Bodies in Feminist In-Prison Protests: American Suffragists' Hunger Strikes and Forced-Feedings

By

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Abstract

American suffragists were arrested and sent to prison in 1917 for picketing the White House. While incarcerated, the women continued to protest for the right to vote. The suffragists' in-prison protests remain salient in the 2022 Lucy Burns Museum (LBM), despite occurring over a century ago. How did imprisoned suffragists' bodies generate rhetorical force? And how is their body rhetoric re-presented in the LBM? I seek to understand how the imprisoned women used their bodies rhetorically and how social actors use bodies more broadly as a symbolic resource for protesting injustice. Further, I investigate how suffragists' body rhetoric is displayed and memorialized over a hundred years later and its implications. To answer the research questions, I analyze suffragists' body rhetoric and body-based arguments in 1917 and the exhibits and news coverage of the LBM using a bodies-in-protest heuristic following Endres and Senda-Cook's (2011) approach to place in protest. I offer two additional theoretical frameworks to analyze bodies as rhetoric, including seeing bodies as material, symbolic, and performative, intersectional forms. My analysis shows that suffragists enacted many embodied protests through their picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings to challenge and reify dominant ideologies assigned to women's bodies in 1917. Their embodied protests are also made legible for visitors to the LBM. I argue the historical accounts and displays of the women's body rhetoric focus primarily on their self-interests (i.e., gaining the right to vote for middle/upper-class, white women only) versus more universal suffrage goals. I find that the same worldview is used in the LBM at the expense of a nuanced collective memory surrounding suffragists' imprisonment. I conclude that suffragists' body rhetoric gives scholars a framework to account for bodies generating rhetorical force in highly contextual protests and not without limitations or constraints that impact how people can leverage and use their bodies rhetorically.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

One of my favorite movies growing up was *Mary Poppins* (1964). Early in the movie, there is a scene where the children's mother, Mrs. Banks, comes home singing loudly "sister suffragette" and wearing a sash that reads "VOTES FOR WOMEN." She talks about the wonderful meeting they had where a suffragette chained herself to the Prime Minister's carriage and how another woman was carried off to prison singing and endorsing women's right to vote. Mrs. Banks proceeds to break out in a song about suffrage, with lines like "we are soldiers in petticoats," "no more weak and mild subservient we," and "we are fighting for our rights militantly." Mrs. Banks gets the other women in the scene to join in the chorus and gives them sashes. I often made my own sash and would sing along and dance around the living room every time this scene came on and would even corral my brother to make picket signs. Suffrage has always been an interest to me, whether watching *Mary Poppins* or choosing famous suffragists as topics for my school projects.

It comes as no surprise that in 2017 when I visited the former prison (now art center and museum), the Occoquan Workhouse in Lorton, VA, and saw the suffrage exhibit, I was intrigued. At the museum, I saw a portrayal of the force-feeding of a suffragist (see Figure 1). This life-size exhibit featured a small cell blocked off that had three mannequins. One of the mannequins was a woman who had both of her hands tied to a chair and was aggressively held back by a man standing over her. Another woman was present and was forcing a feeding tube down the restrained woman's nose by holding a funnel in one hand and a pitcher of liquid that she was pouring into the funnel in the other.

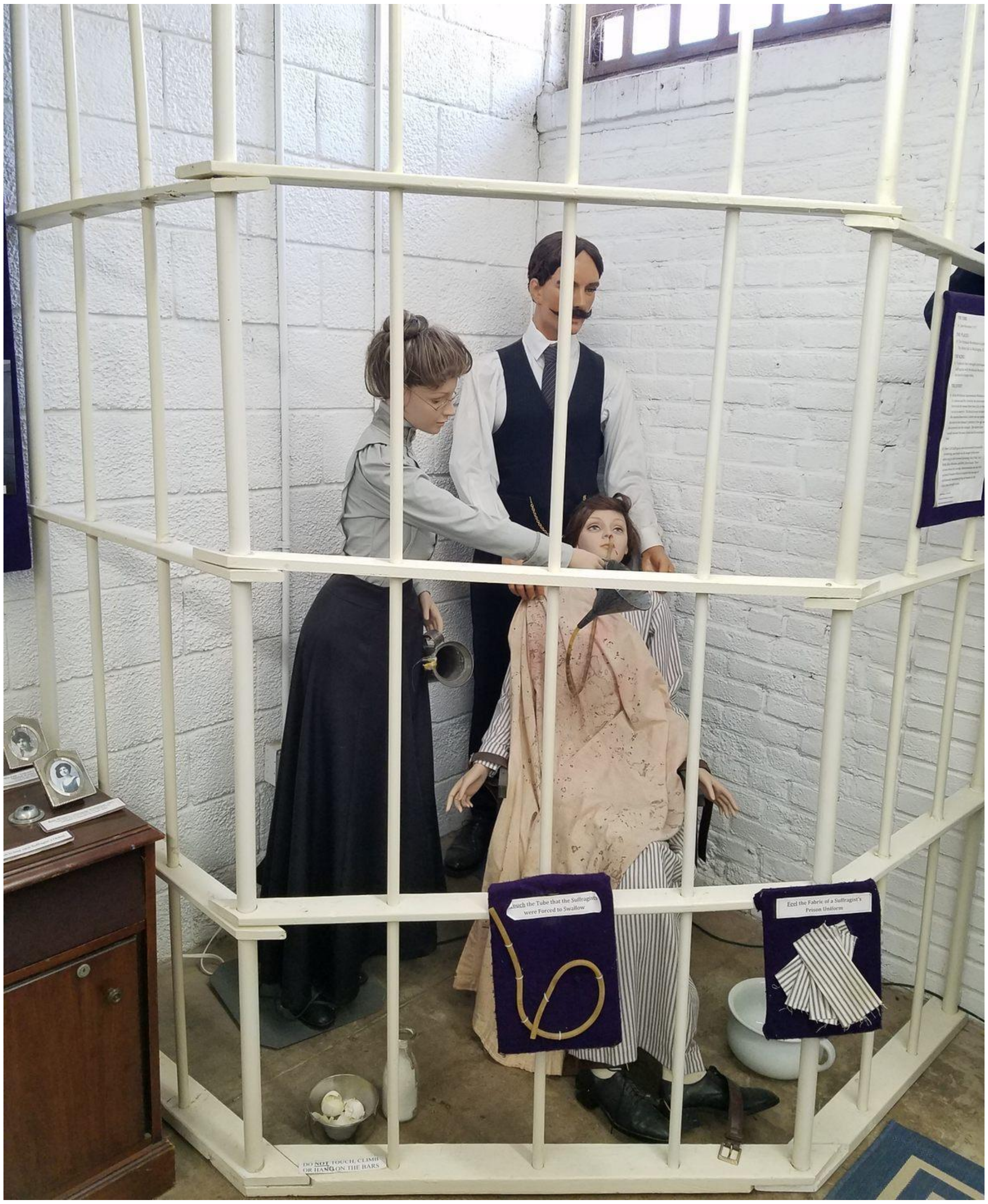
Touch the Tube that the Suffragists were Forced to Swallow
Feel the Fabric of a Suffragist's Prison Uniform
DO NOT TOUCH, CLIMB OR HANG ON THE BARS

Figure 1: *Display on the suffragettes*. Whiskybristles. https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/workhouse-prison-museum

Before visiting this exhibit, I had not connected hunger strikes, force-feeding, and the suffrage movement, which led me to research this topic. I learned that American suffragists picketed in front of the White House in 1917, which was seen as unpatriotic due to the United States being at war, and as a result, suffragists were arrested and asked to pay fines or be imprisoned (Trecker, 1972). The women refused to pay the fines and were sentenced to jail time, with most suffragists being sent to the Occoquan Workhouse (Adickes, 2002). Conditions at the Workhouse included "food crawling with worms, open pails of water used by sick and healthy prisoners, and bedding so foul that the matrons used rubber gloves in handling it" (Trecker, 1972, p. 417). The suffragists were held under deplorable conditions, which led them to protest by participating in a hunger strike. In response, the suffragists were forcibly fed through a process that included a funnel and "a tube running down the esophagus to the stomach, a process that was both humiliating and dangerous to their health" (Adickes, 2002, p. 194). After the women were released, this treatment led to years of health problems, including physical and psychological issues. Hawranick, Doris, and Daugherty (2008) argue:

> Since the treatment invariably caused immediate vomiting it is difficult to see how it could have prevented starvation; more probably it was intended as another way to coerce compliance from the suffragettes and, given the descriptions of the procedure, could most accurately be described as a form of torture. (p. 193)

Despite the horrific treatment, protesting through hunger strikes and the forced-feeding of suffragists is often referred to as an essential factor in passing the 19th amendment (Adickes, 2002; Hawranick, Doris, & Daugherty, 2008; Stillion Southard, 2007; Trecker, 1972). However, there is little discussion of how or why the in-prison protests worked or accounts of bodies' rhetorical force as a symbolic resource utilized by suffragists to protest.

Even though the rhetorical nature of the hunger strikes and force-feedings are not discussed in detail, these experiences are distinct enough that this imagery and representation of the suffragists' experiences remain present in the 21st century through the Lucy Burns Museum. Further, in the actual accounts of hunger strikes and force-feedings and news coverage from the time of suffrage, bodies are present and front and center. This reality prompts the question: How did the imprisoned suffragists' bodies generate rhetorical force? And how is their body rhetoric re-presented 100 years later in the Lucy Burns Museum? Addressing these questions will help understand the experiences of protestors' imprisonment and how they used their bodies—and how social actors use bodies more broadly—as a symbolic resource for protesting injustice.

This project focuses on instances where people use their bodies as a symbolic resource in women's suffrage protest rhetoric, specifically in suffragists' picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and subsequent force-feedings. I will address how imprisoned suffragists used their bodies rhetorically during the movement and discourse about their experiences to challenge and reify ideologies about women's bodies. I also explore how, over 100 years later, representations of the women's body rhetoric are remembered in the Lucy Burns Museum in ways that conspicuously display their extraordinary civic efforts to gain women's suffrage. More, my analysis explores the contextual factors that made it possible for white, female, middle/upper-class suffragists to use their bodies as symbolic resources to enact and embody their rhetorical protest tactics that led to their success in ways their words alone did not.

I argue suffragists used their bodies to make present their carefully constructed and deliberate embodied strategies to create a context where audiences were held accountable for recognizing their rights as citizens. The suffragists leveraged their body rhetoric, through picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings, to enact that they were deserving of the right to vote. By ignoring, discrediting, or denying the women's body rhetoric, audiences risked criticism for not protecting women, not supporting a democracy where all citizens can vote, allowing women to be tortured in prison, and more. Suffragists' body rhetoric demonstrated their certainty and commitment to gaining the right to vote by putting their bodies on the line and holding the public and Wilson Administration accountable for recognizing their efforts and rights as citizens in a democratic society.

In this chapter, I provide scholarly rationales for the project and explain how my project builds on this foundation. First, I discuss the term “body” and situate how I will approach defining bodies. Next, I outline how scholars have analyzed protest rhetoric with respect to bodies. Then, I highlight how my project builds on extant suffrage literature. Finally, I conclude by previewing the following chapters.

Defining Bodies

I intend to explore how people rhetorically and strategically use their bodies, and I center knowledge rooted in lived experiences in line with several feminist scholars (Anzaldúa, 1999; Calafell, 2012; hooks, 1991; Martinez, 2000; Otis, 2019). In doing so, I realize that no two people are the same. Their embodied experiences are based on how they live and exist in the world. Those realities are situated in relationships of power, oppression, domination, and more. I also recognize that it is necessary to define “bodies" to address how bodies generate rhetorical force. However, defining “bodies” can take nearly unlimited routes depending on the field, scholar, and epistemologies, to name a few factors. Therefore, I offer a broad overview of various ways to define bodies as an entry point for this project and ways I seek to add to understandings of body rhetoric.

Several thinkers and scholars throughout history have pondered how to define the body. A common way to conceptualize the body is distinct from the mind (Descartes, 1911; Isocrates, 2000). Communication scholars have described the body with respect to rhetoric (Burke, 1954; Chernekoff, 2018; Hawhee, 2002, 2004, 2006; McKinnon, 2016). As mentioned above, feminist scholars have highlighted the importance of knowledge coming from lived experiences directly linked to the body (Anzaldúa, 1999; Calafell, 2012; hooks, 1991; Martinez, 2000; Otis, 2019). How, then, can "bodies" be defined?

One starting point is to recognize bodies as both material and symbolic. Burke (1954) defines rhetoric as "symbolic behavior as grounded in biological conditions" (p. 275). Further, he says there is a "deep correspondence between the mind and body" (Burke, 1954, p. 247). Hawhee (2002) explains that "rhetoric isn't just a cerebral, conscious process, that it's messy, unpredictable, and that, at some level at least, the body is involved" (p. 157). For her, the body "talks through action" (Hawhee, 2002, p. 158). Bodies physically exist in space and are symbols that create, reify, and challenge their own meanings. Further, Chernekoff (2018) argues, "the foundations of rhetoric are inexplicably and materially bound to our bodies" (p. 5). In this sense, rhetors experience and enact rhetoric by moving and existing in their bodies, and through the symbols they create and to which meaning is assigned.

The symbolic aspects of bodies indicate that they are, in part, socially constructed. Society, culture, institutions, and groups in power choose how bodies are talked about and conceptualized. Foucault (1995) explains:

> The body is also directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs. This political investment of the body is bound up in accordance with complex reciprocal relations, with its economic use; it is largely as a force of production that the body is invested with relations of power and domination…the body becomes a useful source only if it is both a productive body and a subjugated body. (pp. 25-6)

Viewing the body as a social construction translates to how bodies are seen through the lenses of ability, genitalia, shape, gender, and more. In other words, how bodies are talked and written about, policed, controlled, and move and exist in the world become sources of meaning to understand bodies. For example, Butler (2007) defines the body as "a variable boundary, a surface whose permeability is politically regulated, a signifying practice within the cultural field of gender hierarchy and compulsory heterosexuality" (p. 189). The body and how it is gendered do not exist externally or outside the society, culture, politics, and history in which they live. "Normalized" bodies are often "framed in accordance with a widespread social order; prevalent ideology; cultural locations; and consequently raced, sexed and gendered" (Khrebtan-Hörhager & Kononeko, 2015, p. 224). Seeing bodies as a social construction illustrates the multiple factors that create meaning for understanding, controlling, and approaching people's lived experiences in their bodies.

Understood as symbolic resources, bodies may be designed and used for identity/constitutive and instrumental purposes. McKinnon (2016) argues that we need to recognize "bodily movements, adornments, and performances, what I think of here as *enactments*, as sites particularly ripe with rhetorical force" (p. 218). The body and how it moves, performs, and exists within other contextual elements can generate rhetorical force by creating arguments, using symbols to highlight unjust and oppressive forces, protesting the status quo, and more. Further, "the gendered body as a performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality" (Butler, 2007, p. 185). Defining the body as a rhetorical, symbolic resource involves recognizing that the meaning of bodies acting and performing reflect, reify, change, and create social, cultural, and political norms.

Additionally, the body is a material and symbolic resource for protesting oppression and injustice. Bivens and Cole (2017) explore embodied strategies of protesting for women's rights. They analyze the use of social media and "grotesque protest" to use the body "to push back, to resist, to dissent, to protest" (Bivens & Cole, 2017, p. 9). Specifically, they illustrate how people used bodily fluids to interact with audiences, including the use of Instagram images depicting a woman's period. Bivens and Cole (2017) argue:

> Grotesque protests capitalize on societal depictions of bodies and bodily fluids as grotesque, vulgar, and taboo. In the process, such protests show that the grotesque can be an effective tool for opening space, transgressing boundaries, and demanding attention. (p. 7)

These examples of public presence and performances of bodies illustrate their material and symbolic nature and how they may be used to challenge problematic norms.

Bodies do not exist in a vacuum. They are given meaning based on the society, culture, history, institutions, systems, and more within which they exist. People use the entities to navigate spaces and have a constitutive element by providing knowledge from lived experiences. Bodies enable people to express themselves and their identities. Bodies are often judged and evaluated against "normative" bodies, which are not close to representing all bodies. People protest, challenge oppression, make arguments, occupy and move through space, use and create symbols, and more in their bodies. In this sense, bodies do rhetorical work.

Protest Rhetoric

Scholarship on protest rhetoric has recognized that bodies can be used as material and symbolic resources to resist oppression and mitigate injustice (Chevrette & Hess, 2019; DeLuca, 1999; Haiman, 1967; Harold & DeLuca, 2005; Lake, 1983; Spratt, 2008). My project will add to this scholarship by covering vital protests not yet discussed in the context of women's suffrage. Further, I will address a form of in-prison protest, the hunger strike, unique to other strategies used to oppose problematic conditions of imprisonment. For example, Huspek (2000) explores the actions of imprisoned people in New Mexico that protested against the prison's inhumane living conditions. They overtook the prison for 36 hours and took violent action against other inmates. Several people were killed, and other hostages were severely injured. These events were framed by the press, historians, and officials as a riot rather than an in-prison protest. This example raises questions about using hunger strikes as a form of in-prison protest that perhaps must fit specific parameters to be seen as a successful rhetorical strategy. For example, maybe certain bodies, using non-violent tactics, imprisoned for particular reasons are seen as acceptable or justified to protest their circumstances over other bodies. Throughout this project, I will explore this line of thought to contribute to the literature regarding bodies and protest rhetoric.

Bodies are framed, understood, and exist in comparison to “normalized” and dominant bodies that are presented as “white, cisgender, able-bodied, heterosexual men” (Chávez, 2018, p. 244). Therefore, people using their bodies to protest and using rhetoric that differs from these social, cultural, and historical norms often face barriers to being heard, understood, and more. A particular intersection between bodies and protesting central to protest rhetoric literature is the Civil Rights movement. Haiman (1967) explores the use of sit-ins in restaurants, “churches, libraries, real estate offices, and boards of education,” where bodies occupied spaces as forms of protest (p. 100). Another way that bodies were used in protest rhetoric was through images of violence against African Americans to illustrate the oppression, racism, injustice, and brutalization they were protesting (Harold & DeLuca, 2005; Johnson, 2007; Spratt, 2008). These authors center the importance of these images of bodies being circulated and their ability to protest and visually depict what other forms of protest rhetoric were trying to accomplish.

Scholars have analyzed other forms of feminist and social justice protest rhetoric and how bodies have been incorporated into those conversations (Bivens & Cole, 2017; Chevrette & Hess, 2019; DeLuca, 1999; Kearl, 2015; Stillion Southard, 2020). For example, DeLuca (1999) analyzes Earth First!, ACT UP, and Queer Nation and how they create arguments, not in the form of formal addresses, but by performing their protests through their bodies. The groups do this by organizing in non-normative ways, like not paying dues or creating a formal organization. Instead, they place their bodies in spaces and scenarios that become protest rhetoric. Chevrette and Hess (2019) analyze FEMEN and the organization's internal rhetoric and training. They argue that bodies protesting through images and visual depictions are an important protest rhetoric strategy, but the actual organizers and how they run their organizations are also included in protest rhetoric.

Bivens and Cole (2017) explore how women's bodies are used and displayed in ways that have been normalized as grotesque to generate attention and challenge dominant forms of protesting through the use of bodily fluids. They suggest that "one function of the grotesque protest is to remind people (and politicians in particular) that women are not separate from their bodies" (Bivens & Cole, 2017, p. 14). Wahidin (2019) also touches on bodily fluids and menstruation as a form of protest used by women detained at a prison in Northern Ireland. Finally, Stillion Southard (2020) discusses suffragists' bodies in actual forms of protest and how placing those bodies in certain scenarios and places does rhetorical work and emphasizes that protest labor is not distributed equally for all bodies. These sources highlight the importance of actual bodies in protest rhetoric and how they can generate rhetorical force, which can be further explored concerning force-feeding, hunger strikes, and in-prison protests.

Literature is limited surrounding in-prison protests. Many sources that reference forms of in-prison protests refer to hunger strikes as a popular tactic (Hauser, 1997; Howarth, 2012; Kanaboshi, 2014; Larkin, 1991; O'Hearn, 2009; Passmore, 2014). Hunger strikes are seen as an act to "achieve particular political ends" while imprisoned (Howarth, 2012, para. 18). Howarth (2012) describes hunger strikes as "essentially an act of self-destruction" that "raises ethical issues over whether or not doctors or the state should intervene to save a life for humanitarian or political reasons" (para. 8). Hauser (1997) explains how "prisoners often find the body as their rhetorical means of last resort, but often also their most (perhaps only) effective rhetorical weapon to confront and best the state" (p. 250). The hunger strike becomes a tactic that imprisoned individuals can adopt to generate agency (Kanaboshi, 2014). Additionally, hunger strikes have been utilized by several imprisoned groups in places including India, the former Soviet Union, Ireland, England, Chile, the United States, and South Africa (Filippi, 2016; Hauser, 1997; Jorgensen-Earp, 1999; Kanaboshi, 2014; Miller, 2009; O'Hearn, 2009; Passmore, 2014). It becomes clear that hunger strikes are a form of in-prison protest not unique to the suffrage movement.

It is noteworthy that most of the sources discussed above reference political prisoners that use hunger strikes to further advocate for their cause. For example, Passmore (2014) explains the use of hunger strikes by imprisoned Mapuche people in Chile to indicate and highlight the oppression they face historically, culturally, and societally. O'Hearn (2009) similarly discusses how Irish political prisoners used hunger strikes as a form of resistance. Women in South Africa turned to hunger strikes from 1970 to 1994 to generate "visibility in the public sphere of political female prisoners' protests" against Apartheid (Filippi, 2016, p. 446). Participants in both the British and American suffrage movements also adopted hunger strikes while imprisoned and used this strategy as a way to argue for the need to grant women the right to vote (Adickes, 2002; Geddes, 2008; Stillion Southard, 2007; Williams, 2008). It becomes evident that multiple groups have used hunger strikes throughout history as a form of in-prison protest. But what is it specifically about this form of protest that can be expected to work? How did suffragists use their bodies as symbolic resources that were seen as a successful rhetorical strategy in ways not possible for other groups?

Suffrage Movement Scholarship

Histories and rhetorical studies of the suffrage movement have discussed rhetorical strategies utilized by suffragists before and after the in-prison protests and hunger strikes. For example, Stillion Southard (2007) explores the Silent Sentinels' use of picketing in front of the White House that led to suffragists' arrests. Palczewski (2016) examines the Prison Special cross-country tour that suffragists participated in after being released from prison. I am contributing to this scholarship by telling the story connecting these accounts, which are left out or referenced in passing. Specifically, I will explore suffragists' in-prison protests, the use of hunger strikes, and subsequent force-feedings from a rhetorical perspective. I will focus on what happened, what former prisoners say happened, how suffragists talked about using their bodies as a symbolic resource to protest in prison, and how these events are represented in the Lucy Burns Museum over 100 years later.

Suffragists utilized several rhetorical strategies to raise awareness and argue for women's right to vote, including using suffrage news publications to disperse information. Many women were geographically located far apart in the 1900s and had limited means to organize and participate in formal meetings and events (Jerry, 1991). Suffrage publications functioned by spreading pro-suffrage information that countered mainstream news coverage that was often negative and anti-suffrage (Jerry, 1991; Steiner, 2020). The publications encouraged and incentivized women to participate in the public sphere and the suffrage movement by relaying meeting minutes and providing arguments they could adopt in their personal lives (Lumsden, 2019). Several scholars have focused on the importance of suffrage publications (Jerry, 1991; Lumsden, 1995; 2019; Palczewski, 2016; Steiner, 2020; Tonn, 1991; Webb, 2012). It is noteworthy that coverage of suffrage publications and their reporting of the hunger strikes and force-feedings are mentioned in passing and often concerning other rhetorical tactics utilized by suffragists.

For example, Palczewski (2010) explores four postcards depicting police violence against suffragists and interactions between both parties. She argues, “the interactions between the visuals of vulnerable suffrage bodies’ being brutalized and suffrage bodies’ brutalizing highlights not only how dissent can be domesticated, but also how repression can be tamed” (Palczewski, 2010, p. 371). The images depict suffragists being held by police officers and carried off to jail while their facial expressions show the women smiling in one case and angry in the others. The postcards depicted women’s arrests as mild and comical without actually showing the true nature of their arrests (Palczewski, 2010). Therefore, the use of the visual arguments enabled police violence and forcible feeding to become domesticated and a source of entertainment in the form of control. The imagery was further used to suppress women’s attempts to advocate for suffrage. These visuals depicting suffragists did not specifically show suffragists’ force-feeding, but they emphasized the women’s vulnerability and the ways their bodies were brutalized. Palczewski (2010) argues postcard imagery provides a basis for reading "the body arguments of suffrage advocates" (p. 371). However, I will analyze how suffragists performed and discussed their body rhetoric and how news sources discussed their body rhetoric along with images of their embodied protests.

Stillion Southard (2007) also analyzes *The Suffragist* regarding how it covered the picketing in front of the White House that led to suffragists' imprisonment. Picketing became a rhetorical tactic interpreted as a militant break from more traditional approaches to arguing for the right to vote, like testifying in "respectful hearings before congress" (Adickes, 2002, p. 676). The National Woman's Party (NWP) picketed in front of the White House from March to April 1917 (Adickes, 2002). Through the picketing, suffragists "empowered themselves by appropriating prevailing gender, presidential, and wartime ideologies into their military identity as women with political voice" (Stillion Southard, 2007, p. 401). The NWP used their silence, signs, and presence picketing to confront the need to pass suffrage. As a result of being seen as unpatriotic because the United States was at war, suffragists were arrested (Trecker, 1972). The women refused to pay the fines and were sentenced to jail time. Most suffragists were sent to the Occoquan Workhouse, where they led hunger strikes to protest the horrific conditions (Adickes, 2002). They were then forcibly fed by prison officials. While there is scholarship on the picketing that led to arrests, the focus on suffragists' body rhetoric by using hunger strikes as an in-prison protest can be further developed.

Suffragists utilized their bodies in other forms of protest outside of prison, including in parades and tours. Borda (2002) has argued that women's participation in suffrage parades showed that women could "perform their civic duties as equal citizens" through occupying streets, presenting arguments on posters, and giving speeches (p. 32). In this case, women placed their bodies in a space not meant for protest and kept the media's attention on suffrage.

Palczewski (2016) focused on the Prison Special cross-country tour enacted by the NWP after suffragists were released from prison after being force-fed. She explores how white women's citizenship was constituted concerning the prison through the tour and the various rhetorical methods suffragists employed (Palczewski, 2016). They used speeches, the "Jailed for Freedom" pamphlet they distributed, and photographs as strategies to remind audiences of the atrocities they experienced for suffrage while simultaneously silencing Black women and their active roles in the movement. Palczewski (2016) suggests, "if one wants to understand the rhetorical history of woman suffrage advocacy, one cannot ignore the body – its arguments, its agency, and its vulnerability" (p. 124). It becomes clear that suffragists utilized their bodies rhetorically to advance arguments for suffrage. However, there is room to focus more explicitly on the actual act of using their bodies as symbolic resources in their in-prison protest.

Scholars have studied suffragists' hunger strikes and offered reasons why women might have participated in the hunger strikes throughout the British and American suffrage movements. A common approach is viewing hunger strikes as a form of embodied protest to show suffragists' dedication to gaining the right to vote while imprisoned. Atkinson (2018) argues, "to stage a hunger strike was an individual decision that each woman had to make on her own" (p. 124). The women participating in hunger strikes visibly displayed their support for women's suffrage and created a scenario where prison officials were required to respond (Atkinson, 2018). The hunger strikes and subsequent force-feedings are also interpreted as a tool to protest oppressive forces. Ford (1991) argues that American suffragists "were under the direct control of oppressive male authorities, but even there they continued to defy those authorities with whatever means possible" (p. 207). From this approach, the goal of the hunger strikes was to raise awareness for women's suffrage and invite a response from prison and government officials. However, the women's strategy did not have the intended outcomes they expected, which led to the rise of force-feedings as a way for the prison officials, and by default the government, to reassert their dominance over women and their desire to gain the right to vote (Ford, 1991). These scholars explore why participating in hunger strikes could be expected to gain public and prison officials' attention. However, in these accounts, what is left out is how bodies were used as symbolic resources to protest in prison and how suffragists and other sources talk about this strategy. How did suffragists' embodied actions work rhetorically?

Turning to how hunger strikes and the force-feeding of suffragists are remembered and retold in contemporary depictions, there are gaps in the literature that my project will address. To my knowledge, no studies analyze the Lucy Burns Museum, both in its original form and the renovated exhibit. Therefore, I am interested in unpacking how the hunger strikes and force-feedings of suffragists and this form of in-prison feminist protest are remembered and the implications of these contemporary depictions. Scholars have explored the relationship between public memory and the suffrage movement more broadly. Some scholars analyze how memories of suffrage leaders, imagery, and language are evoked in later campaigns and efforts surrounding women's rights and voting rights (Conley, 2020; Samek, 2020; Woods, 2020). Other scholars explore particular suffrage events and leaders and the complexities of how they are commemorated. Mandziuk (2003) similarly explores how Sojourner Truth is remembered concerning race and gender in public memory. This article explores how the commemoration of Truth is the "product of the processes of history writing, anthologizing, criticism, and memorializing" (Mandziuk, 2003, p. 271). Further, Yorgason (2000) examines the public memory of women's suffrage in Iowa and argues that the memorializing of history depends "heavily on the agendas of the organizations doing the remembering" (p. 261). It becomes clear that multiple factors frame memories of the suffrage movement and its events in particular ways.

Further, Tetrault (2014) explores the Seneca Falls meeting and how it has become a mythologized event for the suffrage movement. She works to uncover and recover collective memories, politics, and other factors contributing to how the meeting is remembered. Tetrault (2014) draws from sources including the multiple actors that influenced the myth, like Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and several other components, like the Civil War, the Fifteenth Amendment, and changing politics of the suffrage movement, to illustrate that the Seneca Falls' myth is seldom as stable as it is presented in history. Not only did it take several years, numerous resources, and contention to create a "usable past" for Seneca Falls as the birth of the suffrage movement, but also Anthony and Stanton "had to market this story to activists" (Tetrault, 2014, p. 143). Through these multiple factors, elements, and work, the constructed memory of Seneca Falls as the beginning of women's suffrage illustrates how public memory is often manipulated, reinforced, retold, and more until it becomes stable and fact. My project will explore the gaps in how memories and displays of suffragists' body rhetoric are remembered in the Lucy Burns Museum.

Several scholars have studied the intersection between feminism, how women's bodies and experiences are visually portrayed, museums, and their implications (Andrews, 2011; Bartlett & Henderson, 2013; Bergsdóttir, 2016; Clover & Williamson, 2019; Hamlin, 2019; Hein, 2007; Jacobs, 2008; Viv & Helena, 2015). Broadly, scholars question who is in control of framing museums and creating the content that is meant to memorialize particular aspects of history. Bartlett and Henderson (2013) discuss the implications of what texts and artifacts are included and used to remember parts of feminist history and question how to ensure that stereotypical aspects are not retold without references to other nuances. Clover and Williamson (2019) argue that there are "patriarchal assumptions behind the language, images and stagecrafting (positioning, lighting) of museums and art galleries" (p. 143). These assumptions can be problematic depending on how they depict women and their experiences in museums. While the contemporary depictions of suffragists being force-fed are recreations, these pieces are still useful in exploring how bodies are designed to function in museums and the implications of these framings for collective memory and the history of suffragists' in-prison protests. There is room to explore these ideas further by analyzing the Lucy Burns Museum exhibits and how bodies in feminist protest are presented.

I have reviewed how scholars have studied historical and rhetorical accounts of the American suffrage movement before and after the in-prison protests of suffragists. Scholars have also analyzed how suffrage is commemorated, framed, and evoked within public memory. My project will address the gaps I have identified in the literature. I will focus on the suffragists' embodied protests, how they talked and wrote about participating in hunger strikes and being force-fed, how they utilized their bodies as a symbolic resource regarding their imprisonment, and how their actions are memorialized over 100 years later.

Chapter Outline

As I have established a need for this project, the following chapters will address the research questions and ways this project will add to these scholarly conversations. Chapter 2 offers three heuristics to guide rhetorical critics in analyzing body rhetoric. First, I explain ways to analyze bodies used materially and symbolically to protest. Second, I explain the bodies-in-protest heuristic following Endres and Senda-Cook's (2011) approach to place in protest. This framework relies on analyzing bodies-as-rhetoric and body-based arguments. Third, I unpack bodies as performative, intersectional texts. Chapter 3 provides background and contextual information needed to understand suffragists' hunger strikes and situate them historically. I present a detailed account of hunger strikes as a form of embodied protest and how force-feedings came to intersect with women's suffrage. Chapter 4 illustrates the explanatory power of the critical heuristics by analyzing suffragists' body rhetoric at the time. Specifically, I explore how suffragists' body rhetoric challenged and reified ideologies about women's bodies to generate rhetorical force in ways their words alone did not. Chapter 5 covers contemporary presentations of suffragists' embodied rhetoric in the 21st century and the ways suffragists' body rhetoric is remembered. Specifically, I analyze the Lucy Burns Museum and its exhibits to uncover the ways in which suffragists' embodied protests are memorialized a hundred years later in ways unique to museum visitors. Finally, chapter 6 offers a conclusion, including a discussion of limitations and directions for future research.

Conclusion

My project engages with and expands understandings of embodied rhetoric and bodies in feminist protest. I analyze two case studies at distinct points in history, including the hunger strikes and forced feedings of suffragists as they were represented at the time of suffrage and in contemporary examples. Practically, I offer ways to theorize about these topics and make them relevant, applicable, and accessible to various audiences by centering the body and lived experiences.

In this chapter, I explored relevant literature that I will use to guide this project. Specifically, I discussed suffrage and protest rhetoric scholarship to identify places this project advances understanding of theorizing about suffragists' body rhetoric. Through the case studies, I hope to address the following questions: How do bodies in feminist protest generate rhetorical force? How is suffragists’ body rhetoric re-presented in the Lucy Burns Museum? What implications does this have for scholars and practical applications regarding theorizing about the body? And how can it address gaps in theorizing about the suffrage movement?

Chapter 2: Three Guiding Body Heuristics

This chapter offers three heuristics that can guide rhetorical critics in thinking through and analyzing bodies-as-rhetoric and unpacking how people rhetorically, strategically use their bodies. Further, these frameworks allow one to consider how bodies work rhetorically from various angles as they intersect with protest rhetoric. As my project focuses on suffragists' body rhetoric related to their picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings, having this theoretical foundation regarding embodied rhetoric is a useful starting point. Also, throughout this chapter and project, I use embodied rhetoric and body rhetoric interchangeably both to mean where social actors use their material, physical bodies as mediums for their rhetoric (e.g., going on hunger strikes or picketing) and instances where bodies are talked about, made visible, evoked, and more in material and symbolic ways (e.g., photos of body rhetoric, news coverage about suffragists' embodied actions, first-hand accounts of their experiences, etc.).

In this chapter, I explain three heuristics for analyzing bodies-as-rhetoric. First, bodies-as-rhetoric can be analyzed as material and symbolic. Second, bodies-in-protest can be analyzed in ways analogous to analyzing place-in-protest (Endres & Senda-Cook, 2011). Third, embodied rhetoric is a performative, intersectional form that can also comprise visual and verbal rhetoric. I do not envision these heuristics as mutually exclusive, and there is certainly overlap in claims about how bodies act rhetorically. Instead, I see them as guiding principles to account for multiple ways bodies act rhetorically.

