

HONORS WORLD HISTORY

20TH CENTURY NEWS & SYLVIA PANKHURST: ADVOCATE OR SUBVERSIVE?

SUMMER RESEARCH PROJECT

GUIDE & REQUIREMENTS



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HONORS WORLD HISTORY DISCLAIMER STATEMENT

Thank you for being a part of Honors World History for the new school year. This course is designed for the highly motivated student who looks forward to an extremely challenging curriculum. A higher degree of competency will be expected in this course including an intensive summer project requirements. Students must be highly motivated and should expect analyze, apply, and argue historical issues and perspectives. Students will also write extensively and critically both in and out of class.

To begin your Honors World History experience, you will need to complete the given summer reading project by the given due date. Mr. Hodnicki will be available via email periodically throughout the summer to answer any questions or concerns regarding the project

You understand that by choosing to take Honors World History that failure to complete all or part of the summer projects will result in a poor or failing grade to begin the semester. Failure to complete the assignment by the due date may not allow you to drop Honors World History.

SUMMER REQUIREMENT:

- 1) **SYLVIA PANKHURST: ADVOCATE OR SUBVERSIVE.** Read the article on Sylvia Pankhurst and the supporting primary source documents. Complete the attached sheet: Summer Written Assessment, which are a series of 2 questions that must be answered based on the texts. Refer to the handout for additional requirements and scoring.
- 2) **20TH CENTURY NEWSPAPER PROJECT.** Research a variety of topics from the 20th century based on the required categories. Refer to the handout for additional requirements and scoring.

DEADLINES AND REMINDERS

- 1) **Complete both of the projects by August 20, 2018.** Projects are to be turned on the due date. Please turn in the assignments to room 206 --Mr. Hodnicki's room or my mailbox in the office. They can also be shared via Google Docs at the email address/id below. I will be available from 10am until 2pm on August 20th in room 206 to receive summer projects.
- 2) If you have any questions or concerns please email me: chodnic@wls4kids.org I check email once a week during the summer, except from June 20th – July 5th for which I will not be available.

“SYLVIA PANKHURST: ADVOCATE OR SUBVERSIVE?”
SUMMER READING WRITTEN ASSESSMENT

INTRODUCTION

Estelle Sylvia Pankhurst was an English campaigner for the suffragist movement in the United Kingdom. She was for a time a prominent communist who then devoted herself to the cause of anti-fascism. In 1906 Sylvia Pankhurst started to work full-time with the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) with her sister and her mother. In contrast to them she retained an affiliation with the labor movement, and unlike them she concentrated her activity on local campaigning with the East London Federation of the WSPU, rather than leading the national organization.

GOAL

The goal of this written assessment will be to discover the various events, themes, and issues that characterized and impacted the industrial and reform era in Great Britain/Victorian England. In addition, analyze primary sources documents to formulate conclusions.

PROCEDURE

As required for Honors World History, you are expected to complete the reading and answer all of the following questions on *Sylvia Pankhurst: Advocate or Subversive?* **DOCUMENTS ARE ATTACHED AT THE END OF PACKET.** You may **not need** all of the documents to respond to the questions. You may write or type all answers to the following questions.

SHORT ANSWER:

In a paragraph, answer the 2 of the following questions that can be drawn from the attached reading and documents. (10 Points each). Support your answers by including phrases from the document(s) in your responses

- 1) Explain the aims of the suffragists and the actions taken by them to achieve those aims. After explaining their aims, how do other organizations like the Liberal and Independent Labour Parties react? Use the documents to support your responses.
- 2) How did Sylvia carry her ideals into practice through the East London Federation of Suffragettes and its newspaper “Woman’s (later Worker’s) Dreadnought?” Based on the foregoing, how do you think Sylvia felt about the passage of The Representation of the People Act in 1918? Use the documents to support your responses.
- 1) Sylvia Pankhurst has often been called an advocate for workers and women’s rights but at the same time accused of being subversive. Based on the documents and your interpretation, explain whether Sylvia Pankhurst is either an advocate for rights or a subversive. Include at least three facts or details from the documents to support your arguments.

EXTRA, EXTRA!!!

A 20TH CENTURY NEWSPAPER EXPERIENCE

INTRODUCTION

The importance of newspapers varies from one individual to the next. Most individuals use newspapers as a print source of current events, entertainment gossip, and political debate. They also provide commentary on politics, economics, and arts and culture, and sometimes include entertainment features, such as comics and crossword puzzles.

