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This Side of Rapture: The Quiet Sisterhood of the British Feminists

Alice Gilmore Vines

"Women were struck with fists and knees, knocked down, dragged up, hurled from hand to hand, and sent reeling back, bruised and bleeding, into the arms of the crowd. They were no longer demonstrators; they were monsters, their presence unendurable. They were pummeled and they were pinched, their thumbs were forced back, their arms twisted, their breasts gripped, their faces rubbed against the pailings; and this went on for nearly six hours . . . there were a certain number of tough characters who did not choose to let this opportunity slip, and some . . . were dragged away and miserably ill-treated; indeed, one woman is said to have died, a year later, as a result of having been indecently assaulted in a side street."¹ At last by lamp-light the square was cleared and two hundred and eighty women were arrested with seventy-five eventually being convicted and sent to prison.

This amazing scene took place in Parliament Square, London, on November 18, 1910. Between police who had been given a free hand and a quiet delegation of women asking only to be allowed to present a petition for female suffrage to the Prime Minister, this confrontation was to be the beginning of many similar episodes. Prime Minister Henry Asquith remained obstinately determined not to meet the women. This unyielding position was to remain that of the Government for many weary years.

The daring and unflinching women who had formed the 1910 group in Parliament Square belonged to the militant organization known as the Women's Social and Political Union. This had been formed in 1903 under the autocratic leadership of Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters, Sylvia and Christabel. These women had become totally disillusioned and impatient with the quiet work of petitioning for the vote on the same basis as men which had been going on since 1866. Their very different group formed following the reneging of 104 members of Parliament who had promised to vote for women's suffrage. The episode previously described was their first really violent demonstration but the injustice which they experienced, inspired them to ever more self-punishing actions for their cause.

On Tuesday, November 21, following the police action, the women conducted a well-organized raid in which they destroyed many windows in the Home Office, the War Office, the Foreign Office, the Board of Trade, the Treasury, Somerset House, the National Liberal Club, Banqueting Hall and the London and Southwestern Bank.

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plus the homes of many members of Parliament. As a result of this no doubt satisfying episode, two hundred and twenty-three women were arrested and one hundred and fifty were sent to prison for periods of from five days to one month. These actions marked a decisive change in tactics among women working to gain the vote.

Public sympathy perceptibly turned against this show of militancy. They did, however, receive a great deal of newspaper coverage which they felt was much preferable to being ignored. Asquith felt secure enough to tell a delegation from the "National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage" that to grant votes to women would be "... a political mistake of a very disastrous kind." At that point, few if any, anticipated just what was in store for the Government from women under the fiery leadership of the Pankhursts.

The militants quite rightly gauged the Government's chief interest was in the preservation of property. Mrs. Pankhurst's statement that "The argument of the broken window pane is the most valuable argument in modern politics"² is prophetic of actions in more recent causes. It should be noted that members of the W.S.P.U. stopped short of any harm to life. On March 1, the "window pane argument" was used with telling effect despite all precautions of nervous shopkeepers and police. At 4:00 p.m. many well dressed women carrying large handbags containing hammers sauntered down busy streets and began to break plate glass windows in shops in the West End of London. Soon police trying to stop that outrage heard of other relays of attacks in many other areas of the city. Hundreds of pre-war pounds worth of damage was caused in that one afternoon. Mrs. Pankhurst, as befitted the leader of this determined troop, drove in a carriage to the home of the Prime Minister where she threw four stones through his windows before she was rushed to Cannon Row police station.³

On various other occasions women damaged orchid houses at Kew, burned the refreshment house in Regent's Park, cut telegraph and telephone lines to Glasgow, and allegedly bombed a house being built for David Lloyd George. This allegation was made by the police upon finding a hat pin and a hair pin nearby. Mrs. Pankhurst was eventually convicted of encouraging an unknown woman to set the bomb. Perhaps the worst desecration of all, women etched "Votes for Women" in sacred, gentlemanly golf greens with acid and substituted the white, green and purple banners of the W.S.P.U. for the greens' flags!

After the glass-breaking orgy, Mrs. Pankhurst was sentenced to nine months in prison where she and other leaders promptly went on a hunger strike. They protested the better treatment accorded them—which divided them from the less well-known or lower class members of their army. They, in fact, insisted on all of their followers being placed in the First Division in prison which was reserved for political prisoners with extra privileges accorded them. This they eventually achieved after unbelievable physical hardships endured by these gentlewomen.