Bodies as Material and Symbolic

Bodies are material and symbolic. More, they can be used by message sources and be read by audiences. Materially, bodies physically exist in space and can be symbols themselves or evoke other symbols that create, reify, and challenge various meanings and ideologies. For example, within suffrage parades, women used their bodies to be present in the streets and protest by marching and through their performances (Borda, 2002). While suffragists also utilized signs, speeches, and other forms of oral and written rhetoric, their bodies occupying public streets embodied and enacted their arguments that women could participate in public, had political interests, and more. Symbolically, bodies can be read based on individuals' lived experiences and through other mediating factors, like power structures, hegemonic norms, etc., with which bodies interact. Therefore, critics can unpack how these meanings are assigned, challenged, and used to create and reify meanings assigned to bodies. Further, bodies can symbolically stand-in, represent, challenge, and/or indicate new meanings or validate existing ones. I will unpack both ideas in greater detail below.

Materiality of Bodies

Material uses of bodies involve enactment. In other words, rhetors can experience and enact rhetoric by moving and existing in their bodies, through the symbols they create and adopt, and to which various audiences assign meaning. This perspective approaches knowledge as inextricably linked to the body and its experiences. A common tenant for feminist scholars is valuing knowledge rooted in lived experiences (Anzaldúa, 1999; Calafell, 2012; hooks, 1991; Martinez, 2000; Otis, 2019). This epistemological claim emphasizes a vital connection to the body as a form of sense-making. For example, Martinez (2000) explains, "I am bound to engaging the lived experience of real persons and the concrete, material, and historical realities in which we are situated" (p. 5). From this perspective, bodies offer insight into how people live and experience the world and, in turn, provide insight into uses of embodied rhetoric. Anzaldúa (1999) argues, "for images, words, stories to have . . . transformative power, they must arise from the human body—flesh and bone" (p. 97). Embodied knowledge, then, is "knowledge that is very clearly connected to the body" and comes from gut reactions to inform how people come to know things at the level of the body (Knoblauch, 2012, p. 54). Centering the materiality of bodies and how they inform embodied knowledge allows critics to account for how people experience society, culture, and spaces in their physical, material bodies. Further, embodied realities influence how rhetors use their bodies, for what purposes, and with what means and access to resources and various methods.

In these ways, bodies can act rhetorically by challenging normative claims about bodies. The body can highlight how oppression functions and materially affects marginalized populations. Otis (2019) calls for rhetorical critics to locate "the body as a valuable site of knowledge production and rhetorical construction that allows rhetors to make compelling claims about how oppression comes to bear materially upon marginalized bodies" (p. 384). Through the focus on bodies-as-rhetoric informed by embodied knowledge, we can see oppression acutely and see places to challenge hegemonic forces through enactments of body rhetoric.

Returning to the suffrage parade example, suffragists sought new rhetorical strategies to gain support for a federal suffrage amendment consistently ignored by the Wilson Administration and other politicians. Simultaneously, suffragists contended with claims that women were better suited and should remain in the private sphere, primarily as caretakers for their families. Therefore, their use of parades, placing their bodies in the street to protest, demonstrated their ability to participate in public and politics (Borda, 2002). The women not only embodied their arguments and displayed their ability to engage publicly, but they also challenged dominant ideologies and those in power that sought to suggest otherwise. However, it is also essential to recognize the suffragists' use of their bodies was also influenced by numerous factors, like their largely privileged identities, associations with parades as proper forms of protest, their gender and how it was socially constructed, and more (Borda, 2002). Harold (1999) argues, “bodies invite us to take seriously the difference, impermanence, and connection because they do not conform, stagnate, or exist in isolation” (p. 75). Therefore, when approaching bodies-as-rhetoric, it is crucial to explore how bodies work materially, how lived experiences influence enactments of body rhetoric, and how history, politics, society, culture, and more are always present and at work materially on bodies.

When focusing on bodies-as-rhetoric as they are used in protests, two additional facets can be explored: (a) experiential rhetoric (i.e., the sights, sounds, visuals created, and more) and (b) affective rhetoric or how bodies generate affective responses (i.e., what emotions they evoke for different audiences, reflections on bodies as rhetoric, and more). First, I will touch on experiential rhetoric and how bodies-as-rhetoric can adopt certain sights, sounds, and experiences that enact physical, tangible things or display them to viewers. For example, once released from prison, suffragists conducted a “Prison Special” cross-country tour that relied on their experiences while imprisoned to garner support for suffrage (Palczewski, 2016). The women dressed up in recreated prison attire, acted out their hunger strikes, distributed photographs and pamphlets, and “reenacted scenes from prison life” (Nuñez-Franklin, 2022, para. 3). These embodied strategies, things they did and used their bodies to enact, point to material, rhetorical uses of their bodies to create experiences for various audiences. In other words, the women attempted to demonstrate what it was like to be imprisoned for viewers and gain support for women’s right to vote. Whereas the women could have simply given speeches or relied on publications of their experiences, they used their bodies to perform and display their imprisonment for viewers. Their embodied rhetoric was designed to add to viewers' understanding of the women’s imprisonment in ways words alone would not.

An extended example of experiential rhetoric related to material uses of the body is the "grotesque protest" (Bivens & Cole, 2017, p. 6). Various activist groups have adopted these protests and "use bodily fluids and tissues to emphasize resistance to political movements attempting to control and legislate bodies" (Bivens & Cole, 2017, p. 5). A case study of Rupi Kaur's *period* demonstrates how bodies can enact rhetoric and be experiential for audiences. Kaur added a photo of herself on Instagram lying in bed with her back to the camera with the bedsheets and her sweatpants "stained with fake menstrual blood" (Bivens & Cole, 2017, p. 11). Kaur's use of materially and physically displaying her body menstruating worked to challenge normative, hegemonic responses to women's periods as unclean, unsanitary, and gross, that are problematic, have real, material impacts on people experiencing periods, and permeate society and culture. This form of body rhetoric "calls upon individuals to use the very thing that is being regulated—the body—to push back, to resist, to dissent, to protest" (Bivens & Cole, 2017, p. 9). In doing so, audiences are encouraged to experience body rhetoric and reflect on assumptions about bodies.

A critic can also explore how bodies enact affective rhetoric and/or how bodies generate affective responses through material uses of the body (i.e., what bodies experience and feel through their embodied rhetoric and how affect can be evoked through body rhetoric for certain purposes). I recognize affect is a broad topic that exceeds what I discuss in this section. However, my project is focused on how bodies do rhetorical work and interact with, reflect on, or evoke emotions and how those emotions translate to various audiences. In other words, I focus on how social actors can rely on or enact affect in embodied protest rhetoric. I use the term affect as described by Ott (2010) as the "experiencing body," the visceral responses people have to things, people, messages, etc. (p. 49). Cisneros (2012) argues that we can see "performative affect emanating" from bodies, that is how people experience and internalize feelings (p. 134). Emotions, then, "operate to 'make' and 'shape' bodies as forms of action" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 4). They offer a way to see how visceral experience, feelings, and cognition culminate for individuals. Therefore, I offer a brief overview of affect as a starting point in considering how bodies can work rhetorically to generate certain emotions for audiences through their embodied protests.

To start, we can consider affect as it relates to rhetors' experiences using their bodies or experiencing rhetoric in their bodies. In other words, "affect is a conduit between our bodies and our souls, and it represents an intersection of our bodies and the outside world" (DeChaine, 2002, p. 86). Affect, then, offers a way to understand and approach how bodies feel things and experience the world and emotions. Ahmed (2004) suggests that "tending to emotions might show us how all actions are reactions, in the sense that what we do is shaped by the contact we have with others" (p. 4). In these ways, emotions circulate between bodies and are constantly being made and remade based on contact with other objects and people. We know how we feel and how to process emotions based on what we have already experienced, as social and cultural actors, how we see emotions displayed and enacted, objects linked to certain emotions, and more (Ahmed, 2004). Looking at affect in these ways helps critics consider how feelings do rhetorical work and can be situated in power structures and particular contexts. Ahmed (2004) argues, "emotionality as a claim about a subject or a collective is clearly dependent on relations of power, which endow 'others' with meaning and value" (p. 4). People experience emotion based on a variety of elements. For example, social movement protests can stem from experiences of emotions like anger, frustration, fear, and more about injustices and inequities and use those emotions to act while simultaneously being influenced by those emotions.

A rhetorical critic can also consider how affect can be evoked and used to seek specific audience responses while recognizing one cannot account for how every audience will respond emotionally. One can ask questions like, what is the rhetoric meant to evoke for audiences? How are they expected to feel? What frame of references are they using to unpack the affective body rhetoric? Ott (2010) argues that we can consider affect and emotion based on "how bodies are mobilized (called to action) at a material level" (p. 49). That is, how different affective responses to texts and body rhetoric are influenced by what bodies bring to understand those things. Ott (2010) offers:

> Affects involve a corporeal continuum, which ranges, on one end, from the experiencing body (i.e., immediate sensations of movement, color, and sound, for instance) to, on the other end, our body of experience (i.e., our body's memory of previous sensations). (p. 49)

Applying these claims to bodies-in-protest rhetoric allows critics to explore rhetors' attempts to create emotional responses for audiences. For example, women's use of hunger strikes, within the context of suffrage and making their force-feedings legible, attempted to share with audiences the torturous nature of the procedure and the horrors they experienced while imprisoned. They did so by talking about their affective experiences in the press and smuggling notes out of prison to get people to recognize the traumatic experience (Stevens, 1995). I will explore these claims in greater detail in chapter 4. For now, it is crucial to acknowledge that audiences respond differently based on the experiences they bring to bear when interacting with affective body rhetoric. However, a key takeaway is to consider how discourse about bodies and their experiences can be used to generate affective responses in ways words alone do not.

I turn to an extended example to support claims that affective rhetoric works to generate emotional responses from audiences that have real, material consequences. Cisneros' (2012) analysis of Arizona's Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070) "illuminates affective and material dimensions" that undergird immigration discourse in the United States. Further, those dimensions create and normalize visceral responses that encourage citizens to police bodies that look a certain way. Cisneros (2012) argues:

> Specifically, SB 1070 codifies and materializes the racialized Mexican-Latina/o-brown-illegal-immigrant body as fearful and threatening, and it makes illegality a performative *affect* emanating from the bodies of suspected immigrants. (p. 134)

In these ways, the bill relies on racial stereotypes and behaviors that simultaneously give audiences a sense of what a "good" citizen should look like by creating a sense of "belonging-ness" for citizens (Cisneros, 2012, p. 135). By establishing traits and emotions associated with belonging as an American citizen, the bill implies "that nonwhite, immigrant "others" who perform or embody difference are 'foreign' or 'illegal'" (Cisneros, 2012, p. 135). In other words, "to be legal (a citizen) means to display the right feelings, through skin color and demeanor" that are not only internalized by people but also serve as ways to perform citizenship by policing and harming people whose bodies that "look illegal" (Cisneros, 2012, p. 137). The impact of these claims cannot be overstated because they offer rhetorical critics a framework to explore how emotions and affect can motivate people into belief or action. This claim is significant when considering protesting bodies and discourse surrounding their actions that create, reify, and challenge ideologies by evoking emotions or feelings for various audiences.

Bodies as Symbolic

The symbolic aspects of bodies indicate that they are, in part, socially constructed. In other words, the ways that boundaries, classifications, identities, characteristics, and more are assigned to certain people and not others come from the society, culture, institutions, and histories to which they are linked. As explored above, meanings about bodies can come from lived experiences, but they also come through other mediating factors, like power structures, hegemonic norms, etc., with which bodies interact. Therefore, critics can unpack how these meanings are assigned, challenged, and used to create and reify meanings assigned to bodies. Further, bodies can also stand in, represent, challenge, and/or indicate new meanings or validate existing ones. To support this claim, I first offer ways to approach bodies symbolically by attending to and unpacking how multiple contexts and ideologies assign meanings to bodies. Then I consider how performances in particular bodies can be used to challenge the status quo.

Bodies do not exist in a vacuum. Butler (2007) suggests that the body does not exist as an external, predetermined entity but is made, unmade, remade, and controlled by society, culture, politics, and history. Similarly, Foucault (1995) argues the body is “invested with relations of power and domination,” giving an outlet for power to latch onto and control bodies (p. 25). Therefore, society, culture, institutions, and groups in power often control and choose how bodies are talked about and conceptualized. A well-known example for Foucault (1995) is that of the delinquent and how bodies are marked as delinquent based on certain factors that work to control and police bodies and normalize behavior for society writ large. To classify a delinquent body, a doubling happens:

> That of a binary division and branding (mad/sane; dangerous/harmless; normal/abnormal); and that of coercive assignment, of differential distribution (who he is; where he must be; how he is to be characterized; how he is to be recognized; how a

> constant surveillance is to be exercised over him in an individual way, etc.). (Foucault, 1995, p. 199)

In other words, certain characteristics and behaviors are classified for certain bodies and used to judge people's actions based on what has been made normative by groups in power. Further, "normalized" bodies are often "framed in accordance with a widespread social order; prevalent ideology; cultural locations; and consequently raced, sexed and gendered" (Khrebtan-Hörhager & Kononeko, 2015, p. 224). Therefore, viewing the body as a social construction translates to how bodies are seen through the lenses of ability, genitalia, shape, gender, and more.

How bodies are talked and written about, policed, controlled, and move and exist in the world become sources of meaning to understand bodies' symbolic nature. Bodies always already have meaning attached to them, which means they often stand in for or indicate other things. McKinnon (2016) argues that we need to recognize "bodily movements, adornments, and performances, what I think of here as *enactments*, as sites particularly ripe with rhetorical force" (p. 218). Therefore, seeing bodies as a social construction illustrates the multiple factors that create meaning for understanding, controlling, and approaching people's lived experiences in their bodies. This reality is why critics must account for the ways bodies are framed, understood, and exist in comparison to "normalized" and dominant bodies that are often presented as "white, cisgender, able-bodied, heterosexual men" (Chávez, 2018, p. 244). Considering what bodies are "normal" allows critics to unpack implications for who has access in society to create and enforce laws and see how oppression, injustice, and more latch onto bodies and impact them in material and symbolic ways.

Defining the body as a rhetorical, symbolic resource involves recognizing that the meaning of bodies acting and performing reflect, reify, change, and create social, cultural, and political norms. Harold (2000) suggests that “the body exceeds the confines of autonomous subjectivity, rational argument, and moral judgment because it is continually mutating through its relationship with outside contaminants (other bodies, technology, food, and so on)” (p. 684). Bodies are not stable, unchanging entities because they are always in contact with other tangible and intangible things. Therefore, it is crucial to look at body rhetoric and how it is employed for protest rhetoric within ever-changing contexts.

For example, suffrage parades materially enacted the suffragists’ capacity for civic participation but created barriers to getting witnesses to read or interpret parades as appropriate actions for women to perform and in turn support their cause. Symbolically, at issue was whether it was legitimate political action or an affront to “womanhood” (i.e., women neglecting their roles as mother, their duties in the household, etc.). To read their body rhetoric in these ways, one has to account for the ideologies at work and how they inform understanding of the women’s actions, both at the time and contemporarily. Therefore, suffragists’ body rhetoric can be analyzed within these contexts to inform ways of viewing their embodied actions. In other words, how the women actually marched in the streets, the symbols they used in their performances, and the words they displayed on banners and in speeches are influenced by the meanings assigned to their bodies (Borda, 2002). A takeaway for critics is to see that embodied rhetoric does not exist in a vacuum, and that one can begin to account for the ways bodies act and are influenced symbolically.

Recognizing that bodies already always exist in relation to the society, culture, and ideologies they encounter offers an entry point in analyzing how performances in bodies can demonstrate and challenge the status quo. In this way, critics can see instances where body rhetoric is “designed to operate as a site from which oppression might be challenged”

(McKerrow, 1998, p. 318). For example, the Young Lords Organization's (YLO) 1969 "garbage offensive" exemplifies a marginalized group using their bodies to protest and challenge oppression (Enck-Wanzer, 2006). This is one example that illustrates that bodies are "rhetorical sites that have the capacity to transform and be transformed through engagement" (Harold, 2000, pp. 866-7). The YLO case study demonstrates how meaning can attach to bodies symbolically and become the foundation that supports discrimination and oppression of those bodies. For example, the city's refusal to pick up trash was rooted in racist ideologies, which suggested those in power considered living with trash filling the streets of El Barrio was acceptable (Enck-Wanzer, 2006). However, it also shows how body rhetoric can reassign and generate agency through embodied experiences. In other words, the YLO used the very trash the city refused to pick up to protest through their body rhetoric. In these ways, "*form* may be constitutive and central to a movement's political and social objectives rather than a means to an end" (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 179). The material and symbolic nature of body rhetoric is essential to consider when approaching bodies in protests because bodies are doing the rhetorical work. Another way to analyze embodied protests is through a bodies-in-protest heuristic, which I will explore next.

Bodies-in-Protest Heuristic

Following Endres and Senda-Cook's (2011) approach to place in protest, I offer a "body-in-protest" heuristic to approach bodies as rhetorical, which consists of two components: body-based arguments and bodies-as-rhetoric. First, body-based arguments are instances in feminist protests where rhetors refer to bodies to support oral or written arguments. In other words, someone's embodied actions are talked about or used to support claims, but their bodies are not present, depicted, shown, or made visible. For example, from the perspective of prison officials, force-feeding suffragists was necessary and led to the women feeling better after the procedure.

To support these claims, prison officials asserted that the women were “being well taken care of” and that there was nothing about their health afterward “to cause the slightest alarm” (The Washington Post, 1917a, para. 14). In these comments, officials use discourse about the suffragists’ bodies to demonstrate their actions were warranted without hearing from the women themselves and their experiences. Body-based arguments can also encompass how people’s embodied actions are interpreted and talked about, including people talking about their experiences and bodies or others talking about bodies that are not their own. This type of body-based claim can be seen regarding suffragists picketing at the White House and their actions as being treasonous according to opponents, and militant and extraordinary according to supporters (Ford, 1991). The main takeaway is that body-based arguments consist of discourse about bodies without those bodies being present or directly confronted.

Second, bodies-as-rhetoric includes material and symbolic uses of bodies in feminist protest rhetoric, including acts of protest in the streets and prison. Here, bodies are doing rhetoric rather than only using oral or written words. Body rhetoric can challenge and reify dominant ideologies through performances, create symbolic connections, enact and display ideologies, etc. I submit bodies can act rhetorically in three ways following Endres and Senda-Cook’s (2011) lead, including building on pre-existing meaning, temporarily reconstructing meaning, or changing meaning through repeated reconstructions.

First, bodies can build on pre-existing meaning. Bodies can rely on pre-existing conceptions of race, gender, sexuality, ability, and more in protests to evoke connections and create new meaning. For example, suffragists often relied on pre-existing meanings regarding the symbols, colors, and performances they adopted. They utilized the herald, “an angelic figure with wings, or as a woman blowing a trumpet, holding a sword, riding a horse, or carrying a torch” (Stevens, 1995, p. 26). Not only did women dress up as the herald for marches to symbolize connections to religious symbology, but this was a symbol also used by Sylvia Pankhurst for British suffrage furthering the meaning already attached to this imagery. Another example is the suffrage movement’s choice of gold and purple for the colors that appeared in the sashes they wore, banners, and more used throughout the movement. Purple and gold, along with the sunflower symbol, build on the pre-existing meaning attached to the “much-publicized Kansas state suffrage campaign in 1867” (Stevens, 1995, p. 26). The color gold was used in songs and other materials to signify the sun, a dawn of a new day, and hope for the movement (Stevens, 1995). In these ways, suffragists utilized pre-assigned meanings to these elements and employed them through their body rhetoric to create new meanings.

An extended example of suffragists relying on pre-existing meaning through their body rhetoric to protest can be seen in their use of silence as a strategy while picketing the White House beginning in 1917 (Stillion Southard, 2007). At this time, suffragists sought federal support to gain the right to vote and were met with dismissals from those in power, namely President Wilson. Seeing their previous tactics as unsuccessful, like lobbying and meeting with the President, the National Woman’s Party (NWP) looked to new ways to garner support and change minds about their political cause. These desires to find new strategies led to the NWP’s picketing in front of the White House, where women, mostly in groups of 12-15, would stand in front of the gates silently with banners expressing their claims supporting the right to vote (Stillion Southard, 2007). An essential piece of picketing came from their physical presence and performances. Notably, this embodied tactic relied on pre-existing ideologies that expressed women’s place was in private, staying silent, passively accepting men’s political decisions, and fulfilling domestic roles, not participating in politics and voting that were associated with men.

The Sentinels relied on these ideologies by silently picketing while simultaneously enacting “the shift in gender ideology toward new womanhood” (Stillion Southard, 2007, p. 401). In doing so, they “provided voice to politically voiceless women” (Stillion Southard, 2007, p. 401). In other words, the suffragists used expectations that they should be silent to generate agency by remaining silent physically but symbolically enacting their political capabilities. The rhetorical power of the Sentinels’ body rhetoric came from their “gendered performance” that “allowed them simultaneously to invite attention to the woman suffrage movement (even if cosmetically) and to constitute a militant identity through the defiant nature of their actions” (Stillion Southard, 2007, p. 404). Through the Sentinels’ picketing and reliance on silence, we can see how rhetorical actors can rely on pre-existing meanings associated with specific bodies and attempt to persuade audiences by leaning into those meanings. We can also see how bodies can act rhetorically to challenge dominant meanings temporarily. These two goals are not mutually exclusive.

The second way that bodies can act rhetorically in feminist protest is through temporarily reconstructing and challenging dominant meanings of bodies. For example, in the Silent Sentinel’s use of picketing, the women’s presence in front of the White House demonstrated them acting politically in the public sphere to counter claims suggesting they were not capable of political action. Their body rhetoric “enacted the liberating social change they desired” (Stillion Southard, 2007, p. 404). In these ways, the Sentinels challenge dominant ideologies about women’s bodies. Other dominant ideologies suffragists encountered during their battle to gain the right to vote include, but are not limited to, “that women would forsake their motherly duties and become masculine,” engage “in debauchery of the polls,” and dress like men (Palczewski, 2003, p. 321). Further, claims that women should not be able to vote included they would support the wrong issues, were not politically legitimate or educated enough, too fragile and unstable, uncivilized, and more (Bock, 2020; Stillion Southard, 2011). Suffragists' body rhetoric worked to challenge some of these arguments by enacting their ability to directly counter these claims using their bodies, which I will unpack in detail in chapter 4. Through these examples, bodies act rhetorically by reconstructing and challenging the dominant meanings associated with bodies for specific purposes.

An example of a feminist embodied protest temporarily challenging dominant ideologies about women's bodies is in suffragists' use of parades. Like the necessity of finding new strategies to gain support for women's suffrage through picketing, suffragists wanted to "take suffrage politics boldly into public spaces" (Borda, 2002, p. 25). The parades pre-date suffragists' picketing, with several held from 1910 to 1913. At the time, parades were associated with men as strategies to "proclaim their collective agency—as a conscious transgression of the rules of social order" (Borda, 2002, p. 25). Therefore, suffragists adopting the use of parades challenged the dominant ideologies, suggesting only men could organize and participate in parades, and they did so through their bodies. In other words, the large crowds of women marching, their outfits and signs, and their presence in the streets worked rhetorically to demonstrate women's ability and desire to be politically involved by enacting participation in the public sphere. "Parades provided the suffragists an opportunity to demonstrate that they were smart, strategic, organized, and political—in short, the women used the parades to reconstitute deeply-held cultural beliefs about their capabilities and role in society" (Borda, 2002, p. 32). In these ways, the women's body rhetoric worked to challenge dominant ideologies that suggested they could not act politically by showing them enacting their ability. During the parades, the suffragists also relied on pre-existing meaning with their body rhetoric through the now-popular image of Inez Milholland in a white gown on a white horse at a 1913 suffrage parade, which evoked references to Joan of Arc and symbolism of “justice, liberty, and peace” (Parker, 2013). Here, we can again see bodies acting rhetorically to build on pre-existing meaning and temporarily reconstructing how bodies are understood.

The final way bodies can act rhetorically is through repeated reconstruction and challenging of meaning that can lead to new understandings of bodies and their actions over time. As in the examples above, suffragists’ use of their bodies to protest in parades and picketing have worked to associate particular bodies, i.e., primarily white, middle/upper-class women, as resources to protest and create change within the context of suffrage. The women’s body rhetoric, through picketing, parades, marches, imprisonment, and more, is at least visible in history and scholarship regarding the movement (e.g., Adickes, 2002; Borda, 2002; Hawranick, Doris, and Daugherty, 2008; Stillion Southard, 2007; Trecker, 1972). This reality suggests their embodied strategies relate to the eventual passing of the 19th amendment, even in tangential ways, to situate the meanings of their bodies as political actors.

With that being said, I offer one example of body rhetoric that has been used to protest and has a somewhat stable meaning associated with the strategy, the hunger strike. I cover a more extensive history of the hunger strike in chapter 3. This chapter focuses on how it has become associated with a tactic that prisoners can use to generate agency while imprisoned. The embodied protest holds meaning by rhetorical actors using hunger strikes while imprisoned to protest their arrests, living conditions, political inequities, and more. It has been adopted by prisoners worldwide as a method to protest. Hauser (1997) explains, “prisoners often find the body as their rhetorical means of last resort, but often also their most (perhaps only) effective rhetorical weapon to confront and best the state” (p. 250). The hunger strike becomes a tactic that imprisoned individuals can adopt to generate agency (Kanaboshi, 2014). The embodied strategy allows prisoners to use their bodies to generate agency while imprisoned in a space where agency is meant to be absent.

Additionally, hunger strikes have been utilized by several imprisoned groups in places including India, the Soviet Union, Ireland, England, Chile, the United States, and South Africa (Filippi, 2016; Hauser, 1997; Jorgensen-Earp, 1999; Kanaboshi, 2014; Miller, 2009; O'Hearn, 2009; Passmore, 2014). It becomes clear that hunger strikes are a form of in-prison protest adopted by political prisoners to further advocate for their cause. In other words, by multiple groups adopting the strategy and repeatedly challenging associations of prisoners' agency, the tactic's meaning has been established as an in-prison protest.

To summarize, body rhetoric can be seen through body-based arguments where bodies are talked about without being present, shown, or directly confronted. Bodies-as-rhetoric can function in three ways: build on pre-existing meaning of bodies, temporarily challenge meanings and/or dominant ideologies about bodies, and change meaning through repeated reconstructions of meanings associated with bodies. I explore the utility of this body heuristic at length in chapter 4.

Performative, Intersectional "Texts"

After exploring the two heuristics above, I present a final approach to studying bodies-as-rhetoric, recognizing body rhetoric as "intersectional" forms (Enck-Wanzer, 2006). This approach assumes that rhetorical critics must expand analysis beyond the singular, written, or spoken words that serve as texts or points of analysis, especially when engaging with bodies. Several scholars critique the utility of limiting rhetorical analysis to singular textual forms and their inability to account for bodies doing rhetorical work (Conquergood, 1998; Harold, 1998;

2000; Enck-Wanzer, 2006; McKerrow, 1998). Singular texts or instances of rhetoric (e.g., "verbal, visual, or embodied forms") make certain aspects and arguments visible, but they do not account for more contextual factors, ways that rhetoric works collectively, generates agency for marginalized groups, and more as they connect to the body (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 176). This stance becomes essential when approaching the suffragists' protest rhetoric because of the variety of texts related to their use of body rhetoric. In other words, only looking at one aspect of their performances cannot account for the broader design of body rhetoric.

As established in the bodies as symbolic and material heuristic, meanings assigned to people's bodies are continually made and remade based on the social, cultural, historical, and political contexts they experience and how those have material impacts on how they live and exist in the world. Of course, these realities influence how social actors use rhetoric, especially embodied rhetoric, which critics can explore. Therefore, critics can approach "an embodied sense of rhetoric as a performance that one does rather than an analytic, objectified extension of who one is" (McKerrow, 1998, p. 322). In doing so and situating bodies within power structures, critics can uncover how bodies are sites "from which oppression might be challenged" (McKerrow, 1998, p. 318). Further, McKerrow (1998) argues, "corporeal rhetoric allows us to account for the variations in discourse beyond a western, male, and also predominantly white world" (p. 320). Therefore, analyzing bodies as rhetoric can allow critics to unpack how embodied experiences are both a product and work to challenge forms of oppression, injustice, and more.

It is evident throughout this chapter that bodies can act rhetorically and be analyzed by rhetorical critics. However. the move is not to pick a singular text where a key figure talks about body rhetoric. Rather, critics can look to a performance paradigm "to put mobility, action, and agency back into play” (Conquergood, 1998, p. 31). This approach asks critics to recognize and attend to the dynamic nature of body rhetoric, including elements like if it is animated or performed, and necessarily intersecting with other forms such as visual, auditory, and more. Further, privileging this paradigm relies on an “experiential, participatory epistemology” that values exposing people to performances and enactment of body rhetoric (Conquergood, 1998, p. 27). Ideally, critics would be able to participate or at least see first-hand instances where groups are employing body rhetoric or experiencing it themselves. For example, Chevrette and Hess (2019) analyze FEMEN and the organization’s internal rhetoric and training. They argue that bodies protesting through images and visual depictions are an important protest rhetoric strategy, but the actual organizers and how they run their organizations are also included in the rhetorical impact of protest rhetoric. Therefore, performance and participation on the critic's part can allow for a deeper, more nuanced understanding of embodied rhetoric (Conquergood, 1998).

Participation is not always possible for rhetorical critics. For instance, if scholars are analyzing events that happened in the past, they are limited in being able to participate. However, they can still unpack how bodies act rhetorically by closely attending to those bodies. In other words, critics can explore how bodies illuminate boundaries by analyzing how they interact with and make meaning based on interactions with other outside elements, like systems of power, lived experiences, spaces they occupy, and more. Harold (1999) argues that bodies “invite us to take seriously difference, impermanence, and connection because they do not conform, stagnate, or exist in isolation” (p. 75). Bodies already always exist in relation to other factors, as explored in the sections above. Therefore, the critic can use the body as a touchpoint to unpack those factors and “destabilize what might otherwise appear to be stable, monolithic, epistemological, or ontological structures” (Harold, 2000, p. 876). For embodied protest rhetoric, this could look like exploring the physical space that bodies choose to use and their significance, how they display and perform in their bodies, what signs and other verbal and nonverbal elements they adopt, the dominant ideologies they contend with and work to counter, and more. Implied in tracing these elements is the need to look at numerous texts.

To approach how bodies are used rhetorically to protest, critics can move beyond analyzing speeches from leaders or publications. For example, Enck-Wanzer (2006) argues there is "no single static 'text' to which we can turn to critique" when it comes to social movements that adopt a variety of embodied strategies (p. 184). Instead, critics can see intersectional rhetoric as it relates to texts as:

> More than <words + images + bodies> because those different forms can be present without intersecting and challenging norms of textual boundedness. Instead, intersectional rhetoric is better represented as three intersecting lines. In their intersection, one is not privileged over another; they are not ordered hierarchically. (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 191)

Simply put, to analyze embodied protest rhetoric, one must look at a variety of texts stemming from the methods used by social actors and talk about their actions. In doing so, critics can account for other forms of rhetoric (e.g., visual, verbal) because body rhetoric is an intersectional form and not inseparable from visceral embodied experiences of individuals, affect, or other sensory access like "visual" or "auditory"; or in the case of body-based arguments inseparable from the oral or written forms in which they are made.

Enck-Wanzer (2006) displays the utility of taking an intersectional approach to texts as it relates to the Young Lords Organization (YLO) and their "garbage offensive" strategy that was used to protest the poor sanitary conditions, discrimination, and oppression in East Harlem in

New York City in 1969 (p. 175). What started as a collective effort to pick up trash that was neglected by the city turned into a struggle that "demanded an inventive rhetoric that was decolonizing both in its aim and in its form" (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 176). YLO used a combination of verbal, visual, and embodied rhetoric to protest the inequality and oppression Puerto Ricans faced at this time. Their rhetoric took the form of leaving trash piled up in intersections, destroying police property, flipping cars, and more. The YLO used "their words and actions" to assert their freedom from oppressive systems (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 176). Therefore, by assembling a variety of texts, Enck-Wanzer (2006) argues, "we have a very moving and powerful story about the material and symbolic conditions under which the YLO lived and operated" (p. 184). A takeaway for rhetorical critics is that analyzing embodied rhetoric must account for other forms of rhetoric (e.g., visual, verbal, auditory, etc.) because body rhetoric is a performative, intersectional form.

Conclusion

This chapter explored three sets of heuristics grounded in scholarship about the body to guide rhetorical critics in approaching bodies-as-rhetoric: bodies as material and symbolic, a "bodies-in-protest" heuristic, and as intersectional, performative rhetorical forms. I engage these heuristics in chapters 4 and 5, and use them as frameworks to illustrate how they allow for an analysis of suffragists' body rhetoric in their picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings both at the time of these events and how they are remembered over 100 years later. This theoretical foundation regarding embodied rhetoric illuminates important commitments to analyzing suffragists' embodied rhetoric and attending to the various contextual factors at work.

Chapter 3: Hunger Strikes, Force-Feeding, & American Women's Suffrage

Equipped with signs and dressed in their gold and purple sashes and badges, suffragists began picketing in front of the White House for their right to vote in 1917. *The Suffragist*, a publication released by the National Woman's Party (NWP), applauded these protests where thousands of women with their positive attitudes were doing "many things that men would not have done – that men would have not thought of" (Anonymous, 1917a, p. 9). The suffragists remained present with their signs and picketing at the White House regardless of weather conditions. These women became known as the "Silent Sentinels." The term "sentinel" was chosen to symbolize "someone who watched over something or stands guard" (Cornell & Joaquim, 2007, p. 21). The Sentinels physically represented and embodied the silence they were trying to break to gain women's right to vote.

However, as the pressure of World War I began to weigh on the United States, the Sentinels' presence picketing the White House soon received negative attention from national news (Bernikow, 2004). Women were expected to be silent, supportive of the troops, not comment about foreign policy or President Wilson's administration, and not focus on their political aspirations, especially during wartime (Berkinow, 2004). On June 20, 1917, Lucy Burns debuted the "famous 'Russian' banner, accusing Wilson and American envoy Elihu Root of deceiving Russia – by claiming the United States a democracy" (Library of Congress, n.d.a, p. 14). Two days later, Burns was arrested with another woman, Katherine Morey. Their arrest became "the first time in the history of this country when American suffragists have been placed on trial for carrying banners for propaganda purposes" (Anonymous, 1917b, p. 8). Officially, the District of Columbia police arrested the "suffragists on charges of 'obstructing traffic'" (Cornell & Joaquim, 2007, p. 21). This event became the catalyst for the future arrests of hundreds of women throughout the following months for obstructing traffic, with some being sentenced to jail time or fined.

This incident lays essential groundwork for the future arrests of suffragists, their imprisonment, eventual hunger strikes, and force-feedings. Before I begin analyzing their body rhetoric, I will describe the broader context for their strategies. I will first focus on Alice Paul's connection to hunger strikes and the experience of being forcibly fed within the British suffrage movement. Next, I will turn to the 1913 suffrage parade as a form of protest using bodies to occupy public spaces. Finally, I will provide additional background information related to the suffragists' picketing that led to their arrests.

British Suffragettes, Hunger Strikes, and Force-Feeding

Upon returning to the U.S. from being abroad in Britain, Alice Paul wanted to revitalize the efforts to pass women's suffrage along with other American suffrage leaders like Lucy Burns. They broke with the more traditional aspects of the movement, like the efforts made by Susan B. Anthony to testify in "respectful hearings before congress" (Adickes, 2002, p. 676). Paul and Burns' strategies and tactics are often framed as more militant (Adickes, 2002; Hawranick, Doris, & Daugherty, 2008; Stillion Southard, 2007). While Paul and Burns were not the only leaders essential to the suffrage movement, they have a particular link to force-feeding. They are often credited as key strategists for hunger strikes and alternative forms of suffrage protesting. Where did they learn to hunger strike? Here, a turn to a brief history of the hunger strike and Paul's participation in the British suffrage movement is helpful.