GOAL

The goal of this project will be to discover the various components that comprise the newspaper, but also to gain an understanding of all the influences impacting humanity within the 20th century.

PROCEDURE

For this project you will be required to work individually to develop a newspaper that records, analyzes, and provides commentary on events of the 20th century. To begin you must select your topics from the six major categories that focus on the 20th century. Once the selection is complete, it is crucial to research both print and electronic sources.

- All information, including images, must be in your own words and placed within the newspaper columns of the project. It is expected that you place headlines for each article, a title for the newspaper, and at least three images with the newspaper.
- The topics can all be from the same time period/decade or each event or person can be from a different time in the 20th century.
- At the end of each article, except the political cartoon which will have an analysis, provide a brief paragraph that analyzes the impact that the event or person has made on the world. (In other words: why was this person or event crucial to the world or how has it changed the world or is the world a better or worse place because of it or him/her.
- **The final page of your newspaper must be a list of all print and electronic sources in APA Documentation format. There should be a list of at least three sources. You do not need to cite pictures, only the political cartoon.**
- To develop an appropriate newspaper you must use word processing software, such as Microsoft Word or Google Docs and set your page to portrait and a three column setting. This newspaper project must be at least three word processed pages or more; not including the Works Cited page. No in text citations needed for this project.

REQUIREMENTS & CATEGORIES

CATEGORY 1 - Breaking News Headline: A topic that is crucial for all readers to know. This topic can be on any national or international event of the 20th century. It must be placed at the top of newspaper. Consider: Major wars, death or assassinations of leaders, presidential issues/situations, or a national/natural disaster.

TOPICS EXEMPT: *World War II begins, Pearl Harbor, Kennedy Assassinated.*

CONSIDER: *Atomic weapons on Japan, Judgment at Nuremberg, Civil War in Greece, India wins independence, Apartheid in South Africa*

CATEGORY 2 - International News: A topic or event from another nation that impacts our world. This topic can focus on the election of a new leader, a government coup d'etat, and situations/issues facing Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe or the Middle East. Consider: Major wars, death or assassinations of leaders, presidential issues/situations, or a national/natural disaster. Note: Do not duplicate the Breaking News Headline, chose another topic. Must be a non-US topic

CONSIDER: *Soviets blockade Berlin, Israel war for independence, Korean War, Vietnam, Suez Crisis, Castro takes Cuba, Moon Landing, Iran-Iraq War, Falklands War, Channel Tunnel completed, end of USSR, Mandela elected president of South Africa.*

CATEGORY 3 - National News: An event or topic that is of great importance in the lives of Americans. It can focus on a national/natural disaster of the US, Presidential campaign/victory/defeat, domestic crisis/riot, or social issues involving medicines/health care/environment.

TOPICS EXEMPT: *John Kennedy, Pearl Harbor, World War II.*

CATEGORY 4 - Biography: A brief biography on the life and career of an influential individual who has made a contribution to science, the environment, politics, literature, the arts, or medicine. (Consider: An individual a great significance).

CONSIDER: *Margaret Thatcher, Gandhi, Alfred Nobel, Mikhail Gorbachev, Charlie Chaplin, Kofi Annan, Robert Oppenheimer, Nelson Mandela, Emmeline Pankhurst, Lech Walesa.*

CATEGORY 5 - Political Humor/Cartoon: It is necessary to incorporate a 20th century cartoon. Besides a cartoon, below it must be a brief analysis/personal interpretation of its meaning/significance. You may find one on the Internet to use and analyze or create a unique one of your own to analyze.

SUGGESTED RESOURCES

Remember that some of the finest quality of resources and information can be obtained from print sources. However, some would rather use electronic sources. A list of approve sources has been placed below. You are not limited to items on this list.

EBSCO Host or GALE Learning Resources - <http://www.wls4kids.org>

>Students>Library>Resources

Username: infohio Password: power GALE Password: library

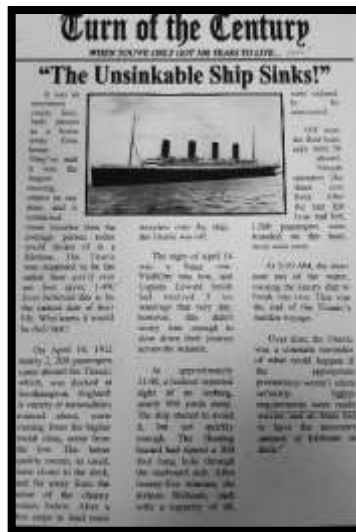
Eyewitness to History - <http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/20frm.htm>

