letters with drawings of skulls, crossbones and bleeding hearts on them.	NO	
0FFO-1909-JUN10-005-015	THE DUTCH GENERAL ELECTION (FROM A CORRESPONDENT)	N/A	Discusses the positions of Dutch political parties, religious dimension, relations with Germany and questions at issue, of which universal suffrage is one but provisions for old age likely to be more important. Also issue of tariff.	YES							
0FFO-1909-JUN12-004-007	THE POLICE COURTS	ADULTERATED MILK	Milk that contains 6% of water in addition to that normally contained in milk	NO	THE FRESH-WATER FISHERIES ACT	Someone selling crayfish within the close season, contrary to Fresh-water Fisheries Act 1878	NO	THE PUBLIC MEETINGS ACT	Application made by man instructed by the Anti-Socialist Union, denied. Act intended to deal with large meetings interrupted by suffragettes	YES	CONFESSION OF MURDER REVOKED
0FFO-1909-JUN12-005-013	THE DUTCH GENERAL ELECTION (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)	N/A	Report of Dutch election. Most of the Left parties demand a partial revision of the Constitution, universal suffrage and old age pension which might split their vote	YES							
0FFO-1909-JUN14-009-004	LORD LYTTON AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE	N/A	St James Theatre lent to the WSPU for a meeting. Speakers to include Mrs Pankhurst (presiding), Miss Mary Gawthorpe and Lord Lytton, who appears for the first time on a woman suffrage platform	YES							

Additional text in 4th text column (row 0FFO-1909-JUN12-004-007): Man said he was "drunk or silly" when he made the confession, knows nothing about the murder — NO

ID	Title	Subheading	Description	Flag	Subheading 2	Description 2	Flag 2	Topic	Description 3	Flag 3	Topic 2	Description 4	Flag 4	Topic 3	Description 5	Flag 5
0FFO-1909-JUN15-005-011	THE POLITICAL SITUATION (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)	N/A	Political situation in Brazil. Under "the existing conditions of popular suffrage, no Brazilian President can ever expect entirely to retain public favour until the end of his term" or act without army support	YES												
0FFO-1909-JUN15-006-001	PARLIAMENT: HOUSE OF COMMONS	N/A	This one's 11,200 words. Suffrage prisoners not treated like other prisoners	YES												
0FFO-1909-JUN15-010-001	REVIEW OF PARLIAMENT	HOUSE OF COMMONS	Summary of Parliament. Treatment of suffragists, point made that they are imprisoned because they refused to not repeated offences they were charged against	YES												
0FFO-1909-JUN16-005-016	AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT). NEW YORK, JUNE 15	N/A	Speech by Miss Anna Shaw, an American suffrage campaigner, about the possiblity of militant action in the US. Does not see the point of going to prison as a strategy for getting the vote	YES												
0FFO-1909-JUN18-009-001	SUMMARY OF CONTENTS															
0FFO-1909-JUN21-005-019	THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). TORONTO, JUNE 18	N/A	Retiring Secretary, Mrs Ogilvie Gordon, advocates the publication of international lreports on laws to teach women their responsibilities and possibilities when the franchise should have been secured	YES	LADY ABERDEEN RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT. JUNE 20	Re-elected President of the International Women's Council for next five years with a large majority	NO	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	Reports from all national councils on the existing laws in their countries dealing with the relations of women in the home, the municipality, and the State, to be published in an international volume. Majority of delegates in favour of woman suffrage	YES	PEACE AND ARBITRATION	National councils urged to seek representation on every peace conference held in their countries	NO	WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC	Problematic name was discussed; inclusive to all women not just white ones. Brief summary of Public Health discussions	NO
0FFO-1909-JUN21-009-001	SUMMARY OF CONTENTS			YES												
0FFO-1909-JUN21-010-013	OBITUARY. M. DE MARTENS	N/A	Obituary which ends with a mention of Russian third Duma elected upon a less democratic suffrage	YES												
0FFO-1909-JUN23-005-013	THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN. DISCUSSION ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). TORONTO, JUNE 22	N/A	Suffrage meeting. Dr Anna Shaw (US) presided; speakers included Mrs Edwards (Canada), Miss Lafontaine (Belgium), Mrs Dobson (Tasmania), Mme Bernocco Italy), Fröken Kong (Norway), Dr Alice Salomon (Germany) and Lady Aberdeen. Resolution urging national councils to try to elect women to public boards or bodies	YES												
0FFO-1909-JUN25-010-002	THE LONDON LIBRARY	TRIBUTES TO MEREDITH	Annual meeting of London Library. Mr Haldane interrupted by woman suffragists asking when he was going to grant votes to women; they were requested to leave then conducted from the room	YES	SOCIETY OF APOTHECARIES OF LONDON	Diploma granted to listed candidates entitling them to practice medicine, surgury and midwifery	NO									

ID	Title	Column A	Column B	Y/N	Column C	Column D	Y/N	Column E	Column F	Y/N
0FFO-1909-JUN25-012-001	REVIEW OF PARLIAMENT	HOUSE OF LORDS	Summary of proceedings	NO	HOUSE OF COMMONS	Summary of proceedings. Prime Minister asked by Mr Snowden if he had been asked to receive a deputation of suffragists on Tuesday and he affirmed. PM said he was always willing to receive deputations on matters of public interest, but had already expressed his own views and that of Gov'ment on woman suffrage. Was asked if intention to provoke disturbance of peace by refusing them; PM answers that it's not him who provokes disturbance of the peace to cheers	YES			
0FFO-1909-JUN28-008-003	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	MEMORIAL FROM HEADMISTRESS	Memorial signed by more than 200 headmistresses in favour of granting suffrage to properly qualified women sent to PM	YES	THE DEPUTATIONS TO MR ASQUITH	Letter written to Asquith by Women's Freedom League criticising him for not receiving deputations; Times publishes his secretary's response. Mrs Pankhurst addresses meetings and asked for men's support in deputations and that they engage in "mild rioting"	YES			
0FFO-1909-JUN28-008-006	ELECTION INTELLIGENCE	N/A	Candidate given literature by suffrage campaigners	YES						
0FFO-1909-JUN29-009-001	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE LEAGUE	First annual council meeting yesterday	YES	SUFFRAGISTS AND MR ASQUITH	Weekly "At Home" of WSPU at Queen's Hall. Mrs Pankhurst said Asquith must swallow his pride and receive a deputation	YES	UNIONIST WOMEN'S FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION	Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association held an "At Home" in the Wharncliffe Rooms, Hotel Great Central, Marylebone	YES
0FFO-1909-JUN30-011-002	POLITICS IN AND OUT OF THE HOUSE	N/A	Editorial/summary of HoC. "There was an attempt in the House of Commons yesterday to give assistance to the disorderly suffragists outside, who were giving another demonstration of unfitness for the voting power they demand".	YES						
0FFO-1909-JUN30-012-005	HOUSE OF COMMONS	N/A	Parliamentary report. Mentions "woman suffrage demonstration" outside	YES						

Article	Header	Header of 1st text	Summary of 1st text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 2nd text	Summary of 2nd text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 3rd text	Summary of 3rd text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 4th text	Summary of 4th text	Contains	Header of 5th	Summary of 5th	Contains	Header of 6th	Summary of 6th	Contains	Header of 7th	Summary of 7th	Contains