Hunger Strikes

Many sources discussing forms of in-prison protests refer to hunger strikes as a popular tactic (Hauser, 1997; Howarth, 2012; Kanaboshi, 2014; Larkin, 1991; O'Hearn, 2009; Passmore, 2014). Hunger strikes are seen as an act to “achieve particular political ends” while imprisoned (Howarth, 2012, para. 18). They can be interpreted as “essentially an act of self-destruction” that “raises ethical issues over whether or not doctors or the state should intervene to save a life for humanitarian or political reasons” (Howarth, 2012, para. 8). Hauser (1997) explains how “prisoners often find the body as their rhetorical means of last resort, but often also their most (perhaps only) effective rhetorical weapon to confront and best the state” (p. 250). The hunger strike becomes a tactic that imprisoned individuals can adopt to generate agency (Kanaboshi, 2014). Additionally, hunger strikes have been utilized by several imprisoned groups in places including India, the Soviet Union, Ireland, England, Chile, the United States, and South Africa (Filippi, 2016; Hauser, 1997; Jorgensen-Earp, 1999; Kanaboshi, 2014; Miller, 2009; O’Hearn, 2009; Passmore, 2014). It becomes clear that hunger strikes are a form of in-prison protest not unique to the suffrage movement.

It is noteworthy that most of the sources cited above reference political prisoners who use hunger strikes to further advocate for their cause. For example, imprisoned Mapuche people in Chile used hunger strikes to indicate and highlight the oppression they face historically, culturally, and societally (Passmore, 2014). Irish political prisoners similarly used hunger strikes as a form of resistance (O’Hearn, 2009). Women in South Africa turned to hunger strikes from 1970 to 1994 to generate "visibility in the public sphere of political female prisoners' protests against Apartheid" (Filippi, 2016, p. 446). The British and American suffrage movements also adopted hunger strikes while imprisoned and used this strategy to argue for the need to grant women the right to vote (Adickes, 2002; Geddes, 2008; Stillion Southard, 2007; Williams, 2008). Multiple groups have used hunger strikes throughout history as an in-prison protest.

The reasons offered for using this strategy seem in line with British suffragists' actions and their accounts of using the strategy. Therefore, it is vital to turn to British suffragettes' use of hunger strikes. We can trace Alice Paul's experience participating in hunger strikes while imprisoned in Britain to her adoption of the strategy in the United States. When understanding British suffragettes' use of hunger strikes, there is a meaningful connection to Russian prisoners. In 1878, Russian male prisoners imprisoned by the tsarist regime used hunger strikes to protest the conditions of their arrests (Grant, 2011). The use of hunger strikes to further their cause and protest their oppression became lauded as an appropriate response and "transformed the hunger strike into a global phenomenon" (Grant, 2011, p. 115).

Because of the political tension at the time between Russia and Britain, reports of the Russian prisoners' hunger strikes were received sympathetically in the British news. This is noteworthy because Marion Wallace Dunlop, the first British suffragette to hunger strike, was most likely familiar with the idea of the hunger strike, with news going so far as to say that she adopted the Russian method of hunger strikes (Grant, 2011). Dunlop was arrested and sent to Holloway Prison, where they refused to acknowledge her as a political prisoner. Miller (2016) explains, "entirely on her own initiative, Marion decided that she would refuse to eat until her demands were met. She found herself released from Holloway after just four days. Prison staff feared that she might otherwise starve" (p. 39). While Dunlop's release was positive for suffrage, it also led to several discussions about her actions and implications for future inmates' use of hunger strikes.

As more British suffragettes began hunger striking, more attention was given to their actions which led to public deliberation about the strategy. There were debates about whether "the simple act of refusing to eat was undermining the workings of the prison and judicial system" (Miller, 2016, p. 39). Additionally, some people were concerned that other prisoners with convictions for charges of being sex offenders and murderers would refuse to eat to seek early release (Miller, 2016). The argument was that hunger strikes created a scenario where prison officials had to respond or risk the prisoner dying from starvation. This explains one justification that led to force-feeding British suffragettes rather than responding to hunger strikes with early release.

Suffragettes turned to hunger strikes as an embodied strategy to argue in ways their words alone were incapable of doing. The suffragettes' actions "to abstain from eating were premeditated, deliberate, and political" (Miller, 2016, p. 40). Further, fellow suffragettes saw the ability to endure the hunger strikes as "an indication of moral strength, not mental weakness" (Miller, 2016, p. 40). The protest became a way for women to reclaim their agency and highlight that they needed the right to vote; their treatment was a political issue. Thus, the use of hunger strikes continued within American suffrage and Paul's adoption of this form of in-prison protest. However, the strategy did not have the intended outcomes. Hunger strikes led to the rise of force-feedings as a way for the prison officials, and by default, the government, to reassert their dominance over women (Ford, 1991). How was force-feeding the preferred solution to the suffragists' hunger strikes? A history of force-feeding helps to answer this question.

Force-Feeding

Working knowledge of the history of force-feeding, how it was framed within a medical context, and how it became associated with the British suffrage movement is an important next step to understanding how force-feeding was used on American suffragists. So, where does this history of force-feeding begin?

Records of force-feeding date back to Ancient Egypt (Williams, 2008). Despite its long history, it was not adopted as a common practice until the 1800s, most notably in France and Britain, where it was used on patients imprisoned or institutionalized with mental illness (Williams, 2008). Philippe Pinel, a widely known psychiatrist in late-eighteenth-century France, offered what would become a popular justification for force-feeding (Miller, 2016). He argued that "hunger could have a disastrous effect on the mind" and, therefore, his patients needed to be well-nourished (as cited in Miller, 2016, p. 38). This need led to the practice of feeding patients using elastic tubes in French asylums. Force-feeding "became established as a standard therapeutic practice for halting starvation" (Miller, 2016, p. 38). The force-feeding technique evolved throughout the nineteenth century regardless of reservations surrounding the practice.

The specific practice of force-feeding varied depending on the tools and doctors, but it typically involved tubes being inserted in patients' noses or mouths down their esophagus to their stomachs with warm liquids being administered through a funnel-like instrument. While this practice can be seen as horrific and inhumane, few medical accounts critiqued the method and questioned its application during the 1800s. Instead, medical professionals claimed, "the procedure was at worst unpleasant and at best an indispensable life-saving measure" (Williams, 2008, p. 138). To further justify this practice, doctors would speak about patients in the past tense to distance themselves and reaffirm the perceived benefits to the patients in asylums and deemed mentally ill. In other words, their reasoning suggested that patients could not make sound judgments and needed to be forcibly fed to be kept alive.

Complementary to claims that force-feeding was a biological necessity, Miller (2009) explains the practice as it relates to discussions about innovations in British medicine, namely the stomach tube. The stomach tube was connected to "scientific accuracy and engagement with technological innovations" (Miller, 2009, p. 345). This advancement led to the stomach tube's adoption as a method of force-feeding. The use of testing new technology on patients in asylums was further justified by its projected ability to advance medical practices. As the technique was being developed, animal testing and force-feeding animals created a controversy. It led people to question when humans might become "the object of scientific inquiry and become subject to the modern medical professional's seemingly apparent disregard for the basic, long-standing principles of humanity and compassion" (Miller, 2009, p. 353). Despite this pushback from select medical professionals regarding animal testing, forced feeding was still practiced for roughly 50 years before suffragettes were inflicted with this procedure (Geddes, 2008). Force-feeding became associated with the British suffrage movement in 1909, which raised public awareness of the practice and is reflected in how the treatment was rhetorically framed.

British suffragettes were arrested for vandalism and destroying property by throwing bricks through windows and setting fires in empty government offices to protest for women's right to vote (Geddes, 2008). However, forcibly feeding suffragettes was not common practice or initially used to torture imprisoned women. Instead, the suffragettes participated in hunger strikes to protest their arrests, and force-feeding became justified to keep them alive. As previously mentioned, Marion Wallace Dunlop, the first British suffragette arrested to practice a hunger strike, was released within a few days because prison officials could not make her eat (Geddes, 2008). However, as more women began adopting the strategy of hunger strikes:

> The Home Office became concerned that early release made a mockery of sentencing and decided that it would no longer release hunger strikers, with the result that prison officers found themselves having little option but to feed them. (Geddes, 2008, p. 80)

The tension between suffragettes and prison officials marked the beginning of the political struggle between these groups, with medical professionals mainly remaining silent on the dangers of force-feeding.

Unlike the doctors performing force-feedings in asylums, force-feedings of suffragettes had “to be carried out twice a day by relatively inexperienced prison medical officers, on struggling women who were not ill” (Geddes, 2008, p. 82).[1] The options for force-feeding included being forcibly fed through the nose, stomach, or rectum, as these were common practices in hospitals (Miller, 2016). “[N]asal tubes were generally less intrusive than stomach tubes, although the more invasive stomach tube was the preferred technology of feeding” for suffragettes (Miller, 2016, p. 42). It was determined by prison officials that "issues of feminine delicacy and decorum indicated that feeding via the mouth or nose would remain the most appropriate treatment" (Miller, 2016, p. 45). This decision was made in opposition to exposing women's bodies to male and female officials through rectal forcible feeding. With these discussions out of the way, the set course of force-feeding suffragettes through the nose or stomach was decided by the prison officials and associated doctors.

There were various perspectives on the necessity and practice of force-feeding surrounding British suffragettes, including the government, prison officials, doctors aligned with the prisons, suffragettes themselves, and suffrage supporters against force-feeding. For example, force-feeding was framed by government officials as beneficial to the women’s health because they needed food to survive and were intentionally harming themselves by refusing to eat. The government “portrayed force-feeding as therapeutic, not penal, as an indispensable life-saving mechanism. In its view, 'artificial feeding' was safe, humane, and ethically uncomplicated; it was required to save the lives of suicidal women" (Miller, 2016, p. 42). The idea was that women were trying to kill themselves slowly by refusing to eat and that the prison had an obligation to intervene and maintain the lives of these women as was their duty. It is also noteworthy that the government preferred to use the term "artificial feeding" when referring to force-feeding, which is not a term that seemed to have caught on. The Home Office was mostly concerned with "exempting itself from legal action" (Miller, 2016, p. 59). Similarly, politicians had little sympathy when hearing stories of force-feeding, and in one instance, literally laughed at the accounts. For example, "when it was reported in the House of Commons in August 1912 that a woman had been discharged after becoming hysterical during a feeding, universal laughter followed" (Miller, 2016, p. 54). It became clear that the government was not taking steps to intervene or question the practice of force-feeding writ large for suffragettes.

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[1] I am not suggesting that patients in the asylums were actually ill due to their mental illness or deserved to be force-fed. Instead, I am working within the logic and sources from this time regarding the treatment of the patients in asylums as incapable of making their own decisions for themselves and their bodies.

Notably, even though doctors performed these force-feedings, most did not speak out publicly about force-feeding. An exception was William Cassels, the doctor performing many of the force-feedings of suffragettes (Miller, 2016). When asked how force-feedings could be justified given the health problems associated with the practice, he explained that these negative effects were caused simply because the suffragette struggled. Cassels said, "he was merely attempting to perform his medical duties in the face of recalcitrant, hostile, and uncooperative prisoners" (as cited in Miller, 2016, p. 45). After these comments were publicly released, several people began protesting in front of his house and threatening him (Miller, 2016).

This tension between the government, prison officials, and doctors not condemning force-feeding led to questioning the "overarching presence of the state at the back of these decisions" and how much power or persuasion the state had over the prison medical practice

(Miller, 2016, p. 43). A focus of the conversation surrounding force-feeding centered on if it was ethical or not. Namely, it raised concerns about "the willingness of the state to use prison medicine to help tackle political dissidence by enforcing physical and psychological discipline" (Miller, 2016, p. 46). There was tension between the prison, their role in enforcing the state's decisions on political prisoners, and suffragettes.

The claims above suggest force-feeding was necessary and caused little harm unless the patient struggled or was not cooperative. The reality was drastically detrimental to women's health. The consequences of force-feeding were various, including damage to teeth and the nose, liquid getting in the airways causing pneumonia, gastrointestinal symptoms, and psychological issues, to name a few. After learning of the suffragettes' treatment, many publications called the practice torture. They explained the horrific conditions suffragettes faced, but senior doctors still did not publicly condemn it for years to come (Geddes, 2008). An interesting rhetorical move was to discuss the suffragettes' treatment and force-feeding in similar ways as animal testing.

As British women were released and began publicizing their treatment, they portrayed themselves “just like the laboratory animal, as flogged and beaten, with their own condition hideously and accurately embodied in the figure of an animal bound to a table by straps with the vivisector’s knife at work on its flesh” (Miller, 2009, p. 363). This rhetorical strategy continually framed the women as being treated like animals and victims of an abusive system and government. Further, Miller (2016) explains:

> Suffragettes portrayed their force-fed bodies as being battered, assaulted, and harmed in an orgy of prison violence. In doing so, they evoked a crisis in professional conduct. They raised the spectres [sic] of medical torture, the politicisation [sic] of prison medicine, and the overruling of patient autonomy. (p. 36)

Force-feeding raised questions about not only the government’s involvement but also the intentional torture of imprisoned women.

In retelling their treatment being force-fed, many suffragettes, like Hannah Sheppard, Helen Liddle, and Lillian Lenon, “maintained that medical staff had eagerly (rather than reluctantly) tortured and degraded them” to “rectify deviant behaviour [sic] and punish prisoners who refused to conform” (Miller, 2016, p. 47). Those against force-feeding and suffragettes that endured the procedure spoke vehemently against this procedure. It was highly dangerous, caused severe health and mental complications, and more. From these accounts, force-feeding can be understood as torture and barbaric, which anti-force-feeding activists supported at the time.

Activists focused on the harm caused by prison officials and doctors and how the practice was inhumane and unethical. Lyttelton Forbes Winslow, a controversial psychiatrist, said it should only be used as a last resort; force-feeding is "an act of brutality beyond common endurance" (as cited in Miller, 2016, p. 44). Frank Moxon, a physician, and British suffragist sympathizer, voiced concerns about the “relationship between the state and prison doctors” and “sought to re-establish autonomy in medical decision-making to protect vulnerable patients” (Miller, 2016, p. 36). These are two examples that illustrate the few medical professionals at the time speaking out against force-feeding suffragettes. The public similarly “felt horrified at the idea of defenceless [sic] women being tortured in penal institutions” (Miller, 2016, p. 36). These conversations were happening publicly about force-feeding within the context of British suffrage.

At the time, force-feeding was justified as punishment because women’s role was not participating in politics or public, making their arrests and eventual torture warranted. This continual struggle between suffragettes and prison and government officials was framed as a political struggle for power around the topic of voting. Despite the real, lived, and horrific treatment of the force-fed women, the focus on the effects and the practice of hunger strikes are mostly disassociated from discussions of the body. Or, if the body was mentioned, force-feeding was presented as a medical necessity. And yet, these conversations about force-feeding British suffragettes were "played out directly on the female body" (Miller, 2016, p. 56). The practice of force-feeding suffragettes cannot be separated from its intersection between the body, medicine, and institutions in power.

The British suffrage movement, their strategies and techniques, leaders, and more helped to influence American suffragists. Specifically, Alice Paul is often credited with adopting her use of hunger strikes from British suffragists, like Emmeline Pankhurst, and Paul herself was arrested and force-fed three times during her participation in the British suffrage movement (Adickes, 2002; Hawranick, Doris, & Daugherty, 2008; Stillion Southard, 2007; Trecker, 1972). Paul was certainly familiar with experiencing this form of torture and probably also with the arguments and deliberation surrounding hunger strikes and force-feeding British suffragettes. Therefore, it is vital to understand the practice of force-feeding, how it intersected with British suffrage, and how it was rhetorically framed to understand the depictions of force-feeding and its influence on U.S. suffragists. However, before American suffragists imitated their British counterparts by using hunger strikes, they used other forms of body rhetoric.

The 1913 Suffrage Parade

On the day before President Woodrow Wilson's first inauguration in 1913, women and suffragists ranging from five thousand to ten thousand gathered on Pennsylvania Avenue in a parade (Finneman, 2018; Lumsden, 2000). These women were "perched on dozens of floats, rode gleaming horses, marched in contingents decked out in color-coordinated uniforms, and lofted a kaleidoscope of banners” (Lumsden, 2000, p. 595). As an organizer of the parade, Alice Paul sought to make suffrage visible by placing women in public occupying the streets, places not traditionally “fit” for women. In doing so, these suffragists risked their reputations as being seen as unwomanly, but also their physical safety by placing their bodies in vulnerable positions. An attack did occur when a violent mob of men intercepted the women’s protest and “acted as if it had license to touch the women” (Lumsden, 2000, p. 597). During the parade, suffragists aimed to find a balance between illustrating they could participate in public while also appealing to men, whose votes they needed in support of suffrage (Lumsden, 2000). The mob’s intervention brought more attention to the suffrage parade and their aim at increasing awareness, including media coverage of the event and a senate hearing (Lumsden, 2000). Without this extra attention, the 1913 parade may not have had as significant an impact or had as much coverage of the event.

Approaching suffrage parades as a rhetorical strategy that placed physical bodies in the streets focuses on how suffragists’ bodies were used to persuade and challenge notions of femininity. Then the women's presence on the roads visually symbolized "woman suffragists' contestation of their prescribed societal roles" (Borda, 2002, p. 26). In other words, their participation in the physical form of parades operated as a means of persuasion to show that women could “perform their civic duties as equal citizens” (Borda, 2002, p. 32). The parades utilized multiple mediums, including posters, banners, and speeches; “as a tactic of resistance, however, the parade form itself may have served as the women’s greatest argument” (Borda, 2002, p. 35). The suffragists’ use of these various rhetorical actions helped create a clear picture of the suffragists' and organizers' goals to increase public deliberation about the need to pass suffrage.

However, the 1913 parade is not without its limitations in public response and in the voices and women invited to participate. There was backlash regarding women's presence in public and, despite the intent of keeping the topic of suffrage current, the reality of the press coverage was mixed at best. There were also arguments that the parades put "the female body on prominent display – the women themselves were the parades' most spectacular visual props" (Borda, 2002, p. 44). This framing enabled people to discredit the seriousness of the suffragists' attempts by relegating them to a spectacle. Despite the mixed reviews, the intent of the parade was to "stimulate the eyes and the mind would soon follow, ultimately causing people to really consider votes for women" (Borda, 2002, p. 47). The embodied strategy of placing women's bodies in public as a persuasive tool is useful when considering hunger strikes and the subsequent force-feedings and how their bodies became arguments for suffrage.

Within the context of the 1913 parade, it is essential to note that Paul "refused to invite African-American groups to march because she wanted to retain the focus on suffrage" (Lumsden, 2000, p. 599). The implication was that having Black women participate would cause the focus to shift to race over white women's right to vote. Further, Ida B. Wells-Barnett was "ordered by parade officials to leave the Illinois contingent and march with other African-American women. Eastern and southern women had threatened to boycott the parade if Barnett marched with white women" (Lumsden, 2000, p. 599). Dozens of African American women participated in the parade and other protests, but no official offers were made to African American women's organizations to participate (Hawranick, Doris, & Daugherty, 2008). This exclusion of women of color is not unique to the suffrage parades. Several scholars and writers highlight the exclusion of Black women's role and racism in the suffrage movement, both historically and in research surrounding the suffrage movement (Epps & Warren, 2020; Jones, 2020; Logan, 1995; Palczewski, 2016; Staples, 2019; Sundaramoorthy & Broussard, 2020; Terborg-Penn, 1998, 2020; Tetrault, 2014).

The 1913 parade was typical of suffrage parades; suffrage parades took place in other locations like New York City in 1912 and 1915 (Rhodes 2020; Stevens, 1995). The 1912 parade in New York City relied on similar strategies of women marching and embodying their ability to participate in politics. Additionally, the performative and symbolic aspects of the 1912 parade relied on popular suffrage imagery. Inez Milholland led the parade on her horse, representing "distinct cultural echoes of Joan of Arc…Militant, yet godly, the figure represented moral authority and suggested martyrdom for a righteous cause" (Stevens, 1995, p. 27). Three years later, there was another suffrage parade in New York City where thousands of women marched down Fifth Avenue (Rhodes, 2020). Whereas the 1913 parade and Paul made Black women march behind the white women, the 1915 suffrage parade was "was more fully integrated, which the New York Age took pains to point out" with Black women marching with women of various socioeconomic classes and white suffragists (Rhodes, 2020, p. 83). These parades shared the strategy of suffragists and their supporters gathering in large crowds and marching together to raise awareness for the suffrage cause.

The parades occurred before suffragists participated in hunger strikes. However, it provides important contextual information about the connection between suffragists and their use of their bodies. The purpose of these parades was two-fold. On a material level, suffragists enacted physical strength in marching and showed their ability to act collectively. Their common goal was to pass suffrage and increase visibility and support for the movement. On a symbolic level, suffragists illustrated that they could both act politically in public and still appear conventionally modest and feminine through their presence, appearances, and messages. The suffragists reached audiences both in-person at the parade and mediated audiences through the news coverage and senate hearing. The women used their bodies to march in groups, hold banners, ride horses, give speeches, and more. These rhetorical strategies differ from other tactics used by suffragists in written, visual, or mediated communication about suffrage. Therefore, the parade is an important example of the suffragists' use of their bodies to increase visibility and support for the right to vote. Interestingly, a similar type of embodied protest also led to their arrests, which I will explore in the following section.

Picketing and the Silent Sentinels

As previously stated, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns are often credited with leading the National Woman’s Party (NWP) to picket in front of the White House and President Wilson’s administration. Their strategy of picketing can be explained through their use of silence, signs, and presence to confront the need to pass suffrage (Stillion Southard, 2007). There was a performative aspect to their choice to protest in front of the White House. The suffragists violated the norm that women should be silent and stay out of politics to transform their silence into agency to protest and present their arguments to pass suffrage visibly. But what events led to the picketing?

The suffragists’ “goal was to convince President Woodrow Wilson to support publicly an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would guarantee a woman’s right to vote” (Women’s Suffrage Celebration Coalition, 2021). The Silent Sentinels became frustrated with the lack of support at the state level for their appeals. Due to their lack of success, the women of the NWP decided to take their demands to the federal level and argue for a federal suffrage amendment (Library of Congress, 2021). The organization believed that the last solution to influence a change was to take their fight and arguments to the White House and the president. In other words, “after nearly four years of lobbying, petitioning, parading, and engaging in one clever publicity stunt after another, Alice Paul and several key members...felt that their tactics were growing stale and ineffective” (Library of Congress, 2021). Therefore, Paul and other members of the NWP escalated their strategy to picketing the White House.

On January 9, 1917, a group of suffragists met with President Wilson, which resulted in the suffragists being dismissed (Library of Congress, 2021). Their dismissal became the determining factor that led to the picketing in front of the White House, which the NWP began exactly one day after the meeting with President Wilson. The Silent Sentinels protested in front of the White House and held signs with several messages for the president. The “demonstrators became a peculiar kind of tourist attraction in Washington, objects of admiration, curiosity, - or outrage” (Lavender & Lavender, 2003, p. 33). There was awareness about the Silent Sentinels at this time, but there was little controversy surrounding their actions. The women took turns protesting, dressed similarly, held banners, and wore purple and yellow sashes that worked to create a shared identity of the NWP and its goal to seek “political voice through the right to vote” (Stillion Southard, 2007, p. 402). They urged their audience of the president and the public to see the need to pass a federal suffrage amendment through their presence and arguments on their signs.

Like their previous strategies to raise awareness for suffrage, the Silent Sentinels made little progress in influencing a change in policy during the first several months of picketing. It was not until the pressure of World War I weighed on the United States that the Silent Sentinels' presence in front of the White House became national news. Specifically, the Silent Sentinels did not stop protesting and "refused to step aside or muffle their demands" (Bernikow, 2004). Their refusal to stop picketing invited criticisms of being unpatriotic and unwomanly. Not only were the women publicly involved in politics, but also, they were accused of protesting the troops and the president. Further, despite their previous signs and banners that were more generically about women's right to vote, the Silent Sentinels double-downed their picketing tactics. Their messages began directly attacking President Wilson.

Lucy Burns and Katherine Morey were arrested for their banner, as mentioned in the introduction, on charges of "obstructing traffic" (Cornell & Joaquim, 2007, p. 21). The suffragists arrested were often framed as "lunatics" to show “how very ‘unnatural’ these strong-willed women were thought to be. As unfeminine women crazies, they were dismissible, but since they were also ‘treasonous,’ it called for governing authorities to use oppressive measures” (Ford, 1991, p. 156). Framing the suffragists in these ways gave officials the backing they needed to charge these women and sentence them to jail time.

There were multiple arrests of picketers from June through November 1917. However, the Silent Sentinels came in direct contact with the Occoquan Workhouse when Alice Paul was arrested and sentenced to the District Jail in Washington, D.C. along with fellow suffragist Rose Winslow on October 20th, 1917. Both women went on hunger strikes to protest their special treatment that was not accessible to other imprisoned suffragists (The Washington Post, 1917a). They were forcibly fed and news of their torture was leaked to the press and the public. In response, Lucy Burns and other suffragists continued to picket the White House to demand Paul and Winslow’s release and escalated their messages attacking President Wilson. The women were also arrested but instead sentenced to the Occoquan Workhouse because it was located 21 miles from the White House and further removed from Washington, D.C. (Stevens, 1995). It is there that Burns went on the hunger strike that led to her eventual force-feeding as well.

Therefore, we come full circle in exploring how suffragists used their bodies in multiple forms of protest that led to their eventual hunger strikes while imprisoned. By picketing and placing their bodies in front of the White House, they willingly undertook the risk of being arrested within the precedent set by arresting Lucy Burns for her banner criticizing the Wilson Administration. Once imprisoned, suffragists faced horrific conditions, violence at the hands of prison officials, force-feeding, and more.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have provided the necessary backstory to theorize about force-feeding and hunger strikes. The questions become; how did the suffragists use their bodies to protest while imprisoned? How did their bodies generate rhetorical force? And what can it tell us about theorizing about the body in different ways? My project will explore these questions in the following chapters.

Chapter 4: Suffragist's Body Rhetoric and Embodied Protests

Following the arrests of Lucy Burns and Katherine Morey in June of 1917 for obstructing traffic, hundreds of suffragists were arrested on similar charges (Cornell & Joaquim, 2007). These arrests occurred between June and November of 1917. On October 20th, Alice Paul was arrested and sentenced to the District Jail in Washington, D.C. Along with fellow suffragist Rose Winslow, she went on a 72-hour hunger strike protesting specially prepared food for them that was not available to four other suffragists imprisoned (The Washington Post, 1917a). On November 8th, 1917, Winslow and Paul were forcibly fed "by means of a rubber tube inserted in their mouths" (The Washington Post, 1917a, para. 1). Dr. Gannon, chief resident at the jail, "declared that both Miss Paul and Miss Winslow took the treatment willingly and appeared to feel better after the feeding was over" (The Washington Post, 1917a, para. 3). After reading this report, suffragists scoffed at these remarks and declared that neither Paul nor Winslow would willingly consent to be force-fed. Doris Stevens recounts the suffragists' "answer to this policy was more women on the picket line on the outside and a protest on the inside of prison" (Stevens, 1995, p. 105).

Two days later, on November 10th, 1917, fellow National Woman's Party (NWP) leader Lucy Burns and several suffragists focused their picket outside of the White House on Paul's imprisonment, the horrific conditions she faced, and the inhumane treatment at the prison. The protest resulted in the arrests of 31 additional suffragists, including Burns, who faced jail sentences (Cornell & Joaquim, 2007). These women demanded that they "be considered political prisoners, a distinction that could possibly mean better treatment at the D.C. Jail instead of Occoquan," referring to the Occoquan Workhouse (McArdle, 2017). The suffragists believed "as a matter of principle, this was the dignified and self-respecting thing to do, since [they] had offended politically, not criminally" (Stevens, 1995, p. 105). Unfortunately, their request was denied, which led to the suffragists enduring "deplorable conditions" at the Workhouse ("About," 2018). These conditions included the prisoners holding "contests to count the number of maggots in their food" ("About," 2018). In addition, the cells were infested with rats, and the women were denied privacy when using the bathroom. According to Mary Winsor, an imprisoned suffragist, the food served was disgusting. She mentioned that:

> Out of these twenty-three times we found worms ten times – the largest collection of worms at one meal being fifteen worms. We had worms and rat dirt combined twice, and scorched oatmeal five times…During this period the meat was tainted or rancid seven times, and generally so tough that it could be chewed only with difficulty…Scarcely a night went by that some woman in our dormitory was not ill from constipation, pain in the stomach, vomiting, or diarrhea. (as cited in Anonymous, 1918, p. 6)

The suffragists argued these horrific conditions were not proper punishment for their political actions of seeking the right to vote through picketing. The political prisoner distinction is prominent in further discussions about the embodied experiences of hunger strikes and force-feedings. Further, there is much to unpack surrounding the rhetoric from suffrage advocates and their opponents in defining what bodies were meant to claim to be "political" prisoners versus "criminal" prisoners.

Seeing no other solution and facing imprisonment, the suffragists turned to the hunger strike. They "refused to eat until their political status was acknowledged" (Library of Congress, n.d.b). It was an intentional choice on the suffragists' part to call for political recognition first and foremost over livable/better conditions for all incarcerated women. Four days later, on November 14th, the suffragists endured what became known as the "Night of Terror." Suffragists "endured unspeakable torture and abuse at the hands of more than 40 prison officials and guards" during this one night (Strock, 2015). For example, the male guards "manacled the party's co-founder Lucy Burns by her hands to the bars above her cell and forced her to stand all night" (McArdle, 2017). One woman had "her arm twisted behind her back and was slammed twice over the back of an iron bench" (McArdle, 2017). Another suffragist was thrown "into a dark cell and smashed her head against an iron bed, knocking her out" (McArdle, 2017). Her cellmate believed the woman to be dead, which resulted in her heart attack, and she was not granted medical care until the following day (McArdle, 2017). The NWP blamed the Wilson Administration for the Night of Terror, lack of medical treatment, being denied their rights to a lawyer, and the denial to be recognized as political prisoners (Ford, 1991). The tension between the Wilson Administration, prison officials, the NWP, and their supporters continued.

Despite calls for change, the imprisoned suffragists continued to face harsh and inhumane conditions at the workhouse. *The Suffragist*, a publication released by the NWP, explained:

> These attempts at coercion women have met by superb resistance [sic]…the refusal to recognize the suffragists as political offenders led to protest after protest on their part within the jail and finally brought the strongest protest in the hands of any prisoner – the hunger strike. (Anonymous, 1917c, p. 8)

The women were constrained by their imprisonment. In response, the suffragists sought strategies to continue protesting, which led to hunger strikes and force-feedings. Both of those experiences are inextricably linked to the suffragists' bodies.

How did suffragists use their bodies as material and symbolic resources to protest? To address the question, I discuss (a) their embodied actions and (b) talk about their bodies. I use these materials to explain the numerous ideologies surrounding women and their bodies and the complex contexts suffrage supporters and their opponents leveraged, challenged, and/or reified. I argue the women leveraged their body rhetoric, through picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings, to enact that they were deserving of the right to vote. In doing so, suffragists held audiences accountable, namely the public and Wilson Administration, to recognize their efforts and rights as citizens in a democratic society. To support this argument, I will first cover the body heuristic I use as a method in this chapter and discuss the numerous texts I explore. Then, I analyze four separate events that included suffragists using their body rhetoric as material and symbolic resources to protest: picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feeding of suffragists. Finally, I discuss some overarching themes from the analysis to speak to the implications of using body rhetoric in protest and offer concluding remarks.

Methods

Following Endres and Senda-Cook's (2011) approach to place in protest, I adopt a "body-in-protest" heuristic to analyze suffragists' hunger strikes and experiences being forcibly fed. First, body-based arguments are instances in feminist protests where rhetors refer to bodies to support verbal arguments. Second, bodies-as-rhetoric includes material and symbolic uses of bodies in feminist protest rhetoric including acts of protest in the streets and in prison.

There are three ways bodies can act rhetorically to challenge and reify dominant ideologies. First, bodies can build on pre-existing meaning. Bodies can rely on pre-existing conceptions of race, gender, sexuality, ability, and more in protests to evoke connections and create new meaning. For example, the popular image of Inez Milholland in a white gown on a white horse at a 1913 suffrage parade evoked references to Joan of Arc and symbolism of "justice, liberty, and peace" (Parker, 2013). Another example is the suffrage movement's choice of gold and purple for their colors that built on the pre-existing meaning attached to the "much-publicized Kansas state suffrage campaign in 1867" (Stevens, 1995, p. 26). Second, bodies in feminist protest can temporarily reconstruct and challenge dominant meanings of bodies. For example, by participating in suffrage parades, suffragists' bodies challenged ideologies that women are physically and intellectually weak and not interested in politics (Borda, 2002). Third, bodies can change meaning through repeated reconstruction. As in the examples above, suffragists' use of their bodies to protest in parades and marches has associated particular bodies as resources to protest and create change within the context of suffrage.

Because bodies-as-rhetoric are performative, intersectional forms, as explored in chapter 2, comprising embodied and visual forms, and embodied and verbal forms, a wide range of texts are available for analysis and critique of power, hegemony, colonialism, and more (Conquergood 1998; Enck-Wanzer, 2006). My sources include verbal and visual representations of suffragists' bodies as rhetoric by suffrage advocates and as reported in news sources. Sources of suffrage advocates' representations of bodies-as-rhetoric include Doris Stevens' book, *Jailed for Freedom*, originally published in 1920 and edited by Carol O'Hare in 1995. Stevens was a suffragist and NWP member. Her book includes her memories and accounts of events as well as quotes from other suffragists and key members. In addition, the book *Iron Jawed Angels* explores the militant strategies of suffragists and includes quotations and images from the Library of Congress' materials on the NWP.[2] Further primary source material is available from online collections covering the NWP and women's suffrage movement, including images of suffragists in prison attire and descriptions of artifacts (buttons, leaflets, pins, and more) from the "prison special tour" (National Park Service, 2022). Finally, the National Woman's Party's (NWP) publication, *The Suffragist*, reported and republished news accounts of hunger strikes and force-feedings throughout the American suffrage movement.[3] Sources of national news coverage include: *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Tribune*.[4]

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[2] A trip to the Library of Congress was infeasible for this project due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

Analysis

To explain how the suffragists used their bodies as material and symbolic resources to protest, I describe their actions of picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings. I attend to how suffragists and their advocates used or evoked body rhetoric to challenge and/or reify dominant ideologies about women's bodies. Further, my analysis explores how opponents, namely prison officials, responded to suffragists' body rhetoric with violence and their embodiment of ideologies of dominance and control. The clash in ideologies between both parties demonstrates how bodies act rhetorically and are leveraged in various ways during embodied protests.

Picketing the White House

I analyze the suffragists' body rhetoric using three images of picketers. These images are representative of the suffragists' embodied strategies of picketing and are circulated in multiple sources about the National Woman's Party (NWP).[5] My analysis shows that body rhetoric is used to challenge and reify dominant ideologies. Suffragists' picketing was uniquely suited to enact and counter several claims against granting women the right to vote, including being too weak physically and intellectually, not politically motivated, unfeminine, and more. Their embodied picketing displayed the tension between finding agency and showing a lack of grounds for the dominant ideologies working against them. This contention is seen vividly in Figure 2.