The authorities finally resorted to forcible feeding as hunger strikes weakened the

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health of the prisoners. This they gloried in resisting. This resistance earned public sympathy and aroused condemnations from many physicians. This was the feeding technique. "First the victim's jaws had to be forced open, and gags thrust in. Sometimes they were made of wood, but often of steel which lacerated the gums cruelly; then, while she writhed on the bed in the grip of wardresses, a feeding tube would be thrust up her nose or into her throat, through the tube with great difficulty, some fluid would, it was hoped, reach her stomach."⁴ The whole procedure usually ended up in the prisoner failing to retain the compulsory nourishment. In a few cases, the fluid entered the lungs and one woman contracted pneumonia. The removal of the tube was extremely painful. Sylvia Pankhurst described it as feeling as though the lining of the throat and nose was being pulled out.

This revolting procedure was used over and over again. During one imprisonment, Sylvia Pankhurst endured it twice-daily for five weeks. Sylvia also added a thirst strike as well as the tactic of continually walking about her cell taking no rest. The combination reduced her to a serious state of failing health and she was released.

The need to prevent the women from actually dying in prison as martyrs with invidious repercussions for the Government inspired the invention of the infamous "Cat and Mouse Act." This merely reprieved women until their health improved at which time they would be rushed back to prison to finish their sentences.

Undaunted by these privations, Mrs. Pankhurst, who had defended herself in trial, spoke to audience and judges in an impassioned speech in which she described Sylvia's state of health on being released from prison. She declared, "And I say to you gentlemen, that is the kind of punishment you are inflicting upon me or any other woman who may be brought before you. I ask you if you are prepared to send an incalculable number of women to prison—if you are prepared to go on doing that kind of thing indefinitely, because this is what is going to happen. There is absolutely no doubt about it."⁵ When she was found guilty and sentenced to three years in prison she promised immediately to join in the hunger strike there. She was cheered by her followers in court who were rushed out by the police while they sang the Women's Marseillaise: "March on, March on, Face to the Dawn, The dawn of liberty."

When arson was taken up by some of the more ardent members of the W.S.P.U. a split occurred as this tactic proved too much for some members. These less violent members (who developed the Women's Freedom League under Mrs. Charlotte Despard) were smilingly dispensed with by the indomitable Christabel, who would brook no deviation. Even Sylvia Pankhurst was read out of the party for her work with "unsavoury" working women of East London. When she refused to cease her organizing efforts, she was remorselessly cut off without a penny of support by the implacable Christabel. The two remaining Pankhurst's scorned the aid of members of the Labour Party such as Keir Hardie and George Lansbury who were much in favor of their cause. Indeed, one author has said that "The W.S.P.U. . . . had almost lost sight of its political objective in the ecstatic conduct of a sex war."⁶

In 1913 a new wave of militancy hit the entire country. Street lamps were broken; cushions in railway carriages slashed; flower beds destroyed in parks; bowling greens ruined with acid; more windows smashed; a glass of the Crown Jewel case broken in the Tower: and thirteen pictures were slashed in the Manchester Art Gallery. Ladies locked themselves into opera boxes and harangued the king through megaphones and one daring lady being presented to the king broke all protocol in speaking to the king to beg him to stop forced feeding. Members found empty houses to burn, Bombs were discovered near the Bank of England. In the mind of at least one young woman the Cause needed a martyr. On Derby Day, June 4, 1913, Emily Wilding-Davison, with the colors of the W.S.P.U. sewn into her jacket, leaped onto the track into the path of the King's horse. Horse, jockey and Miss Davison fell into a tangled heap and the Cause had its first fatality. It is said the King sent to inquire about the horse and jockey and the Queen asked about Miss Davison. The young woman was given an enormous public funeral and her fellow members formed a huge procession throughout London.

Many of the women in this fiery group had clearly reached the state of mind depicted by Christabel's answer to an appeal for a moratorium on violence—when the vote for women seemed finally within reach. She said, "The militants will rejoice when victory comes, and yet, mixed with their joy, will be regret that the most glorious chapter in women's history is closed and the militant fight over—over, when so many have not yet known the exaltation, the rapture of battle."⁷ This group and the Government may have been saved from further frustrating, exacerbating confrontations as obsessed determination seemed destined to meet immovable obstinancy in a growing escalation of violence. Suffragettes had gotten attention, earned sympathy and admiration—then lost much of it with their destructive actions. By 1914, they had become a source of boredom and irritation to most of the reading public. Where could they have gone from there?