OFFO-1910-JUN01-007-021	THE HUNGARIAN POLITICAL OUTLOOK. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). VIENNA, MAY 23	N/A	Hungarian universal suffrage and suffrage reform	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN02-007-019	THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT. OPENING OF THE SESSIONS. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). PARIS, JUNE 1	N/A	Universal suffrage	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN02-012-003	DR ELIZABETH BLACKWELL	N/A	Obituary. Largely discusses her admission to medical school and professional life, but also mentions connects with women activists (not just in suffrage) and briefly mentions her interest in suffrage	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN03-005-018	NEW ZEALAND. BANKING AND TRADE RETURNS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT). WELLINGTON, APRIL 14	N/A	Mentions "manhood - and womanhood - suffrage" in the context of political and commercial situation	YES	THE LATE KING EDWARD. A CANADIAN STATUE. MONTREAL, JUNE 1	Meeting resolved to erect a statue	NO	SPEECH BY MR CHOATE. NEW YORK, JUNE 2	Mr Choate delivered address recalling visit of late King when Prince of Wales	NO	NEW LABOUR MINISTRY IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA. ADELAIDE, JUNE 2	Labour Ministry formed	NO	THREATENED RISING IN CHINA. FOREIGN LEGATIONS WARNED. PEKING, JUNE 2	Foreign legations receive letters by revolutionaries in Shanghai warning of anti-dynastic rising and warning against involvement	NO	GIFT TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. JOHANNESBURG, JUNE 2	Gift of land to be used as a girls school	NO	UNITED SOUTH AFRICA. AUSTRALIAN CONGRATULATIONS PRESTORIA, JUNE 2	Governor-General of United South Africa received messages of congratulation from Commonwealth of Australia and Governor of Victoria	NO
OFFO-1910-JUN04-014-001	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	A NEW BILL, AND A NEW BOOK. BY MRS HUMPHREY WARD	Anti-suffrage article. Potentially interesting?	YES	N/A	Matinee by Actresses' Franchise League to raise money for NUWSS	YES															
OFFO-1910-JUN06-007-016	ITALIAN GOVERNMENT POLICY. STATEMENT BY SIGNOR LUZZATTI. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). ROME, JUNE 5	N/A	Italian universal suffrage	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN06-008-015	WOMEN AND THE SUFFRAGE	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter to the Editor from Millicent Garrett Fawcett supporting the Representation of the People Bill 1910	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN07-009-008	WOMEN AND THE SUFFRAGE	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter to the Editor from Lytton in support of the Representation of the People Bill and appeal for MPs to support application to Government for time needed to pass the Bill into law	YES	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Isabel Margesson in support of suffrage and countering Mrs Ward's article. "It requires both courage and intellectual skill to marshal a host of sentimental and misleading half truths against the ranks of reason	YES	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Betty Balfour countering Mrs Ward's claims	YES												
OFFO-1910-JUN07-013-016	CONGRESS OF WOMEN	N/A	Congress of Women opened at the Japanese-British Exhibition. Speaker doesn't discuss women's suffrage but says "every country must work out its own political franchise without advice from other countries abroad"	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN08-012-010	WOMEN AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT	N/A	Second day of Women's Congress; discussion of local government eg sanitation, midwives and infant life protection	NO	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROCESSION	No of women who intend to take part in June 18 procession enough to form two miles of procession. Details of dress for marchers	YES															
OFFO-1910-JUN08-012-011	WOMEN AND THE SUFFRAGE	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from A. Maconachie supporting anti-suffragists and claiming that people are indifferent about women's suffrage	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN10-004-011	PRISON LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION. VI - THE WOMEN. (FROM A CORRESPONDENT).	N/A	Article about prison life; seems weirdly positive about it and includes commentary on other prisoners' disdain for suffrage campaign	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN10-007-001	THE HUSBAND, THE SUPERTAX AND THE SUFFRAGISTS	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from George Bernard Shaw, publishing an exchange between himself and N F W Fisher about supertaxation, the Income Tax Act and married women. Notes that suffragists object to assumption married women's incomes are regarded as their husband's	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN10-007-005	WOMEN'S CONGRESS. DISCUSSION OF THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION	N/A	Report on discussion; Lady Frances Balfour and Mrs Fawcett involved	YES	N/A	Miss Burnside, Inspector of Midwives to Hertfordshire County Council corrects figures. Resolution passed by Men's League for Women's Suffrage in support of conciliation committee & efforts to help Representation of the People Bill (1910)	YES															
OFFO-1910-JUN11-006-001	A NEW BILL AND A NEW BOOK	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Millicent Garrett Fawcett responding to Mrs Humphrey Ward	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN11-006-002	THE CONCILIATION COMMITTEE'S BILL	N/A	Demonstration in favour of the Conciliation Committee's Woman Suffrage Bill to be brought before Parliament on June 14 will be held at Queen's Hall on evening of June 28	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN11-006-004	WOMEN AND THE SUFFRAGE	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Women's National Anti-Suffrage League in opposition to Representation of the People Bill 1910/Conciliation Bill	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN13-012-007	MR WALKLEY ON THE DRAMA	N/A	Drama having the "all-importance, the sacredness of a cause, like female suffrage or anti-vaccination"	YES																		
OFFO-1910-JUN14-005-004	THE FRENCH CHAMBER. DEBATE ON M. BRIAND'S DECLARATION. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). PARIS, JUNE 13	N/A	Debate on Ministerial declaration and proposals by Socialists to revise Old Age Pensions Bill, nationalisation of natural water reserves, suppression of the privilege of the Bank of France, woman suffrage and reform of methods of Parliamentary work	YES																		

ID	Title	Subtitle/Source	Description	Col A		Add'l columns