Biographies - <http://www.biography.com>

Modern and Recent Cartoons - <http://theweek.com/cartoons> <https://www.loc.gov/photos/>

Historical Information Resources - <http://www.refdesk.com/facthist.html>

EXAMPLES



CITING RESOURCES IN APA FORMAT
COMPLIMENTS OF THE WHITMER LIBRARY AND ZIELINSKI SCIENCE LIBRARY

At the end of a paper or project, it is necessary to cite, or list, all the resources that were used for research. This **References** page provides the reader with all the necessary information to locate any of these sources. The following information is recommended by the **American Psychological Association (APA)**. Consult the following with additional questions:
<http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/560/01/>

DIRECTIONS FOR USAGE:

1. Number the **References** page as a continuation of the research paper.
2. Type the title **References** centered, one-inch from the top of the page.
3. Use 1" margins and 12 point font.
4. Double-space the entire page-after the title, within entries, & between entries.
5. Begin the first entry at the left margin. Indent three spaces from the left margin for additional lines within each entry. Do not number the entries.
6. Alphabetize the entries according to the author's last name, or title if author is not known. Use initials of the author's first and middle names.
7. *Italicize* the titles of books, pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers.

BOOK BY ONE AUTHOR

Author copyright title of book place of pub. Publisher
Godman, A. (2005). *Energy supply a-z*. Hillside, NJ: Enslow.

BOOK BY TWO AUTHORS

Author author copyright title of book place of pub. publisher
Macdonald, F. & Bergin, M. (2004). *A Greek temple*. New York, NY: Bedrick.

BOOK WITH NO AUTHOR

Title copyright place of pub. publisher
Drugs in America. (2004). New York, NY: H.W. Wilson