In August, 1914, this daring and energetic endeavor came to an abrupt end. Their suffragette banner was thrown aside and the Union Jack grasped with the same fervor as they threw themselves vigorously against a goose-stepping, spike-helmeted new enemy.

What had they accomplished? The women and their actions just described certainly got attention, newspaper space and caused great political concern within the parties and in Government. Understandably, when the women's movement of this era is mentioned, it is always the Pankhurst's and their campaign of militant action that is remembered. Yet it is debatable how effective their actions really were in obtaining the vote in 1918. Ignored in all their flamboyant publicity is the other side—the opposite of the Shrieking Sisterhood—the constitutionalists. These women were called suffragists as they initiated, as early as 1866, the basic work of arousing women to their need for the vote. In general, the early suffragists desired the vote primarily as a means of political pressure towards a better society. To the embattled suffragettes of the second generation, the vote became an end in itself and almost an obsession, to be acquired at any personal price.

During the year 1866 a group of women formed a Petition Committee in London hoping to be able to get women included in the new franchise act of 1867. The petition was presented most ably by John Stuart Mill to the House of Commons with no success. In the following years several committees were formed around the country, eventually merging into the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in 1897.

Although other suffrage societies were later formed representing specialist groups, this NUWSS unit remained the chief constitutional group working for the women's vote. Miss Lydia Becker, the Secretary of the Manchester Society was the major leader and Parliamentary agent of this group until her death in 1890. I would like to concentrate on this work of Miss Becker's who devoted her life to attaining the vote with little recognition today, for her efforts. Mrs. Millicent Fawcett also was a diligent worker in London and became president of the NUWSS in 1897 and continued the work in the quiet style of Lydia Becker.

Lydia Ernestine Becker was born in Manchester, 24 February, 1827, the eldest of fifteen children of a German father, Hannibal Becker and a Lancashire mother, Mary Duncuft. Lydia proved to be a very intelligent girl with an interest in science, especially botany. She won several prizes for her work and had a small book published. She evidently experienced the intellectual starvation and boredom then the lot of any woman who had interests beyond the homely duties, then considered proper for a person of her class. In 1867 after hearing a speech concerning women's voting rights she threw her great organizational talents into the suffrage movement forming the first permanent suffrage society in Manchester. She was to work tirelessly for this cause, constantly travelling, speaking to any group who would listen. She originated and edited the Women's Suffrage Journal which was an important unifying publication in the women's fight.

The attitude of this Becker-led group involved a non-party policy. Each member standing for election was questioned on his views on women's suffrage and he was accordingly supported or confronted during the election. Miss Becker was a very astute Parliamentarian and studied the lists of members of Parliament very carefully, especially the voting records. She also tested and questioned friendly members to undertake sponsorship of various bills for the vote. Private member's bills were supported by the NUWSS. Special efforts were made when a general electoral reform bill was before the House as in 1884. Lydia Becker had an acute understanding of the real problems facing a member of the House who genuinely was in favor of the vote for women. These problems related to his home constituency and the leadership of his party. She worked so as to make it as easy as possible for such a person to vote for a sensitively and carefully worded bill.

In June, 1887 Miss Becker led the organization of a Committee of Members of Parliament supporting the women's vote. Seventy-one members of Parliament joined this committee. Lydia maintained a liaison between it and the various suffrage societies. Her work has been evaluated by Roger Fulford, who noted, "... without taking away from the devoted service of many men in the House of Commons, his-

torians will agree that Miss Becker was the general who mustered her forces in the House, deployed them for attack and provided them with ammunition."⁸

Becker's group believed in the use of petitions and many were sent patiently to Parliament in the decade of the 1870's. By speeches, writing and persuasion this organization was rewarded by finding that the election of 1886 gave them three hundred and forty-three known friends. But their hopes for success in the immediate future were defeated by the Government's control of parliamentary time. Nevertheless, the women continued to get a private member's bill for the suffrage introduced into Commons each year of the 1870's except 1875.