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[3] I focus on the issues published in 1917, the year of hunger strikes and force-feedings at the Occoquan Workhouse. This newsletter cost 5 cents at the time, with 99 issues published in 1917, starting with issue 1. I was able to access almost every issue; some were not available online. Out of the 97 issues I could access for the year, only three issues (96-98) covered the suffragists' hunger strikes and their force-feedings specifically. For the issues that explicitly mention hunger strikes and force-feedings, the content the NWP published is very interesting given that there are no visual representations, and the mentions of the treatment suffragists endured are minimal.

[4] To access historical newspaper coverage of the hunger strikes and force-feedings, I limited my initial search to articles published in 1917, the same time frame that I used for *The Suffragist* and because it is the year the force-feedings took place at the Occoquan Workhouse. I found several articles related to "suffrage hunger strikes," "suffrage force-feeding," and "suffrage forcible feeding" that will be used throughout my analysis to illustrate public rhetoric about the suffragists' body rhetoric at the time.

[5] See Ford (1991), Stevens (1995), Library of Congress's *Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party* and *National Woman's Party Records*, and the Lucy Burns Museum to name a few.

Figure 2 illustrates the clashing of dominant ideologies picketers attempted to resist and challenge. The image captures the moment when two NWP members were arrested for picketing, and there is a clear distinction between the men and the suffragists depicted in the photo (see Figure 2).

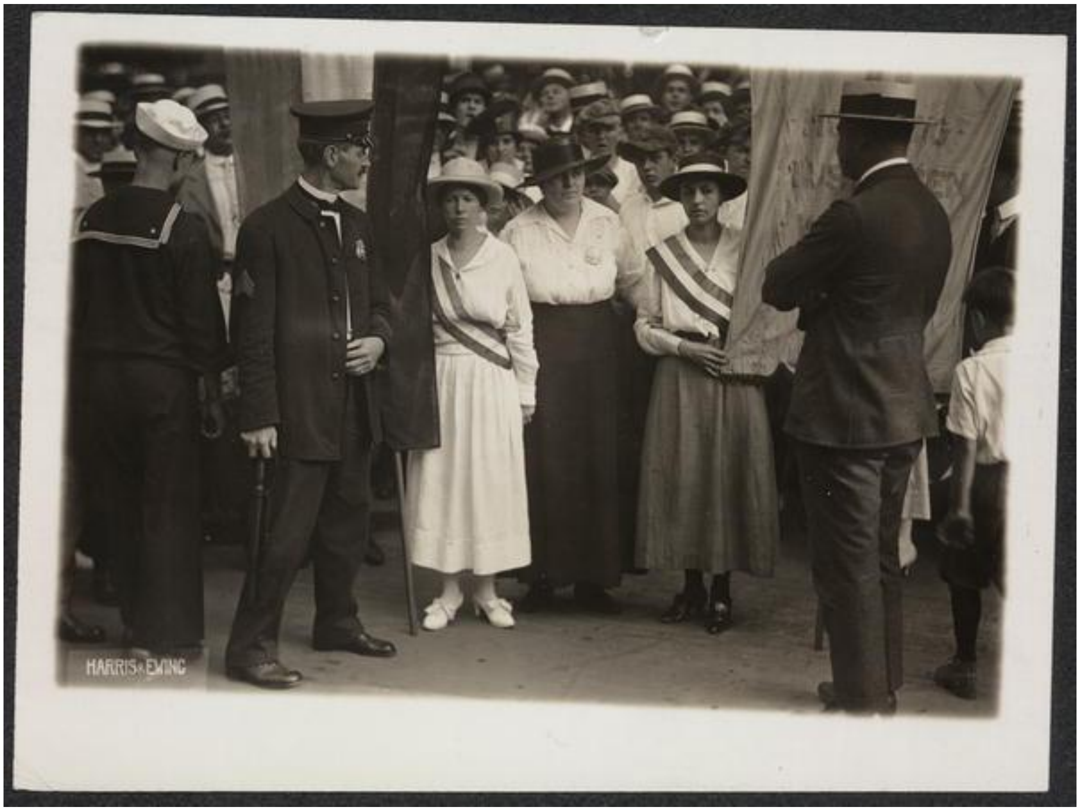

Figure 2: *Arrest of White House pickets Catherine Flanagan of Hartford, Connecticut (left), and Madeleine Watson of Chicago (right).* Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mnwp.160038

Here, the men's body rhetoric enacts dominant ideologies by displaying male public, political, and civic domination in multiple ways. For example, the sailor embodies an acceptable display of fighting for freedom and democracy through his service in the United States Navy, as indicated by his uniform. Given America was amid World War I, support for the government and the war and demonstrations of patriotism were expected. However, the suffragists' picketing challenged the dominant meanings of what actions were classified as patriotic. Women were expected to support the war efforts from home (Ford, 1991; Stillion Southard, 2007). Instead, suffragists' picketing, their rhetorical attacks on President Wilson, and their focus on their right to vote over supporting the war were all interpreted as unpatriotic (Stillion Southard, 2007). The women were called "treasonous" for their embodied protests in front of the White House (Ford, 1991, p. 156). Their actions were also described as "picketing warfare" and an "ineffectual attempt to outwit the police" (The New York Times, 1917a; The New York Tribune, 1917). Further, Figure 2 depicts this tension between the suffragists' views on patriotism (i.e., picketing, enacting their political voice, calling for liberty in the form of suffrage, and more) versus dominant meanings and accepted displays of patriotism like men enlisting and serving their country in the military.

Further, in Figure 2, the police officer embodies the threat of state violence and punishment for perceived crimes. In the image, Catherine Flanagan and Madeline Watson are being arrested by the police officer holding a baton. While he is not holding the weapon in a pose that suggests he is about to strike the women, the threat of violence is still present. The police officer embodies state-sanctioned discipline by physically removing the suffragists from their picketing location on charges of "obstructing traffic," "causing an unlawful assembly," and "violating an ordinance" (Trecker, 1972, p. 409). Symbolically, the image reifies dominant ideologies that a woman's place remains in the domestic sphere and out of politics. The public saw picketing "as an evidence of poor taste," "insult to the high office of the President," and "violent efforts" (The Washington Post, 1917b; The Washington Post, 1917c; The New York

Tribune, 1917). These terms imply negative public perceptions of the women's body rhetoric picketing, and while they do not specifically reference the women's perceived societal roles, they do frame the women's actions as improper. *The New York Tribune* (1917) argued:

> It is thought probable that picketing will be a thing of the past, at least, during the war, after a few more of the would-be militants suffer the unheroic fate their fellow standard bearers have met the last two days.

This quote references the arrests of suffragists for picketing and suggests the picketing would end because other women would not want to risk arrests. The dominant ideologies surrounding women's place in society further justified their removal from the public sphere and literal and symbolic silencing.

Finally, Figure 2 displays a man who enacts the ideology of male domination through his body language, crossed arms, and physically blocking the suffragists' path. The man is wearing a suit and fedora and standing with his back to the camera, making it impossible to identify him. However, this makes it simpler for him to stand in for the general male gaze to make moral judgments of the suffragists' actions. Along with the other men in the image, he enacts surveillance with his direct gaze. They relied on the ideologies that men made the decisions in society, and women were meant to be obedient and silent to pass judgment. Therefore, the men in the photo embody these ideologies through their body rhetoric and direct observation of the women's actions.

In contrast with the dominant ideologies depicted, the suffragists in Figure 2 display agency and push back against their perceived societal roles. Specifically, the suffragists counter claims that women could not act politically by coordinating in groups, organizing the protests, and enacting their constitutional right to assemble. The women in Figure 2 look straight ahead, refuse to return the gaze of onlookers, and, in doing so, do not recognize the men's legitimacy to judge their actions. Furthermore, the women show that they are not submissive to men by appearing self-assured, continuing to hold their picketing signs, and staying rooted firmly in their place. Through their body rhetoric, the suffragists directly challenged the dominant ideology that women could not take political action by displaying their efforts in organizing and coordinating their constitutional right to assemble and peacefully protest.

While interpreted by opponents of suffrage as treasonous, the picketing strategy was also used to challenge dominant meanings assigned to freedom. Specifically, suffragists frequently used claims to liberty to argue that a federal suffrage amendment was a just political cause. For example, Figure 3 shows Alison Turnball Hopkins holding a sign equating granting women the right to vote with liberty. Not only does her sign directly communicate her argument that women were being denied their rights by not being able to vote, but she embodies her right to protest peacefully. In these ways, Figure 3 is a prime example of "intersectional rhetoric" (Enck-Wanzer, 2006). In the photo, Hopkins uses embodied rhetoric by standing outside of the White House, holding her sign, and using picketing as a form of protest. However, she also uses verbal and visual rhetoric through her direct message on the sign. Her sign explicitly and overtly indicates the intended outcome of picketing, to gain the right to vote. Further, the sign vividly displays the connection between voting and a core American value of liberty. The American public could rely on pre-existing meanings of liberty, especially during wartime, to understand this argument. For example, dominant meanings of liberty were directly connected to the war effort through "liberty bonds." These bonds included messages encouraging Americans to display their liberty through monetary donations by purchasing bonds (Natanson, 2017).

Combined with Turnball's embodied strategy, her sign displays the connection between liberty and the necessity of women's suffrage.

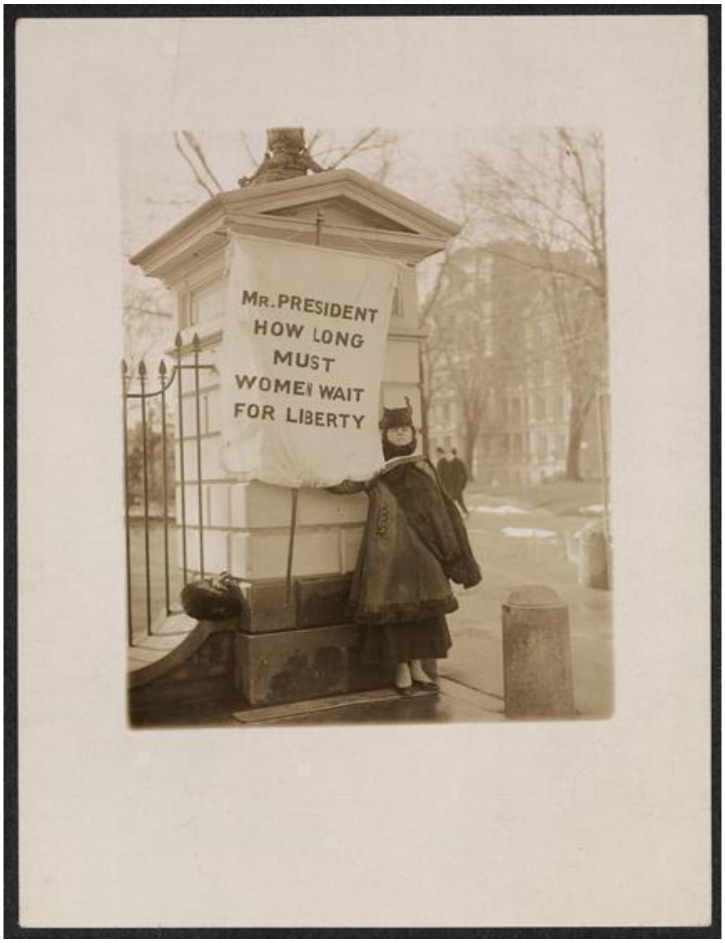

Figure 3: "*Silent Sentinel" Alison Turnball Hopkins at the White House on New Jersey Day.* Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mnwp.160

While suffragists relied on pre-existing meanings of liberty, they simultaneously challenged dominant ideologies that claimed women were too weak physically to have the right to vote. The suffragists' strength can be seen in Figure 3 as an example of the conditions encountered and withstood by picketers. *The Suffragist* reported that the women stood in the cold, rain, snow, and more for hours, with some suffragists camping out overnight (Anonymous, 1917d). Figure 3 displays these elements with what appear to be snowbanks in the background.

Further, Turnball is dressed in an overcoat, scarf, and hat, signaling the cold weather within which she protested.

Like the other suffragists picketing, Turnball displayed her strength by subjecting her body to these harsh conditions willingly and repeatedly. *The Suffragist* applauded the women's bravery and strength and worked to raise awareness for the strength needed to picket. One article exclaimed, "God bless the brave women who are daring, not alone wind and weather, but the ridicule and misapprehension of those women they are serving!" (Anonymous, 1917e). This quote acknowledges the strength needed and risks associated with placing their bodies outside and in public. Further, there were claims that the embodied nature of picketing revitalized support for the suffrage movement. Specifically, the suffragists were "willing to visualize the movement to the man and woman on the street through such appeals as the suffrage picket at the White House" (Anonymous, 1917f). In other words, the women's presence in public enacted their dedication and strength to onlookers walking near the White House.

Further, a song was published that suffragists sang while protesting at the White House. The lyrics said, "many of the pickets are weary tonight; wishing for the war to cease; many are the chilblains and frost-bites too; it is no life of ease" (Anonymous, 1917g, p. 5). Chilblains are "the painful inflammation of small blood vessels in your skin that occur in response to repeated exposure to cold but not freezing air" (Mayo Clinic, 2022, para. 1). Therefore, the song acknowledges the negative health consequences the suffragists experienced and their ability to endure near-freezing temperatures. The women literally enacted their strength and pushed back against the claims they were too weak to vote through their body rhetoric.

Finally, Figure 4 displays a group of suffragists challenging two other ideologies against granting women the right to vote: women were not interested in politics and were not smart enough. My analysis finds that the suffragists directly challenged these notions in two ways, as illustrated in the photo. First, a dominant ideology held that women were too intellectually weak to participate in politics. The women use their bodies to challenge this ideology. They display that they are capable and educated by wearing sashes with the universities they attended and constraining onlookers from denying the women’s intelligence.

Second, the women’s body rhetoric embodied their political interest by showing them participating outside of a domestic context while remaining conventionally feminine. For example, Figure 4 shows the women participating in public, physically in front of the White House, while maintaining appearances for their socioeconomic backgrounds and privilege of higher education. In other words, their clothing choices, ability to attend college, and picketing all work to signal their interest in politics while maintaining their feminine values (i.e., being modest, non-confrontational, etc.).

Dominant ideologies and gender norms at the time demanded that women be non-violent. Therefore, the suffragists’ picketing embodied femininity while balancing the constraints they faced while attempting to show their political involvement. *The Suffragist* claimed that the picketing strategy is one “that men would not have done – that men would have not thought of” (Anonymous, 1917h, p. 9). The publication’s words were designed to show that these women took measures that set them apart in the male-dominated public sphere. Further, the NWP was known for strategies that were "consciously feminist and based in women's strength but were also determinedly 'womanly,' that is, non-violent, to provide a contrast with warlike 'male' values" (Ford, 1991, p. 7). Through their body rhetoric, suffragists demonstrated their political interest. At the same time, framing their actions in terms of gender (i.e., something that men would not do) reified gender norms. It created an “acceptable” and liminal space where suffragists could act politically in public and not be immediately dismissed for being too masculine or violent.

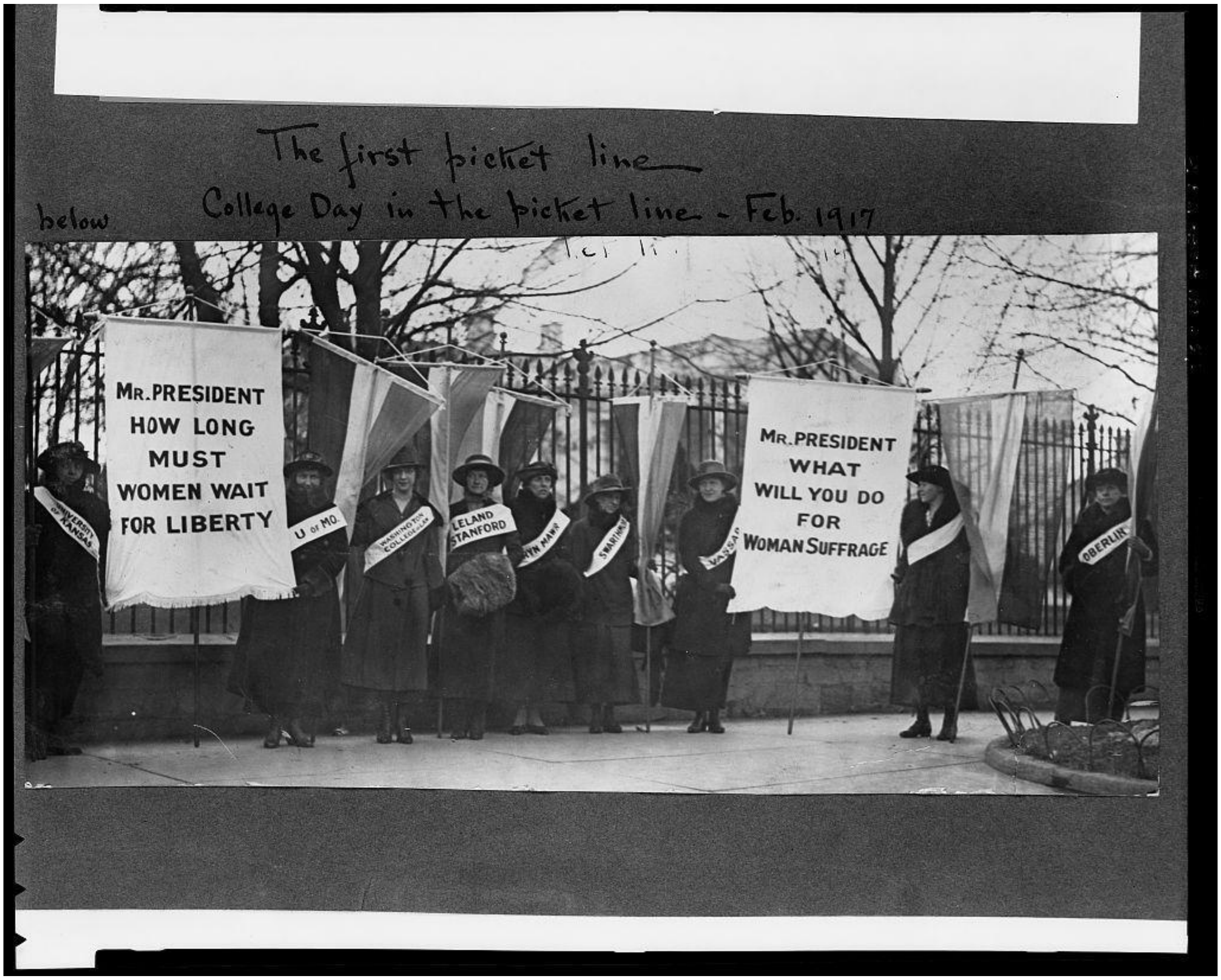
The first picket line
below
College Day in the picket line - Feb. 1917
MR. PRESIDENT HOW LONG MUST WOMEN WAIT FOR LIBERTY
UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
U OF MO.
WASHINGTON COLLEGE LAW
LELAND STANFORD
BRYN MAWR
SWARTHMORE
VASSAR
MR. PRESIDENT WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
OBERLIN

Figure 4: *The first picket line - College day in the picket line.* National Woman's Party Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. https://lccn.loc.gov/97500299

The suffragists’ rhetoric included performative elements to signal their feminine and political identities. They chose clothing expected of their social status, including dark suits, longer skirts, and hats (see Figures 3 and 4). Suffragists also added their signature purple and gold sashes to indicate their connection to the women’s suffrage movement (see Figures 2 and 4). Their attire worked on multiple rhetorical levels. On the one hand, their clothing signified a collective, political identity with other suffragists picketing and for onlookers to easily identify them. Combined with their embodied strategy of standing in front of the White House, these elements reinforced gender norms while simultaneously challenging ideologies that they could act politically.

On the other hand, their body rhetoric indicated the women's privilege, both economically and socially. All the suffragists depicted in Figures 2-4 are white women, some of whom are married and some that had the opportunity of attending college. Because of their privileged identities, the suffragists were able to use their attire, have the time and ability to protest, and employ the embodied strategy of picketing in ways that women of color, women from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, and other women could not. Further, picketing also addresses other factors such as ability, age, and more that potentially constrained women from picketing. However, suffragists found a strategy that allowed them to be seen as feminine and political through their embodied picketing.

The liminal space created by the suffragists' embodied rhetoric is further evident in suffragists' gendered use of silence while picketing. Figures 2-4 illustrate how the suffragists intentionally used silence. The women are not speaking in the images. Instead, their presence and signs do the rhetorical work. In these ways, the women violated the norm that women should be silent and stay out of politics to transform their silence into agency (Stillion Southard, 2007). Their embodied silence displayed that women were interested in political action and had the strength to participate. At the same time, the suffragists remained feminine by literally remaining silent and reifying the gender expectations of women being quiet and submissive.

My analysis of Figures 2-4 demonstrates the suffragists' use of body rhetoric to challenge and reify dominant ideologies. The images show how the women used their bodies to argue for suffrage through their presence, clothing choices, and picketing. They also relied on their signs, sashes, and press about their actions to contextualize their picketing strategy further. In doing so, the suffragists' found a niche to advocate for suffrage and embody many of the values for which they argued. However, it is noteworthy that the suffragists' embodied picketing led to their arrests and did not go unpunished. Despite the constraints of their incarceration, the suffragists continued to use body rhetoric to challenge and reify dominant ideologies surrounding imprisonment, gender roles, race, class, and more.

Imprisonment

Suffragists continued to demonstrate their strength and ability to act collectively and politically by refusing to pay the fines associated with their arrests, knowing that they would face 30 to 60 days in prison (Ford, 1991; Trecker, 1972). They believed that paying the fine would admit their guilt or concede too easily to the claims that they were criminals (Stevens, 1995). Their refusal led to their imprisonment and called for different embodied strategies. My analysis shows, along with similar displays of strength and collective political agency explored above, suffragists simultaneously challenged and reified ideologies surrounding being a prisoner. I illustrate how suffragists employed body rhetoric to challenge and reify dominant ideologies throughout their imprisonment and how prison officials responded with violence.

First, I turn to how the suffragists continued to push back against claims that women were not strong enough to vote. As a show of their strength, suffragists explicitly expressed that they were not afraid of being imprisoned or the violence they would endure. For example, Mrs. Mary Nolan, a 73-year-old NWP member, was arrested along with the others for picketing. Shockingly, it is recorded that the judge presiding over the case specifically encouraged her to pay the fine because he did not want her to die in prison (Stevens, 1995). The judge recognized the harm and risks associated with imprisoning these women and acknowledged that violence in prison was expected. Regardless, Nolan refused to pay the fine. She expressed that she was willing to risk her life for suffrage and that if her nephew could endanger his life fighting in the war, then her suffrage cause was no different (Stevens, 1995). Her arguments directly challenged the claims that women were not "tough" enough to be involved in politics by willingly undertaking the risks of experiencing violence in prison. Further, there is an additional connection to suffragists' acts of protest as a patriotic duty that was not treasonous as officials suggested with their arrests. In this sense, Nolan challenged dominant meanings associated with women's strength.

Suffragists continued to demonstrate their strength once they were sentenced and incarcerated. An example of their explicit mention of their strength is in the songs they sang while imprisoned. One song included the following lyrics:

> We'll not get out on bail,
> Go to jail, go to jail – we'll not get out on bail,
> Go to jail
> We'll not get out on bail,
> We prefer to go to jail,
> We prefer to go to jail – we're not frail. (Anonymous, 1917g, p. 4)

Here, suffragists call direct attention to their bodies' ability to endure their sentences in prison. Further, these lyrics demonstrate the collective political action taken by the suffragists. They frame their imprisonment as a choice they made willingly versus paying the fines to avoid jail time. In doing so, suffragists enact both their strength and ability to act politically, challenging the dominant ideologies that suggested otherwise.

The suffragists continued to illustrate their strength by circulating images of women in prison uniforms. These images encourage viewers to acknowledge the lengths that suffragists would go to for women's suffrage. For example, Figure 5 shows NWP leader Lucy Burns imprisoned.

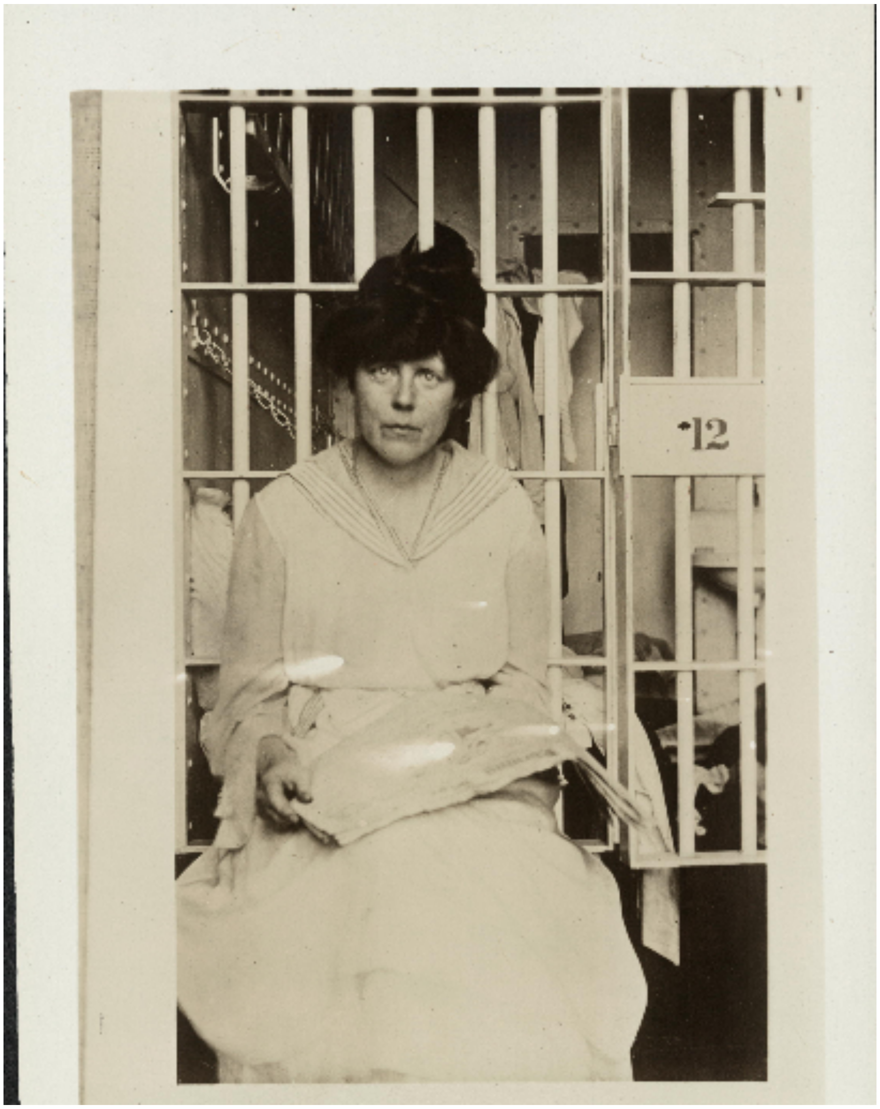

Figure 5: *Miss [Lucy] Burns in Occoquan Workhouse, Washington*. Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mnwp.274009

Lucy Burns appears in her prison attire, with her hair up in a bun, holding a newspaper, and sitting outside a cell door with the number 12. It is noteworthy that this image shows her outside of her actual prison cell (Stevens, 1995, p. 107).[6] Despite her imprisonment, Burns looks right at the camera and shows that she is staying informed by reading the newspaper, indicating her intelligence as well as her strength. Through her body rhetoric in the photo, Burns enacts her strength by showing that she can endure her imprisonment as a key leader of the National Woman's Party (NWP). Also, she uses her experience to raise awareness for the suffrage movement by making the photo public. Her photo suggests that she was not hesitant to share that she was imprisoned for the just, political cause of suffrage.

Another image of a suffragist in prison attire embodies similar strength through the woman's body language and the circulation of the image. In Figure 6, Abby Scott Baker appears in prison attire. Like Burns, she looks right at the camera with a self-assured gaze. In other words, she does not appear ashamed of her position in prison but rather determined. This claim aligns with the suffragists' use of prison attire, wearing pins, and recreating their imprisonment as embodied rhetorical strategies they employed after they were released. For example, a NWP bulletin explained, "those who had been jailed previously, and were willing to face imprisonment again put on replicas of their prison uniforms and explained to reporters why they must take the actions they do" (as cited in Dismore, 2020, para. 5). Suffragists saw these imprisonments as a badge of honor, literally. They had pins of a jail door that suffragists received when they were released and would wear (see Figure 7). These "jailed for freedom" pins represent another embodied form of rhetoric suffragists utilized to demonstrate their strength and commitment to the cause, even while in prison (Stevens, 1995).

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[6] This image is also widely circulated in other materials, including the Lucy Burns Museum and its merchandise, Stevens (1995), Ford (1991), and the Library of Congress' *Women of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party* collection to name a few.

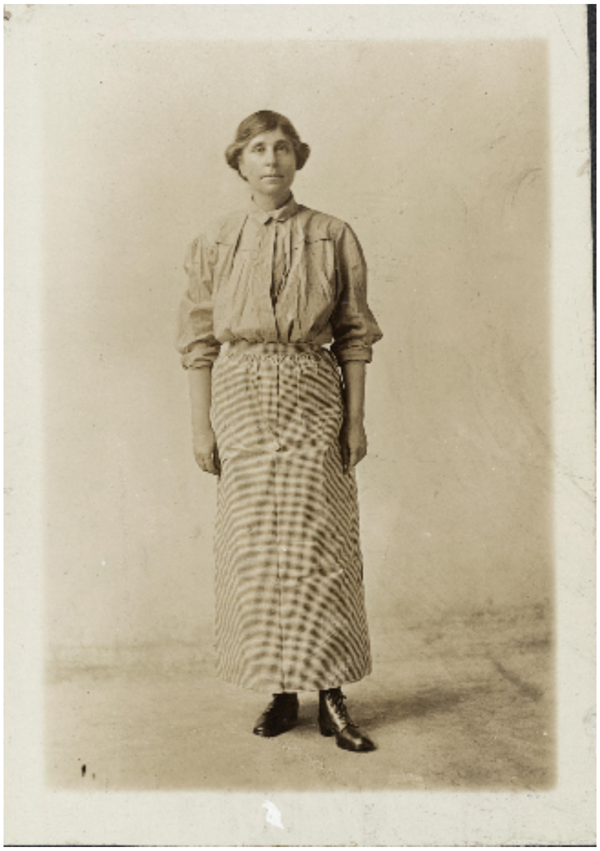

Figure 6: *Abby Scott Baker in prison dress, 1917. Women* of Protest: Photographs from the Records of the National Woman's Party, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mnwp.274004

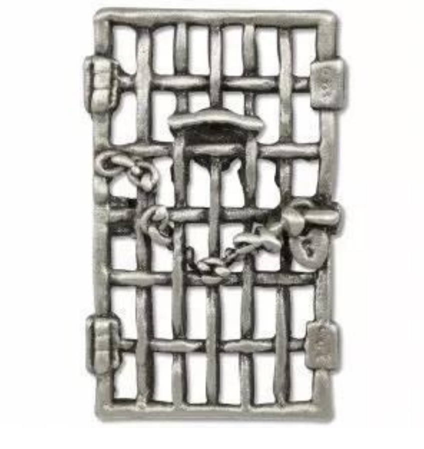

Figure 7: *The Story of the "Jailed for Freedom" Pin.* Belmont-Paul Women's Equality National Monument, Women's Rights National Historical Park, National Park Service https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/jailed-for-freedom-pin.htm#:~:text=The%20National%20Woman's%20Pa

Suffragists continued to embody strength to counter dominant claims that women were weak with the Prison Special tour. After the suffragists were released, the women organized a cross-country tour to further embody the need to pass suffrage. The Prison Special tour featured mostly “respectable white women” who had served time in prison because of their activism (Palczewski, 2016, p. 107). In three weeks, they visited 15 cities, wore “recreated versions of the uniforms they had worn in jail,” gave speeches, reenacted scenarios from the Night of Terror, and more (National Park Service, 2022). In these ways, suffragists intentionally used their performances, through their outfits, imagery, and embodied rhetoric, to reconstruct the dominant meanings assigned to their bodies. The women illustrated that they were strong, capable, and proud of their time in prison served in the name of passing a federal suffrage law.

Along with demonstrating strength, the suffragists used their body rhetoric in various ways to show they could organize and participate in politics, which challenged dominant ideologies that suggested they did not have political agency. Even the choice to send the suffragists to the Occoquan Workhouse in Lorton, VA, instead of the District Jail in Washington, D.C., where they were sentenced, acknowledged the suffragists’ collective threat. Forty suffragists were sentenced to the District Jail for their punishment (Stevens, 1995). Interestingly, all but one of the women were immediately sent to the Occoquan Workhouse instead. This is particularly noteworthy because these women were “convicted in the District for acts committed in violation of District laws” but “were transported to Virginia – alien territory – to serve their terms" (Stevens, 1995, p. 127). The alleged reason for the move was that Alice Paul was already imprisoned at the District Jail, and officials wanted to keep her separate from the newly imprisoned suffragists (Stevens, 1995). The implication was that the suffragists would cause more trouble for the prison officials if they could rally and organize with Paul. These actions recognized that they were dangerous and a collective threat.

Suffragists continued to use their body rhetoric to challenge the dominant ideologies surrounding their political agency and agency as prisoners (i.e., they should be submissive, follow orders, accept, and serve their sentence without complaint, etc.). From their arrival at the Workhouse, suffragists refused to give their names and would not "change into prison clothes," enacting their agency (as cited in Dismore, 2020, para. 1). Further, suffragists pushed back against dominant ideologies by claiming they were political prisoners, not criminal prisoners. Lucy Burns released a statement explaining:

> As political prisoners, we, the undersigned, refuse to work while in prison. We have taken this stand as a matter of principle after careful consideration, and from it we shall not recede. The action is a necessary protest against an unjust sentence…We ask exemption from prison work, that our legal right to consult counsel be recognized, to have food sent to us from outside, to supply ourselves with writing material for as much correspondence as we may need, to receive books, letters, newspapers, our relatives and friends. (as cited in Stevens, 1995, p. 109)

This statement solidified suffragists' claims that they could enact political agency by explicitly stating what they would and would not do with their bodies in prison. Further, suffragists argued that they had been arrested for protesting the government and its lack of women's rights, a political issue, not a criminal one. In doing so, suffragists enacted agency and embodied their collective power in a space where rights and the freedom of choice were meant to be stripped away.

However, in challenging ideologies surrounding prisoners by displaying their strength and political agency, suffragists reified harmful ideologies surrounding race and gender. Suffragists relied on the identities of the other women imprisoned at the Workhouse and their crimes to differentiate between themselves, political prisoners, and criminal offenders. For example, a suffragist complained about being “with colored women, drunks, and thieves” while imprisoned (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 205). By explicitly identifying the other women in the Workhouse based on their race and crimes, suffragists implied their identities as white, political offenders were different. In response to the backlash regarding the suffragist’s comment, Pauline Clark, the editor of *The Suffragist*, responded to clarify the suffragists were not “expressing distaste on being jailed with colored women” (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 205). Instead, she claimed that “they only objected to diseased women (prostitutes)” (Ford, 1991, p. 205). The crimes related to sex work further allude to the gendered and raced implications of those crimes versus the political offenses on the suffragists’ part. Therefore, these quotes illustrate the ways suffragists reified stereotypes surrounding race and gender by directly referencing these aspects of the imprisoned women’s identities and displaying unrest regarding being imprisoned alongside them.