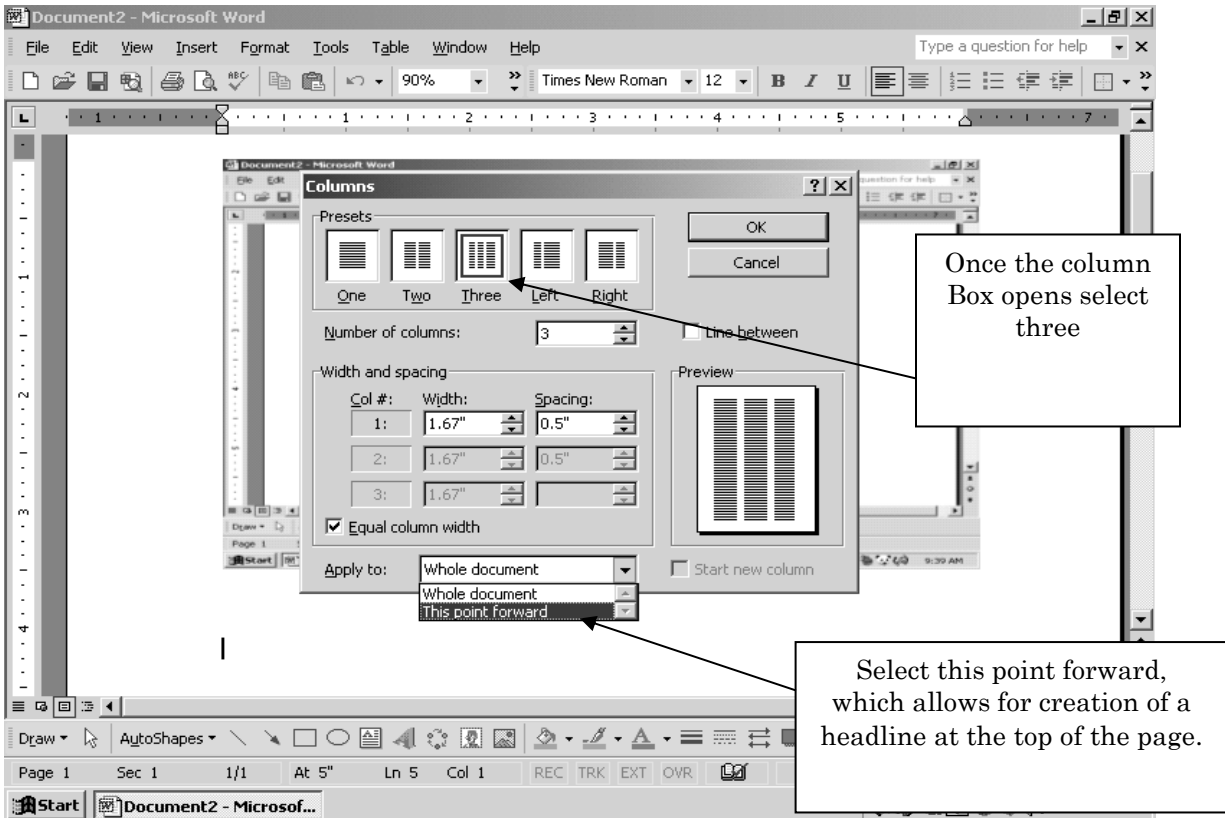
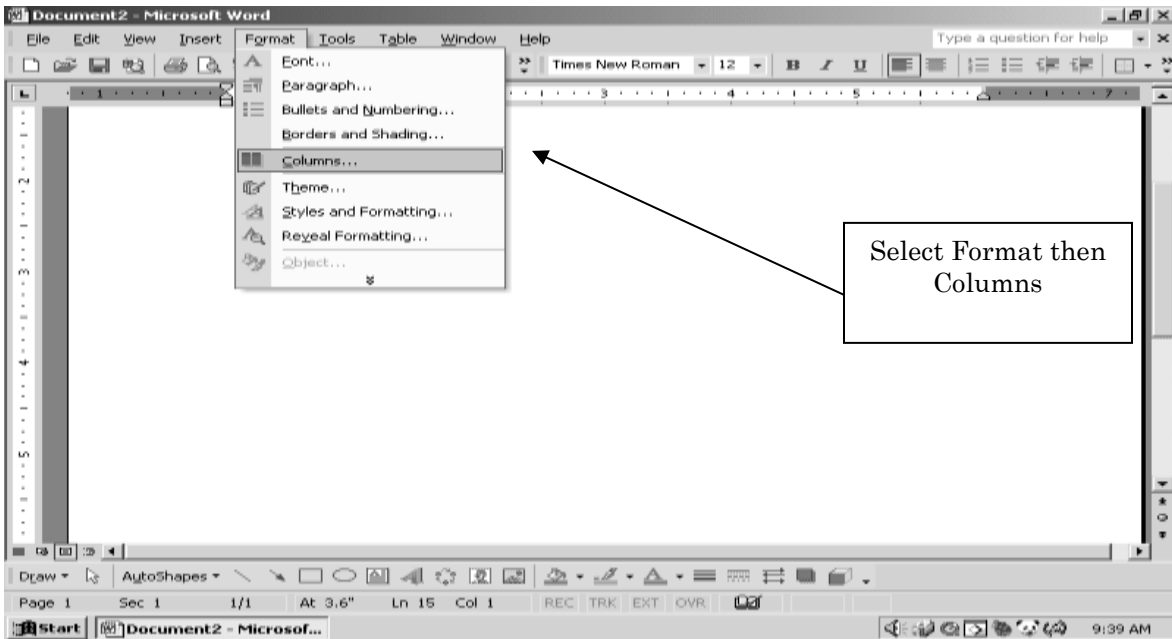
INTERNET WEB SITE

Author (if listed) date name of page organization date of access
Smith, J. (2003). *Shakespeare*. University of Toledo. Retrieved Feb.15, 2004 from
<http://shakespeare.utoledo.edu/>

HONORS WORLD HISTORY NEWSPAPER PROJECT FORMAT

PROCEDURES FOR CREATING THE NEWSPAPER PROJECT LAYOUT

1) Hit the enter key at least three times before proceeding with the directions in the box



SYLVIA PANKHURST: PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENTS



UNIT 9

Sylvia Pankhurst: Advocate or Subversive?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Sylvia Pankhurst was born in 1882 in Manchester, England, the second of four children of Richard and Emmeline Pankhurst. Her mother was the secretary of the Manchester branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Sylvia's father, Dr. Richard Marsden Pankhurst, was a radical lawyer who had drafted the first women's enfranchisement bill, introduced into Parliament in 1870. All through Sylvia's youth, the Pankhursts remained involved in reform activities.

In 1898, when Sylvia was 16, she received a scholarship to the Manchester School of Art. After touring and studying in Venice, she came home to Manchester in 1903. Her mother secured for her a commission to decorate the Independent Labour Party Hall named for her father. There Sylvia discovered that women were not permitted to join the ILP Manchester branch. When she told her mother and sister Christabel, they decided to organize the Women's Social and Political Union to raise the visibility of women's suffrage as a political goal. The organization's slogan became "deeds, not words." The WSPU began to confront the political establishment, especially of the Liberal Party, which came into power at the end of 1905 and won a strong electoral victory early the next year. Though generally supportive, the Independent Labour Party subordinated the issue of votes for women to that of universal suffrage for both men and women, while the Liberal Party simply avoided the issue.