0FFO-1910-JUN14-010-001	POLITICAL NOTES	THE SUGGESTED CONFERENCE	Meeting between PM and leaders of the Opposition over a suggested conference	NO	N/A	Labour Party represented on the Select Committee on the Civil List proposals by two members — NO; WOMAN FRANCHISE: Mr Shackleton to introduce the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill today under ten minute rule. — YES, N/A; Meeting of Liberal members in favour of woman suffrage held yesterday at which decided to issue a whip to all Liberal members encouraging them to vote for the Bill — YES, N/A; Division challenged on the motion oto present the Bill. Has been granted before in a bill about interruptions at public meetings, brought about due to militant suffragists — YES, N/A; Lord Selbourne welcomed when he attended HoL to sign roll and take oath — NO, N/A; Meeting of Scottish Liberal members with a deputation representing temperance organisations who want to oppose compensation part of of Temperance (Scotland) Bill — NO, N/A; Agreement to form Dockland Committee — NO, N/A; In HoL Lord Onslow will call attention to forms and requirements relating to the supertax — N/A; Discussion in HoC of Consolidated Fund Bill, Census Bill and Small Holdings Bill. Evening = Midland Railway Bill — NO, N/A; PM has consented to receive a NUWSS deputation on June 21 — YES
0FFO-1910-JUN15-005-007	M. BRIAND'S DECLARATION. SOCIALIST OBJECTION. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). PARIS, JUNE 14	N/A	Socialist objections to Government proposals for electoral reform	YES		
0FFO-1910-JUN15-006-002	HOUSE OF COMMONS	N/A	Parliamentary report	YES		
0FFO-1910-JUN15-007-002	WOMEN'S LIBERATION FEDERATION AND THE SUFFRAGE	N/A	Annual council meeting of the Women's Liberation Federation and series of resolutions on electoral reform were carried	YES		
0FFO-1910-JUN15-007-007	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL	N/A	Two memorials (one signed by writers, the other signed by 300 medical practitioners) in support of the Woman Suffrage Bill sent to PM. Details of the twenty woman suffrage societies taking part in next Saturday's procession	YES		
0FFO-1910-JUN15-010-007	POLITICAL NOTES	THE SUGGESTED CONFERENCE	Waffle about a conference between PM and leader of the Opposition that may or may not happen	NO	N/A	Negotiations for a conference have put electioneers in Hartlepool, East Dorset and the Lewes Division, where elections are taking place, in a difficult position — NO; THE CIVIL LIST COMMITTEE: Names members of Select Committee — NO; A CORPS OF AIRMEN: Progress made at Aldershot towards a corps of airmen — NO, N/A; Third reading of Consolidated Fund Bill — NO; WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT: Issue of Welsh Disestablishment — NO, N/A; Group of Liberals who support woman suffrage met again yesterday — YES, N/A; Mr W J Bryan's visit to HoC and who he spoke to — NO, N/A; Questions for PM on manufacture of acetone in this country — NO, N/A; PM to introduce Regency Bill in HoC today — NO, N/A; Movement for Provisional Order Bill for Birmingham — NO, N/A; Temperance (Scotland) Bill regarded as dead for this session — NO, N/A; Whitehaven disaster to be discussed tomorrow — NO
0FFO-1910-JUN15-012-004	REVIEW OF PARLIAMENT	HOUSE OF LORDS	Summary of business	NO	HOUSE OF COMMONS	Mentions Representation of the People Bill 1910 — YES
0FFO-1910-JUN16-012-005	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION	Annual council meeting of the Women's Liberation Federation; politics of grouping legislative remedies for women's disabilities and support for wider Liberal causes	YES	N/A	Actors and actresses sign memorial to PM asking that facilities should be afforded to the Women's Suffrage Bill — YES
0FFO-1910-JUN17-007-002	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	MR. SHACKLETON'S BILL	Meeting of the Women's Freedom League held yesterday in Caxton Hall. Likelihood of Asquith killing the Bill and militant suffragists going on a rampage in response	YES	TO-MORROW'S DEMONSTRATION	Suffrage procession; 40 bands, and between 700-800 banners. List of groups involved, banners of various countries represented. Memorial addressed to PM from social workers asking that facilities should be accorded to the Woman Suffrage Bill — YES, N/A; PM to receive a deputation from the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League of England and Scotland and from the Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage — YES
0FFO-1910-JUN17-007-003	SUMMARY OF CONTENTS					
0FFO-1910-JUN18-006-002	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	TO-DAY'S PROCESSION	Details of the procession's meeting point, planned route, officials, and speeches at the Albert Hall	YES	MEMORIALS TO MR ASQUITH	List of those signing a memorial urging Asquith to give facilities to the Bill introduced by Mr Shackleton — NO; APPEAL TO THE IRISH MEMBERS: Appeal to support Women's Suffrage Bill sent to Irish MPs — YES, N/A; West of Scotland Men's League for Woman's Suffrage pass resolution in approval of the Representation of the People Bill 1910. Lady Solbourne consented to become president of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association. Mr McKenna, MP, to preside over the Eighty Club discussion of "The Suffrage" — YES
0FFO-1910-JUN18-006-004	PRISON LIFE AND WOMEN	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from E. Sylvia Pankhurst in response to piece on June 10 and challenging its argument about women's treatment in prison	YES		
0FFO-1910-JUN20-010-001	WOMAN SUFFRAGE. DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON	N/A	Report on demonstration: visual, the march, banners, the meeting, collection of funds, the speeches, and a meeting in Kensington organised by the Women's Freedom League	YES		
0FFO-1910-JUN20-010-003	WOMEN IN POLITICS AND THE VOTE	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Mary A Ward. Anti-suffragist supporting women in a political lobbying and canvassing role but not as voter. Delineates boundaries of women's political involvement	YES		
0FFO-1910-JUN20-011-001	SUMMARY OF CONTENTS					
0FFO-1910-JUN20-011-003	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS	N/A	Editorial employing the argument of Empire against woman suffrage	YES		
0FFO-1910-JUN21-008-005	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	THE DEPUTATION TO MR ASQUITH	Deputation from NUWSS will wait upon Asquith to press for facilities for the passing of the Bill. Also deputations to be received by PM from Women's National Anti-Suffrage League and Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Mrs Pankhurst's comments on the Bill from yesterday	YES	DISTURBANCE AT MUSIC HALL	Play in which one of the characters is a suffragist. Six suffragists object and are removed struggling — YES; WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND FOREIGN POLICY: A correspondent writes in response to leading article on Monday, calling attention to Norway — YES; TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES: Letter from John Galsworthy arguing in favour of the suffrage because otherwise relations between the sexes will be irreparably damaged — YES

ID	Article	Section/Heading	Description	Rel.	Add'l topics
OFFO-1910-JUN21-012-006	POLITICAL NOTES	THE CONFERENCE	Labour Party met to discuss conference to be held on the constitutional question	NO	DUKE OF YORK'S SCHOOL SITE — War Office decide to purchase school site (NO); WOMAN SUFFRAGE — Supporters of Women's Franchise Bill are busying lobbying in its interests (YES); THE SUPERTAX — Supertax regulations (NO / N/A); Land Purchase Bill (NO / N/A); Chancellor of the Exchequer will recieve a deputation from the Convention of Royal Burghs in Scotland (NO / N/A); Amendments to Census Bill to obtain data on juvenile labour (NO / N/A); Visitors to House of Commons (NO / N/A); Second reading of Muncipal Bill in House of Lords (N/A); Second reading of the Regency Bill and Committee stages of Census Bills and Small Holdings Bill in House of Commons (NO / N/A); Details of third Vote on Account for the Civil Service and Revenue Departments (NO); MR KEIR HARDIE AND THE LABOUR CONFERENCE — Speech given to a demonstration at Openshaw, Manchester (NO)
