Title: The Fight for Women's Suffrage

Author: Sharif Gray, International Studies, 2011

Mentor: Col. Christina McDonald, English

Abstract:

This paper illustrates Alice Paul's mastery of rhetoric during her campaign to establish gender equality in the early 1900's. Capitalizing on Aristotle's artistic proofs, she led the National Woman's Party a movment Through her bold, yet strategic actions she was able to force the issue of women's suffrage into public discourse, which eventually led to the ratification of the 19th amendment.

This paper presents a full waveform inversion of the kinematics of a simulated crack inside an artificial rock plate. A crack was simulated by a piezoelectric crystal embedded inside a gypsum plate, and excited by inputting an electrical signal. Elastic waves emitted from the simulated crack propagated through the plate and were recorded by an array of unique high-fidelity microseismic displacement sensors. This microseismic data is then inverted and the kinematics of the crack modeled by the moment tensor, which can be obtained by deconvolving the recorded signals with the dynamic Green's functions. Green's functions were calculated based on two different models: The first model assumes elastic, homogeneous, and isotropic conditions while the second model assumes anelasticity. The effect of using these two models on the estimated kinematics of the simulated crack was then investigated. The two models result in different Green's functions with a variation of $70 \leq Q_p \leq 190$ having little effect on the damped result.

Within every society, there are "discursive rules governing who may talk, what can be talked about, and in which settings "(Herrick 253). "Thus, by the unspoken rules of discourse, the words of some people carry no weight" (Herrick 254). Prior to the ratification of the 19th amendment on August 26, 1920, the voice of the women's suffrage movement carried no weight; it was silenced, belittled, and ultimately disregarded by most, especially by those in positions of power. The realm of legitimate rhetoric on the federal level was dominated by a patriarchal Democratic Party, leaving no room for any discourse concerning women's suffrage. There was a prominent power circle, with miniscule hope for change. Yet, under the leadership of Alice Paul, the National Woman's Party was able to strategically break into that power circle via Paul's almost instinctive understanding of the essential relationship between language and power. She used her rhetorical skill to ignite a public discourse concerning women's suffrage that would forever change the social and political landscape of her time.

Prior to 1920, the societal role of women was merely to stay home and take care of their respective families. Women were not expected to receive an education nor enter into the realm of politics. It was a man's world, where women had little to no standing—a world Paul was destined to change.

In January of 1913, Woodrow Wilson, entered into office as president of the United States. Like most of his contemporaries, he believed that women shouldn't participate in politics, much less have the right to vote. After meeting with President Wilson shortly following his inauguration, it became evident to Paul "that a great deal remained to be done to move suffrage from its low-priority status to an issue of paramount concern that politicians, regardless of their personal inclinations, could not afford to ignore" (Lundarini 33). With an arduous road ahead, the goal seemed unattainable; however, to Paul it was now only a matter of time.

Born on January 11, 1885, from a traditional Quaker family in the small community of Moorestown, New Jersey, Alice Paul was no ordinary young woman. She was a very charismatic, educated, and independent lady. Unlike most women at the time, she had little interest in gaining material wealth or starting a family; she was determined to establish gender equality. And she would not give up until she achieved that goal. Her unrelenting determination can be attributed to her mother, Tacie Paul, who once instructed Alice that "when you put your hand to the plow, you can't put it down until you get to the end of the row" (Alice Paul biography). This was a mindset by which Paul surely embraced. And as a result, she lived a relatively secluded lifestyle; she had very few friends outside of the National Woman's Party, rarely socialized, and had little to no involvement with men. As Maud Younger, a women's suffrage leader in San Francisco said, Alice Paul had "a devotion to the cause which [was] absolutely self-sacrificing. She [had] an indomitable will" that made her the key to the success of the women's suffrage movement (Lunardini 10).

Alice Paul's overarching strategy can be summed up in one word: publicity. To impose change, she firmly believed that the voice of women needed to be heard, especially by those in positions of power. With that, she insisted on lobbying politicians, holding parades, picketing, distributing pro-suffragist publications, amongst a number of other methods that exclusively focused on advancing women's suffrage. In an effort to simplify the movement, she "insisted that the organization stick to its single-issue framework" of fighting for only women's suffrage and not complicate the matter with the addition of other women's rights issues (Lunardini xviii). In her private dialogue, she expressed that there was a great deal more to fight for than just women's suffrage, yet she firmly believed that when women do earn the right to vote, many of those issues would then be able to right themselves. She insisted on keeping the movement to a

single issue, women's suffrage, in hope that the movement would not create a divide between men and women. In order to realize her goal of a ratifying a federal amendment, she knew that the movement would eventually need support from men.