Suffragists similarly reified dominant ideologies surrounding the stigma associated with being imprisoned alongside criminal offenders by displaying their status as prisoners as temporary, something they could argue for early release because they were wrongfully imprisoned. Stevens (1995) mentions that after only three days into her sentence, she was released and that “it was hard to resist digressing into some form of prison reform, as that way lay our instincts, but our reason told us that we must first change the status of women” (Stevens, 1995, p. 85). This quote alludes to seeking broader prison reform for all women imprisoned at the Workhouse. However, there is no evidence that any efforts were made after suffragists were released. This perspective aligns with the overarching suffrage ideology at the time that suggested the suffrage movement was primarily focused on granting white women the right to vote over more universal goals for suffrage (Terborg-Penn, 1998, 2020).

Further, suffragists leveraged what meanings were associated with being political prisoners for their benefit in ways that were not accessible to all imprisoned women. For example, women imprisoned for crimes, like sex work and murder (two charges brought up the most in coverage of suffragists' experiences) (Ford, 1991; Stevens, 1995), most likely would not circulate images of them imprisoned for many reasons, some including the stigma associated with being imprisoned, not being seen as a proper member of society, and more. In comparison, suffragists’ body rhetoric worked to leverage their bodies and identities in ways that led to their release from prison without having to serve their full sentence. As explored above, suffragists were able to embody their strength and political agency to challenge the authority of prison officials in a uniquely designed context of their making.

It is not surprising that prison officials reified the ideologies of using violence to assert dominance over suffragists’ enactments of strength and agency. At the Occoquan Workhouse, Superintendent Raymond Whittaker and his son would often beat the women embodying physical dominance (Stevens, 1995). It becomes clear that violence against prisoners at the Workhouse was a pattern of behavior. For example, authorities also commanded Black women “to attack the suffragists physically. The reluctant prisoners were goaded to deliver blows upon the women by the warden’s threats of punishment” (Stevens, 1995, p. 99). There are several layers of violence against the women at the Workhouse displayed by officials, including what is known about the suffragists’ experiences and the glimpses into the atrocities that Black women endured.[7] However, by turning to threats and violence against the women, officials inadvertently acknowledged the suffragists' strength and collective threat.

Several first-hand accounts of the conditions and violence suffragists encountered while in prison at the Occoquan Workhouse, specifically during the Night of Terror, further highlight prison officials' view of dominant ideologies surrounding using force to assert control and dominance. During the Night of Terror, violence against many of the suffragists included beatings, fear tactics that led to heart attacks, torture in the form of chaining suffragists to a pole to stand all night, choking them against the wall with their weapons, denial of privacy using the bathroom and more (Ford, 1991). Suffragists were left covered in blood, sick, and terrified. These acts of violence reify and enact ideologies of dominance through violence. However, they also vividly display suffragists' strength to endure these forms of torture and violence at the hands of prison officials and remain committed to their political cause.

Through their imprisonment, suffragists challenged dominant ideologies suggesting they were too weak or not politically motivated. They similarly challenged and reified ideologies surrounding the classification of political versus criminal prisoners. As a result, they encountered violence from prison officials as a show of dominance to reenact control over their bodies. The tension between prison officials' need to maintain their power and suffragists' displays of agency continued over the adoption of an additional embodied strategy while imprisoned, the hunger strike.

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[7] There are very few accounts from Black women and other female prisoners at the Workhouse that discuss their experiences of violence specifically. Most often, their accounts and quotes are used in support of suffragists' arguments and are quoted by suffragists, not in their words (Ford, 1991; Stevens, 1995). It is difficult to believe that the fellow imprisoned women did not experience worse violence at the hands of prison officials, lacked the political capital to argue for better conditions, and be granted the same attention as the suffragists with their privileged identities. It is evident within Steven's (1995) quote on page 84 in the document that imprisoned Black women were forced to harm suffragists or risk worse violence themselves, which alludes to several power dynamics present at the Workhouse. Unfortunately, there are no first-hand accounts from these women addressing these threats and violence that I could locate.

Hunger Strikes

Suffragists continued to use body rhetoric through their embodied hunger strikes to challenge dominant ideologies. Even when their verbal rhetoric and arguments failed to secure them political prisoner rights or early release, the women demonstrated that they remained invested in the suffrage movement while imprisoned. They used hunger strikes to display their strength and collective political action. Suffragists willingly undertook the risks associated with hunger strikes, like many threats from prison officials, for specific, political purposes.

Suffragists continued to challenge dominant ideologies that argued women were too weak mentally and physically to vote. To hunger strike meant refusing to consume any food, and sometimes water, for hours to days on end. The strategy itself enacted strength, including mental, physical, and emotional strength. For example, suffragists' strikes ranged from 102 hours in Byrne's situation, to 72 hours for Paul and Winslow, to 7 days for some workhouse suffragists (The Washington Post, 1917a; The New York Times, 1917b; Ford, 1991). In addition to the strain on their bodies, the women undertook many risks while using this form of body rhetoric, including more harm and violence from officials and the threat of being force-fed. In doing so, the suffragists enacted strength.

First-hand accounts of the experience of hunger-striking illuminate the toll it took on women's bodies. Sixteen suffragists at the Occoquan Workhouse went on hunger strikes after the Night of Terror, including Dorothy Day. Day recalled:

> I would have preferred the workshop to hunger striking – to lie there through the long day, to feel the nausea and emptiness of hunger, the mental activity that came after. I lost

> all consciousness of any cause – I had no sense of being radical, making protest against a government, carrying on a non-violent revolution. I could only feel darkness and desolation all around me … the bitter awareness of the need to endure somehow through the days of my imprisonment. (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 181)

Day illustrated the physical and mental cost of participating in hunger strikes and even argued she would have preferred the workshop, referring to hard labor, to the non-violent strategy of the hunger strike. Her reflection on what her body endured suggests her actions were more demanding than physical labor; the hunger strike was not a tactic she used lightly. Kathryn Lincoln said that her hunger strike began with a “spirit of determination” but that the days “became an eternity” (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 181). They displayed strength to endure the material uses of body rhetoric, including nausea, mental strain, hunger, and more.

Along with demonstrating their strength, suffragists’ use of the hunger strike embodied their collective political action, even if it was initially presented as an individual strategy. Hunger strikes were a well-known tactic for suffragists both because of their use in the British suffrage movement and Alice Paul’s popularization of the strategy (Adickes, 2002; Hawranick, Doris, & Daugherty, 2008; Stillion Southard, 2007; Trecker, 1972). Interestingly, Alice Paul and Mary Winslow claimed their original intent for the hunger strike was a choice they made individually, not to inspire others to join. Paul wrote they wanted to “direct the affair, and just ourselves knew of it” (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 176). Through her account, it becomes evident that the hunger strike was a way for Paul and Winslow to find control over their situation while imprisoned at the District Jail. However, after their hunger strikes became public knowledge, Paul claimed, "I suppose we are committed to the plan and must go forward!" (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 176).

Therefore, hunger strikes continued as an embodied tactic that numerous imprisoned suffragists collectively adopted.

The hunger strikes enacted suffragists' political agency by demonstrating their collective commitment to several explicit goals. The suffragists' body rhetoric was used as evidence to show that their reasons for going on hunger strikes were just and political; they were not seeking attention for themselves or making themselves martyrs. Suffragists and supporters provided several overtly stated reasons for the hunger strikes, ranging from calling for better prison conditions to being wrongly imprisoned to passing suffrage. For example, Alice Paul and Mary Winslow were reported to go on hunger strike because they "refused the special food prepared for them because four other militants were denied this fare" (The Washington Post, 1917a, para. 2). Dr. Brannan, the husband of a suffragist that went on a hunger strike, explained that "as for the hunger strike, that was not started because the women desired to make martyrs of themselves, but in an attempt to secure food which they could eat and decent living conditions" (Brannan, 1917, para. 8). These terrible prison conditions are discussed at length in the previous section on imprisonment and are echoed in Paul and Winslow's calls for better food for fellow political prisoners (Ford, 1991). These arguments illustrate that suffragists' hunger strikes were an intentional strategy to achieve political goals.

Suffragists continued to offer reasons they chose to hunger strike for specific purposes, namely liberty. For example, Annie Arniel, an imprisoned suffragist, explained, "we didn't go [to jail] for fun…we are standing for liberty if we must lose every drop of our blood for it" (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 149). Similarly, Winslow smuggled a note out of prison explaining:

> All the officers here know we are making this hunger strike so that women fighting for liberty may be considered political prisoners; we have told them. God knows we don't want other women ever to have to do this again. (as cited in Stevens, 1995, p. 119)

These suffragists directly linked their hunger strikes to the broader political cause of gaining the right to vote. Similar connections to liberty were made by the suffragists picketing. Suffragists continued to show they could act politically and enact agency.

Unsurprisingly, the prison officials responded to the hunger strikes with indignation. The suffragists' actions threatened them because they worked hard to try to limit their agency and assert control over the suffragists' bodies. The officials implicitly recognized the suffragists' strength as political actors by trying and failing to get suffragists to end hunger strikes. Guards also acknowledged the effectiveness of hunger strikes by separating key leaders, like Paul and Burns, from their fellow suffragists. Paul and Winslow were moved to the medical wing of the District Jail to distance them from their fellow imprisoned suffragists (The Washington Post, 1917a). At the Occoquan Workhouse, prison officials similarly removed Burns and sent her to the District Jail to distance her from her colleagues. Specifically, after the third consecutive day of hunger strikes at the Workhouse, "Whitaker feared that if a prisoner died, it would lead to even more negative publicity, so he removed ringleader Lucy Burns to another jail, where she was force-fed" (Synar, 2020). By identifying Burns and Paul as leaders and physically separating them from their fellow suffragists, the prison officials recognized the success of hunger strikes and the potential problems that would result if the hunger strikes could not be ended voluntarily. In other words, the suffragists' embodied rhetoric got a response from guards in ways their words alone did not, which led officials to seek additional tactics to pressure the women to end their hunger strikes.

The prison officials' verbal threats enacted domination. They worked to reassert control over the imprisoned women with threats to their well-being to try to get them to end the strikes without force. They began their responses with lies and manipulation and escalated to threats of force-feeding. For example, guards attempted to turn suffragists against one another to encourage the women to break the hunger strike. Stevens (1995) recalled:

> Every lie was tried in an effort to force the women to abandon their various forms of resistance. They were told that no efforts were being made from the outside to reach them, and that their attorney had been called off the case. Each one was told she was the only one hunger striking. Each one was told that all the others had put on prison clothes and were working. Although they were separated from one another they suspected the lies and remained strong in their resistance. (p. 126)

These tactics and threats from officials are interesting for several reasons. They demonstrate that officials attempted to use verbal arguments and threats before turning to physical force to end the hunger strikes. Also, guards continued to attempt to alienate the suffragists from one another, which implied the officials saw the suffragists as a collective threat. Suffragists refused to end their hunger strikes, standing firm in their enactment of political agency. On the other hand, prison officials attempted to reassert their dominance and control over women's bodies. Therefore, the suffragists and prison officials were at an impasse.

Prison officials escalated to threatening force-feeding if suffragists did not end their hunger strikes willingly. Paul explained that "from the moment we undertook the hunger strike, a policy of unremitting intimidation began. One authority after another, high and low, in and out of prison, came to attempt to force me to break the hunger strike" (as cited in Stevens, 1995, p. 115). The scope of threats from various guards and officials demonstrated a collective effort to reassert dominance over the suffragists. Dr. Gannon, the District Jail physician, was reported to tell Paul, “you will be forcibly fed immediately if you don’t stop” (as cited in Stevens, 1995, p. 117). However, even the verbal threats of force-feeding failed, and officials turned to enact physical force on suffragists’ bodies. It is noteworthy that physical force was needed to assert dominance over the women. These actions demonstrate that the suffragists were physically and mentally strong enough to endure the hunger strikes themselves and officials' threats. Their strength and continued hunger strikes similarly enacted their collective, political action.

Suffragists' body rhetoric continued to leverage their bodies in ways that sought specific responses (i.e., be recognized as political prisoners, receive better food, better prison conditions, etc.). They enacted their strength and showed they could still act politically, despite the attempts to remove them from society, imprison them, and enact violence against their bodies. It becomes difficult to deny the suffragists’ use of the embodied hunger strike received attention in ways their verbal arguments alone did not. However, suffragists’ success and recognition as threats to prison officials’ dominance also led to their force-feeding.

Force-Feeding

In response to suffragists' hunger strikes, prison officials turned to force-feeding. Both parties’ actions display the clash between prison officials’ ideologies of dominance and control and suffragists’ enactment of strength and political agency. My analysis in this section demonstrates how the ideologies at work through body rhetoric and body-based arguments led to the suffragists’ release from prison. The culmination of the suffragists' body rhetoric from their picketing to hunger strikes embodied their strength and allowed them to leverage their political agency to secure their freedom.

Suffragists endured horrific conditions and violence while imprisoned and used these experiences to display their mental and physical strength. However, their enactment of strength is most apparent when considering their experiences of being force-fed. Lawrence Lewis recalled in a note that was smuggled out of the Workhouse:

> I was seized and laid on my back, where five people held me, a young colored woman leaping upon my knees, which seemed to break under the weight. Dr. Gannon then forced the tube through my lips and down my throat, I gasping [sic] and suffocating with the agony of it. I didn't know where to breathe from and everything turned black when the fluid began pouring in. I was moaning and making the most awful sounds quite against my will, for I did not wish to disturb my friends in the next room. (as cited in Stevens, 1995, p. 125)

Along with Lucy Burns, Lewis was force-fed after being on a hunger strike for seven days (Stevens, 1995). Burns was also held down by five people and forced to endure the same torture. After, they were immediately transferred from the Workhouse to the District Jail in Washington D.C. (Stevens, 1995). This decision was likely because Whittaker wanted to separate them from the other suffragists still on hunger strike at the Workhouse and "break down the morale of the hunger strikers," which was unsuccessful (Stevens, 1995, p. 126). Not only did Burns and Lewis endure this violent experience after starving themselves for a week, but Whittaker continued to acknowledge their strength and influence over the women still on hunger strikes. In these ways, the suffragists vividly demonstrated their strength and challenged ideologies that women were too weak to vote.

Further, during their force-feedings and subsequent reflections on their experiences, suffragists found a balance between enacting strength and reifying ideologies surrounding being treated with dignity. In other words, the women were both strong and should not have had to endure this torture. For example, Alice Paul and Rose Winslow recalled similar experiences of the trauma created by force-feeding at the District Jail. Paul was "held down by five people and refused to open her mouth, so that the doctor pushed the glass tube up her nostril" (Ford, 1991, p. 181). Winslow was forced onto a table by "three men and three nurses" who "wedged her mouth open" and began to force feed her through a tube (Ford, 1991). Winslow said that she had a:

> Nervous time of it, gasping a long time afterwards…I heard myself making the most hideous sounds…Don't let them tell you we take this well. Miss Paul vomits much. I do too…It is horrible. (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 181)

The suffragists recalled their force-feedings and shared similar details about being held down by multiple people, forced to have a tube shoved in their noise or down their throat, and fed mixtures of milk, eggs, sugar, and salt. These accounts reflect the women's strength. However, Winslow's account suggests the women were, at some level, still implying the procedure was difficult and that they should not have to endure the horror of being force-fed. The suffragists acknowledged while they endured this violence at the hands of officials, they struggled through it by making "hideous sounds" and throwing up after (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 181). They reified ideologies surrounding a concern for basic human dignity by emphasizing the horrific procedure and reflecting on their embodied experiences.

Elizabeth McShane provides an extensive account of being force-fed that gives a voice to her embodied experience. Her statement also displays the balance between challenging claims that women were weak with reifying standards surrounding being womanly. McShane recalled:

> I know I sound insane, but I've just had the most revolting experience possible. I've been forcibly fed, and I feel that every atom of American self-respect within me has been

> outraged…Dr. Ladd appeared with a tube that looked like hose, a pint of milk in which two eggs had been stirred up. Without any heart exam, he put the tube in my mouth and told me to swallow fast. I did it as fast as I could, but he pushed it down so fast that I gagged and choked terribly… of course a stomach that has been unaccustomed to food for a week cannot take so much liquid, cold, all in half a minute. That was the actual time. So before he was half way through, it began, to come up, out of the corners of my mouth and down my neck until my hair was stiff with it…thereupon the matron and he walked away, leaving me in that messy condition, to die if I chose…Lucy Burns comforted me. It was her *fifth* time. (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 182)

It is impossible to read this account and not imagine what this experience might have been like to endure. These accounts work to create a visceral reaction that makes it difficult to deny the suffragists' strength. Further, McShane balances her strength in pursuit of the suffrage cause while also demonstrating how the procedure lacked commitment to basic human dignity. In other words, force-feedings should not have happened, let alone multiple times, but, nevertheless, suffragists continued to endure and survive the torture.

As they enacted their strength, suffragists also continued to show they were capable of collective political action by using their body rhetoric to reflect on their experiences. The women continually reported health problems immediately after being force-fed and later after being released from prison. For example, Winslow wrote in a note smuggled out of the jail:

> The feeding gives me a severe headache. My throat aches afterwards, and I always weep and sob, to my great disgust, because I try to be less feeble. It is horrible. I am very interested in seeing how long our so-called splendid American men will stand for this form of discipline. (as cited in the New York Times, 1917b)

Here, there is a focus on the harsh treatment they faced and the torture done to their physical body. Suffragists leveraged these accounts to show that “so-called splendid American men” were not protecting them as dominant ideologies suggested but actively causing them harm. The implication was that women needed rights and control, in the form of suffrage, to avoid being mistreated by the men in power. The suffragists used their bodies and experiences being force-fed to challenge men’s place and control in society by demonstrating their strength and ability to endure torture for a political cause. They continued to display that women were capable of having the right to vote through their body rhetoric and that men and their institutions were not protecting them from violence.

Like the other sections in this chapter highlight, prison officials and those in power responded to suffragists' body rhetoric with violence to reassert control over their bodies. Even though officials were holding suffragists down and forcing tubes down their throats in what is described as a very violent procedure, they maintained that force-feeding was harmless. Officials used body-based arguments to establish that the procedure was a justified response to the suffragists’ actions.

To explain their violence, prison officials argued that the suffragists felt better afterward. In Paul’s and Winslow's cases, Dr. Gannon, the chief resident physician at the District Jail, "declared that both Miss Paul and Miss Winslow took the treatment willingly and appeared to feel better after the feeding was over" (The Washington Post, 1917a, para. 3). The suffragists' bodies became evidence that the intervention of force-feeding had positive impacts, and suffragists' health had been restored. They relied on dominant ideologies where women submitted to men's treatment of their bodies, knew their place, and would feel better as a result. Of course, the prison officials and Dr. Gannon had stakes in showing that force-feeding was needed to avoid criticism, negative press, and more. However, the claims that suffragists felt better after being force-fed also worked to justify this form of violence against their bodies (i.e., force-feeding was a “treatment” not torture).

Similarly, Superintendent Zinkhan released a statement "to the effect that Miss Paul and the other suffragettes are being well taken care of and that there was nothing about her physical condition to cause the slightest alarm" (The Washington Post, 1917a, para. 14). These claims relied on the understanding that force-feeding was the right choice because suffragists were not caring for themselves by refusing to eat. Therefore, the violence against them was justified.

Arguments that force-feeding suffragists was appropriate and not harmful continued to reify dominant ideologies surrounding men in positions of power using violence to reassert control and men’s claims to knowledge trump women’s accounts of their experiences. For example, responses from the Wilson administration maintained that the treatment of “artificial feeding” was harmless (Ford, 1991, p. 184). However, after many reports about Paul’s mistreatment, President Wilson ordered an investigation. Commissioner Gardner led the investigation and reported, “[N]o real harshness of method is being used, these ladies [are] submitting to the artificial feeding without resistance” and that there was “an extraordinary amount of lying about the thing” (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 184). More broadly, President Wilson maintained that the suffragists imprisoned “offended against an ordinance of the District and are undergoing the punishment appropriate in the circumstances” (as cited in Ford, 1991, p. 184). These arguments placed the blame on any harm done by force-feeding on suffragists from resisting, alluding to the idea that female bodies should submit without resistance. Gardner and Wilson’s body-based arguments evoke the suffragists’ bodies and the “benefits” of force-feeding to reaffirm their dominance and control in knowing what is best for their bodies.

To further prove that force-feeding was a logical response to suffragists' hunger strikes, prison officials and doctors tried to provide material and concrete proof that the women's bodies and well-being were better off after repeated force-feedings. For example, in a public statement, prison officials worked to establish a need for force-feeding Byrne after her 106-hour hunger strike and said:

> She [Mrs. Byrne] appeared in almost normal condition, and it was thought that she would probably last two or three more days before her condition demanded feeding. But she was unable to sleep, and had slept only a few hours the night before. She tossed about and complained of severe pains, so that just before midnight Dr. James P. Hunt, visiting physician, said that her condition was serious enough to warrant an attempt at forcible feeding. (The New York Times, 1917c, para. 3)

The doctors quoted explained how they would not have forcibly fed her if she resisted and that her treatment was a necessary method to combat the poor health state she was in after being on a hunger strike for about 106 hours. The evidence for force-feeding Byrne comes directly from measurable bodily functions. Dr. Gannon used similar language when talking about Alice Paul’s hunger strike and need for force-feeding when he said the “treatment will be continued as we see fit, but I am confident that Miss Paul will soon eat her food in a normal way” (as cited in The Washington Post, 1917a). By focusing on the improvements to the suffragists’ health after being force-fed, officials reified ideologies of control by suggesting their treatment and use of force-feeding helped women feel better and return to normal states of being.

Further, the New York Times (1917c) article published the health records of Byrne before and after she was fed to provide concrete proof that her vitals had changed. After her first forcible feeding, her vitals were reported as:

> Blood pressure, normal.
>
> Heart sound, normal.
>
> Respiration, normal.
>
> Temperature, slightly subnormal.
>
> Pulse rate, very slightly accelerated.
>
> Eating and drinking at 11:45.
>
> Has not washed herself nor cleaned cell this morning.
>
> General Condition, slightly improved.
>
> No regurgitation. (The New York Times, 1917c, para. 5)

Within several similar reports, the doctor "shows" the reader that Byrne required force-feeding and that her health was directly and measurably improved after it occurred. Using these descriptions, one can infer that the force-feeding was necessary and a justified treatment because there is material proof that it was successful. However, it also demonstrates how the officials in control blamed suffragists for not taking care of their bodies without context as to why they went on hunger strikes or their political goals. In doing so, officials reify dominant ideologies to silence the suffragists, demonstrate their actions are in the suffragists' best interests, and establish their claim to authoritative knowledge.

On the other hand, suffragist supporters similarly used body-based arguments to challenge prison officials' accounts of force-feeding and the ideologies providing backing for their claims. Their body-based arguments relied on suffragists' body rhetoric and first-hand accounts. In response to Paul's force-feeding, there were public calls of outrage. Lucy Burns, before her imprisonment and force-feeding, responded by saying, "it is ridiculous to suppose that anyone who is refusing to eat food in a normal way would suddenly become willing to eat in a most painful and disgusting fashion" (The Washington Post, 1917a, para. 18). Further, Dr. Cora Smith King, a physician sent to the prison by Burns to ensure the proper treatment of Paul, said, "the statement accredited to Dr. Gannon sounds foolish on the face of it. Any person willing to submit to eating would most certainly do so in a less revolting way than through a tube" (The Washington Post, 1917a, para. 19). Suffragists attempted to discredit prison officials and their doctor's statements about how force-feedings affected the body of imprisoned suffragists by using bodies as evidence to counter the official statements.

Similar language was used in regards to the Occoquan Workhouse. Supporters argued that Paul and Winslow would not have willingly agreed to be force-fed and claimed:

> Dr. Gannon is giving out this statement to suit himself. We know that Miss Paul would never voluntarily submit to such treatment and are confident that she protested it with all her strength and gave in only when exhausted. (as cited in The Washington Post, 1917a, para. 4)

Suffrage supporters used body-based arguments to ridicule the doctors' arguments. Using language like "revolting," "painful," and "disgusting" were choices designed to work by connecting to readers' vicarious experiences as they read about force-feedings. This language adds a layer of understanding to their body rhetoric by establishing a shared bodily experience between the suffragists and the public, a critical factor in their fight for support for suffrage. It also illuminates how they challenged ideologies about women's capabilities to vote and their authority to claim knowledge about their own experiences.

Supporters also focused on arguments about the experience of being force-fed as one that was too traumatic to recall and challenge officials' claims that the procedure was harmless. In doing so, supporters also displayed the tension between demonstrating the women's strength to endure the force-feeding for their political cause and officials' use of violence to reassert their power and control. Miss Helen Paul, Alice Paul's sister, said:

> I told Mr. Zinkhan that he would kill my sister if he forcibly fed her. She has never been able to even tell me about her experiences in England: it was so horrible, and I know she cannot go through with it again. (The Washington Post, 1917a, para. 23)

Helen Paul refers to Alice Paul's experiences of being forcibly fed while participating in the British suffrage movement and the lingering effects of that trauma on her body. It is even more notable that the meaning assigned and made for Paul's body by officials does not account for her past experiences. Further, Helen Paul directly blamed Superintendent Zinkhan and told him about her sister's past, but he still ordered Paul to be force-fed. This interaction demonstrates the tension between suffragists and prison officials vividly and explicitly enacted on women's bodies. Further, the clash in ideologies through body rhetoric and body-based arguments led to the suffragists' eventual release from prison.

Supporters outside of prison continued to argue for the suffragists' release using their force-feeding as further evidence that their experiences at the Workhouse were unlawful. On November 23, 1917, a trial was held that argued that the suffragists should be returned to the District Jail where they were initially sentenced because serving their term in Virginia, an "alien territory," was unlawful (Stevens, 1995, p. 127). The judge agreed that their "transfer was in fact carried out without legal process," and the suffragists should be returned to the District Jail, where Paul and Winslow were still on hunger strikes, to serve out the remainder of their sentence (Stevens, 1995, p. 127). With their transfer, 30 suffragists collectivity continued their hunger strike, reaffirming fears that if suffragists were placed together, they would pose an even more significant threat. Stevens (1995) recalled that the Administration:

> Could not afford to feed thirty women forcibly and risk the social and political consequences; nor could it let thirty women starve themselves to death, and likewise take the consequences. For by this time one thing was clear, and that was that the discipline and endurance of the women could not be broken. The doors of the jail were suddenly opened, and all suffrage prisoners were unconditionally released on November 27 and November 28. (p. 130)

This quote demonstrates how suffragists embodied rhetorical strategies to challenge ideologies that suggested they were weak and unable to act collectively and politically created constraints that led to their release from prison. It also shows the culmination of symbolic and material uses of body rhetoric and body-based arguments that constrained prison officials from continuing to assert dominance over suffragists' bodies with violence. My analysis of body rhetoric demonstrates how the clash between prison officials' ideologies of dominance and control and suffragists' enactment of strength and political agency led to the suffragists' release from prison in ways their words alone did not.

Discussion

I have discussed how body rhetoric and body-based arguments were used to protest in prison materially and symbolically. My analysis uncovered clashes in ideologies surrounding women's bodies and place in society within the context of the American suffrage movement. I analyzed a variety of texts with particular attention to bodies, and as Enck-Wanzer (2006) argues, "intersectional rhetoric, then, is more than < words + images + bodies >" (p. 191). Instead, these texts are "three intersecting lines" where one text is not more important than the other (Enck-Wanzer, 2006, p. 191). For my analysis, that meant exploring texts from first-hand accounts, images, news coverage, and talk about the suffragists' bodies. This approach provided a more robust perspective on the suffragists' embodied strategies through picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and forced feedings. In addition, focusing on how the body was evoked in support of arguments and how bodies acted rhetorically provided insight into suffragists' embodied strategies previously absent from suffrage scholarship. My analysis also points to implications regarding context, method, and analysis of historical texts.

The context surrounding suffragists’ body rhetoric allowed the women to leverage their bodies by using their experiences and through their bodies’ interactions with others. As demonstrated in my analysis, suffragists' bodies were in a unique position. Their identities allowed them to use their bodies to protest in prison in ways not accessible to all imprisoned women. They were able to embody their strength and political agency in ways that made it difficult to deny while challenging claims that women were too weak or not capable of political action. Suffragists successfully used their body rhetoric to secure their release from prison when it came to the embodied strategy of hunger strikes and force-feedings. However, it is difficult to deny that hunger strikes as an in-prison protest are highly contextual. For example, not every woman wrongfully imprisoned at the Occoquan Workhouse who faced the same if not worse violence had the same leverage when it came to using their experiences and body rhetoric to secure an early release from their sentences. In other words, there were many factors, including the suffragists’ privileged identities, their claims to political prisoner status, the backing of the suffrage movement writ large, how they challenged and reified ideologies surrounding imprisoned women’s bodies, and more, that led to their success.

Along with the implications of access to embodied in-prison protests, using the body heuristic as a method allows a rhetorical critic to bring the body back into focus while widening their scope of analysis. Methodologically, this chapter offers a starting point to approach texts and body rhetoric as more than written texts about bodies or even images of bodies. It also supports feminist epistemologies and knowledge coming from lived experiences by avoiding seeing texts as disembodied products (Anzaldúa, 1999; Calafell, 2012; hooks, 1991; Martinez, 2000; Otis, 2019). However, it is also noteworthy to highlight the highly contextual nature of body rhetoric, including how identities, ideologies, privilege, oppression, experiences, and more exist in society and culture.

The highly contextual nature of analyzing body rhetoric is further complicated when researching historical accounts and records. These records are limited for several reasons, including intentional and unintentional biases and power dynamics at work creating the archives. These elements led to voices and embodied experiences that do not fit the normative standards being left out, silenced, or erased. This reality became evident in my research repeatedly when trying to locate first-hand experiences of Black women and other marginalized women imprisoned at the Workhouse. The only available accounts were filtered through the suffragists' lenses, which was not ideal. For example, we could consider how other prisoners' (i.e., Black women, immigrants, and women from lower socioeconomic status) perspectives and first-hand accounts would change understandings and provide a broader picture of body rhetoric not limited to suffragists' privileged identities. As hooks (2000) argues:

> It is essential for continued feminist struggle that black women recognize the special vantage point our marginality gives us to make use of this perspective to criticize the dominant racist, classist, sexist hegemony as well as to envision and create a counter-hegemony. (p. 16)

Considering the experiences at the Workhouse, Black women's perspective would provide a broader account of the conditions and realities of the prison because they see and act in both the margin and the center. Further, as more time passes between uses of body rhetoric and analysis of it, additional constraints are placed on the critic because more work is needed to understand the contexts around the body rhetoric fully. Finally, a limitation regarding certain historical body rhetoric is that the critic cannot participate or have access to those who did to receive a deeper understanding of the body rhetoric. However, this is a limitation I address in the following analysis chapter.

Despite the limitations I have discussed here, my analysis of the suffragists' body rhetoric and body-based arguments provides insight into the suffragists' embodied strategies in ways not previously explored in expansive suffrage scholarship. In particular, the sections on hunger strikes and forced feedings are noteworthy given the shocking nature and horrific reality that suffragists endured. And yet, scholarship often glosses over the strategies. Therefore, I hope this chapter sparks a conversation about suffrage hunger strikes, forced feedings, and their continued use of body rhetoric to achieve their various goals.

Conclusion

This chapter explored how suffragists used their bodies to protest as material and symbolic resources. Specifically, I analyzed how body rhetoric and body-based arguments were employed through suffragists’ many forms of embodied protests, including picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings. In addition, I displayed how body rhetoric was used to challenge and reify dominant ideologies about women's bodies within the suffrage movement to achieve various goals. This chapter focused on body rhetoric in historical accounts of these events. The following chapter will focus on a more contemporary depiction of suffragists’ body rhetoric, through the analysis of the Lucy Burns Museum, to further explore the utility of the body heuristic I have adopted and its implications.

Chapter 5: Suffragists' Body Rhetoric Remembered in the Lucy Burns Museum

Throughout its 112-year lifespan, the Occoquan Workhouse in Lorton, Virginia, has seen numerous functions as a Workhouse, maximum-security prison, super-maximum-security prison, abandoned lot, and arts center ("History," 2022). The District of Columbia's Workhouse opened in the summer of 1910 as an experiment to determine if hard labor and an open-air environment would be beneficial to help reform "short-term prisoners who were habitual drunkards, vagrants, and family abusers" ("History," 2022). The Workhouse was meant to be "an institution without fences, bars, guard towers or cellblocks. Prisoners were to be treated fairly, learn useful trades and make the facility self-supporting" ("Lucy Burns Museum," 2022, para. 1). The reality of the Workhouse was much different from these intended goals for the suffragists sent to prison in 1917. Specifically, the suffragists' treatment at the Workhouse and their responses are explored in detail in chapter 4 through their body rhetoric. Notably, their embodied experiences remain connected to the Workhouse through the Lucy Burns Museum located near where they were imprisoned over 100 years ago.[8]

How did the prison become an arts center and museum? The Workhouse, then called the Lorton Correctional Complex, was closed in 2001 ("History," 2022). In 2002, the property was transferred to Fairfax County "with the understanding that the land was to be used for open space, parkland and/or recreation use" ("History," 2022, para. 4). The space was approved to open as an arts center in 2004 ("History," 2022). The Lorton Workhouse Arts Center officially opened in 2008, with a museum following later that year. According to the zoning paperwork, the new use of the space was intended to "preserve the essential historic core (both physical and symbolic) of the Workhouse and Reformatory/Penitentiary sites” (Department of Purchasing & Supply Management, 2007, p. 4). Therefore, the current Workhouse Arts Center utilizes the original, uniform brick buildings surrounding an open lawn. Instead of holding prisoners, each building now features different art exhibits. For example, a building is dedicated to a rotating art exhibit that changes every couple of months. Another building offers art and theater classes (“Visual Arts Classes,” 2022). Visitors also have several opportunities to interact with artists and buy their work in individual shops (“Visual Arts,” 2022). The current use of the space is certainly an interesting shift from its past as a prison, and one with an extensive history of mistreatment, violence, and overcrowding, to an arts center and museum (“History,” 2022).

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[8] The physical buildings that held the women's Workhouse no longer exist. The women were held across the street from the men's Workhouse. However, the men's side of the Workhouse remains intact, with many of the buildings that held prisoners now being used to house the arts center and the Lucy Burns Museum.

The Lucy Burns Museum works to memorialize the history of the Workhouse and its connection to women’s suffrage and has seen multiple iterations as well. I initially visited the museum in 2017, which at the time was contained in one room and relatively small. There were several posters with information on the prison’s connection to the suffrage movement and a portrayal of a suffragist’s force-feeding. This life-size exhibit featured a small cell blocked off that had three mannequins. One of the mannequins was a woman who had both of her hands tied to a chair and was aggressively held back by a man standing over her. Another woman was present and was forcing a feeding tube down the restrained woman’s nose by holding a funnel in one hand and a pitcher that she was pouring into the funnel in the other. These mannequins still depict the suffragists’ forced feedings in the museum's current form, but they are now located in an actual cell. Along with the current museum being much more extensive and including a history of the Workhouse, visitors can take a guided tour and walk through a cellblock that has been restored with exhibits set up in various cells. The museum is rich in texts to unpack, specifically through analyzing suffragists' body rhetoric as memorialized in the Lucy Burns Museum.

Therefore, in this chapter, I will analyze the Lucy Burns Museum to investigate how suffragists' body rhetoric is displayed and memorialized over a hundred years later. I will analyze how the exhibits and news coverage of the museum present suffragists' body rhetoric to encourage museum visitors to (1) see and recognize their picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings as essential pieces of suffrage history and (2) honor and respect the women's efforts by increasing voter turnout in the 21st century. I will also highlight what elements in the museum are presented as stable history markers and some messages, voices, and experiences that are left out or overshadowed for audiences. I argue the LBM relies on retelling the history of suffragists' embodied rhetoric through the lens of white, middle/upper-class women and encouraging visitors to vote at the expense of nuanced collective memory surrounding their imprisonment, exclusion of roles of Black women and women of color in the suffrage movement, and contemporary voting inequities. To support these claims, I will first discuss the methods, texts, and context necessary for the analysis. Then, I analyze the museum and its exhibits. Finally, I offer a discussion of what my analysis uncovers, its implications, and concluding remarks.