OFFO-1910-JUN22-007-011	CONGRESS AND THE NEW STATES (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). WASHINGTON, JUNE 21	N/A	Enabling Act for Arizona and New Mexico; details of suffrage provision (suffrage not restricted or abridged on basis of race, colour or previous condition of servitude)	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN22-007-014	THE FRENCH CHAMBER. M. DESCHANEL AND M. BRIAND'S POLICY. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). PARIS, JUNE 21	N/A	Debate on Ministerial declaration; problems of current electoral system and need for reform - issues of universal suffrage	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN22-010-001	THE GOVERNMENT AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE	DEPUTATIONS TO THE PRIME MINISTER	Details of two deputations received by PM; one suffragist and one anti-suffragist	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN22-010-002	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROCESSION	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from "Onlooker" describing suffrage supporters who were not able to march	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN22-011-001	SUMMARY OF CONTENTS				
OFFO-1910-JUN22-012-004	POLITICAL NOTES	THE CIVIL LIST	Committee which is to consider Civil List proposals met for first time yesterday	NO / N/A	Questions about anthrax to the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture (NO / N/A); Borough extension and county compensation (NO / N/A); PM's response to woman suffrage deputations regarded as indication the Gov'ment will give facilities to second reading of the Bill but not for any further stages (YES); Mr John Redmond to preside at Nationalist dinner (NO / N/A); Motions for the rejection of the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill (NO / N/A); Gov'ment to see whether steps can be taken to facilitate the passage of the Supreme Court of Judicature Bill (NO / N/A); Details of the Morality Bill (NO / N/A); Education of the blind and deaf (NO / N/A); HoL: Archbishop of Canterbury will move the second reading of the Parsonages Bill (NO / N/A); HoC: report of the Vote on Account on Inland Revenue Vote in Committee of Supply (NO / N/A); New appointments by Council of Ruskin College (NO / N/A); Explanatory memorandum to Indecent Advertisements (Amendment) Bill (NO)
OFFO-1910-JUN23-010-003	THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE DEPUTATION	N/A	Letter from Lord Haversham giving numbers of women who signed anti-suffrage petition	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN23-010-008	THEATRES	THE DISTURBANCE IN A MUSIC-HALL	Theatre listings and short text about WSPU denying connection with "so-called suffragists" ejected from a London music-hall	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN23-011-003	THE NEW AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PROVINCES	N/A	Details of new provinces; mentions universal suffrage	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN25-006-002	WOMEN IN POLITICS AND THE VOTE	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Millicent Garrett Fawcett responding to Mrs Humphrey Ward	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN25-006-005	THE PRESENT STRENGTH OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT. (FROM A CORRESPONDENT).	N/A	Overview of suffrage societies, their positions, their tactics and their leaders	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN25-006-007	THE NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN WORKERS. (FROM A CORRESPONDENT).	N/A	Diversity of religion, politics & employment found in this union; contains suffragists and anti-suffragists	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN27-007-007	THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT. SPEECH FROM THE THRONE. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). VIENNA, JUNE 26	N/A	Speech by Emperor and King, was guarded in language regarding suffrage reform	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN27-012-010	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	MR. SHACKLETON AND THE BILL	Speech by Mr Shackleton describing the Suffrage Bill he had introduced as small but important	YES	UNION OF SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES — Executive committee of NUWSS met for first time after deputation to PM (YES); MEN'S COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO WOMEN — Letter from Mr Albert Dawson, chairman, giving details of the Committee (YES / N/A); Mr. Keir Hardie will be principle speaker at the WSPU "At Home" held in Queen's Hall today. Eighty Club discussion on "The Suffrage" to be held this evening (YES)
OFFO-1910-JUN27-012-011	WOMEN AND THE VOTE	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from John Massie, some kind of argument of gender differences supporting non equal rights	YES	
OFFO-1910-JUN28-010-007	MR. RAMSEY MACDONALD AND THE NEW PEERS	N/A	Seven new peers created by the Liberal Government were "awful warnings" of what would happen if they voted for HoL reform	NO	WOMEN LIBERALS' CONFERENCE — Annual conference of the Women's National Liberal Association opens today. Resolution expressing support for Government and urging electoral reform without mentioning woman suffrage (YES)
OFFO-1910-JUN28-012-008	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	Mr KEIR HARDIE AND THE CONCILIATION BILL	Hardie's attendance at the WSPU "At Home" and his comments on the Bill. Links to imperialism and need for women to grant freedom to others if they gain theirs	NO	DISCUSSION BY EIGHTY CLUB — Report of the discussion and summary of speakers and points. Chair opposed to Conciliation Bill but more ambivalent on woman suffrage (YES); MRS DESPARD'S UNPAID TAXES — President of Women's Freedom League, refusing to pay tax; some details of correspondence (NO); UNIONIST WOMEN AND THE VOTE — Annual reception for Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association to take place next Friday (NO); THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN — Details of a meeting organised by the Anti-Suffrage League on July 11 (YES)
OFFO-1910-JUN29-005-015	in corpus but not found with The Times search				
OFFO-1910-JUN29-008-003	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL	MEMORIAL TO MR ASQUITH	Text of letter sent by Lord Lytton to the PM	YES	LORD CROMER AND THE BILL — Lord Cromer, speaking at the annual Women's National Anti-Suffrage League meeting (YES); Demonstration at Queen's Hall — Meeting held by NUWSS and the London Societies for Women's Suffrage with official representatives from different groups. Resolution in support of Bill (YES)
OFFO-1910-JUN29-012-016	in corpus but not found with The Times search				
OFFO-1910-JUN30-008-002	WOMAN SUFFRAGE	LIBERAL WOMEN AND THE VOTE	Annual conference of the Women's National Liberal Association; discussion of women's suffrage	YES	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES — Letter from Robert Cecil condemning Parliamentary delaying tactics over second reaading of the Suffrage Bill (YES)

0FFO-1910-JUN30-008-003   MANCHESTER AND WOMEN'S   TO THE EDITOR OF THE
                           SUFFRAGE   TIMES

Letter from Rona Robinson
(Organiser to the Manchester
Branch of WSPU) and Margaret
Bobertson (Organiser to the   YES
North of England Society for
Women's Suffrage) disputing
figures given by Women's
National Anti-Suffrage League