Paul led the movement in a strategic manner, making numerous rhetorical decisions aimed at igniting a public discourse centered on women's suffrage. She understood the difficulty of the task and the possible consequences, yet in the same way Michele Foucault understood it, she knew that power in a society is never fixed but rather "an open ended strategic game" (Herrick 250), which gave her belief that women's suffrage would one day be a reality.

According to George Kennedy, rhetoric is defined as "the energy inherent in emotion and thought, transmitted through a system of signs, including language, to others to influence their decisions or actions" (Herrick 5). Paul's leadership of the women's suffrage movement closely followed Herrick's six principles: she planned the movement at virtually every phase; she targeted its events for specific audiences; she shaped it via human motives; she ensured its events took place in response to the present situation; she aimed at persuading its audience for support; and she, without a doubt, focused it upon a contingent issue, women's suffrage (Herrick 8). In every decision, Paul designed the occasion and the setting for her message, exhibiting many if not all of these characteristics, which undeniably contributed to the success of the movement.

Attempting to kick off the women's suffrage movement with a bang, "Paul decided to employ a traditional political strategy—a parade—but to do so in the most controversial of manners" (Adams and Keene 76). On the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration in January of 1913, Paul scheduled the first national suffrage parade in Washington D.C. with the intent of beating "the new president to the capital and to put women's priorities before the people first" (Adam and Keene 77). Start to finish, she used rhetoric as a constant tool. From the planning

process to the parade's execution, Paul ensured that every aspect of the parade spoke to the significance of the "ideals and virtues of American womanhood" (Adam and Keene 79).

The process began with the selection of women who would help arrange the parade. Paul carefully chose those who had the ability to gain support and participation quickly in hope of making the parade a national event. After only a couple of months, Paul and her helpers were able to gain support and participation from thousands of women nationwide. The parade was now set to gather national attention, which would lead to the issue of women's suffrage gaining national attention.

The next step for Paul was to determine the route of the parade. She "wanted a permit for Pennsylvania Avenue, from the Capitol to the White House, to access not just the primary symbols of government but also the crowds massing for the inauguration" (Adam and Keene 80) set to take place the following day. With the help of Elsie Hill, the daughter of a congressman at the time, Paul was able to obtain the permit from the District of Columbia police. The parade was now set to be the center of attention and, more importantly, "would precede the president down the street of power." The symbolic location of the parade was not only planned to increase the credibility of the movement, but was also unquestionably aimed at playing on the fundamental ideals of most Americans at the time. By situating the parade on arguably the most powerful and symbolic street in the United States, Paul sent a blunt message: it was time for a change, time for a government by the people and for the people to recognize women as valued citizens, and time for women 's suffrage.

With the route determined, Paul switched her focus on how the parade would appear to those watching. She insisted that the women marching should dress "in the most reputable guise, as well-dressed middle- and upper-class women" (Adam and Keene 81) and predicted that those

watching, “would find the women beautiful—and thus acceptable on this street and in their advocacy of suffrage.” Like many, if not all, of her previous decisions, deciding to have the women dress in a reputable manner was, undoubtedly, an ethos-driven decision aimed at increasing the movement’s credibility. Additionally, Paul planned for each group of marchers to wear a specific color, so when they marched together “the groups would create a rainbow, representing women coming out of the dark into a bright future.”

Along with the many women marching, there were numerous floats arranged and designed to evoke a specific message. The parade’s first set of floats “represented the progress in women’s rights since the first women’s rights convention at Seneca Falls in 1848” (Adam and Keene 86) in hope of dramatizing “women’s growing strength, placing the current bid for suffrage within their ongoing progress toward self-respect and equality.” Interestingly enough, directly following this set was a group of floats emphasizing “men and women working side by side and seeking suffrage together.” Paul’s intent was to make the movement a collective effort rather than having it divide men and women, because she knew that the movement would eventually need support from men. Furthermore, she aimed to show that equality was not only valued by women, but was also a value shared by both genders. After the float portion of the parade, Paul had women adorning banners of their organizations and jobs march in an attempt to challenge “the notion that women were staying in home and thus did not need the protection or influence of the vote” (Adam and Keene 87).