Methods

Museums are rhetorical. They are curated and created by invested parties to communicate and memorialize things about a place, event, people, and more. In other words, museums serve as "memory places" because they are "more closely associated with public memory" than other spaces (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010, p. 24). They "assume an identity precisely in being recognizable – as named, bordered, and invented in particular ways" (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010, p. 24). These decisions and interventions construct museums in ways intended for audiences to interact and connect with particular memories. Museums work to create public memories of various subjects that are “both attached to the past (typically an originating event of some sort) and acts [sic] to ensure a future of further remembering of that same event” (Casey, 2004, p. 17). These public memories presented in museums are mediated regarding the elements highlighted, forgotten, displayed, and interpreted by various audiences (Assmann, 2009; Huyssen, 1995). In these ways, museums are rhetorical and rich with texts to analyze.

Further, Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki (2005) argue museums centered on educating people about history have three rhetorical functions: collect, exhibit, and (re)present. These three functions are particularly salient for my analysis of the Lucy Burns Museum (LBM) because it focuses on the history of the Occoquan Workhouse and its connection to the suffrage movement. The collection stage refers to gathering information for the museum and its exhibits. For example, for the LBM, the curator Laura McKie:

> Started with just three prison logs. The books had been collected by the late Irma Clifton, a longtime employee of the prison. Minus a few other boxes, most everything else associated with the prison had been thrown away over the years. Remarkably, the arrest books corresponded with the timeframe the suffragists had been imprisoned. (Nappier, 2020, para. 10)

This reality provides an example of the rhetorical nature of collecting materials, or lack of primary materials in this case, for the museum and the limitations faced by McKie, which will be explored further in the analysis. According to the authors, the second rhetorical function of museums is exhibiting, which is the practice of “situating, locating, and (re)contextualizing artifacts in actual spaces” (Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki, 2005, p. 90). Finally, “through their various modes of display, museum curators and designers, interpret artifacts and render them meaningful" (Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki, 2005, p. 90). This rhetorical move can include considering what is displayed, how it is displayed, interactive elements, things like pamphlets, and more. This framework provides an additional touchpoint to consider how museums function rhetorically, how they engage with visitors, can be tourist destinations, and create embodied experiences.

Museums function rhetorically because they have visitors who interact with them that contribute to understandings of the content. Hirsch and Smith (2002) argue, "acts of memory are thus acts of performance, representation, and interpretation. They require agents and specific contexts" (p. 5). Therefore, museums require visitors to make sense of their exhibits and visit to engage with the presented memories and history. The nature of audiences, their identities, and the identities being constituted in the museum itself also become important. When considering audiences, "what is remembered, how and by whom, is arrived at as part of an ongoing negotiation where different actors occupy different positions and roles" (Noy, 2018, p. 20). Certain museum elements are salient to visitors depending on a variety of contextual factors that can be analyzed to consider what identities are being constituted. In other words, "a memory place proposes a specific kind of relationship between past and present that may offer a sense of sustained and sustaining communal identification" (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010, p. 27). The identities constituted through museums and their exhibits become essential to analyze to determine what voices, experiences, and information are being made visible or erased and how visitors can relate to, see themselves or not in the museum, and the implications of unpacking the multiple audiences engaging the museum.

Another rhetorical element of museums to consider is the act of traveling to the museum and its limitations as a result. A part of what makes museums impactful is that they are designated places where people can travel to learn about a particular memory. They create “a unique context for understanding the past, one that is rooted in touristic practices” (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010, p. 26). People visit these places for a variety of purposes. A substantial part of museums’ rhetorical function is in “the performance of traveling to and traversing it” (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010, p. 26). This element is more pronounced when the place where the museum is located is directly linked to the history it highlights. These museums, like the LBM, can “provide tangible evidence of the past with which visitors can interact” (Smith & Bergman, 2010, p. 165). Museums as memory places allow visitors to embody and interact with history and public memories where “bodies can come into proximity” (Casey, 2004, pp. 32-33). In other words, they provide designated areas for people to gather for common interests to learn about an event, people, and more. Therefore, museums’ locations can be further unpacked to see them as “not stable and static and removed and apolitical” (Lueck, 2021, p. 120). Instead, they are contextual and rely on visitors interacting with the museum.

The act of traveling to a museum is not the end of bodies interacting with the space rhetorically. The exhibits and designs of the museum are intentional choices made to create embodied experiences that extend beyond simply reading about or researching historical events. Further, the rhetorical elements of a museum can extend beyond the material that someone reads or hears while moving through the space. Critics can explore how “objects produce particular sensations through touch, sound, sight, smell, and taste. Maps, arrows, walls, boundaries, openings, doors, modes of surveillance all encode power and possibility” (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010, p. 29). Therefore, visitors experience museums in their bodies with their senses, which can be influenced or encouraged by the museum’s design. Further, “while the content of museums and memorials may be forgotten with time, the bodily feelings and emotions produced by the experience often remain” (Nelson, 2021, p. 50). These emotions evoked in the museum from someone’s experience can work to further ground their memory of the place, which differs for various audiences. In a very real sense, “museums connect with visitors on a bodily level, attempting to recreate the feelings of a historical time and place” (Nelson, 2021, p. 50). As my project centers on suffragists’ body rhetoric, the focus on visitors’ bodies and how the LBM utilized body rhetoric in the exhibits and experiences created for visitors becomes even more salient.

Contemporary scholars studying museums and public memory approach them in critical ways further problematizing museums as stable markers of history (Lueck, 2021; Nelson, 2021; Noy, 2018; Rice, Alexander, Amedée, Crosswhite, et al., 2020). For example, considering how different bodies move through and experience places and considering various narratives for different publics can be useful when thinking methodologically about analyzing a particular place (Rice et al., 2020). Similarly, it is crucial to consider how “pasts are re-mediated and re-membered as part of the work of reproducing collective memory discourse” (Noy, 2018, p. 33). In other words, specific memories and histories presented in museums as stable and unchanging are reinforced as collective memories through the museum itself, which critics can analyze further. A rhetorical critic also must attend to how ongoing histories and memories of spaces, like museums, speak to the political and gendered nature of remembering. For example, considering how women’s bodies and experiences are presented in particular ways in museums to rely on gender norms can offer a point of critique (Lueck, 2021). Finally, museums can have social justice elements that encourage visitors to take action and work toward social change, which is a difficult task to compel visitors to act (Nelson, 2021). This goal of getting audiences to act will become important when analyzing the LBM and its call to action for visitors. This chapter builds on this critical foundation by analyzing the LBM with attention given to suffragists' body rhetoric and how it is presented for various audiences and purposes, and the implications of these choices.

No scholars have analyzed the LBM specifically. However, two articles focus on analyzing instances of public memory about the suffrage movement within the context of the centennial of the 19th amendment. Writing before the museum opened, Olson (2021) mentions the LBM in passing but focuses on the Night of Terror that the suffragists endured at the Occoquan Workhouse in November 1917 to explore differences among *The Suffragist*'s coverage of this event versus other press coverage. Olson (2021) finds that the "emotion-laden first-person narratives that the NWP chose to frame in their version of events" have become the standard for remembering this event (p. 195). While the first-hand accounts are important markers for how some of the suffragists experienced the Night of Terror, this framing oversimplifies the history of the suffrage movement and leads to "an erasure of context" (Nelson, 2021, p. 195). Enoch (2020) analyzes *19: The Musical*, which is dedicated to retelling the history of suffrage. The author evaluates "the 'feminist civics lessons' it offers audiences by employing an intersectional feminist lens" (Enoch, 2020 p. 242). The research questions presented in the article provide the groundwork for analyzing the LBM. The questions include, "(1) Which suffrage past is presented to these audiences? Who is remembered, how, and within what contexts?; and (2) How is this recovered past made relevant to present-day audiences?" (Enoch, 2020, p. 243). These questions are helpful in analyzing the LBM as it presents suffrage memory to audiences over 100 years after their experiences at the Occoquan Workhouse.

To this point, I have covered the rhetorical nature of museums, how contemporary scholars engage with analysis of museums and public memory, and research related to suffrage memory within the context of celebrating the suffrage centennial. To combine these elements and speak to methods for my analysis, I turn to additional sources in feminist studies and museum studies to create an analytical framework. Several scholars have studied the intersection between feminism, how women's bodies and experiences are visually portrayed, museums, and their implications (Andrews, 2011; Bartlett & Henderson, 2013; Bergsdóttir, 2016; Clover & Williamson, 2019; Hamlin, 2019; Hein, 2007; Jacobs, 2008; Viv & Helena, 2015). Broadly, scholars question who is in control of framing museums and creating content meant to memorialize aspects of history, which I will explore in greater detail.

Scholars have explored how analysis of museums offers critiques of power, hegemony, and patriarchal biases (Clover & Williamson, 2019; Hein, 2007; Viv & Helena, 2015). For example, Clover and Williamson (2019) argue that there are "patriarchal assumptions behind the language, images and stagecrafting (positioning, lighting) of museums and art galleries" (p. 143). These assumptions can be problematic depending on how they depict women and their experiences in museums. In other words, museums should consider what images/artifacts are presented, how they are framed, who is making those decisions, who and what is left out, and how individuals bring their own experiences and framing to exhibits (Hein, 2007). Analyzing museums with attention to context and biases allows for a more nuanced understanding of the museum and the public memories it presents. This approach allows a critic to see gender as "an inescapable dimension of differential power relations, and cultural memory as always about the distribution of and contested claims to power" (Hirsch & Smith, 2002, p. 6). The burden is on the critic to unpack museums with these frameworks in mind and speak to their implications.

There is also a push to view museums as unstable entities where meaning is constantly being made and remade based on various audiences and their experiences, despite being presented as a singular version of history or collective memory (Bartlett & Henderson, 2013; Bergsdóttir, 2016; Ewalt, 2016; Lueck, 2021; Olson, 2021). A critic can approach museums as becomings that are changing, made, and re-made depending on all the contextual factors that influence them (Bergsdóttir, 2016). This approach attends to the various factors that are always at play in museums but are often taken for granted or as fact without context or additional information. In other words, "the public's engagement with and remembrance of the past is rhetorically responsive to public needs, investments, and anxieties in the present" (Lueck, 2020, p. 108). Therefore, the past is understood through the lens of the present, which requires critics to question the stability of particular memories presented.

Finally, scholars must attend to whose voices and stories are told and left out in museums, especially considering the intersection of gender and women's bodies presented in exhibits. Several scholars work to problematize how women's bodies and experiences are presented in museums related to horrific and traumatic events (Andrews, 2011; Jacobs, 2008). Andrews (2011) focuses specifically on the Sydney Jewish Museum in Australia and a specific exhibit of a blanket donated by Olga Horak, a holocaust survivor. The piece explains how women's bodies are presented and framed from the view of the perpetrator in the museum's images. Andrews (2011) argues, "these particular women's bodies represent pain in suffering, in ways in which men's bodies do not" (p. 286). The women's bodies are degraded and humiliated in pictures, and they enable the erasure of the perpetrators or, at the very least, displace their role. Andrews (2011) also points out that this context and memory cannot be told in all its complexities just by seeing the exhibit in the museum.

Jacobs (2008) aims to understand “how gender functions as a category of traumatic memory and to explore the tensions that surround the historical construction of women as subjects of torture, atrocity and death” (p. 213). She looks specifically at how women are framed and presented in the Auschwitz museum. She walks through the various exhibits that present photographic evidence “in which the bodies of the tortured and mutilated inmates have been placed on display” (Jacobs, 2008, p. 218). Jacobs (2008) argues, “when women’s bodies are the ‘dramatic vehicle’ through which these catastrophes are conveyed, however, the effects of voyeurism and sexual objectification problematize the emotive and connective value of these norms of atrocity remembrance” (p. 223). This piece raises questions about how to portray violence against women. These questions intersect with the LBM and violence suffragists endured at the Workhouse and how their bodies in feminist protest are presented in the exhibits.

With this scholarship in mind, I use three guiding principles to analyze suffragists’ body rhetoric as presented in the LBM: exhibits as critiques of power, hegemony, and patriarchal biases, approaching exhibits as becomings versus stable entities, and questioning whose voices are present and silent. Specifically, I explore how suffragists’ body rhetoric is memorialized to achieve purposes specific to visitors of the LBM and the various implications of presenting their bodies-as-rhetoric and body-based arguments in these ways.

Lucy Burns Museum: Texts, Purposes, & Audiences

The texts I analyze are the current (2022) museum’s content, a picture of the previous museum exhibit available from an online image, and messages about the museum. It is helpful to provide an overview of the museum and its layout to provide a foundation for the analysis. As previously mentioned, the original iteration of the museum was not the same caliber as the current museum. A donation from Richard Hausler of over 3 million dollars enabled the renovation (McKie, 2020). Ava Spece, then president and CEO of the Workhouse Arts Center, claimed, “we really upgraded and used top of the line exhibitors” (as cited in Salmon, 2020, para. 10). Spece further explained that the exhibits from the previous version were incorporated into the newer design (Salmon, 2020). Naming the museum after Lucy Burns was also an intentional choice versus naming the museum after Alice Paul, the more well-known National Woman’s Party (NWP) leader because Paul was never actually imprisoned at the Workhouse (Nappier, 2020). Several choices were made to focus on the Workhouse’s connection to the suffrage movement in the museum's new design.

The Lucy Burns Museum was “designed by Tracy Revis of Howard+Revis and installed by Capitol Museum Services” with “larger-than-life-sized sculptures by Studio Eis of suffragist leaders Burns, Alice Paul, and National Woman’s Party co-founder Dora Lewis” (McKie, 2020, para. 9). These sculptures are featured throughout the museum, and Spece explained, “we want these sculptures to depict them as ‘larger than life” (as cited in Salmon, 2020, para. 3). In other words, making the sculptures larger was an intentional design choice to illustrate the women’s impact on the suffrage movement. The museum was made possible by Laura McKie’s role as the “manager, curator, writer, and collections manager” (Nappier, 2020). McKie had retired from her 30-year experience with the Smithsonian’s National Museum of Natural History and volunteered her time to collect, organize, and create the museum’s content (Nappier, 2020).

When visitors now enter the museum, they are met with the gift shop and check-in table. The museum itself is free, but there is a $5 cost to take the guided jail cellblock tour. On the left side of the room, there are wall exhibits covering the 91-year history of the Workhouse from its inception to when the last prisoners left in 2001. The right side of the museum is much larger, extends to another room, and is solely focused on suffrage history. Notably, there is an extensive timeline of the suffrage movement beginning in 1607 and concluding at the end of the hallway with the passing of the 19th amendment in 1920 (see Figure 8).

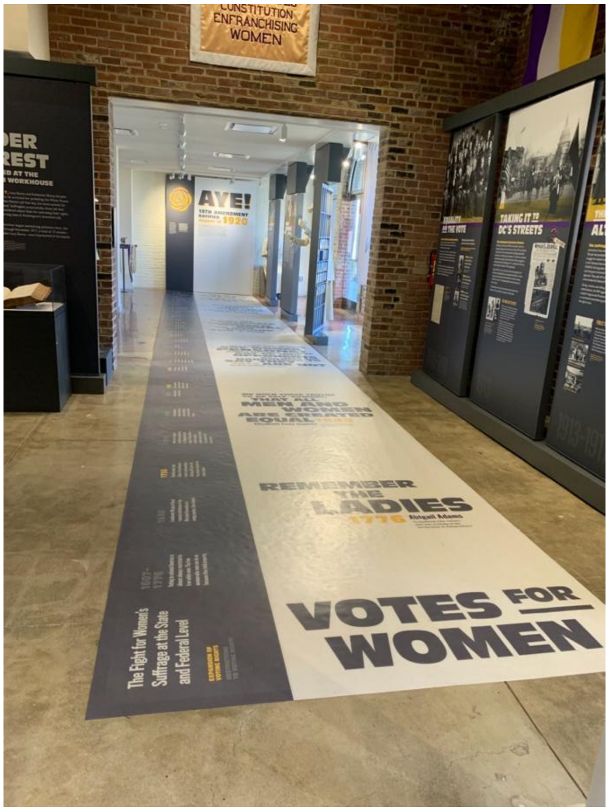
CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN
AYE!
TAKING IT TO DC'S STREETS
MEN AND WOMEN ARE CREATED EQUAL
REMEMBER THE LADIES
1776 Abigail Adams
VOTES FOR WOMEN
The Fight for Women's Suffrage at the State and Federal Level

Figure 8: *The suffrage movement timeline*. Photo by author.

Throughout the suffrage side of the museum, several exhibits feature turning panels that are over seven feet tall with information and images on both sides, which I explore in the analysis. Along with the suffrage side of the exhibit, there is an additional room to take the guided cellblock tour. This tour allows visitors to walk through a restored cellblock that housed prisoners throughout the building's history (see Figure 9). In addition, a couple of exhibits are in actual cells, including a suffragist's force-feeding and old farming tools used in the prison's initial iteration as an outdoor, labor-focused Workhouse.

Further, while the museum is mainly focused on suffrage history, the actual cellblock and building in which the museum is located was the men's side of the prison, as the women's

Workhouse was located across the street and no longer exists. The museum itself is in one of the buildings in the back, right corner of the property (see Figure 10). The markings on-site to access the museum are much more apparent than when I visited in 2017, with several signs indicating where to find the museum, including signs from the main road leading to the museum.

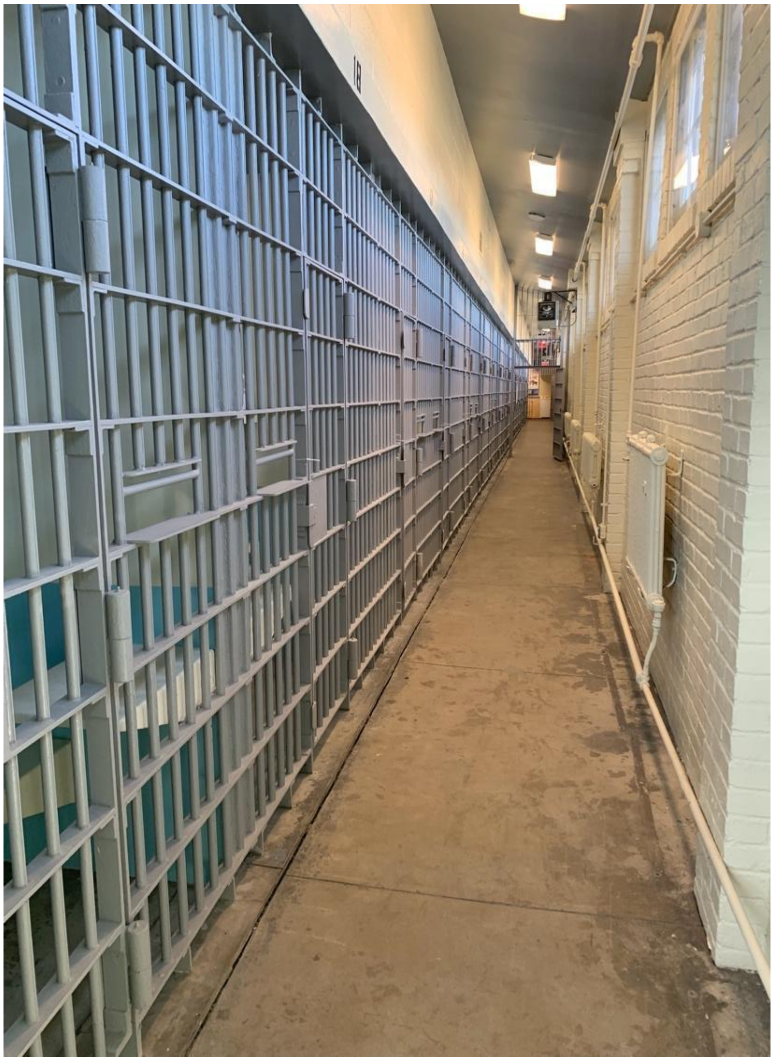

Figure 9: *One side of the cellblock tour*. Photo by author.

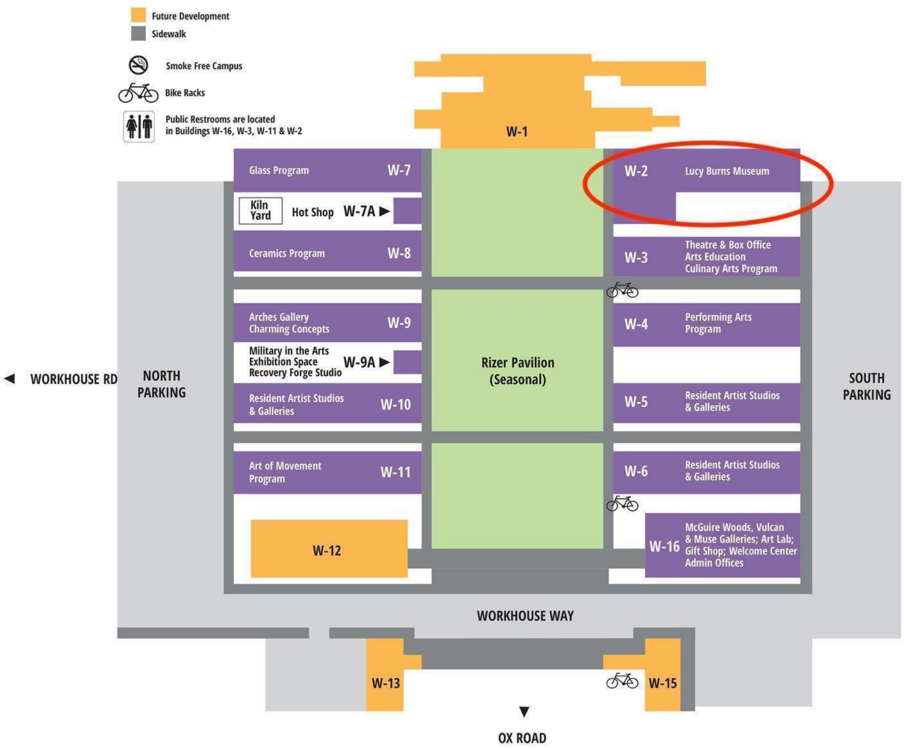
Future Development
Sidewalk
Smoke Free Campus
Bike Racks
Public Restrooms are located in Buildings W-16, W-3, W-11 & W-2
W-1
Glass Program W-7
Kiln Yard
Hot Shop W-7A
Ceramics Program W-8
W-2 Lucy Burns Museum
W-3 Theatre & Box Office Arts Education Culinary Arts Program
Arches Gallery Charming Concepts W-9
Military in the Arts Exhibition Space Recovery Forge Studio W-9A
Resident Artist Studios & Galleries W-10
Rizer Pavilion (Seasonal)
W-4 Performing Arts Program
W-5 Resident Artist Studios & Galleries
WORKHOUSE RD
NORTH PARKING
SOUTH PARKING
Art of Movement Program W-11
W-6 Resident Artist Studios & Galleries
W-12
W-16 McGuire Woods, Vulcan & Muse Galleries; Art Lab; Gift Shop; Welcome Center Admin Offices
WORKHOUSE WAY
W-13
W-15
OX ROAD

Figure 10: *Campus map.* Workhouse Arts Center, 2022, https://www.workhousearts.org/campus-map

I visited the Lucy Burns Museum in February 2022 and was able to collect data, including my notes and reflections walking through the museum and the images I took.[9] Because I visited the museum in person, I was able to interact with the texts through my embodied experiences of the exhibits. Therefore, I highlight aspects of body rhetoric represented in the museum meant to engage with visitors in material and symbolic ways, including interactive elements of the museum and the other texts represented.

The museum's content also includes other artifacts, stories, and more that have been selected to represent and memorialize suffrage and its connection to the Workhouse. Further, I collected the two pamphlets from the museum with additional information about the suffrage movement.[10] These various texts speak to the implications of the visual representations of suffragists' embodied strategies and bodies in feminist protest. Additionally, there were no press releases that I could locate for the original museum, but there is coverage of the new iteration that I will include in my analysis.[11]

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[9] This trip was graciously funded by the CLAS Graduate Scholarly Development Fund at the University of Kansas.

The press coverage of the Lucy Burns Museum provides insight into various audiences intended to visit and experience the exhibits. There appears to be a strong bias in framing the museum as a regional/local tourist destination for people from the Washington, D.C., Maryland, and Virginia (DMV) areas. For example, Burnett (2020), Hahn (2020), Hand (2020), Salmon (2020), and Weinsteing's (2020) articles are all published locally, which speaks to audiences that would be able to make a day trip to the museum due to its proximity. Hand's (2020) article appears in the Art and Entertainment section of The Patch.com and emphasizes the educational function of the museum in retelling suffrage history. For example, the article explains the museum "will appeal to both women's suffrage history buffs and people who know little about how women fought long and hard to win the right to vote" (Hand, 2020, para. 1). This article, along with the ones mentioned above, presents the museum to audiences in the DMV area as an opportunity to learn more about suffrage history and its local connection. Therefore, using these sources indicate how visitors are meant to constitute their identities and connections with the past.

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[10] One pamphlet, "Remembering the Ladies," appears to be from before the new museum was open as it has information that is outdated. For example, it mentions that the new museum will open in Fall 2017, which did not happen according to that timeline. Nevertheless, it is still available for visitors to take, so I have included it as a text to analyze. The second pamphlet, "Shall Not Be Denied," appears to be curated by the Library of Congress and provides a more extensive history of the suffrage movement more broadly. As it is something visitors can take home for free, I have also included it as a text to analyze.

[11] The press releases that I could find focus on the Lorton Workhouse Arts Center opening and not the museum in its original form. See "Workhouse offers showcase for the arts" (2008) and "Workhouse Arts Center celebrates its grand opening" (2008). For the sources I will analyze related to the Lucy Burns Museum, see Burnett (2020), Hahn (2020), Hand (2020), McKie (2020), Michelson (2020), Nappier (2020), Salmon (2020), and Weinsteing (2020).

Another potential demographic for audiences of the Lucy Burns Museum is well-educated, wealthy tourists. For example, Michelson's (2020) article in Forbes appears in the ForbesWomen section. According to their website, Forbes' audience consists of wealth advisors, women, business and technology decision makers, high-net-worth investors, people under the age of 30, business owners, and executives ("The Forbes Consumer," 2022). Therefore, Michelson's (2020) article on the suffrage movement and its history likely reaches women, based on appearing in the ForbesWomen section, and most likely people with higher socioeconomic statuses that would be able to travel to the museum. Further, Nappier's (2020) article appears in *Washington Magazine*, which is intended for alumni of Washington University in St. Louis. Laura McKie, the manager, curator, and organizer for the Lucy Burns Museum, is also an alumna of the university (Nappier, 2020). This publication indicates a well-educated, wealthier audience base that would be able to visit the museum as a tourist attraction. The demographics of these publications' audiences will help further speak to how the museum seeks to connect with visitors.

Women also appear to be a target audience for press about the Lucy Burns Museum, along with calls for people to vote. For example, Michelson's (2020) publication draws attention to women's history and highlights women as a target audience. Specifically, it focuses on women voters and their impact. Michelson (2020) explains, "women are a powerhouse today, including the largest single voting bloc in the United States, even though they still have less earning power than men and only about 25% of the leadership roles across industries" (para. 3). The article provides further information regarding the number of women who vote and the importance of recognizing the history that made voting possible for them. Those sentiments are mirrored in McKie's (2020) article in the American Alliance of Museums blog and the impact of suffragists' actions. McKie (2020) explains, “through the stories of Lucy Burns and her compatriots, the museum will tell the history of the movement toward franchise” (para. 4). Additionally, McKie (2020) is the daughter of Laura McKie, who curated and created the material for the Lucy Burns Museum, and the article offers insight into the goals of the museum. One of these goals is to encourage visitors to vote, which McKie (2020) explicitly states when she says, “mother and daughter also want you to vote” (para. 16). These articles speak to potential audiences that the museum aims to target. Further, they offer context to interpret how and what identities are constituted through the museum, which becomes important for my analysis.

A final piece of context surrounding the Lucy Burns Museum is the explicit purposes set forth by those in charge of creating the museum, namely Laura McKie. Considering her various statements in the press about the museum, the purpose of the museum appears to be two-fold. One aim is to make visible the suffragists’ experiences at the Occoquan Workhouse as a part of collective suffrage memory. McKie (2020) argues, “the suffragists are silent no more: their stories are being told into the new century” (para. 15). This quote references the Silent Sentinels and their use of silence while picketing the White House, whose stories are told in the museum. Salmon (2020) suggests the museum “is one of the few places that highlight and provide history education related to its former identity as a prison which housed suffragists and civil rights protesters” (para. 10). Similarly, Nappier (2020) explains, “McKie helped build a museum that teaches visitors about the suffrage movement and the prison where women were sent for picketing for the right to vote” (para. 1). These quotes work to establish a purpose of the museum to serve as a place to remember suffragists and their body rhetoric that contributed to gaining the right to vote.

Further, in several articles, Laura McKie mentions wanting to make suffragists' experiences at the Workhouse visible (Nappier, 2020; Salmon 2020; Weinsteing 2020). For example, when talking about the suffragists picketing, McKie explained:

> I mean the gutsiness of picketing, knowing that you were going to be arrested and put into jail. I wouldn't have had the bravery to do that, especially considering the jail conditions in those days…I think that kind of bravery is something people need to know about. (as cited in Nappier, 2020, para. 15)

As the curator, McKie chose to highlight picketing in the retelling of suffrage history and making it visible to museum visitors in multiple exhibits, which I will explore in the analysis. McKie also argued:

> There is nothing quite like it anywhere else. It's unusual in that it combines two stories together in one museum. One is the Lorton correctional unit. The other is a six-month story of the suffragists who were imprisoned in 1917 [for picketing the White House over women's right to vote]. (as cited in Weinsteing, 2020, para. 2)

These elements of suffrage history are arguably not as visible as other aspects of the movement. Weinsteing (2020) argues,

> We tend to take for granted that women have always been earning their own money, living on their own, sitting at the decision-making table in offices, schools, courtrooms, government and boardrooms, or able to vote. It seems so normal now, even as we have a long way to go for equality. Much of this history is not taught in every school or home. (para. 1)

Therefore, it appears that a goal of the Lucy Burns Museum is to teach visitors about suffragists' embodied actions that led to their imprisonment and eventually the right to vote and solidify their body rhetoric as a part of suffrage memory. It seeks to overcome visitors' apathy or ignorance about the hard-won fight for women's suffrage, which I will explore in greater detail in the following section.

The second explicit purpose of the museum is to encourage people to vote. This goal is further contextualized by the 2020 opening date of the museum as it corresponded with the centennial celebration of the passing of the 19th amendment. 2020 was also an election year in the United States. In other words, voting was a salient topic when the museum opened. Laura McKie explicitly states the emphasis on voting in several interviews (McKie, 2020; Nappier, 2020; Salmon, 2020; Weinsteing, 2020). For example, McKie argues, "the message we are trying to impart is that women were imprisoned here, and those on the hunger strikes did it for the right to vote, so it is our responsibility to vote" (as cited in Weinsteing, 2020, para. 3). She also explained that "it behooves us to follow their lead" when she was asked about the museum exhibit that encourages people to vote in local and national elections (as cited in Salmon, 2020, para. 7). Finally, Nappier (2020) explains, "McKie suggests that the best way to honor the women who were willing to fight and die for the right to vote is for all of us today to vote in every election, whether local, state or national" (para. 19). Therefore, the second explicitly stated purpose of the museum is to encourage people to vote, which I will explore in the following section.

Analysis

The Lucy Burns Museum memorializes the Workhouse's history as a prison but dedicates much of the space to remembering its connection to women's suffrage. The various exhibits display and contextualize suffragists' body rhetoric for visitors. As explored in chapter 4, suffragists' efforts focused primarily on their own self-interests (i.e., gaining the right to vote for middle/upper-class, white women). Essentially the same worldview is used in the LBM through the exhibitions to memorialize suffragists' body rhetoric. In other words, the museum presents a chapter of U.S. history featuring white, middle/upper-class women and their embodied efforts to gain the right to vote. The museum takes further steps to encourage visitors to acknowledge and honor the women's courageous acts of citizenship by exercising their hard-won and well-protected right to vote. To explore how suffragists' body rhetoric is memorialized to achieve purposes specific to visitors of the Lucy Burns Museum, I describe how their actions of picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings are presented. I attend to how bodies-as-rhetoric and body-based arguments present their embodied actions and contribute to how they are remembered.

Picketing the White House

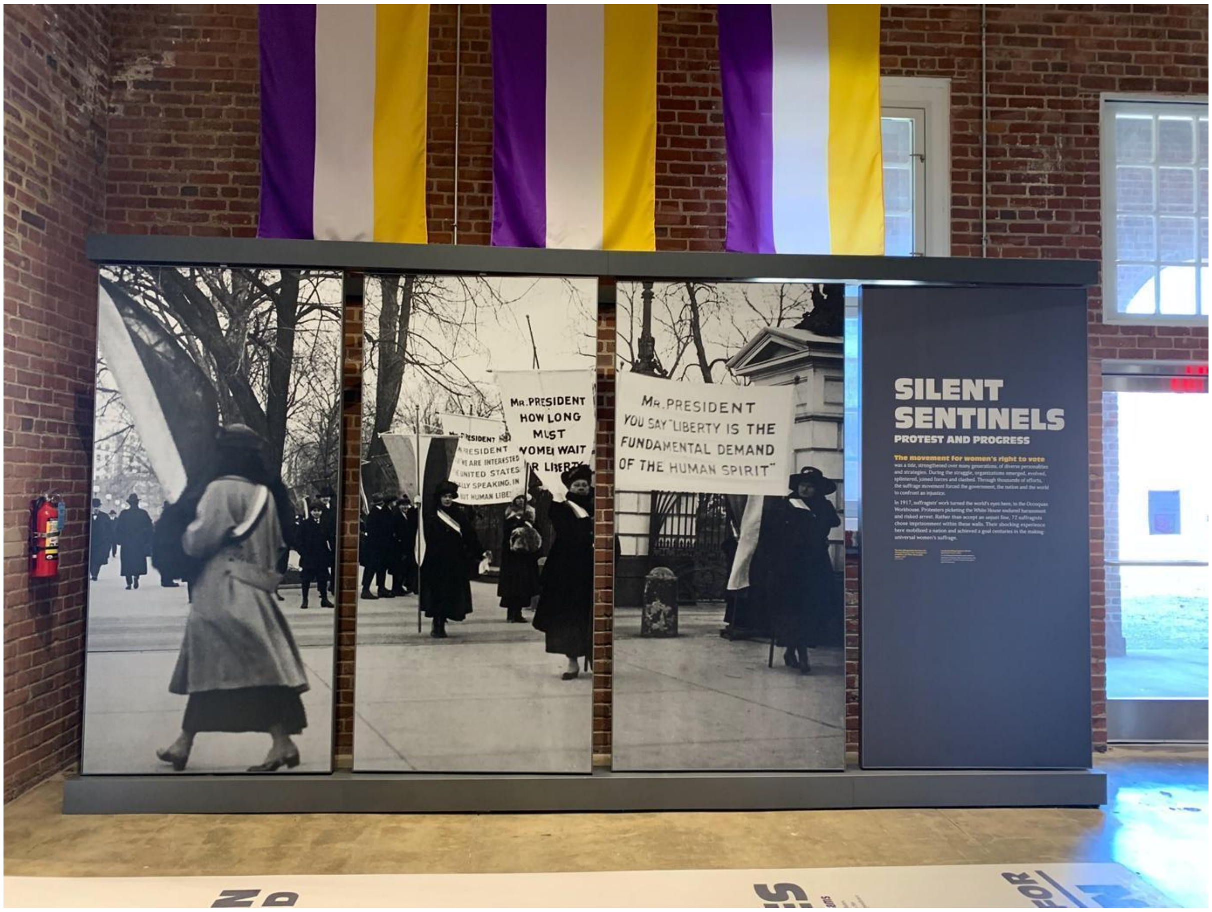
Suffragists' embodied strategy of picketing the White House is made visible in the Lucy Burns Museum in multiple ways, including images and recreations of picketing. Along with these visual depictions, there is information for visitors to read to contextualize further the radical yet peaceful nature of the tactic. These exhibits educate viewers on suffragists' picketing and establish the embodied tactic as an essential marker for suffrage and U.S. history. In doing so, the museum asks viewers to recognize the suffragists' displays of civic engagement and honor their efforts by voting. To uncover how the museum presents suffragists' body rhetoric and body-based arguments in these ways, I offer the analysis of various exhibits below.