Miss Becker journeyed to numerous cities making speeches to large and enthusiastic audiences. For a lady of middle class to speak in public was a considerable innovation. The first speeches of Mrs. Millicent Fawcett and her friend Mrs. Peter Taylor in London were scathingly criticized by a member of Parliament. They were referred to by a member of Parliament as "two ladies, wives of members of the House, who had disgraced themselves," adding that he "would not further disgrace them by mentioning their names."⁹ To become a popular speaker, facing varying local audiences, in this atmosphere took real courage, possibly as much as to break windows in 1910. Public attitudes to women speaking in public were reflected in the joke that circulated following Miss Becker's speech in Manchester on April 14, 1868. The joke was that "human beings were now of three sexes—masculine, feminine and Miss Becker."¹⁰

Of course men were not the only ones castigating the mere idea of a female getting to vote or daring to suggest it. Many women joined in opposing this scandalous idea. Mrs. Lynn Linton was one of the most virulent. She wrote a series of articles in the leading anti-feminist magazine of the time, the *Saturday Review*, in which she named the suffragists the Shrieking Sisterhood and prophesied that "While the shrieking sisterhood remains to the front, the world will stop its ears."¹¹

And what would you imagine would be the attitude of the Widow of Windsor? Being a female ruler did not make her sympathetic to other females. When, after much soul searching, Lady Amberley, the daughter-in-law of a former prime minister and member of the famous Russell family, decided to read a paper on women's suffrage at a local meeting in Stroud, the Queen wrote her opinion. "The Queen is most anxious to enlist everyone who can speak or write or join in checking this mad, wicked folly of 'Women's Rights' with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety. Lady Amberly ought to get a good whipping."¹²

Female editors were also an innovation and the regular appearance of the *Women's Suffrage Journal* under Becker's editorship became a most valuable means of disseminating information of the feminist work being done. This journal furthered the policy of the *Quiet Sisterhood* whose tactics were well described in a circular issued by Miss Becker in 1871. The methods still used by pressure groups, consisted of: collecting signatures to petitions; to contact local members of Parliament; writing of

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letter to them; to get factual statements in local press; try to recruit new members for the Society; and to organize new local societies wherever possible. Reports from all meetings and procedures of local societies were fully covered in the *Journal*. The conditions of working women and their total lack of rights were often reported. These items concerned the court cases where women had been cruelly beaten and the husband was let off very lightly. The truly helpless position of all classes of women was clearly demonstrated by these articles.

Unfortunately for the hopes of the suffragists, the majority of women of the country seemed to agree with the views of the Queen. The movement which had begun so optimistically in the late 1860's, with the belief that since the cause was so manifestly just and logical, success would be shortly theirs . . . was to achieve over thirty-five years virtually no progress. Not that Lydia Becker gave up. Even when bright new science was brought into opposition. Thomas Huxley wrote that "In every excellent character, whether mental or physical, the average woman is inferior to the average man . . . even adding the telling blow that "even in physical beauty man is superior."¹³ Darwin added his opinion that "It is generally admitted that with women the powers of intuition, or rapid perception, and perhaps of imitation, are more strongly marked than in man; but some at least of these faculties are characteristic of the lower races, and therefore of past and lower state of civilization."¹⁴ Herbert Spencer brought up the still repeated point that if women could not fight they should not vote. It is obvious today that human prejudices are not lightly overthrown and sometimes patience and reason take a very long time to achieve results.

Lydia Becker had patience and reason in abundance and she never admitted defeat or urged the use of violence. One author wrote that "The history of the decades from 1860 to 1890—so far as women's suffrage is concerned—is the history of Lydia Becker."¹⁵ The pages of her *Journal* were filled with reports of meetings being held around the country which generally included the modest mention of the presence of Miss Becker. All speeches in Parliament on the subject of suffrage were fully reported and evaluated. Although Lydia was described by Sylvia Pankhurst as "stern and impassive"¹⁶ and generally dismissed her as an old maid, Miss Becker was not immune to emotion aroused by the reception to her message. She described in the 1870's a meeting in Manchester for working class women, "How they listened—how they cheered . . . I can't tell you how my heart went out to those women; and to see them look at me—oh, it was really sacred—awful: it was as if I received a baptism. It has been a new life to me to know and feel the strength there is in those women."¹⁷ These emotions decry the outward grimness which her appearance often projected. She was always severely dressed, with hair braided on top of her head, wearing thin rimmed spectacles. She was often caricatured, especially in *Punch* which made fun of her in many cartoons. Despite male ridicule, Miss Becker used her intellect, organizing abilities and patience to concentrate on the campaign to win votes in Commons which she quite rightly viewed as the main battlefield.