In 1906, Sylvia began to work full time

for her mother's organization. She began in London, where, with Kier Hardie's advice, she organized the first militant women's meeting in the city (February 16, 1906). In publicizing this meeting, the *Daily Mail* newspaper referred to the meeting's sponsoring group as "Suffragettes," a term that became widely used. Hardie attempted, unsuccessfully, to move a women's suffrage bill in the House of Commons in April. WSPU members who were watching the maneuvering from the Strangers Gallery protested and were forcibly ejected. As the group turned from petitioning to more direct action, Sylvia participated in acts of civil disobedience. She went on hunger strikes when she was imprisoned. Despite her passionate support for her mother's organization, she worried over what she regarded as her sister's emphasis on middle- and upper-class women—the taunt that the movement was interested in "votes for ladies" arose from this. She also objected to her mother's thin-skinned rejection of even the slightest disagreement from her colleagues; later, supporters would be thrown out of the movement for these affronts.

Gradually Sylvia's goals veered away from those of her mother and sister. She began to champion the rights of working-class women. This concern arose from her deep commitment to the Labour Party's socialist ideals. Sylvia broke with the WSPU in 1912 when, frustrated by the failure of yet another franchise bill, Christabel (who had avoided prison by fleeing to Paris) called for "destructive

militancy" (acts of vandalism) to be adopted as a formal policy. Sylvia rejected the policy as counterproductive. With an American supporter, Zelig Emerson, she moved to East London to focus on the living and working conditions and the rights of working women. Sylvia and some of her supporters were soon arrested. Again, they went on hunger strikes. When even forced feeding could not insure their health, the government passed the Prisoners' Temporary Discharge for Ill Health Act—referred to by the suffragettes as the Cat and Mouse Act. It allowed women to be released to avoid their dying in jail, then rearrested when their condition improved. In January 1914, while playing Cat and Mouse with authorities who were trying to rearrest her, Sylvia was summoned by her mother and sister to Paris for one last attempt at reconciliation. When that failed, Christabel ordered Sylvia to sever her organization's connection to the WSPU. Sylvia renamed her organization the East London Federation of Suffragettes and invited workers of both sexes to join (the WSPU was open only to women). At Emerson's urging, she also founded a newspaper, the *Woman's Dreadnought*, to spread the word.

When the First World War broke out, Christabel returned to England. The WSPU suspended its antigovernment activities until the war's end, coming out in favor of "women's right to serve." They hoped that if women proved themselves through war service, the government would have to award them the vote. (In fact, this did eventually happen with the passage of The Representation of the People Act in 1918.) During the war, Sylvia continued to demand the immediate enfranchisement of women. She also advocated pacifism and worked to alleviate working-class suffering. The government arrested her for sedition for speaking at an anti-war rally (a group of miners paid her fine).

When the Russian Revolution took place in 1917, Sylvia supported it. She changed the name of her newspaper to the *Worker's Dreadnought* in July 1917. Under British government auspices, Emmeline had gone to Russia that summer to convince the provisional government to remain in the war. When the Bolshevik Revolution overthrew the provisional government and sued for peace with the Central Powers, Sylvia supported the Bolsheviks. She organized a Hands Off Russia campaign and communicated with Lenin. She traveled illegally to Russia in 1921, wrote a book called *Russia As I Saw It*, met Lenin, and attended the First Congress of the Third International. When she returned, she was arrested and imprisoned for six months by the British authorities under the Defense of the Realm Act. She was denounced by Lenin in a polemic entitled "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder."

Sylvia's experiences in Italy, both before the war and in 1919, when she attended the Socialist Congress at Bologna, made her an early and active opponent of fascism. She was also influenced by Silvio Erasmio Corio (described later by their son as "an Italian libertarian Socialist"), who had kept the *Worker's Dreadnought* operating while she was imprisoned. Sylvia founded two antifascist societies, published more than 20 nonfiction books, and produced two poetry collections. She bitterly opposed Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. She met Emperor Haili Selassie, helped to found the Abyssinia Society, and started another newspaper, *New Times and Ethiopia News*, which continued publication through the Second World War. During the war (which she supported), Sylvia also worked on behalf of antifascist aliens interned by the British government. After the war, she campaigned for the independence of Italy's former colonies, created a foundation and a newspaper in sup-

Document A

Women's Social and Political Union Manifesto, October 1908

(From Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder, A Documentary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 83.)