The parade was massive, filling Pennsylvania Avenue with marching women from across the country. There were floats, chariots, banners, amongst a multitude of other symbolic features that were all systematically evoking a need for women’s suffrage. It was a success attracting much needed national attention. Consequently, the media published story after story for weeks

following the parade with some applauding the effort and with many criticizing it. There was mixed opinion, yet it was at least now a topic of conversation and a growing part of the public discourse. With the parade, Paul succeeded in gaining publicity for the movement and was able to send a stark message to everyone, especially to those within the power circle that women's suffrage was now only a matter of time.

With the movement now officially in progress, the National Woman's Party under the leadership of Paul continued "to keep suffrage before the capital and the nation" (Adam and Keene 98) by petitioning, delivering speeches, having meetings, lobbying political officials, publishing the *Suffragist* paper, exploiting the world's fair, amongst a number of other demonstrations. As time passed, the movement began to grow dangerously predictable. In hope of striking a deeper chord, Paul decided on a new "nonviolent visual rhetoric—using women's bodies day after day to literally stand up to the president for their cause. She decided to picket the White House, the first time a citizen group had done so" (Adam and Keene 158). The idea at first was not widely accepted by the National Woman's Party Advisory Board; nevertheless, Paul was eventually able to gain the necessary support to put her proposed plan into action. The purpose was "to make it impossible for the President to enter or leave the White House without encountering a picket bearing some device pleading the suffrage cause" (Adam and Keene 161). The picketers, also known as the "silent sentinels," would stand still as a unified group directly in front of the White House from dawn till dusk regardless of the weather. In fact, there are multiple accounts of the picketers refusing invitations from President Wilson to come into the White House for tea on cold miserable days. The picketers truly symbolized the everlasting strength of the movement.

As with the parade, Paul planned picketing the White House with the intent of gaining as much publicity possible. With that goal in mind, Paul set up special picketing days such as College day, Teacher's day, Patriotic day, Labor day, Lincoln day in hope of showing that the movement had a unified front regardless of each woman's background. Paul had also "carefully chosen quotations [woven into the picketer's banners] that could not be altered or taken out of context, [creating] a highly persuasive form of nonviolent persuasion" (Adam and Keene 164). For example, "the first banners read 'Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?' and 'How long must women wait for liberty?" These phrases changed daily, yet were all focused on advancing the argument for women's suffrage. Similar to Paul's previous demonstrations, Paul designed the occasion and setting to properly portray her movement's message. By having her "silent sentinels" posted in front of one of the most powerful and symbolic buildings in the United States, women's suffrage became a critical issue gaining attention from our nation's highest elected official, the president.

When the United States entered World War I, the National Woman's Party took a back seat to the war effort in terms of media coverage. The organization lost members, because many felt that they had an obligation to work, supporting the war effort rather than continuing to fight for women's suffrage. However, to Paul "the war brought up an unprecedented rhetorical opportunity—to point out the contradiction between Wilson's advocacy of democracy worldwide and his failure to support it at home" (Adam and Keene 175). While many saw this as un-American to criticize the president in a time of war, Paul saw this as an opportunity to bring the suffrage movement back to the front page of newspapers nationwide. Paul took excerpts from many of Wilson's speeches and placed them on the "silent sentinel's" banners in hope of pointing "out the stark inconsistency, the irony, of this man touring the nation and world

delivering speeches on democracy and bringing American men and women into a world war to die for democracy when at home he was keeping half his citizens from participating in democracy's most basic act," voting. For instance, she used an excerpt from Wilson's war message on April 2: "We shall fight for the things which we have always held nearest to our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments." Paul was genius in her strategy; by using this excerpt, she demonstrated that the war we were engaged in was one centered upon a treasured American value that we ourselves had not lived up to by not allowing women to vote. By using Wilson's own words to argue the validity of the movement, she effectively employs a pathos appeal to advance the fight for women's suffrage.

After nearly seven years of struggle, the women's suffrage movement ended successfully on August 26, 1920 with the ratification of the 19th amendment: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex" (Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution). The National Woman's Party under the leadership of Alice Paul led a rhetorically sound movement, breaking into the prominent power circle at the time via Paul's almost instinctive understanding of the essential relationship between language and power.

From parading through Washington D.C. to picketing the White House, Paul used her rhetorical skill to ignite a public discourse concerning women's suffrage that was not only heard amongst women, but was also recognized and eventually accepted by those in positions of power. As Foucault said, "Power in a society is never a fixed and closed regime, but rather an endless and open strategic game" (250). On August 26, 1920, the National Woman's Party under the leadership of Alice Paul won that game.

Acknowledgments:

Col. Christina McDonald

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