In her writings and speeches Lydia Becker answered the male criticism concerned female voting. The horrors awaiting women at the polling booths was dealt with

in a speech at Crewe on December 3, 1879 by her description of the situation in Wyoming where women were able to vote. She said, "In the midst of a rough and wild community where on election days the whisky stores were open, and the wildest excitement and riot prevailed, it was found that no sooner was the women's suffrage introduced than these rough men repressed their rowdyism and although the whisky shops were still open on the polling day, the proceedings were quiet and orderly because it was known the ladies were to vote, and so it had been in Wyoming ever since." Following the applause, she asked, "And were not Englishmen as much of gentlemen as these rough backwoodsmen?"¹⁸

Lydia also shrewdly realized that to ask for total female enfranchisement at a time when all males did not have the vote would induce even more criticism. There were fears that men would be swamped by a female vote, but the Becker group asked the vote only for *femme soles*, or female householders in their own right, unmarried or widows, who had to pay taxes and rates on a basis with male property owners. They considered married women in some way represented by their husbands and as the law of *couverture* married women did not, at least in the earlier years, own property. This stalwartly held moderate attitude was to eventually cause a split in the women's movement as Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst led a group in favor of total women's suffrage off on its militant path.

That Miss Becker correctly read the public feeling was demonstrated by contemporary notes in *Punch* on the subject of too many women. The women were described as "female supernumeraries" and it was alleged that "all our difficulties arise from a superabundance of females. The only remedy for this is to pack up bag and baggage, and start them away."¹⁹ But no matter how conservative was the request for votes for women by Lydia, in suggesting only women householders, criticism was never lacking. It was then suggested that some "naughty persons" might be able to vote where respectable married women were not.

Behind the jeering, facetious, ridiculous rejoinders to the attempts at logical debate on the subject of women's suffrage was a very important, little discussed point. If as Miss Becker asked, the vote for women should apply only to those who were householders, and since women property owners tended to be widows or middle-aged spinsters, the political behavior of this group was of great concern to the parties. The Liberals were convinced that "Girls and widows are Tories, and channels of clerical influence."²⁰ Not understanding this, Miss Becker and her followers worked with increased vigor and hope when the idea of the new franchise act of 1884 began to appear in debates. An especially large meeting was held in Manchester in the Free Trade Hall on February 3, 1880 of which the Manchester Examiner reported, "It is hardly too much to say that last night's demonstration is probably without a precedent in the annals of mankind . . . Perhaps six centuries hence Miss Becker will be revered as the Moses or Simon de Montfort of her sex, and a new era in the prospects of the race be dated from last night's meeting." The Manchester City News wrote, "The great demonstration . . . was an unprecedented public meeting. Nothing exactly like it has ever been witnessed in this country, and whether we like the

omen or not, we are bound candidly to acknowledge that a new social force is at work."²¹ At a meeting in London in St. James' Hall Lydia was received with cheers as she outlined her attack plans: to collect a continuous stream of petitions; hold drawing room meetings; have cottage meetings for workers; hold summer and autumn lectures at holiday spots; work for the favorable candidate in municipal elections; and hold a series of public meetings.

Miss Becker attended and spoke at dozens of meetings in the following years before the 1884 franchise act was passed. On December 18, 1883 she spoke on the question of women's intelligence which had been raised, saying, she "hoped she was as intelligent as an agricultural laborer and she believed that women householders generally were as intelligent as he . . . and indeed, if to be an agricultural laborer was to be a qualification, then there were a good many women who were agricultural laborers."²²

Lydia was well aware of the importance of success in 1884 as further electoral reforms would be far in the unforeseeable future. At a meeting on December 1, 1884 she expressed confidence that since the bill for women's suffrage had been introduced by their sponsor in the House of Commons, it would not be impossible to win. "It would not be impossible, because women did not in such a case know what that meant, and she gave fair warning to all politicians that the only way to quiet them was to pass their bill."²³

Seventy-nine members of the Liberal Party did petition W. E. Gladstone, the Prime Minister, to recognize the claims of women householders, but Gladstone felt the bill contained all the provisions that could be passed and refused to add the amendment for women. After the raised hopes of the women's organizations this defeat was a crushing one. But despite this dashing of hopes, the women continued to maintain their parliamentary organization and meetings were held. Lydia made a trip to Canada where she attended meetings of the British Association at Montreal, the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Philadelphia. She was bemused by the "universal American custom of interviewing,"²⁴ which she said she had heard of. She was on holiday after the work with the last Parliament and she did not speak on suffrage in America.