Parliament is about to meet to continue the work of legislation.

The bill for the enfranchisement of women, which earlier in the year passed its second reading by a great majority, finds no place in the Government programme, although every effort has been made by women to convince the Cabinet that it is expedient, as well as just, that the disability of sex should be removed without further delay.

Great demonstrations, exceeding in size any ever held in support of any other question, have taken place all over the country.

At the by-elections, the voters have voted against the Government on the issue of votes for women.

To all these manifestations of the people's will, the Government continue blind and deaf.

It is for us who are called the militant women to take further action and to show our determination to break down this obstinate resistance to our just demands.

On October 13 we shall meet in the Caxton Hall, and we have asked those who support our demands to assemble in Parliament Square.

From our meeting in Caxton Hall will be chosen a deputation to go again, as deputations have gone before, to the House of Commons, to enter the House—if possible the Chamber itself—and lay our claim to the vote before the Government and Parliament.

Women have the right, being voteless, to plead their cause in person. We shall insist on that right. . . .

On October 13, in Parliament Square, there will be many thousands of people to see fair play between the women and the Government.

Thousands of our fellow countrywomen, who are unable by their circumstances to take an active part in the fight, are looking to us to obtain for them their political freedom.

All over the world women are gaining hope from our efforts here in England.

Let us then show the world on October 13, 1908, that British women are determined to be free citizens of a free country before the year is out.

Yours, in the women's cause,
Emmeline Pankhurst

Document B

Letter from J. Keir Hardie, M.P., Describing the Forced Feeding of Women in Prison, September 29, 1908

(From the *Daily News*. Reprinted in Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder, A Documentary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 131.)

To the editor of the DAILY NEWS

Sir,—May I crave the courtesy of your columns to call attention to the latest development in connection with the militant section of the women's suffrage movement?

In reply to a question of mine to-day, Mr. Masterman, speaking on behalf of the Home Secretary, admitted that some of the nine women prisoners now in Winson Green Gaol, Birmingham, had been subjected to "hospital treatment," and admitted that this euphemism meant administering food by force. The process employed was the insertion of a tube down the throat into the stomach and pumping the food down. To do this, I am advised, a gag has to be used to keep the mouth open.

That there is difference of opinion concerning the tactics of the militant Suffragettes goes without saying, but surely there can be no two opinions concerning the horrible brutality of this proceeding? Women, worn and weak by hunger, are seized upon, held down by brute force, gagged, a tube inserted down the throat, and food poured or pumped into the stomach. Let British men think over the spectacle.

I endeavoured to learn from Mr. Masterman under what law, rule, or regulation this thing had been done, but he was unable to say without notice. He admitted, however, that it had been done by order of the Home Office. My information is that there is no such power given to prison authorities save in the case of persons certified to be insane. If this be so, a very serious responsibility rests with the Home Office, and I shall endeavour to find out to-morrow at question time whether it is so or not.

May I add one more remark? I was horrified at the levity displayed by a large section of the Members of the House when the question was being answered. Had I not heard it I could not have believed that a body of gentlemen could have found reason for mirth and applause in a scene which I venture to say has no parallel in the recent history of our country. One of these days we shall learn that Mrs. Leigh or some other of her brave fellow-prisoners has succumbed to the "hospital treatment," as a man did in 1870. I would not envy the position of the Home Secretary or the Government responsible for such a result. Surely the people of these islands will speak out ere our annals are stained by such a tragedy.

—Yours, etc.,

J. Keir Hardie
House of Commons,
Sept. 27

Document C

Suffragism, Reform, and the Legitimacy of Militant Tactics

(From Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 1911. Reprinted in Kathryn Dodd, ed., *A Sylvia Pankhurst Reader*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993, pp. 42–23.)

I believe that women striving for enfranchisement in other lands and reformers of future days may learn with renewed hope and confidence how the 'family,' who in 1905 set out determined to make votes for women the dominant issue of the politics of their time, in but six years drew to their standard the great woman's army of to-day. It is certain that the militant struggle in which this woman's army has engaged and which has come as the climax to the long, patient effort of the earlier pioneers, will rank amongst the great reform movements of the world. Set as it has been in modern humdrum days it can yet compare with any movement for variety and vivacity of incident. The adventurous and resourceful daring of the young Suffragettes who, by climbing up on roofs, by sliding down through skylights, by hiding under platforms, constantly succeeded in asking their endless questions, has never been excelled. What could be more piquant than the fact that two of the Cabinet Ministers who were carrying out a policy of coercion towards the women should have been forced into the witness box to be questioned and cross-questioned by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, the prisoner in the dock? What, too, could throw a keener searchlight upon the methods of our statesmen than the evidence put forward in the course of that trial?