Article	Header	Header of 1st text	Summary of 1st text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 2nd text	Summary of 2nd text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 3rd text	Summary of 3rd text	Contains suffrag*	Header of 4th text	
0FFO-1913-JUN02-006-012	ATTEMPT TO BURN A RAILWAY STATION	N/A	Fire at a railway station - suffragists are believed to be responsible because a porter saw two women coming from the direction of the ladies waiting room. Mrs Pankhurst suffering from dyspepsia, weakness and exhaustion	YES								
0FFO-1913-JUN03-007-011	CHINESE NATIVE PRESS EXCESSES. WARNING FROM SHANGHAI	N/A	Reporting on Chinese journalism and freedom of the press - compares extremists within a movement to "bulk of the Women's Suffrage movement in this country regards the militant suffragists"	YES	double-check this							
0FFO-1913-JUN03-007-013	WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE. SUGGESTED COMPULSORY SOCIAL SERVICE	N/A	Report from the Tenth International Women's Congress in Paris. Mentions the "suffrage problem"	YES								
0FFO-1913-JUN04-008-004	BOATHOUSE BURNED DOWN. DAMAGE BY SUFFRAGISTS AT OXFORD	N/A	Boathouse burned down. Mentions a card nailed to the bridge: "Votes for Women. No peace til we get the vote"	YES								
0FFO-1913-JUN04-011-011	THE THEATRICAL GARDEN PARTY. PICTURESQUE SCENE AT CHELSEA	N/A	Garden party; plays include the humorous "Votes for Men"	YES								
0FFO-1913-JUN05-005-001	COMMANDER EVANS AT QUEEN'S HALL. SIR CHURCHILL'S TRIBUTE	N/A	Public lecture on the Antarctic expedition. Precautions taken to avoid interruption by suffragists but interruptions anyway	YES								
0FFO-1913-JUN05-008-001	ABOYER'S DERBY. DESPERATE ACT OF A SUFFRAGIST. FALL OF THE KING'S HORSE. DISQUALIFICATION OF THE FAVOURITE.	N/A	Race report. Suffragist action described at the beginning. Description and thoughts on spectators and commerce	YES	THE RACE DESCRIBED. OBJECTION TO THE WINNER.	Account of the race itself	NO	THE SUFFRAGIST SCENE. HIS MAJESTY'S JOCKEY INJURED.	Fuller account of Davison's actions and a summary of her suffragist connections and past actions	YES	NARRATIVES OF SPECTATORS	Accounts of what Davison appeared to do and immediate aftermath	YES	THE ROYAL PARTY	Who was in the Royal party, what they wore and entertainment ater the race	NO	A REMARKABLE PHOTOGRAPH	Description of film	YES
0FFO-1913-JUN05-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES											
0FFO-1913-JUN05-009-002	A MEMORABLE DERBY	N/A	Race report plus account of Davison's action and discussion of suffrage movement and "fanaticism"	YES								
0FFO-1913-JUN05-010-015	COUNTRY HOUSE DESTROYED BY SUFFRAGISTS. AN ACT OF REVENGE.	N/A	Fire believed to have been started by suffragists, copy of the Suffragette found nearby	YES	DYE IN BRADFORD RESERVOIRS	Purple stains found in water, lady's bag found near resevoirs and this outrage is attributed to suffragists	YES					
0FFO-1913-JUN05-022-009	HOME FIRE LOSSES IN MAY. A COSTLY MONTH FOR INSURANCE OFFICES	N/A	Summary of the principal 55 fires in UK during May, four of which are attributed to suffragists (est cost £32,600 out of the total of £387,800)	YES								
0FFO-1913-JUN06-003-001	Law Report, June 5. SUMMARY OF THE DAY'S CASES	N/A	Summary of court cases, including those relating to suffragist window smashing, injured worker's compensation, racehorse owner suing the jockey, classification of metal polish as dangerous goods	YES								
0FFO-1913-JUN06-003-002	COURT OF APPEAL (Before LORD JUSTICE VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, LORD JUSTICE BUCKLEY, and LORD JUSTICE HAMILTON)	WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION - INDEMNITY. NETTLEINGHAM AND CO (LIMITED) v F. H. POWELL AND CO	Compensation of a workman injured in an accident at work	NO	SUFFRAGIST DISORDER - PLATE-GLASS INSURANCE. LONDON AND MANCHESTER &c, INSURANCE COMPANY (LIMITED) v. HEATH	Whether window breaking was an individual or organised act, & how this relates to the definition of a riot	YES					
0FFO-1913-JUN06-003-003	HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE. KING'S BENCH DIVISION. ACTIONS AGAINST MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS. Before MR JUSTICE DARLING and a Special Jury	N/A	Against Mr and Mrs Pethick Lawrence, Mrs and Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Mabel Tuke for conspiring to procure members of the WSPU to commit trespass and damage to goods and property	YES	A MOTOR-CYCLE ACCIDENT. HARDWIDGE v. WHITAKER. Before MR JUSTICE PICKFORD and a Special Jury	Account of a motorbike accident in which a man's leg was broken	NO					
0FFO-1913-JUN06-007-008	WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN PARIS. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT) PARIS, JUNE 5	N/A	Account of the Women's Congress - referred to the "suffrage agitation" abnd compared their use of violence with the Congress' use of right and reason	YES								
0FFO-1913-JUN06-008-006	THE DERBY DECISION. NOVEL POINTS RAISED BY THE DISQUALIFICATION. A CASE FOR A FULL STATEMENT	N/A	Discussion of disqualification of racehorse	NO	PROBLEMS IN PAYMENT. BOOKMAKERS AND THEIR CLIENTS.	The effect of the disqualification on bookmakers' payouts	NO	THE SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE. CONDITION OF JONES	Physical condition of Herbert Jones and Davison. Report of a "riotous scene" on the Down which was quelled by some 200 police officers	YES		
0FFO-1913-JUN06-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES											
0FFO-1913-JUN06-011-014	SIR LUKE FILDES'S PORTRAIT OF KING EDWARD	N/A	Picture that was lent to gallery removed. Nothing to do with rumours of suffragist violence. New secretary of the Metropolitan Hospital Sunday Fund.	YES								

ID	Title		Description		Secondary Title	Secondary Description		Tertiary Title	Tertiary Description	
0FFO-1913-JUN06-013-010	FIRE AT TERRITORIAL FORCE BUILDINGS	N/A	Fire at Territorial Force buildings, affecting 100 horses and danger from boxes of cartridges. No traces of suffragist papers found in the wreckage. Mrs Pankhurst's temporary licence expires on Saturday week.	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN07-004-001	Law Report, June 6. SUMMARY OF THE DAY'S CASES	N/A	Summary of actions of several London traders against militant suffragists, conduct of Mr E J Pape who obtained letters regarding someone's bankruptcy, owner of a car who refused to give details of driver to the police	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN07-004-002	COURT OF APPEAL. SUFFRAGIST DISORDER - PLATE GLASS INSURANCE. LONDON AND MANCHESTER PLATE GLASS INSURANCE COMPANY (LIMITED) V HEATH(Before LORD JUSTICE VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, LORD JUSTICE BUCKLEY, and LORD JUSTICE HAMILTON)	N/A	Definition of civil commotion	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN07-004-006	KING'S BENCH DIVISION. ACTIONS AGAINST MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS. ROBINSON AND CLEAVER AND OTHERS v LAWRENCE AND OTHERS	N/A	Court report, plus v short text on amount of money received by the Hospital Sunday Fund	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN07-008-003	OAKS DAY AT EPSOM. THE KING AGAIN PRESENT AT THE RACING. A MISHAP AT TATTENHAM CORNER	N/A	Race report. Mentions the worsening condition of Davison at the very end of the article and also mentions 3 members of the Women's Freedom League being arrested outside St James Palace where they were holding a meeting	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN09-003-001	Law Report, June 7. ACTIONS AGAINST SUFFRAGISTS	N/A	Actions brought against suffragists concluded	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN09-003-002	HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE. KING'S BENCH DIVISION. SUFFRAGIST DISORDER - PLATE GLASS INSURANCE. ROBINSON AND CLEAVER AND OTHERS v LAWRENCE AND OTHERS. Before MR JUSTICE DARLING and a Special Jury	N/A	very long, concludes with the verdict (amounts claimed by plaintiffs	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN09-007-001	Imperial and Foreign Intelligence. THE CHANGE OF MINISTRY IN HUNGARY. COUNT TASZA CALLED. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT) VIENNA, JUNE 8	N/A	Issues in Hungary with universal suffrage	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN09-008-006	THE SUFFRAGE OUTRAGE AT EPSOM. DEATH OF MISS E. W. DAVISON	N/A	Report on Davison's last days, death and brief obituary	YES	FIRE AT HURST PARK RACECOURSE	Report on fire at racecourse, suffragists suspected	YES	DISTURBANCES IN HYDE PARK	Crowd hassling WSPU at Hyde Park	NO