The bill for women's suffrage continued to be introduced each year. In a speech on "Twenty Years of the Women's Suffrage Movement" given at a conference at Briston on December 16, 1887, she quoted Lord Salisbury's prediction that the suffrage would be won in two or three years.²⁵ In the issue of the *Journal* on June 1, 1888 Miss Becker wrote of the Local Government Act which extended to women the vote in elections of county authorities as they had already gained in voting for municipal offices. Miss Becker had been elected to the Manchester Education Board in 1870 and remained on the board until her death. Women could also sit as Poor Law Guardians. In March, 1888 she wrote in an editorial, "At last we seem in sight of land!"²⁶ as she wrote of prospects of a forthcoming bill. She also pointedly criticized those "wilder spirits" who had split off to form the Central National Society for Women's Suffrage in their determination to work for the vote for married women as well. "So say

the irreconcilables, burst up this bill, and let none pass that does not conform to our own ideas . . . the 800,000 unmarried women and widows who are living in taxed but unrepresented homesteads cannot be expected to be content to postpone the consideration of their just rights until Parliament is prepared to give votes to married women who live in homesteads represented by the votes of their husbands."²⁷ Although Lydia had expressed a sense of deprivation, according to Emmeline Pankhurst (the leader of the splinter group), in regard to marriage, saying "married women have all the plums of life,"²⁸ she certainly had a case as this new bill had three hundred and forty members pledge to support her bill. This new women's group met at the Pankhurst home in July, 1889 to form the Women's Franchise League and "broke from cautious timidities of Lydia Becker, Mrs. Fawcett and their circle into a freer atmosphere." In 1903 this group became the Women's Social and Political Union which did indeed free themselves from any cautious timidities. Miss Becker had stalwart support from Mrs. Fawcett in resisting the Pankhurst's policies and she continued to separate her group from the militant's despite some urging by some followers in the name of unity. Mrs. Fawcett admitted in 1909 that "there are great and obvious advantages in unity, but I think we should not forget that there may be disadvantages too. The most striking example of unity which I know of is that of the Gadarene swine, of whom it is recorded that they ran violently down a steep place to the sea, and perished in the waters!"²⁹

In any case, Lydia Becker was not to see the turbulence or the victory. In 1890 her health became very poor and she was confined to her home in Manchester. She continued her work on the Journal. In the early spring of 1890 she journeyed to Bath to take the waters. With health somewhat improved she traveled to Europe for more treatment and then to the Swiss Alps. There she became seriously ill and died on July 19, 1890. The August issue of the Women's Suffrage Journal (its last) is one of memorials to Miss Becker and her work. She was described as ". . . keen and yet calm, watchful and wary, resolute to seize every opportunity of progress . . . she showed all the qualities which make up a director of political movements—an idealist in her aims, a realist in her appreciation and management of means." Mrs. Fawcett, who would carry on her work in the movement, said of her, "Miss Becker's life has its crown; for her work has made it easier for those who succeed her to continue her efforts to base the lives of women on truth, justice, and freedom. There cannot be a more perfect measure of success nor a stronger claim to our gratitude."³⁰

With this brief overview, then, I hope to have reminded a new generation of women of our gratitude to Lydia Becker.

NOTES

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3. Roger Fulford, *Votes for Women*. (London; Faber & Faber, 1958), p. 218.

4. Dangerfield, *op. cit.*, p. 176-7.
5. E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Life of Emmeline Pankhurst*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936.), p. 127.
6. Dangerfield, *op. cit.*, p. 375.
7. Dangerfield, *op. cit.*, p. 386.
8. Fulford, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
9. Millicent Fawcett, *What I Remember*. (New York: Putnam, 1925), p. 88-89.
10. Fulford, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Fulford, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
16. Sylvia Pankhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
17. Fulford, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
18. Women's Suffrage Journal, Vol. X, p. 81, 3 Dec. 1879.
19. Constance Rover, *The Punch Book of Women's Rights*. (New York: Barnes, 1967), p. 19, in *Punch*, Jan. 1, 1850.
20. Fulford, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
21. W. S. J., Vol. XI, p. 33, p. 47. Feb. 4, 1880.
22. W. S. J., Vol. XV, p. 8. Jan. 1, 1884.
23. W. S. J., Vol. XV, p. 261. Dec. 1, 1884.
24. W. S. J., Vol. XV, p. 232. Oct. 1, 1884.
25. W. S. J., Vol. XVIII, p. 3. Dec. 1, 1887.
26. W. S. J., Vol. XX, p. 35, Mar. 1, 1889.
27. W. S. J., Vol. XX, p. 47, April 1, 1889.
28. S. Pankhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
29. Josephine Kamm, *Rapiers and Battleaxes*. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966), p. 165.
30. W. S. J., Vol. XXI, p. 9. August, 1890.