Early in the museum experience, several large panels depict suffragists picketing. The panels make their embodied rhetoric visible and clearly mark this strategy as important for viewers. Figure 11 displays an image of suffragists picketing the White House with their signs, spanning over several panels, which begin the suffrage side of the museum. Picketing is further contextualized for viewers through body-based arguments in the written text accompanying the images. The photos of women picketing do not show the risks of the strategy or how it was seen as radical on its own. The written text tells visitors how to interpret the body rhetoric. The "Silent Sentinels" panel explains:

> Protesters picketing the White House endured harassment and risked arrest. Rather than accept an unjust fine, 72 suffragists chose imprisonment within these walls. Their shocking experience here mobilized a nation and achieved a goal centuries in the making, universal women's suffrage. (*Silent Sentinels,* n.d.)

With this information, viewers are presented with an interpretation of picketing as a risky strategy that enacted their commitments to protesting injustice and led to the passing of the 19th amendment. McKie (2020) explains that the museum helps demonstrate that "women from all social strata risked their health and reputations to protest, and it's estimated that two thousand took a turn on the picket line" (para. 4). While picketing may not seem like a big deal to contemporary visitors, the exhibit seeks for audiences to recognize these events are a part of history and that suffragists' actions were courageous acts of citizenship. The written text suggesting picketing mobilized a nation could also imply that museum visitors ought to be mobilized or inspired to vote by finding significance or learning more about broader implications of voting displayed in the LBM.

Figure 11 also works to display suffragists picketing to allow visitors to link their actions to U.S. history, which may have been overlooked previously. It is noteworthy, then, that the images of the women indicate the lawful and peaceful nature of suffragists' picketing by showing several women dressed in warm clothes holding their signs with calls for liberty.



The movement for women's right to vote was a tide, strengthened over many generations, of diverse personalities and strategies. During the struggle, organizations emerged, evolved, splintered, joined forces and clashed. Through thousands of efforts, the suffrage movement forced the government, the nation and the world to confront an injustice.

In 1917, suffragists' work turned the world's eyes here, to the Occoquan Workhouse. Protesters picketing the White House endured harassment and risked arrest. Rather than accept an unjust fine, 72 suffragists chose imprisonment within these walls. Their shocking experience here mobilized a nation and achieved a goal centuries in the making: universal women's suffrage.

Figure 11*: Silent Sentinels: Protest and process*. Photo by author.

The women are not yelling, destroying property, or rioting, for example. The suffragists' picketing is further contextualized as a peaceful yet radical strategy for visitors. The "Activist Alternative" panel discusses how Alice Paul and Lucy Burns were frustrated with previous suffrage organizations' strategies, which led to their use of picketing. The panel states, "though they did not condone violence or vandalism, they witnessed – and learned from – the British movement's radical, confrontational tactics" (*Activist Alternative*, n.d.). The museum frames the women's actions as peaceful (not confrontational) and radical (difficult for those in power to ignore). This framing is particularly noteworthy because, unlike responses from 1917, the suffragists' actions are revered and celebrated in the LBM as markers of suffrage history.

The peaceful nature of picketing is similarly emphasized in the coverage of the exhibits. For instance, Burnett (2020) explains, “Burns and Paul are the reason American suffragist protests were peaceful” in comparison to British suffrage protests that led to harm to protestors and deaths in some cases (para. 4). The implication is that the National Woman’s Party (NWP) exercised its right to assemble peacefully, which was justified for their political cause and should be remembered as such. One of the panels in the museum explicitly argues this by explaining, “on Labor Day 1917, eleven suffragists were arrested for picketing a war draftee parade. This time, they argued their picket was an act of legal protest protected by the Constitution” (*Political prisoners*, n.d.). In these ways, the museum encourages visitors to interpret the suffragists picketing as extraordinary, civil performances of civic virtues, like using their legal right to assemble to protest the injustice of unequal access to voting.

The museum and press coverage describe the physical and mental strength needed to picket that might be lost on visitors to memorialize the women’s extraordinary efforts further. For example, the statue of Dora Lewis depicts her picketing, a strategy that often displayed the women’s strength given the conditions they endured. Lewis is seen in a heavier coat holding a hand warmer with a sign calling for “votes for women” (see Figure 12). Lewis’s attire is representative of the outfits many suffragists wear in the photos of them picketing in the museum (see Figure 11). Therefore, displaying the suffragists’ embodied pickets demonstrates to viewers the women’s strength by signaling the weather and conditions they faced. McKie (2020) explains, “they stood in front of Woodrow Wilson’s office rain or shine, day or night, six days a week, from January through November 1917” (para. 1). Suffragists endured poor weather conditions, and in doing so, they also risked their well-being, health, and future arrests. Laura McKie explained:

> I mean the gutsiness of picketing, knowing that you were going to be arrested and put into jail. I wouldn't have had the bravery to do that, especially considering the jail conditions in those days…I think that kind of bravery is something people need to know about. (as cited in Nappier, 2020, para. 13)

Through McKie's statement and the museum itself, it becomes clear that suffragists' embodied strategy of picketing to protest is memorialized and presented as a stable, key marker in the fight for women's suffrage. In other words, there does not appear to be any contention over presenting the women's embodied rhetoric as peaceful, legal enactments of their civic duty to advocate for women's rights. In doing so, the museum asks viewers to recognize suffragists' courage to fight injustice, even at high personal costs.

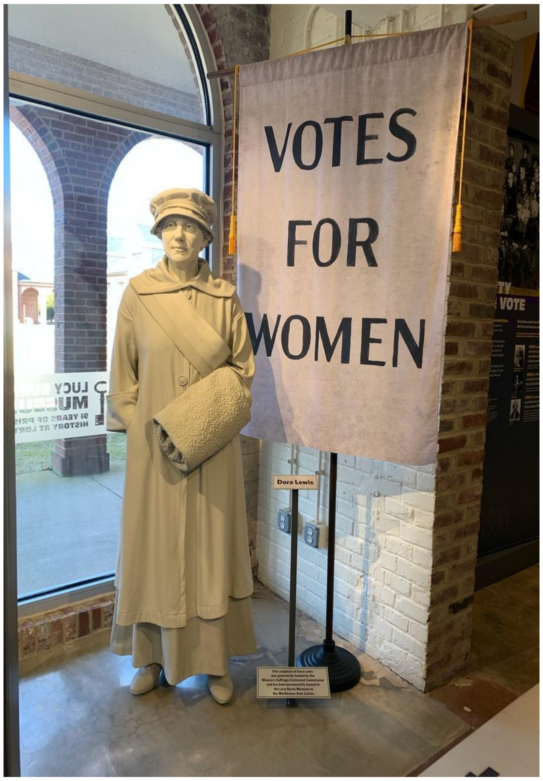


Figure 12: *Dora Lewis statue*. Photo by author.

Further, the LBM encourages visitors to recognize picketing as a performance of civic virtues by creating an opportunity to enact body rhetoric in the museum. Visitors can put on recreations of sashes in the suffragists' signature purple, white, and gold colors with the words "votes for women" (see Figure 13). The instructions read, "pick up a sash and snap a picture to stand in solidarity with the suffragists #LucyBurnsMuseum." This allows visitors to literally embody an aspect of the picketing strategy by wearing a sash and circulating the image on social media to inform a wider audience about this topic.

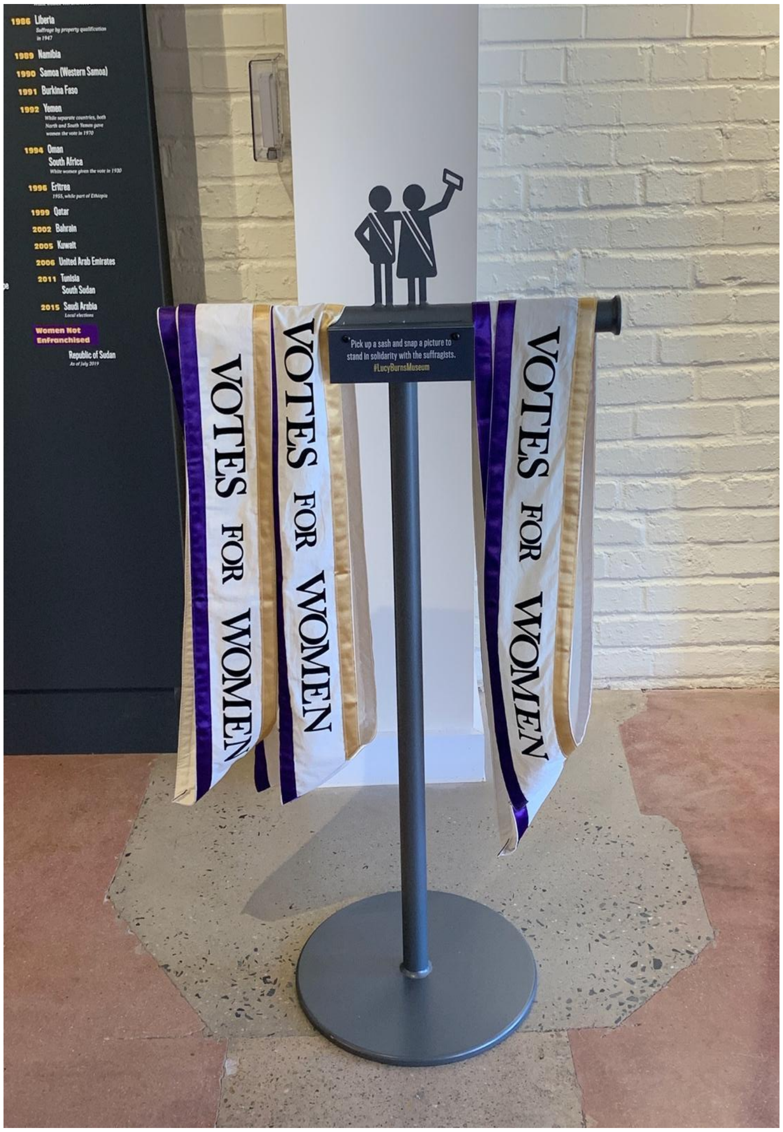

1986 Liberia
Suffrage by property qualification in 1947
1989 Namibia
1990 Samoa (Western Samoa)
1991 Burkina Faso
1992 Yemen
While separate countries, both North and South Yemen gave women the vote in 1970
1994 Oman
South Africa
White women given the vote in 1930
1996 Eritrea
1955, while part of Ethiopia
1999 Qatar
2002 Bahrain
2005 Kuwait
2006 United Arab Emirates
2011 Tunisia
South Sudan
2015 Saudi Arabia
Local elections
Women Not Enfranchised
Republic of Sudan
As of July 2019
Pick up a sash and snap a picture to stand in solidarity with the suffragists.
#LucyBurnsMuseum
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN
VOTES FOR WOMEN

Figure 13: *Votes for women exhibit.* Photo by author.

Considering likely audiences for the museum (i.e., wealthy tourists, local audiences, women, etc.), it would be easy enough for white middle-class people to stand in solidarity with white middle-class women picketing for women's right to vote by wearing a sash and taking a photo to identify with suffragists. Specifically, the exhibit centers on suffragists' picketing from 1917 and memorializes their embodied actions to gain the right to vote while in turn encouraging visitors to recognize those efforts and vote when they can.

The interactive exhibit includes a space for photo opportunities that highlight the embodied nature of suffragists picketing and create some conditions for visitors to share that identity (see Figure 14). Once visitors wear a sash, they can stand alongside an image of other suffragists picketing to symbolize participating in an actual suffrage protest. Audiences can become one of the many suffragists in the photo with a life-size image encompassing the entire background. This exhibit inserts the visitor's body into the pickets literally, albeit missing the risks that suffragists assumed when picketing themselves. Obviously, visitors do not face arrests or violence by wearing the sash and pretending to picket nor do most white, middle-class visitors contend with not having the right to vote or voter suppression (Brennan Center, 2022a). The focus is on displaying political identity and commitments to recognizing suffragists' picketing as heroic and courageous and less on acting in ways that protect voter rights or remove contemporary barriers to voting. In these ways, the museum situates picketing as a stable marker of suffrage history firmly rooted in the past versus a site to push for more social action relevant to contemporary voters.

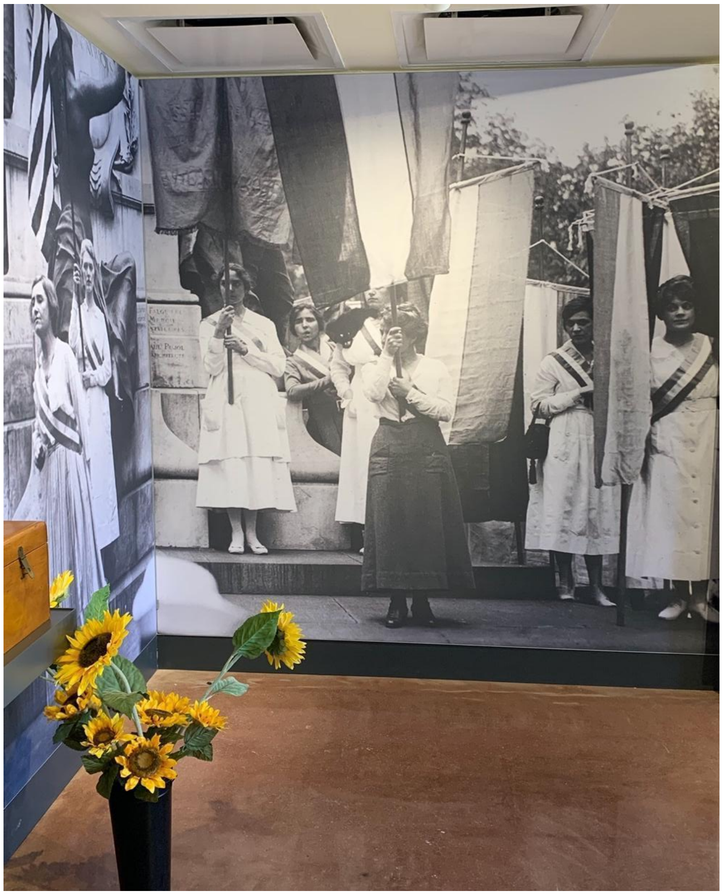


Figure 14: *Background to take a photo*. Photo by author.

To further support that claim, the "Why Vote?" exhibit is directly to the left of the photo opportunity. It continues to link women's historical enactment of civic responsibilities, like protesting and fighting injustice, and attempts to get visitors to live up to civic responsibilities and vote themselves (see Figure 15). The text reads that only "55.7% of those eligible voted in the last election." This exhibit encourages viewers to recognize the importance of voting in a democracy and overcome voter apathy by bringing to bear the women's sacrifices for suffrage. McKie explained, "the message we are trying to impart is that women were imprisoned here, and those on the hunger strikes did it for the right to vote, so it is our responsibility to vote" (as cited in Weinsteing, 2020, para. 3). Again, the call is not to recognize those who still do not have access or equal access to voting over 100 years later. The "Why Vote?" panel further explains:

> It's been more than a century since women fought to win the right to vote. Suffragists endured abuse, served prison time and even faced death to obtain this right. Why does voting matter? What sacrifices would you make to protect the right to vote? Will you vote in the next election? Tell us what you think below and “cast” your ballot. (*Why vote?*, n.d.)

These explicit calls to action are designed to get visitors to recognize what suffragists sacrificed for democracy. However, they notably lack calls to action to follow suffragists’ lead to protest and fight for injustice. Instead, this information creates a context for visitors to see themselves as good citizens who have an obligation to vote and see that roughly half of the people eligible to vote in 2016 did not. In other words, they should vote to honor the hard-won fight for women’s suffrage and help reaffirm those efforts were not wasted, even if, over 100 years later, people take voting for granted. This sentiment is echoed by Weinsteing (2020), who argues:

> We tend to take for granted that women have always been earning their own money, living on their own, sitting at the decision-making table in offices, schools, courtrooms, government and boardrooms, or able to vote. (para. 1)

Finally, the “Why Vote?” panel appears to align with McKie’s intent for the museum. Nappier (2020) explains, “McKie suggests that the best way to honor the women who were willing to fight and die for the right to vote is for all of us today to vote in every election, whether local, state or national” (para. 19). This quote supports how the LBM and its exhibits create a context where not voting signals dishonoring heroes, like others framed and described in U.S. history, who were willing to fight and die for democracy. While getting visitors to vote is a difficult task and not necessarily measurable, the exhibits themselves ask visitors to recognize and see the suffragists’ use of body rhetoric and honor their memory by voting.

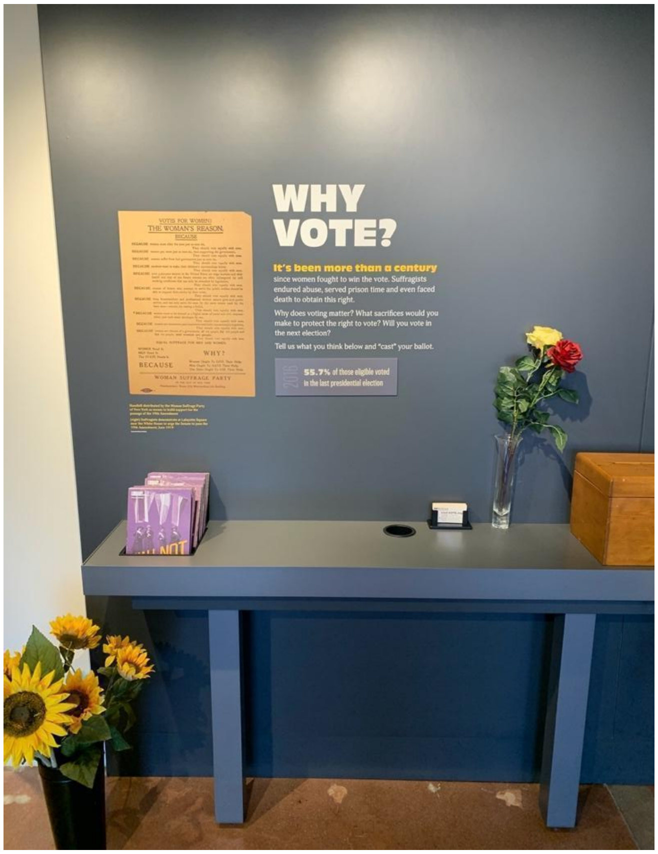

VOTES FOR WOMEN
THE WOMAN'S REASON
BECAUSE
WHY?
WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
WHY VOTE?
It's been more than a century
since women fought to win the vote. Suffragists endured abuse, served prison time and even faced death to obtain this right.
Why does voting matter? What sacrifices would you make to protect the right to vote? Will you vote in the next election?
Tell us what you think below and "cast" your ballot.
2016
55.7% of those eligible voted in the last presidential election

Figure 15: *Why vote?* Photo by author.

Notably, and as I have emphasized throughout this section, there is no mention of the difficulties current voters face or the discrimination, limitations, inequity, and more of voting in the United States or during the time of the suffrage movement. For example, while the nineteenth amendment was ratified in 1920, it was not until 1965 that the Voting Rights Act was signed into law, which “outlawed the discriminatory voting practices adopted in many southern states after the Civil War, including literacy tests as a prerequisite to voting” (“Voting Rights Act of 1965,” 2022). Further, the nineteenth amendment did not secure voting rights for “American Indians, Asian Americans, residents of the District of Columbia, residents of US territories, African American men or women” (*The African American fight for suffrage*, n.d). Discrimination surrounding voting rights continues and voter suppression remains a problematic, contemporary reality in the United States. For example, in 2022, “legislators in at least 27 states have introduced, pre-filed, or carried over 250 bills with restrictive provisions” (Brennan Center, 2022a). Further, other voting inequities include strict voter identification laws that disproportionally impact voters from marginalized communities, lack of access to the needed voter identification materials, reduced voter turnout due to polling place restrictions, longer wait times to vote, lack of transportation access, and more (ACLU, 2021; Brennan Center, 2022b; Davies, 2022; League of Women Voters, 2022). These barriers to voting, historically and contemporarily, are absent from the call for visitors to vote, which again speaks to target audiences of the museum that may not experience these constraints. In this instance, certain identities in the exhibit are clearly privileged over others, speaking to what the museum makes visible and silences.

Prominent and explicitly stated goals of the museum are to make suffragists' experiences at the Workhouse visible to visitors and get people to vote. Although the exhibits are designed to get people to vote, they are not designed to get people to follow suffragists’ lead in advocating for making changes necessary for meaningful universal suffrage or even preserving some safeguards for voting rights. In other words, another conclusion that could be drawn from audiences viewing the museum is the need to collectively protect and fight for the right to vote for all citizens, as this was not always a guaranteed right. However, this call to action is remarkably absent. Similar disparities exist in the body rhetoric and body-based arguments used to contextualize the suffragists’ imprisonment at the Workhouse.

Imprisonment

It is not surprising that the Lucy Burns Museum mainly focuses on the suffragists’ imprisonment at the Occoquan Workhouse, given it is where 72 suffragists were sent to serve their sentences (“Lucy Burns Museum,” 2020; Nappier, 2020). When Laura McKie was tasked with collecting materials for the museum, she began with three prison logs that coincided with the years the suffragists were imprisoned at the Workhouse (Nappier, 2020, para. 10). This coincidence is even more salient considering these logs are some of the only primary source materials left because after the prison was closed in 2001, almost everything was thrown out (McKie, 2020). The three prison logs were literally taken out of the trash and saved by former employee Irma Clifton (Nappier, 2020). McKie explained that from those books, “I know their names and the amount of time they were sentenced to. And I know what they were arrested for, like ‘obstructing the free passage of the sidewalk’ and ‘obstructing crowds.’ Things that were not crimes” (as cited in Nappier, 2020, para. 11). The suffragists were sentenced to jail and imprisoned at the Workhouse. The museum offers many depictions and information relating to suffragists’ body rhetoric while imprisoned that work to teach visitors about their experiences and encourage them to interpret their actions in particular ways (i.e., as extraordinary displays of civic action, protesting for a just, political cause, courageous, etc.) using body-based arguments.

An explicitly stated function of the LBM is to illustrate and present suffragists’ experiences while imprisoned at the Workhouse. McKie, the curator and then director, said, “We try to get people to leave with respect for the courage for the women who were willing to go to prison for the right to vote” (as cited in Weinsteing, 2020, para. 3). The body-based arguments in the exhibits strengthen calls for visitors to interpret the women’s actions as courageous. With this goal in mind, visitors are meant to learn about the history of the suffrage movement and find a sense of respect or at least acknowledge the risks they endured for suffrage. Nappier (2020) explains, “McKie helped build a museum that teaches visitors about the suffrage movement and the prison where women were sent for picketing for the right to vote” (para. 1). Hand (2020) echoes these claims and argues the museum “will appeal to both women's suffrage history buffs and people who know little about how women fought long and hard to win the right to vote" (para. 1). Therefore, the exhibits relating to suffragists' imprisonment work to accomplish the goal of getting visitors to learn about their body rhetoric. They do so through displays of the women's bodies, interpreting those displays through body-based arguments, and creating embodied experiences for visitors.

A common method of contextualizing suffragists' bodies while imprisoned is presenting them as political prisoners. This classification was contested by suffragists and their opponents in 1917 as explored in chapter 4. However, the museum clearly, and only, refers to them as political prisoners. The "Political Prisoners" panel includes a quote by a suffragist explaining:

> We are not citizens. We are not represented. We are silently, peacefully attempting to gain the freedom of twenty million women in the United States of America. We have broken no law. We are guilty of no crime. We have been illegally arrested. We demand our freedom, and we shall continue to ask for it until the government acts. (*Political prisoners*, n.d.)

This quote interprets suffragists' picketing as a just political cause, making their arrests unlawful. The same panel mentions that "the courts granted them no political recognition," which led to the women's imprisonment at the Workhouse (*Political prisoners*, n.d.). In these ways, suffragists' bodies are evoked to support their claims that picketing did not warrant their arrests and encourage visitors to interpret their performances as peaceful protests.

Further, visitors are presented with information about the suffragists' roles as political prisoners and body rhetoric to see them as intentional, collective strategies that set them apart from other prisoners. For example, McKie (2020) explains that the suffragists "purposefully sought getting arrested – and being called political prisoners – as well as going on hunger strikes, to garner media and public attention" (para. 9). This quote frames suffragists' body rhetoric through picketing and arrests as intentional strategies to help visitors recognize how the women leveraged their bodies for their cause. The "Suffragists Behind Bars" panel argues, "they refused to wear prison garb or do prison work like sewing and laundry. They asserted that, as political prisoners, they should be treated differently" (*Suffragists behind bars*, n.d.). Here, there is a connection between what work suffragists were willing to perform and calls for recognition of political prisoner status. In other words, the LBM presents the suffragists' identities as political prisoners giving them grounds to continue to protest their imprisonment and that they were distinct from other prisoners. Visitors, for example, do not see any coverage of the horrible, systemic conditions at the Workhouse or any broader critiques of imprisoning women for sex work and other charges that could broaden the experiences and representation memorialized in the museum.[12]

The suffragists' bodies are displayed through images in the museum that work to further memorialize their imprisonment and make these realities visible. Two common images of suffragists imprisoned are present in the LBM (see Figure 16). Lucy Burns is depicted in front of her cell at the Workhouse, and Abby Scott Baker is depicted in her prison attire. Both images are analyzed in chapter 4 for the ways in which they display the suffragists' strength and pride and publicize their imprisonment. However, read in a contemporary context with little or no knowledge about the suffragists' imprisonment, these photos seem more like portraits. In other words, they do not display the horrific realities of the Workhouse. Instead, the images accompany the body-based arguments in the text below designed to get visitors to recognize civic virtues enacted by suffragists (i.e., they chose imprisonment versus paying a fine in pursuit of gaining the right to vote for women).

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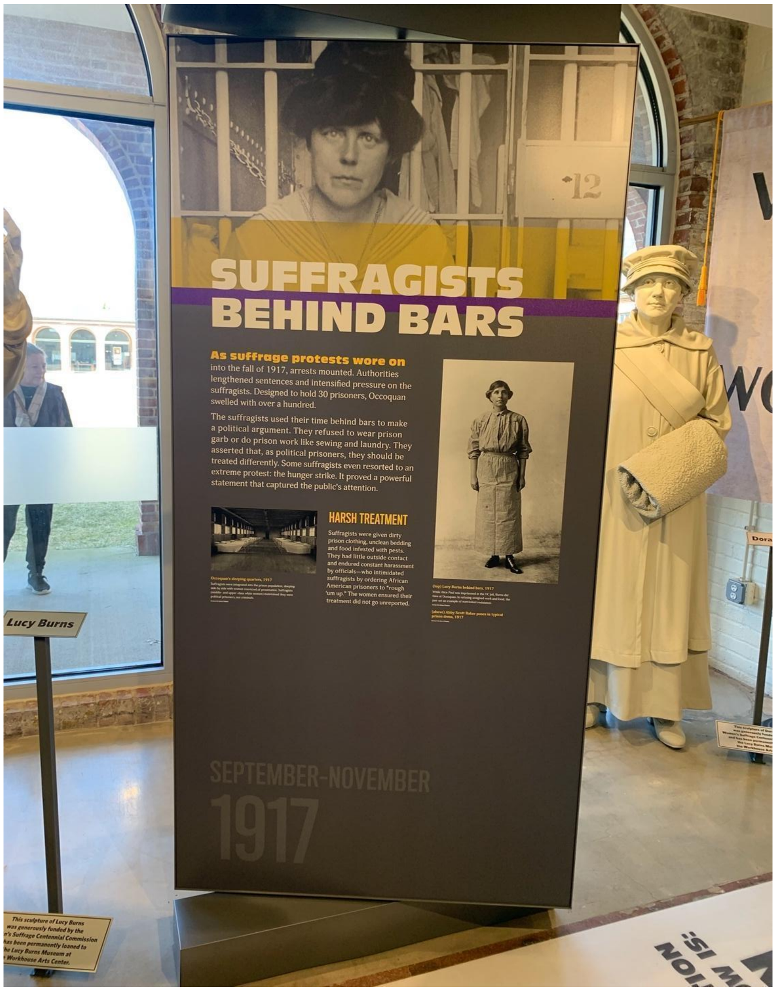
[12] See Ford (1991) and Stevens (1995) for their references to suffragists complaints and comments about being imprisoned with prostitutes.


12
SUFFRAGISTS BEHIND BARS
HARSH TREATMENT
Occoquan's sleeping quarters, 1917
(top) Lucy Burns behind bars, 1917
(above) Abby Scott Baker poses in typical prison dress, 1917
SEPTEMBER–NOVEMBER 1917
Lucy Burns

As suffrage protests wore on into the fall of 1917, arrests mounted. Authorities lengthened sentences and intensified pressure on the suffragists. Designed to hold 30 prisoners, Occoquan swelled with over a hundred.

The suffragists used their time behind bars to make a political argument. They refused to wear prison garb or do prison work like sewing and laundry. They asserted that, as political prisoners, they should be treated differently. Some suffragists even resorted to an extreme protest: the hunger strike. It proved a powerful statement that captured the public's attention.

Suffragists were given dirty prison clothing, unclean bedding and food infested with pests. They had little outside contact and endured constant harassment by officials—who intimidated suffragists by ordering African American prisoners to "rough 'um up." The women ensured their treatment did not go unreported.

Figure 16: *Suffragists behind bars*. Photo by author.

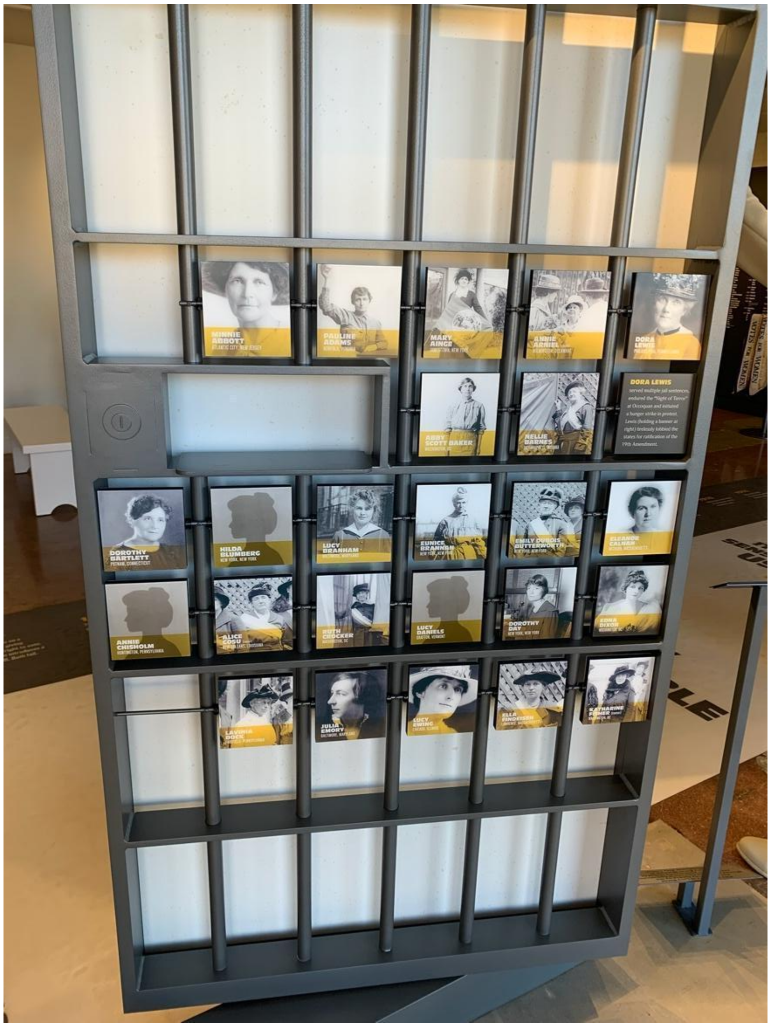
For example, the Night of Terror is emphasized to help contextualize suffragists' imprisonment for visitors through body-based arguments. The "Night of Terror" panel includes information on the violence and harm suffragists experienced from prison officials. It explains:

> Thirty new prisoners arrived at Occoquan on November 14 – they were greeted by dozens of armed guards wielding clubs. Some were dragged to the Men's Workhouse, others were beaten and kicked. Lucy Burns spent the night handcuffed to her cell door. Guards threw 73-year-old Mary Nolan into her cell and bashed Dora Lewis's head

> against the wall, knocking her unconscious. Alice Cosu suffered a heart attack thinking Lewis had died. (*Night of Terror,* n.d.)

This panel vividly explains the violence suffragists endured at the Workhouse. For visitors with no knowledge of these events, the information certainly presents the horrific experiences suffragists faced at the hands of prison guards in ways photos of the imprisoned women do not. However, after learning about picketing and suffragists' arrests up to this point in the museum, this information further contextualizes the risks the women undertook to seek the right to vote to create a sense of respect for their actions versus critiquing this treatment in the first place.

The museum does not shy away from displaying imagery connecting suffragists' bodies to their sentences at the Workhouse, solidifying their embodied experiences as crucial to passing the nineteenth amendment. For example, if a visitor spins the panels with information about their imprisonment, they see a recreated cell door with images of the suffragists between each bar (see Figure 17). There are three of these panels representing the 72 women sentenced there. These panels succinctly show suffragists' bodies behind bars to help memorialize their embodied protesting. In other words, visitors are encouraged to see the women's imprisonment as one more element of their fight for suffrage and enactment of their civic duties in seeking women's right to vote. In turn, visitors can overcome ignorance about suffragists' body rhetoric and respect and honor their actions by voting.


MINNIE ABBOTT
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
PAULINE ADAMS
MARY AINGE
ANNIE ARNIEL
DORA LEWIS
ABBY SCOTT BAKER
NELLIE BARNES
DOROTHY BARTLETT
PUTNAM, CONNECTICUT
HILDA BLUMBERG
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
LUCY BRANHAM
EUNICE BRANNAN
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
EMILY DUBOIS BUTTERWORTH
ELEANOR CALNAN
ANNIE CHISHOLM
HUNTINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA
ALICE COSU
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
RUTH CROCKER
WASHINGTON, DC
LUCY DANIELS
GRAFTON, VERMONT
DOROTHY DAY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
EDNA DIXON
LAVINIA DOCK
JULIA EMORY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
LUCY EWING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
ELLA FINDEISEN
KATHARINE FISHER
WASHINGTON, DC

DORA LEWIS
served multiple jail sentences, endured the "Night of Terror" at Occoquan and initiated a hunger strike in protest. Lewis (holding a banner at right) tirelessly lobbied the states for ratification of the 19th Amendment.