0FFO-1913-JUN09-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES									
0FFO-1913-JUN10-003-014	THE SUFFRAGIST CONSPIRACY CHARGES. SEVEN DEFENDANTS ON TRIAL.	N/A	Seven members of WSPU charged with conspiracy to inflict damage. Also summary of the finances of the Union and records of WSPU actions	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN10-006-001	SUFFRAGISTS AND MISS DAVISON'S DEATH. A PUBLIC FUNERAL	N/A	Plans for Davison's public funeral procession and discussion of the judgement from the High Court	YES	WITNESS ARRESTED IN COURT	Hearing of charges of burglary against two suffragists. Young woman went into the box and confessed to intention of burning down a mansion	YES	THE HURST PARK FIRE	Report on fire, mentions "large packet of suffragist papers"	YES
0FFO-1913-JUN10-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES									
0FFO-1913-JUN10-009-005	DEATH OF MR WYNDHAM. SUDDEN ILLNESS IN PARIS. A DISTINGUISHED CAREER CUT SHORT	N/A	Obituary, noted he supported women's suffrage	YES	PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS. A FRIEND'S APPRECIATION		NO			
0FFO-1913-JUN10-013-002	HOUSE OF COMMONS	N/A	very, very, very long - mention of anti-suffragists							
0FFO-1913-JUN11-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES									
0FFO-1913-JUN11-015-002	THE SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE AT THE DERBY. VERDICT OF MISADVENTURE	N/A	Report of the inquest into Davison's death, has coroner and witnesses	YES	CHARGE OF LOITERING	Kitty Marion and Clare Giveen charged with loitering with intent to commit a felony	YES			
0FFO-1913-JUN12-003-008	SUFFRAGIST SALARIES. LETTERS FROM "C.P." READ AT CONSPIRACY TRIAL	N/A	Details of weekly salaries paid to members of the WSPU	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN12-005-001	THE ROYAL REVIEW AT WINDSOR. THE KING AND HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY. OFFICIAL ARRANGEMENTS	N/A	Arrangements of the King's review of the Household Cavalry. Stands are guarded night and day against possible "outrages" by suffragists	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN12-006-005	FIRE AT HURST PARK RACECOURSE. SUFFRAGISTS CHARGED WITH ARSON.	N/A	Kitty Marion and Clare Giveen charged with "being concerned together in maliciously setting fire to the buildings at Hurst Park racecourse"	YES						

ID	Headline	Item 1	Summary 1	In?	Item 2	Summary 2	In?	Item 3	Summary 3	In?	Item 4	Summary 4	In?	Item 5	Summary 5	In?	Item 6	Summary 6	In?	Item 7	Summary 7	In?	Item 8	Summary 8	In?
0FFO-1913-JUN12-007-004	ITALY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE. RESOLUTION REJECTED. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT). ROME, JUNE 11.	N/A	Rejection of extending the franchise to women	YES																					
0FFO-1913-JUN12-007-005	THE WOMEN'S VOTE IN NORWAY. CHRISTIANIA, June 11	N/A	Norway extends the franchise to women without regard of their income tax. The Women's Suffrage Bill passed the House of Representatives in the US	YES																					
0FFO-1913-JUN12-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES																								
0FFO-1913-JUN13-003-006	SUFFRAGIST CONSPIRACY CHARGES. CASE FOR THE PROSECUTION CLOSED	N/A	Hearing resumed, some discussion of the Suffragette, hearing adjourned	YES																					
0FFO-1913-JUN13-005-013	NEWS IN BRIEF	KING ALONSO AND THE LIBERAL PARTY (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT) Madrid, June 12	New Spanish Cabinet along Liberal Party lines	NO	WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT) New York, June 12	Passage of Illinois Bill	YES	THE AMERICAN TARIFF. WASHINGTON June 12	Schedules placing raw wool and sugar on free list approved	NO	THE NEW YORK MAYORALTY (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT) NEW YORK, June 12	Current Mayor announces willingness to seek another term	NO	SHARP FIGHT WITH FILIPINOS (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT) NEW YORK, June 12	Fighting between Filipinos and Americans	NO	THE MORGAN ART COLLECTION (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT) NEW YORK, JUNE 12	Metropolitan Museum gets more money to house Morgan art collection	NO	THE NEW SOUTH WALES PREMIER. SYDNEY, June 12	Premier of NSW resigns in favour of Attorney-General	NO	AIRMEN'S ACTION FOR DAMAGE S. PARIS, June 12.	Airmen try to claim compensation, question of who is responsible. Report of train collision in US	NO
0FFO-1913-JUN13-008-005	MR BURNS AND HIS CRITICS. THE WORK OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD	N/A	Report on House of Commons discussion	YES	THE DEPOTATION OF ADAMOVITZ	Political asylum in Egypt	NO																		
0FFO-1913-JUN13-011-002	HOUSE OF COMMONS	N/A	very very very long transcript of House of Commons discussion	YES																					
0FFO-1913-JUN14-012-001	SUFFRAGIST CONSPIRACY CHARGES. SPEECHES FOR THE DEFENCE	N/A	Trial continues of Harriet Roberta Kerr , Anges Lake, Rachel Barrett, Laura Geraldine Lennox, Beatrice Helen Sanders, Anne Kenney and Edwy Godwin Clayton of conspiring to together and with other persons to inflict damage to property and to incite other members of the WSPU to commit damage. Discussion of the language of hyperbole. Trial adjourned	YES																					
0FFO-1913-JUN16-005-003	THE SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGE AT THE DERBY. FUNERAL OF MISS DAVISON. MRS PANKHURST RE-ARRESTED	N/A	Davison's funeral procession through London & details of Mrs Pankhurst's arrest as she tried to attend the procession	YES	THE HURST PARK FIRE. SUSPECTS AGAIN REMANDED	Hearing of the charges against Kitty Marion and Clara Giveen. Mention of the Suffragette and Votes for Women left at the scene, issues of suffragist identity. Hearing adjourned.	YES	WOMAN INJURED IN HYDE PARK	Meeting of the WSPU in Hyde Park disrupted by crowd, police attempt to escort the woment out of Hyde Park and a woman was injured in the confusion. Bomb found in the ladies waiting-room at arailway station, no indication it is due to suffragists	YES	THE VIVISECTION QUESTION	Research Defence Society and British Union for Abolition of Vivisection	NO													
0FFO-1913-JUN16-006-001	THE CHURCH CONGRESS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE. THE PROPRIETY OF DISCUSSION	N/A	Correspondence between Lord Curzon (President of the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage) and the Bishop of Winchester.	YES																					