To many of our contemporaries perhaps the most remarkable feature of the militant movement has been the flinging-aside by thousands of women of the conventional standards that hedge us so closely round in these days for a right that large numbers of men who possess it scarcely value. Of course it was more difficult for the earlier militants to break through the conventionalities than for those who followed, but, as one of those associated with the movement from its inception, I believe that the effort was greater for those who first came forward to stand by the originators than for the little group by whom the first blows were struck. I believe this because I know the original militants were already in close association with the truth that not only were the deeds of the old time pioneers and martyrs glorious, but that their work still lacks completion, and that it behoves those of us who have grasped an idea for human betterment to endure, if need be, social ostracism, violence, and hardship of all kinds, in order to establish it. Moreover, whilst the originators of the militant tactics let fly their bolt, as it were, from the clear sky, their early associates rallied to their aid in the teeth of all the fierce and bitter opposition that had been raised.

The hearts of students of the movement in after years will be stirred by the faith and endurance shown by the women who faced violence at the hands of the police and others in Parliament Square and at the Cabinet Minister meetings, and above all by the heroism of the noble women who went through the hunger strike and the mental and physical torture of forcible feeding.

A passionate love of freedom, a strong desire to do social service and an intense sympathy for the unfortunate, together made the movement possible in its present form. Those who have worked as part of it know that it is notable not merely for its enthusiasm and

Document D

Suffragette Sisters to Separate: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst Forms New Organisation "Extension: Not Split" More Militant Methods to Be Used by New Body

(From the *Daily Sketch*, February 7, 1914. Reprinted in Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder, A Documentary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 270.)

The movement in the East End of London, of which Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is hon. secretary, hitherto named the East London Federation of the W.S.P.U., has now become a separate organization, entirely independent of the W.S.P.U.

MISS PANKHURST EXPLAINS

"It is not a split; it is an extension," Miss Sylvia Pankhurst told the *Daily Sketch* last night.

"We have only become in name what we were in fact before, an independent organisation.

"When we started work down here we had what we have now—an independent secretary and treasurer. You see, the movement has grown so large that it is difficult to work.

"Down here the conditions are different from what they are in other parts. We do different things. For instance, our 'no rent' strike which we are arranging for could not be carried out in any other part, but headquarters do not object to it, because they cannot do it themselves."

CONFINED TO THE EAST END

"The difference between our new organisation and the old one is that the East End movement is one restricted by a specific area, while the other has no boundary.

"Another difficulty is that down here we had become so large, and the conditions were peculiar to itself, that it was not always possible for headquarters to be able to give a decision at once and it was therefore thought it would be better if we were independent. You may say that our aims and objects will be the same as they always were."

(continued)

(continued)

SUGGESTED BY W.S.P.U.

"Did the suggestion that you should act independently come from headquarters?" asked the *Daily Sketch*.

Miss Sylvia pondered, and said: "Yes, you may state that it did."

What are the views of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst which are "not those of Miss Christabel Pankhurst"?

It said that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has for a long time adopted a militant policy of her own without consulting headquarters. One point of difference is that Miss Christabel Pankhurst has issued instructions that the W.S.P.U. was to be kept independent of all political parties, while the movement led by her sister has assumed strongly Socialist sympathies. Most of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's supporters are avowed Socialists, and Miss Pankhurst has been working in close alliance with Mr. George Lansbury and other leaders of Labour in Bow and Bromley and adjoining constituencies.

"TERROR TO THE GOVERNMENT"

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst also established her "People's Army" for repelling police brutality, a departure from the Union policy. A third point is that the "Army" is open to both men and women, while the W.S.P.U. excludes men.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has figured in more than one street riot; and has been arrested in Whitehall, while leading men and women towards Downing Street. She boasts that the East End suffragists are "a terror to the Government."

Document E

The Right to Serve

(From Emmeline Pankhurst, "A Speech Delivered at the London Polytechnic, June 24, 1915." Reprinted in Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder, A Documentary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 293.)

EMMELINE PANKHURST: The object of the women responsible for this meeting is to keep before the nation what they feel to be the real need for us here in Great Britain; the object we should be determined to attain if this war is to be won and if the ideals of which we have been thinking this afternoon are to be preserved.