0FFO-1913-JUN16-007-010	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONGRESS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT) BUDAPEST, JUNE 15	N/A	Report of the seventh International Woman's Suffrage Congress. Growth of the feminist movement in the East and positive report that "in the near future, women would enjoy full equality of political rightswith men". No mention of militancy. Foundation stone of a new metropolitian underground railway station in Naples laid. Albanian Committee holds a public dinner to raise funds for the starving and destitute around Skutari.	YES																					
0FFO-1913-JUN16-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES																								
0FFO-1913-JUN17-003-001	Law Report, June 16. SUMMARY OF THE DAY'S CASES	N/A	Brief summary of the day's cases: an Indian murder,appeals from the Thames Ironworks, £1,423 in damages claimed from Mr and Mrs Pethick Lawrence, Mrs Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst for broken windows, news from Court of Criminal Appeal	YES																					

ID	Title	Summary			Title	Summary		Title	Summary		Title	Summary	
0FFO-1913-JUN17-005-008	MRS PANKHURST RELEASED. THIRD BREAK IN HER TERM OF IMPRISONMENT	Mrs Pankhurst released from prison under the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act following her re-arrest before Davison's funeral procession. Brief summary of previous sentences	N/A	YES	DAMAGE TO COLLEGE LIBRARY. SUPPOSED SUFFRAGIST MISCHIEF AT CAMBRIDGE	Damage done to some 300 books in St John's library, card with "Votes for Women" found hanging from one of the shelves. Gateway of the college painted in suffragist colours during May Week. "Variously attributed" to undergraduates and women suffragists	YES	THE HURST PARK FIRE. WITHDRAWAL OF THE CHARGE AGAINST THE ACCUSED	Charges against Kitty Marion and Clara Giveen withdrawn and the defendants discharged due to a more serious charge being levelled against them, and incidents in this case forming part of the case against them at Kingston	NO	COLONIAL OFFICE WINDOW BROKEN	Margaret Scott fined 40s. And 40s. for breaking a windowat the Colonial Office. In default she was sentenced one month as asecond class prisoner. She broke the window in protest against the re-arrest of Mrs Pankhurst	NO
0FFO-1913-JUN17-007-012	WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONGRESS AND MILITANCY (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT). BUDAPEST, June 16	Woman Suffrage Congress's attitude towards militancy - cannot expressa favourable or otherwise opinion due to impartiality, but protestsagainst those witholding women's suffrage in the world due to the "tactics adopted by a minority in a single country"	N/A	YES									
0FFO-1913-JUN17-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES HOUSE OF COMMONS		N/A										
0FFO-1913-JUN17-012-002		Very long Parliamentary report												
0FFO-1913-JUN18-005-001	THE SUFFRAGIST TRIAL. ALL DEFENDANTS FOUND GUILTY. IMPRISONMENT IN THE THIRD DIVISION	Harriet Roberta Kerr , Anges Lake, Rachel Barrett, Laura Lennox, Beatrice Sanders, Anne Kenney and Edwy Clayton found guilty of conspiring together and with other persons to inflict damage to property and to incite other members of the WSPU to cause damage. Comparison by Kenney of Ulster newspaper disacussing Home Rule and the Suffragette	N/A	YES									
0FFO-1913-JUN19-004-008	THE LONDON MUSEUM	London Museum will not be reopened to the public until after its relocation to Stafford House. Originally closed due to activities of militant suffragists	N/A	YES	ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS	Annual election to the Council of the RCS	NO	A FACISIMILE EDITION OF MOZART'S REQUIEM	Facisimile edition being prepared in Vienna	NO			
0FFO-1913-JUN19-007-010	ZEPPELIN AIRSHIP FLIGHTS BY NIGHT. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT). BERLIN, JUNE 18.	Zeppelin made a successful journey from Baden Baden to Hamburg	N/A	NO	THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONGRESS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT). BUDAPEST, JUNE 18	Discussion of proposals to establish the permanent HQ of the woman suffrage movement in London, start an international press bureau and move the offices of Jus Suffragiifrom Rotterdam to London. Second motion was rejected by asmall majority, no definite position on other motions	YES	MR LYTTELTON'S ARTICLES ON EAST AFRICA. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT). ZANZIBAR, JUNE 18.	East Africa Press denies agitation for self-government	NO	NEW PERUVIAN CABINET. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT). LIMA, JUNE 18.	Cabinet resigned yesterday, new ministry sworn in today	NO
0FFO-1913-JUN19-010-006	MRS PANKHURST'S TREATMENT. MR BERNARD SHAW ON GOVERNMENT METHODS. TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter by George Bernard Shaw in condemnation of Mrs Pankhurst's treatment. He argues that she should have been re-arrested after Davison's funeral, and condemns Asquith's view of women as an inferior species. "...a Prime Minister who places one's mother on the footing of a rabbit"; if Mrs Pankhurst dies, he will see her death as on level with a rabbit's.GBS urges the authoritiesto leave Mrs Pankhurst alone.	N/A	YES									
0FFO-1913-JUN19-010-007	MRS PANKHURST'S CONDITION	Not much change in Mrs Pankhurst's condition and she is still very ill. Request for absolute quiet. Three militant suffragists from Dublin released	N/A	YES									
0FFO-1913-JUN20-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES												

ID	Title	Description			Title 2	Description 2			Title 3	Description 3	
0FFO-1913-JUN20-009-003	THE ASCOT OUTRAGE	Report of a man (Hewitt) who ran onto the Gold Cup course with suffragist colours in one hand and a loaded revolver in the other. No evidence of his previous connections to the suffrage movement, and belief he was affected by "religious mania". Report says he was "more successful in his immediate purpose than the woman whose action he copied" and successfully interfered with the race/affected its results. Interesting stuff on mental illness and suffrage movement? Article doesn't appear to fully distinguish between these	N/A	YES							
0FFO-1913-JUN20-009-005	OUTRAGE AT ASCOT. HORSE STOPPED BY AN ARMED MAN. REPETITION OF THE DERBY INCIDENT. (FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)	News report of Hewitt's actions. Less conflation with suffragists. Includes diagram of the course	N/A	YES	THE ROYAL PARTY. VISITORS TO THE MEETING	Report of Royal family, other European Royals and various lords and ladies in attendance	NO				
0FFO-1913-JUN21-007-018	WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND MILITANCY. CONDEMNATION BY THE CONGRESS. (FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT). BUDAPEST, JUNE 20	International Woman Suffrage Congress closed this evening, having been attended by 2,500 delegates. Socialist opposition due to percieved attempt to enfranchise middle & upper class women before working class men. Majority of delegates appear to disapprove of militancy, but Congress did not directly censure militancy	N/A	YES							
0FFO-1913-JUN21-010-005	THE LEICESTER CONTEST. A SOCIALIST AND LABOUR CANDIDATE	Adoption of a new Socialist and Labout candidate. Women's Liberal Federation pledge support to the Liberal candidate, who is strongly in favour of woman suffrage	N/A	YES	UNIONIST CANDATE FOR SOUTHAMPTON	Adoption of a new Unionist candate to replace previous, who is now the Unionist candidate for Mid-Herts	NO				
0FFO-1913-JUN21-011-011	couldn't find in newspaper										
0FFO-1913-JUN23-005-004	SUFFRAGIST OUTRAGES. FIRE AT ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY	Several suffragist outrages: fire which destroyed the east wing of Batty's Marine Laboratory at St Andrews; attempted arson of St John's Church in Southend-on-Sea (verger found matches, tinder, oil and a taper in organ-chamber along with suffragist literature and paper reading "Votes for Women"); Birmingham police recieved info that suffragists were planning to blow up the embankment of the Birmingham and Stratford-on-Avon canal (shovel, fuse and paper reading "Votes for women; mind your canals")	N/A	YES	THE HURST PARK FIRE. TWO SUSPECTS COMMITTED	Kitty Marion and Clare Giveen committed to trial; summary of evidence against them incl. arson materials found in their rooms	YES	FOUR PRISONERS RELEASED	Four members of the WSPU sentenced in connection to the suffragist conspiracy charge released underthe "Cat and Mouse" Act. Mrs Pankhurst reported to be slightly better. Constitutional suffragists are marching from Land'sEnd to London - an open-air meeting was broken up by a crowd.Gertrude Elizabeth Shaw charged with breaking a pane of glass	YES
0FFO-1913-JUN23-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES										
0FFO-1913-JUN23-011-012	MME. FELIX FAURE-GOYAN	Death of Mme Faure-Goyan, daughter of late President of the Republic. She was "interested in the movement for the extension of women's activities" and particularly that for women's education, without being a suffragist	N/A	YES							
0FFO-1913-JUN25-002-005	A "WHITE SLAVE" CASE	John Johnson West, a lecturer, indicted under the new "White Slave" Act for living partly on the earnings of his wife. Man executed for the murder of a woman. French subject charged with fraud. Lucy Wilson charged with being in the unlawful possesion of one metal and two silver spoons; had been charged with committing wilful damage in connection with the woman suffrage movement	N/A	YES							
0FFO-1913-JUN25-009-001	LEADING ARTICLES										
0FFO-1913-JUN25-010-005	SIR RUFUS ISAACS AND MARCONI. SPEECH AT READING	Speech with suffragist interruptions	N/A	YES							
0FFO-1913-JUN25-010-008	THE SUFFRAGIST CONSPIRACY. RELEASE OF CLAYTON	Edwy Godwin Clayton, sentenced under the suffrage conspiracy charges, was released to a nursing home. He had been hunger-striking since his conviction. Mrs Sanders, who was released on a 7 day licence after hunger-striking, left her nursing home for London	N/A	YES	NOVELIST'S OBJECTION TO JURY SERVICE	Novelist conscientiously objectsto trying women when they are not on an equal footing with men, and is excused. Lord Aberdeen accosted by two members of the Irish Women's Franchise League, who ask him why he had applied the "cat and mouse" act to Irish prisoners	NO				

ID	Title		Description		Heading	Description		Heading	Description		Heading	Description		Heading	Description	
0FFO-1913-JUN26-012-002	WOMAN SUFFRAGE. ATTEMPT TO BURN A RAILWAY STATION	N/A	Hazelwell railway station set on fire although the damage was not serious. Suffragist papers found. After the French President's procession in Oxford Circus, women carrying parasols bearing suffragist colours and the words "Votes for Women" were attacked by the crowd and had to be rescued by the police. In Dublin an action will be heard against the Irish Women's Franchise League	YES	THE OPPOSITION MOVEMENT	Report of the annual Council meeting of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. Mentions the "wicked and criminal acts" committed by the militants	YES									
0FFO-1913-JUN27-068-006	MARTYRDOM AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE. REPLIES TO MR SHAW. TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	N/A	Response from Algernon Gissing to GBS disputing the term "martyr" as applies to Davison	YES												
0FFO-1913-JUN27-068-007	MR MEYER'S SUGGESTION. TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	N/A	Letter from F B Meyers suggesting that women prisoners who cannot be "let off scot-free" should be attached to women warders. Overall argues in favour of women's suffrage as "the present war between the sexes is hurting us all"	YES	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Constance Leconfield arguing that women "endangering the life of a harmless jockey", arson etc would not make sensible men give them the vote	NO	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Jessie Grosvenor asking for clarification, in a rather sarcastic manner, of what Bernard Shaw means in his letter of the 25th	YES - anti-suffragists	OXFORDSHIRE UNION	Annual meeting held in Banbury	NO	LORD DONOUGHMORE ON ENGLISH MUSIC	175th anniversary festival dinner in aid of the Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain held previous night	NO
0FFO-1913-JUN27-068-008	SUFFRAGISTS AND WATER STRIKES. A NEW POLICY.	N/A	Dr Flora Murray, Mrs Pankhurst's doctor, reports on the weight lost by Mrs Pankhurst, Miss Barrett and Miss Kerr while in prison and discusses the tactic of abstaining from water. She describes how Mrs Pankhurst was very weak and was closely watched by men in the country house where she was resting, eventually returning to London.	YES	REASSURING OFFICIAL VIEWS	Hunger-strikes spread to non-suffragist prisoners, but "in official circles no fears are entertained" as to systematic hunger strikes amongst ordinary prisoners	YES	LADY ABERDEEN MOLESTED	Lady Aberdeen, President of the Women's National Health Association, was accosted by a woman suffragist who flung bills into her car and protested against the new Act being applied to Irishwomen	YES						
0FFO-1913-JUN30-010-004	MINISTERS AND MARCONIS. LETTER FROM MR HERBERT SAMUEL	N/A	Annual meeting of the General Council of the Northern Liberal Federation	NO	THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S RECEPTION	Attorney-General was the principal speaker at a public meeting held in the Hippodrome. Interruptions from male suffragists	YES	MR MUNRO-FERGUSON AND HIS VOTE	Mr Munro-Ferguson M.P. Explains his vote for Mr Cave's motion in the Marconi debate in the House of Commons	NO						
0FFO-1913-JUN30-010-006	DISTURBANCE IN WHITEHALL. ENCOUNTERS WITH THE POLICE AFTER A DEMONSTRATION	N/A	Demonstration in Trafalgar Square by the Free Speech Defence Committee, after which a section of the crowd (at least 2,000) led by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst marched to Downing Street. WSPU banners were used. Police had orders to clear the crowd and used sticks freely. Five men arrested and charged with obstruction and assault on the police.	NO	MISS LENNOX RE-ARRESTED	Re-arrested at Shirehampton, Bristol, on expiry of the period allowed by her licence, and taken back to Holloway Prison. Miss Pankhurst condemns the Cat and Mouse Act in her speech at Trafalgar Square, calling it an "outrage on humanity" and that Mrs Pankhurst was dying slowly as a result. Dinner to be held by the Women Writers' Suffrage League, a non-militant organisation, on July 2	YES									
0FFO-1913-JUN30-010-007	MARTYRDOM AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE. TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	N/A	Letter from John Massie arguing that women are "as a sex, incapable of discharging all the duties and submitting to all the responsibilities which a full and governing citizenship requires"	YES	TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES	Letter from Louisa M. Knightley arguing that the end does not justify the means, and while women's suffrage is desirable, the "means adopted by militants are most reprehensible and have put the cause back many years"	YES									