Women are eating their hearts out with desire to see their services utilised in this national emergency. It is not a question with us of war bonuses; it is not a question of red tape, which has to be slowly untied. With us it is not a question of these things; but we realise that if this war is to be won, the whole energy of the nation and the whole capacity of the nation will have to be utilised in order to win.

And that is not the opinion of women alone; the Prime Minister said it weeks ago; Mr. Lloyd George has said it. But what is the outcome of all they have said? A week is to be

spent and perhaps a minimum of money is to be spent on getting a comparatively small number of men trade unionists into hire on this question. . . . How is it that men can be so behind as not to see that the fire of patriotism burns in the hearts of women quite as strongly as it does in the hearts of men.

Imagine what women are thinking, when they find in Germany half a million women today are engaged in making ammunition—while 70,000-odd women who registered themselves at Easter at one single invitation of the Board of Trade are only being utilised to the number of 2,000 for national service.

Well, it is very difficult indeed for women to restrain their impatience and it is only because they realise how serious the situation is that their impatience is not being made more manifest than at present. . . . What I am saying this afternoon is not in unkind criticism of my native land. It is really because of my burning desire to make it plain to the only people who can deal with the situation that we are ready as a nation to be organised and to do our part.

I expect I am the biggest rebel in this meeting and I am one of the biggest rebels in the country. I am one of those people who, at the right time and in the proper place, are prepared to fight for certain ideals of freedom and liberty and would be willing to give my life for them; we are prepared to hold great organising meetings all over the country and enlist women for war service if they will only set us free to do it. We here and now this afternoon offer our services to the Government, to recruit and enlist the women of the country for war service, whether that war service is the making of munitions, or whether that war service is the replacing of skilled men who have been called up, so that the business of the country may go on.

Document F

Meeting Announcement

(Reprinted in Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder, A Documentary*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975, p. 297.)

Down with Sweating!
IF A WOMAN DOES A MAN'S JOB
SHE MUST HAVE A MAN'S PAY!
Down with High Prices and Big Profits
VOTES FOR WORKING WOMEN
GREAT JOINT DEMONSTRATION OF

The East London Federation of the Suffragettes, United Suffragists, Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, Herald League, B.S.P., The Dockers' Union, and branches of the I.L.P. Amalgamated Toolmakers, Engineers and Machinists, Electrical Trade Union, National Union of Railwaymen, and others.

IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 4 p.m.
COME IN YOUR THOUSANDS AND SEND THE GOVERNMENT A BUDGET MESSAGE.

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British Workers and the Bolshevik Revolution

(From Sylvia Pankhurst in *The Revolutionary Age*, August 9, 1919.)

Our progress is very slow. When the Allied intervention to crush the Russian Soviets began a year ago, it was impossible to arouse British workers to protest against it. . . .

The workers are gradually coming to realize that the Russian and Hungarian Soviet Governments are governments of the working class, answering to their needs, and enabling them, at last, to realize their long cherished ideals. Though the official leaders like Arthur Henderson have deprecated, repudiated, and even helped to slander the Soviets, a deeply felt sense of solidarity with Communist Russia has been growing steadily amongst workers. For months past "Hands Off Russia" has found its way into the resolution of every labor and Socialist propaganda meeting and literature about Russia has been the more eagerly read than any other. At the Southport Conference of the Labor Party, which opened on June 25th, the feeling which has been growing during the year was clearly manifest. To the mass of the 950 delegates Russia was the most burning of all questions, and throughout the

conference, by clapping, by cheers, by interjectory remarks, they gave vocal expression to heated thought on the Russian question. The rank and file delegates were far in advance of the platform and the well-known leaders (Resolutions at the Labor Party Conference are placed on the agenda several months beforehand and emergency resolutions are only brought forward through the standing orders committee). This official element acts as a barrier to swift progress difficult to circumvent. Nevertheless it can be said that the Southport Conference of the Labor Party has succeeded in declaring itself on the following points:

- (1) It has clearly recognized the International class struggle between Labor and Capital.
- (2) It has declared (though as yet a little timidly, and without as yet full preparedness to meet all the obligations of this choice) its solidarity with the Worker's Socialist Republics of Russia and Hungary.
- (3) It has declared itself in favor of using direct industrial action to achieve the political ends of the workers.
- (4) It has decided that direct industrial action shall be used to stop capitalist attacks upon the Socialist Republics of Russia and Hungary.
- (5) But it has left this action to the joint Executives, and the Executives will not act without pressure.