Figure 17: *Suffragists imprisoned at the Workhouse*. Photo by author.

Several museum reviews also highlight the violence suffragists experienced to create a sense of admiration for their civic efforts and to interpret the suffragists' body rhetoric in particular ways for visitors. Michelson (2020) explains:

> What we are not often taught are the stories of the women, including Lucy Burns, who were jailed, beaten and force-fed in a Virginia jail for protesting for women's right to vote in front of the White House. The small but riveting new Lucy Burns Museum at the notorious Workhouse Center displays details of the horrendous, violent way women were treated there. (para. 9)

The author emphasizes and continues to discuss their horrendous treatment vividly. Similarly, Hahn (2020) argues, “the focus of the museum remains the harrowing stories of the suffragists, their brave actions, and the brutal treatment that helped galvanize support for their cause” (para. 8). Their coverage of the museum emphasizes the violent treatment of women, the bravery of their actions, and how their embodied strategies continued to garner support for women’s suffrage. Further, using these body-based arguments works to center suffragists’ body rhetoric as key memory markers for linking their imprisonment to the eventual passing of the 19th amendment. Visitors see the suffragists imprisoned and read about their experiences but are not asked to critique them or the Workhouse’s responsibility. Instead, the focus remains on interpreting the women’s body rhetoric as extraordinary displays of fighting injustice in voting laws even at a personal cost.

Additionally, visitors are encouraged to acknowledge the women’s civic efforts by purchasing replicas of the Jailed for Freedom pins in the gift shop, creating another link to remember the suffragists’ imprisonment (see Figure 18). The pins frame the women’s imprisonment as critical markers for suffrage history by depicting a cell door as a symbol to remember their actions and the trip to the museum itself. Further, the ability to buy a pin speaks to potential audiences visiting. In other words, the gift shop could indicate tourists or local visitors that would want to have something tangible to take home with them to remember the trip. Buying souvenirs creates yet another rhetorical element that makes the suffragists’ imprisonment visible to audiences outside the museum's walls. In other words, wearing the pins as a performance of body rhetoric is designed to display visitors’ identities as informed citizens, perhaps more educated than audiences who might not know anything about the suffragists’ imprisonment. The pins could also symbolize that visitors met the calls to action to learn about a piece of U.S. history by wanting to retain those memories.

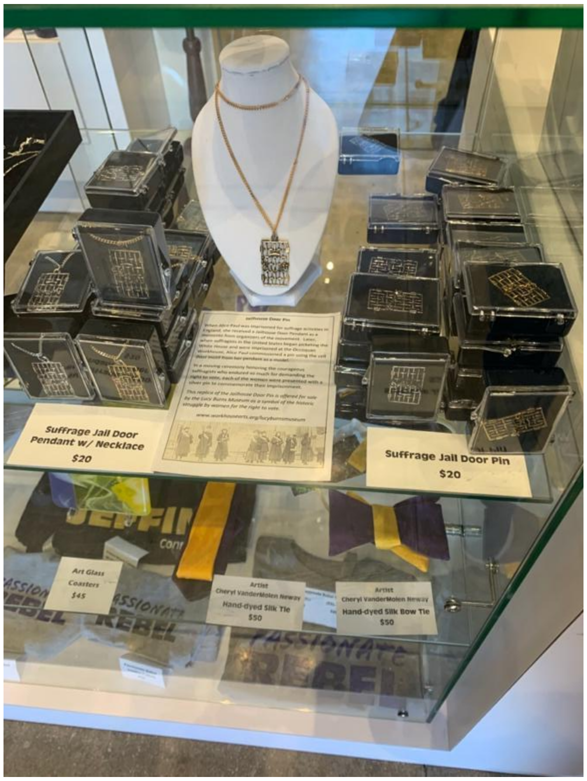

Suffrage Jail Door Pendant w/ Necklace
$20
Suffrage Jail Door Pin
$20
Art Glass Coasters
$45
Artist
Cheryl VanderMolen Neway
Hand-dyed Silk Tie
$50
Artist
Cheryl VanderMolen Neway
Hand-dyed Silk Bow Tie
$50
PASSIONATE REBEL

Figure 18: *Photo of gift shop display case*. Photo by author.

The final aspect I discuss regarding how suffragists' imprisonment is made visible and memorialized in the museum is the cellblock tour. This tour offers an embodied experience for visitors for a 5-dollar cost/donation to the museum.[13] The entrance to this exhibit is through a recreated jail door that leads to the restored cellblock (see Figure 19). Visitors begin by literally walking through a jail door. After moving through the entire museum, this action creates a feeling of identification with the suffragists' experiences and other prisoners throughout the location's history. It is also unsettling to freely walk through the door into a cellblock with a history of violence, overcrowding, and more (*Close Lorton,* n.d.). Several accounts on the history of the Workhouse side of the museum explain the site's violence from prisoners and guards, riots, and high recidivism rates at the prison (*From the Workhouse to the Wall*, n.d.). This information further complicates how visitors interact with the guided cellblock tour by placing their bodies in the same spaces where prisoners were mistreated and served their sentences. It makes the prisoners' lived experiences legible for visitors that may be unfamiliar with the realities of Workhouse's history, albeit to a much lesser degree, and mediated given its current function as a museum.

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[13] If visitors do not pay for the tour, they are unable to access the cellblock tour.

Once visitors walk through the recreated cell door, they proceed down one side of the cellblock and can see into cell after cell that have been painted and restored (see Figure 9 and Figure 20). The tour consists of mostly walking down the hallway with empty cells lining the way. However, there are two exhibits in actual cells. One is force-feeding a suffragist, which I will explore in a later section. The other focuses on the history of the Workhouse as it was intended as an outdoor, self-sufficient location where farming and labor were meant to reform prisoners for lesser charges. The choice to place these exhibits in actual cells further solidifies memories of the Workhouse as a jail. Visitors can put their bodies in the space and embody the museum's history by walking through an essential piece of the Workhouse, its cells. However, there are still no critiques offered of the prison's responsibility for the severe overcrowding, violence from guards, how these realities came to be, or even broader criticisms of prisons. Instead, a majority of the context about the prison's history must be read outside of the cellblock tour.

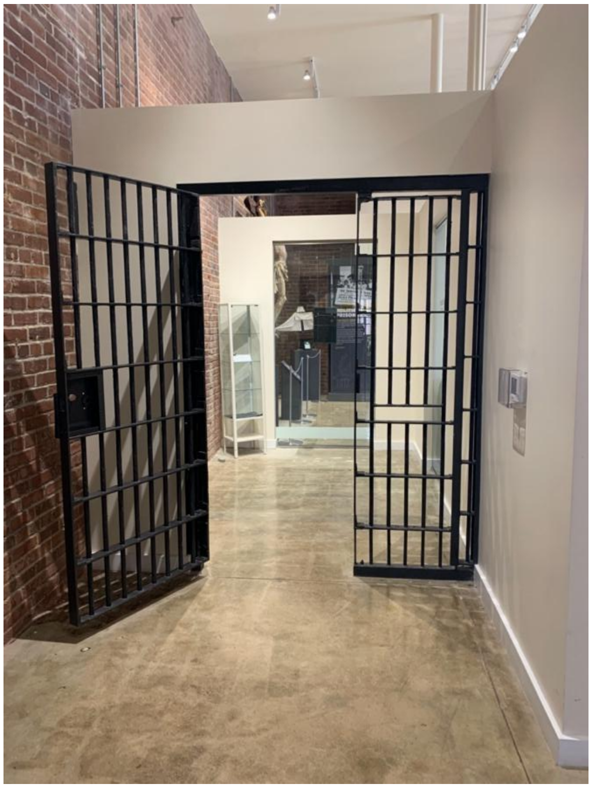

Figure 19: *Entrance to guided cellblock tour*. Photo by author.

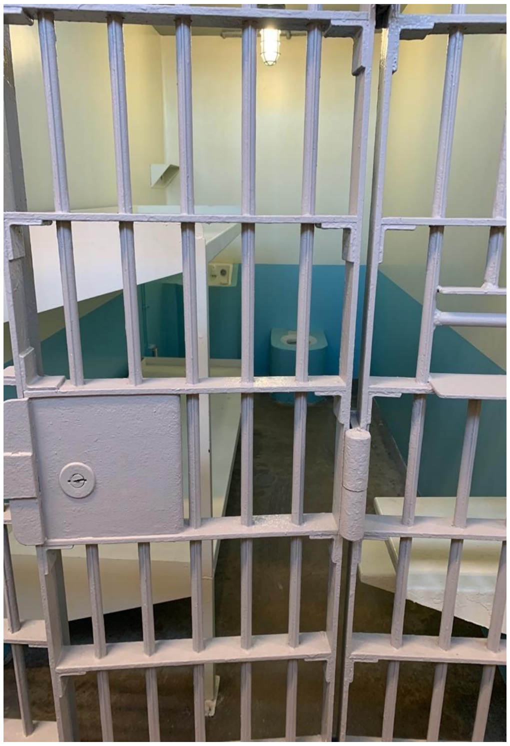

Figure 20: *Picture of cell in the tour.* Photo by author.

It is indeed a strange feeling to be able to walk through the space where violence and horrific things happened to many prisoners, not just to suffragists. To a much lesser degree, the ability to walk through the space and embody what it might have been like certainly puts the rest of the museum in context in terms of what suffragists endured for their cause. The tour makes the suffragists' encounters vividly experiential to museum-goers that may have no idea of the Workhouse's history or its connection to the suffrage movement.

The cellblock tour is particularly interesting when thinking about memories visitors could hold after leaving. Perhaps visitors' visceral feelings while walking through the cellblock tour remain with them and serve as critical markers to remember the trip. I can only speak for myself, but when thinking about my time at the museum, I instantly recall the uneasy feelings and sense of being out of place that I felt walking through the exhibit. After researching and analyzing suffragists' body rhetoric, I was still shocked and uneasy during the tour. In other words, being in the cellblock contextualized the suffragists' memory and work for a federal amendment that reading about it, even first-hand accounts, did not accomplish. Returning to McKie's goal for the museum, I gained a deeper sense of respect for the suffragists and their body rhetoric as it intersects with the Workhouse.

What becomes clear throughout the analysis of the suffragists' imprisonment is how the museum displays their body rhetoric and uses body-based arguments to contextualize their efforts for visitors. The main goals for audiences are to recognize the women's imprisonment and connect it to U.S. history and get people to overcome voter apathy. The ways the museum memorializes suffragists' imprisonment and body rhetoric make their efforts as civic actors visible and encourages visitors to have a newfound respect for their actions. However, the museum does so at the cost of offering other prisoners' perspectives and experiences, calls to action for contemporary social change surrounding voting rights, critiques of the Workhouses' horrific history, and more. This trend continues in the museum's coverage of another key form of embodied protest used by the suffragists, the hunger strike.

Hunger Strikes

Interestingly, there is an absence of body-based arguments or vivid presentations of body rhetoric with respect to hunger strikes in the museum. This reality is in stark contrast to first-hand accounts of how difficult hunger-striking was for suffragists discussed in chapter 4. Even if the women were not force-fed, hunger-striking was difficult mentally, physically, and emotionally for suffragists. Yet, this context is missing for visitors, which is interesting given the exhibits work to encourage them to see how suffragists' body rhetoric displays strength, courage, and sacrifices for justice and the right to vote. The minimizing of the suffragists' hunger strikes could suggest to viewers that protestors should not use body rhetoric in "extreme" ways (i.e., not starve themselves and refuse food and water for hours to days on end). This position is consistent with the body-based arguments calling for people to vote rather than to continue fighting against the injustice of voter suppression explored in the previous sections. To support this argument, I analyze the three ways hunger strikes are mentioned in the museum and discourse surrounding it: as a strategy to change minds, to demonstrate suffragists' strength, and the use of the protest at the Occoquan Workhouse.

While not mentioned directly in the exhibits, the museum's website claims hunger strikes changed opinions toward a federal suffrage amendment. The website argues the suffragists' "treatment at the Workhouse along with their hunger strikes and continued pressure on lawmakers would play a pivotal role in changing the minds of President Woodrow Wilson and others" ("Lucy Burns Museum," 2022, para. 1). Further, Hand (2020) explains:

> In jail at the Lorton facility, Burns joined many other women in hunger strikes to demonstrate their commitment to their cause, asserting that they were political prisoners. The hunger strikes led to repeated and painful force-feedings. The prison leadership was instructed not to allow any of the hunger-strikers to die because a martyr in the prison would have generated even more national support for equal rights for women, including the right to vote. (para. 9)

These body-based arguments explaining the suffragists' hunger strikes highlight the risks associated with hunger striking, like force-feeding or death. However, framing hunger strikes in these ways focuses less on suffragists' bodies and what these experiences were like and more on how they enacted yet another display of civic action in seeking the right to vote.

In contrast, one exhibit contextualizes suffragists' hunger strikes to make their horrific treatment known to audiences through body-based arguments. The "Political Prisoners" panel explains:

> Alice Paul, Rose Winslow, and Kate Heffelfinger, imprisoned at the District jail, escalated their protest by going on a hunger strike and refusing to do prison work…For weeks, Paul endured isolation, constant monitoring, and purposeful sleep deprivation – all while on a hunger strike. (*Political prisoners,* n.d.)

This quote highlights the strength needed to endure hunger strikes while imprisoned. However, there are no descriptions of how the hunger strikes were organized, what the strategy looked like, or the various reasons suffragists chose to strike. Instead, they are presented as a stable, unquestioned tactic that suffragists turned to as a well-known form of in-prison protest. In doing so, much of the context about hunger strikes is absent for visitors.

This theme continues with direct mentions of hunger strikes at the Occoquan Workhouse throughout the museum exhibits and press coverage. Burnett (2020) explains that "during their 60-day sentences, some went on hunger strikes and were force-fed multiple times a day in their cells" (para. 6). Again, little context is provided for how the suffragists experienced these hunger strikes. The "Suffragists Behind Bars" panel mentions that "some suffragists even resorted to an extreme protest: the hunger strike. It proved a powerful statement that captured the public's attention" (*Suffragists behind bars*, n.d.). Referencing the "extreme" nature of the protest implies the suffragists' strength and intentional choice to strike, but it could be easily missed or overlooked by viewers. In other words, there is no information regarding what hunger strikes were like or how they affected suffragists' bodies and wellbeing.

Another example of how hunger strikes are interpreted for museum visitors is through Lucy Burns' role in the hunger strikes. One panel explains, "through hunger strikes and by agitating for political prisoner status, Lucy Burns (right) protested for women's rights – even while imprisoned at Occoquan" (*Suffragists behind bars,* n.d.). Here, hunger strikes are mentioned to memorialize their link to the Workhouse and create a connection for viewers that they happened in the museum's location. Further, as seen in the quotes in this section, the suffragists' hunger strikes are often mentioned along with their force-feeding to memorialize their body rhetoric. Suppose visitors are tourists or even local audiences learning about the Workhouse and its intersection with the suffrage movement for the first time. In that case, it is notable that hunger strikes are only mentioned in a few places and absent context of the embodied nature of the strategy. The absence could indicate the strategy is too extreme or radical for viewers by minimizing the experience in the history being retold. In other words, the call to action for the museum is to get visitors to vote, which does not require people for whom voting rights are secure to hunger strike to exercise that right currently, even though there are still barriers to voting for groups in the U.S., as explored above. The lack of attention given to hunger strikes is even more apparent in comparison to how the museum presents the spectacle of force-feeding viewers.

Force-Feeding

Suffragists' force-feeding is presented in the Lucy Burns Museum in multiple ways, including offering information and a first-hand account of this procedure and an exhibit in the cellblock tour. Also, while not explicitly stated, I submit the force-feeding exhibit works to target and overcome voter apathy by linking suffragists' force-feeding with visitors' visceral, embodied experiences of seeing the procedure enacted through mannequins. Like mentions of hunger strikes, few texts address force-feeding in the museum compared to suffragists' picketing and imprisonment. It is also noteworthy that visitors must pay to see the mannequins depicting force-feeding, which could imply the content should not be accessible to all viewers. Perhaps they exclude the mannequins from the main museum because they feel visitors can gain a solid understanding of suffrage history without the exhibit. Or maybe it is because seeing force-feeding is too extreme or graphic for all viewers. Or, as the mannequin display is something visitors can experience if they pay extra, the exhibit creates a sense of a spectacle, something to entice viewers enough to spend money. In other words, visitors are rewarded with experiencing this disturbing and haunting exhibit only if they pay, as if it is exclusive. I unpack these texts with special attention to how they present suffragists' body rhetoric and body-based arguments about their experiences to speak to their implications.

To begin, suffragists' force-feedings are often presented as a direct result and response from officials to their hunger strikes. For audiences learning about force-feeding for the first time, the procedure's impact and context are largely absent. For example, the "Political Prisoners" panel discusses Alice Paul, Rose Winslow, and Kate Heffelfinger's imprisonment at the District jail and their use of a hunger strike. Because of their protests, “force-feeding followed” (*Political prisoners*, n.d.). Unfortunately, there is no additional context about this process; it is just mentioned in those few words.

Further, the "Night of Terror" panel explains, "The suffragists began hunger strikes in protest, leading to repeated and painful force-feedings" (*Night of Terror*, n.d.). This quote provides brief insights into the repetitive and painful nature of force-feedings absent from the "Political Prisoners" panel. Finally, the “Remembering the Ladies” pamphlet that visitors can take home explains, “some suffragists at the Workhouse also went on hunger strikes and were force-fed by prison authorities” (Workhouse Arts Center, n.d.). However, these mentions of force-feeding allude to the suffragists' ability to endure these forms of torture without directly focusing on details of their embodied experiences or presenting them in ways the women’s imprisonment and picketing exhibits do. Visitors could easily overlook suffragists’ force-feedings if, for example, they were skimming the panels. The implication could be that these are not embodied strategies (i.e., hunger strikes and force-feedings) contemporary viewers need to consider adopting.

With that being said, there is an exception that vividly displays for visitors the horrific, violent, and dehumanizing nature of being force-fed. The “Night of Terror” panel reports a first-hand account from Lucy Burns and her experience being force-fed at the Workhouse. An excerpt from her quote reads:

> I was held down by five people at the legs, arms and head. I refused to open my mouth, Gannon pushed the tube up my left nostril. I turned and twisted my head all I could, but

> he managed to push it up. It hurts nose and throat very much and makes nose bleed freely. Tube drawn out covered with blood. Operation leaves one very sick. Food dumped directly into stomach feels like a ball of led. Left nostril, throat, and muscles of neck very sore all night. (as cited on *Night of Terror,* n.d.)[14]

Using Burns' first-hand experience provides additional context for the violent and torturous nature of the procedure, especially given the museum is named after her. However, even this first-hand account is much less prominent than the other details on the panel (see Figure 21). The font size is smaller comparatively, the block of text is offset to the side, and it appears under a picture not directly linked to force-feeding. While the first-hand account does make Burns' account visible, it can also be easily overlooked. Or, at the very least, seen as not as salient as other elements in the exhibit. More, this first-hand account is much more violent than the mannequins display.

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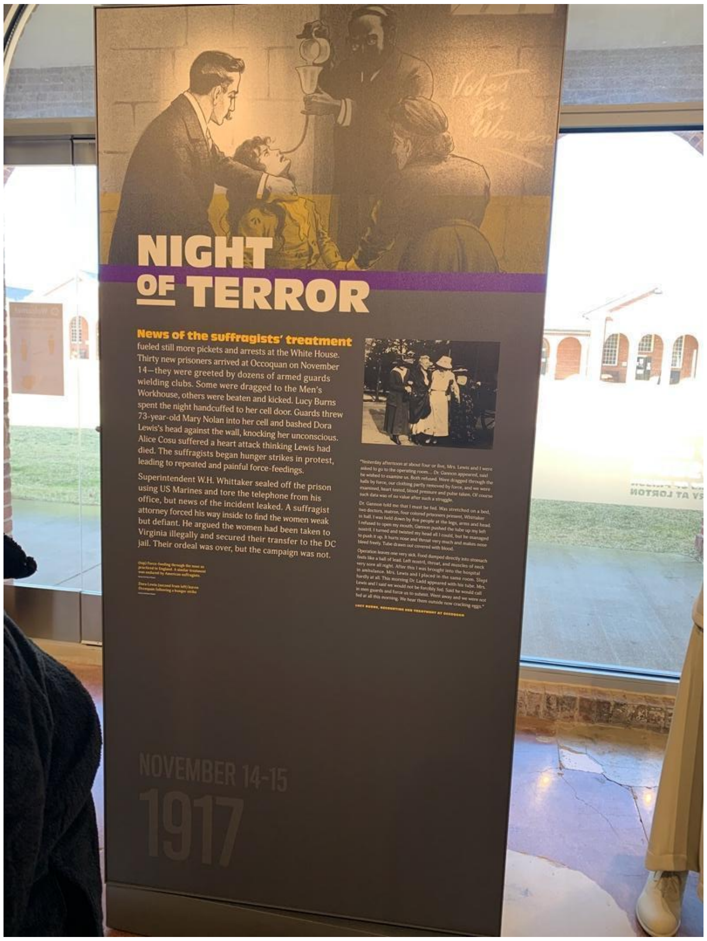
[14] This information comes from the middle paragraph of her account. The first paragraph discusses the events leading up to being force-fed. The last paragraph focuses on what happened after they were force-fed. Both accounts are also important, but not directly linked to her being force-fed. Therefore, I omitted them as to not have an excessively long block quote.



Votes for Women

NIGHT OF TERROR

News of the suffragists' treatment fueled still more pickets and arrests at the White House. Thirty new prisoners arrived at Occoquan on November 14—they were greeted by dozens of armed guards wielding clubs. Some were dragged to the Men's Workhouse, others were beaten and kicked. Lucy Burns spent the night handcuffed to her cell door. Guards threw 73-year-old Mary Nolan into her cell and bashed Dora Lewis's head against the wall, knocking her unconscious. Alice Cosu suffered a heart attack thinking Lewis had died. The suffragists began hunger strikes in protest, leading to repeated and painful force-feedings.

Superintendent W.H. Whittaker sealed off the prison using US Marines and tore the telephone from his office, but news of the incident leaked. A suffragist attorney forced his way inside to find the women weak but defiant. He argued the women had been taken to Virginia illegally and secured their transfer to the DC jail. Their ordeal was over, but the campaign was not.

(top) Force-feeding through the nose as practiced in England. A similar treatment was endured by American suffragists.

Dora Lewis (second from left) leaves Occoquan following a hunger strike

"Yesterday afternoon at about four or five, Mrs. Lewis and I were asked to go to the operating room.... Dr. Gannon appeared, said he wished to examine us. Both refused. Were dragged through the halls by force, our clothing partly removed by force, and we were examined, heart tested, blood pressure and pulse taken. Of course such data was of no value after such a struggle.

Dr. Gannon told me that I must be fed. Was stretched on a bed, two doctors, matron, four colored prisoners present, Whittaker in hall. I was held down by five people at the legs, arms and head. I refused to open my mouth, Gannon pushed the tube up my left nostril. I turned and twisted my head all I could, but he managed to push it up. It hurts nose and throat very much and makes nose bleed freely. Tube drawn out covered with blood.

Operation leaves one very sick. Food dumped directly into stomach feels like a ball of lead. Left nostril, throat, and muscles of neck very sore all night. After this I was brought into the hospital in ambulance. Mrs. Lewis and I placed in the same room. Slept hardly at all. This morning Dr. Ladd appeared with his tube. Mrs. Lewis and I said we would not be forcibly fed. Said he would call in men guards and force us to submit. Went away and we were not fed at all this morning. We hear them outside now cracking eggs."

LUCY BURNS, DESCRIBING HER TREATMENT AT OCCOQUAN

NOVEMBER 14-15

1917

Figure 21: *Night of Terror.* Photo by author.

The only visual representation outside the cellblock tour that illustrates force-feeding is the top of the "Night of Terror" panel (see Figure 21). Notably, this image comes from the British suffrage movement. The photo's description reads, "force-feeding through the nose as practiced in England. A similar treatment was endured by American suffragists" (*Night of Terror,* n.d.). The choice to use this image is interesting given that panel mainly focuses on the Night of Terror and that force-feeding is only mentioned in passing. It is also not surprising that to visually display being force-fed, the museum had to find imagery not related to American suffragists' experiences because, to my knowledge, no visual depictions of force-feedings related to American suffrage exist. Therefore, the museum's choice to visually depict suffragists' force-feeding, despite using imagery from another country, is further evidence that these embodied experiences are framed as markers to remember suffragists' body rhetoric. In other words, the museum wants visitors to see what this procedure looked like and acknowledge suffragists' being force-fed. Connecting the first-hand account on the panel and the image makes force-feeding legible to audiences and addresses their ignorance surrounding the topic.

Presenting suffragists' force-feeding to viewers and encouraging them to connect those experiences to the broader suffrage history is an admirable goal, and I have explored how the various exhibits demonstrate the commitment to those goals. However, another stated purpose of the museum is to overcome voter apathy and encourage visitors to recognize suffragists' labor required to gain the right to vote. McKie argues, "the message we are trying to impart is that women were imprisoned here, and those on the hunger strikes did it for the right to vote, so it is our responsibility to vote" (as cited in Weinsteing, 2020, para. 3). She also explained that "it behooves us to follow their lead" when asked about the museum exhibit that encourages people to vote in local and national elections (as cited in Salmon, 2020, para. 7). Notably, McKie does not suggest visitors should follow suffragists' lead in protesting, fighting, and sacrificing to achieve voting justice by continuing to challenge contemporary voter suppression and injustice. Instead, while her statements are not directly linked to force-feeding in the museum, I suggest the force-feeding exhibit in the cellblock tour works to mainly target voter apathy.

Despite the relatively limited texts in the main museum referencing suffragists' force-feedings, the exhibit in the cellblock tour vividly and undeniably displays the horrific torture suffragists endured. If visitors do not pay to take the tour, they do not have access to this exhibit. The implication is that visitors would then rely solely on the mentions of force-feedings described above to connect the procedure to suffrage memory, which could have significantly less of a lasting impact. In other words, the link between force-feeding and suffragists' body rhetoric regarding the history of the Workhouse is less vivid for visitors who cannot access the cellblock exhibit. Further, this exhibit is an updated version of what I initially saw when I visited the museum in 2017 (see Figure 22). As previously mentioned, the elements from the old version of the museum were incorporated into the new exhibits (Salmon, 2020). The mannequins and their depiction of force-feeding are similar (see Figure 22 and Figure 23). However, there are some distinct differences.

The initial version depicts the suffragist leaning back more with the male mannequin holding her shoulders versus the current version, which shows the suffragist sitting more upright. Further, the original version appears to have a stomach tube used for force-feeding displayed, which is missing in the current version (see Figure 22). Most notably, the current exhibit is in an actual cell used at the Workhouse, whereas the original version recreated a jail cell in the corner of the old museum. The location in an actual cellblock creates an additional layer of meaning for current visitors to cement force-feeding as a part of suffragists' imprisonment and that history. Despite the differences, both versions vividly display suffragists' force-feedings to encourage viewers to confront these women's experiences. However, they do more.

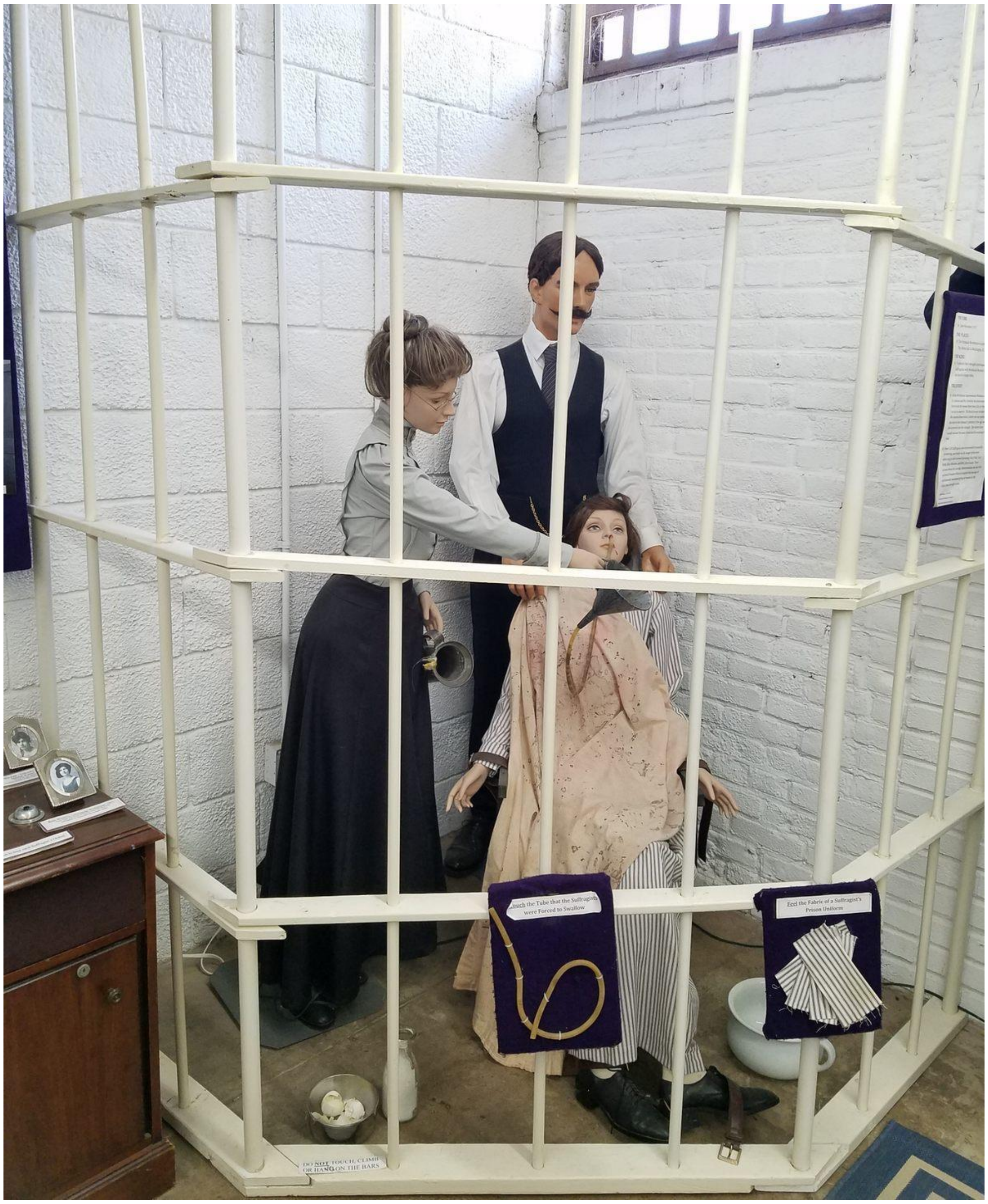

Touch the Tube that the Suffragists were Forced to Swallow
Feel the Fabric of a Suffragist's Prison Uniform
DO NOT TOUCH, CLIMB OR HANG ON THE BARS

Figure 22: *Display on the suffragettes*. Whiskybristles. https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/workhouse-prison-museum

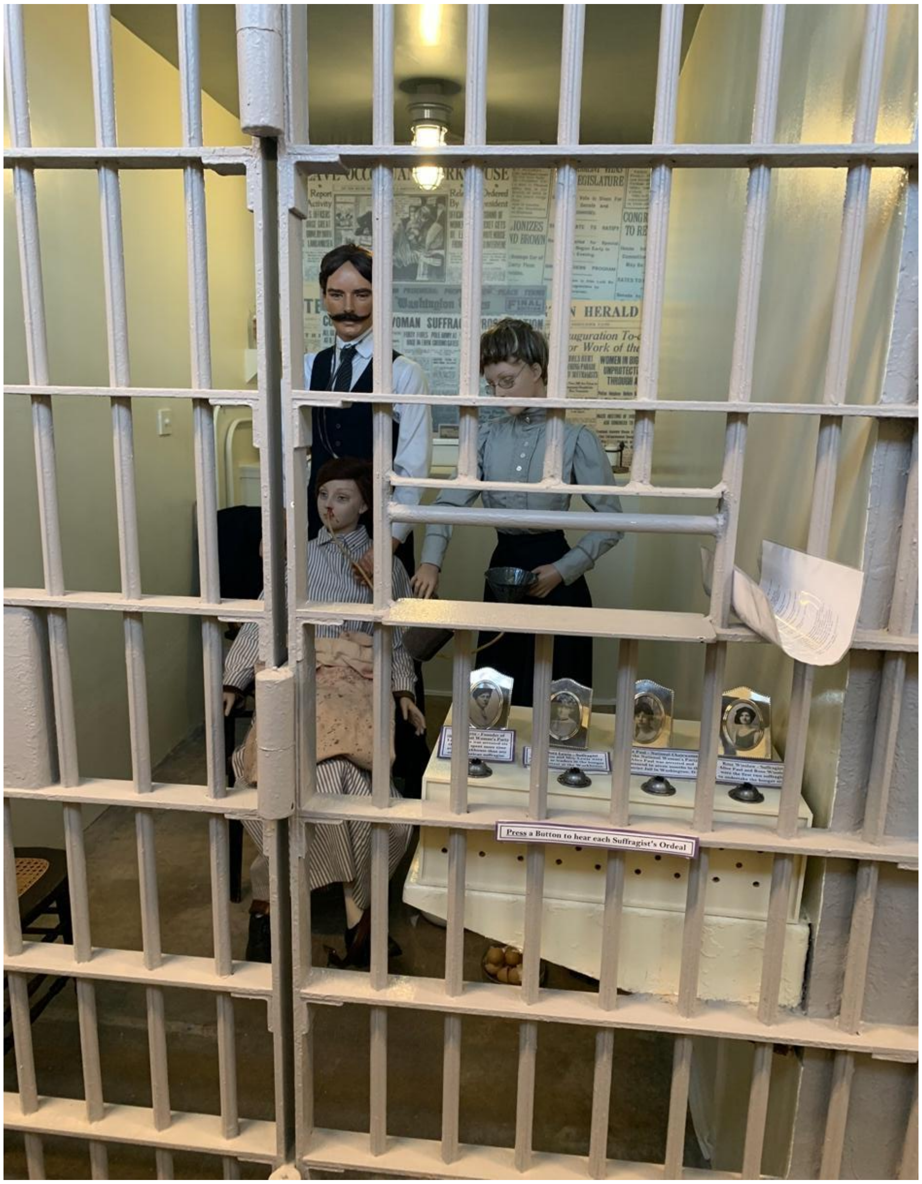


Figure 23: *Suffragist being force-fed*. Photo by author.

I submit that this exhibit works to overcome voter apathy by inviting visitors to see the struggles that the suffragists imprisoned at the Occoquan Workhouse endured and not to take advantage of the right to vote that was not always accessible to everyone in the United States.[15]

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[15] As stated above in the picketing section, there is a clear disparity regarding voting rights in the United States, which is a reality that remains salient. I am not suggesting that everyone has the same access to vote or trying to oversimplify the goals of the exhibit. Instead, I make these claims regarding the target audiences described in the methods section (i.e., wealthy, educated tourists, local audiences, women, and more) that the museum seems to advertise to visit the museum. I return to this point in the discussion section as well.

The exhibit creates a visceral experience for visitors that targets many of their senses. To start, it explicitly displays what force-feeding looked like by using mannequins, which generates a sense of realism absent from the cartoon image used by the British suffrage movement and shown on the "Night of Terror" panel (see Figure 21). Many suffragists recalled their force-feedings and shared similar details about being held down by multiple people, forced to have a tube shoved in their nose or down their throat, and fed mixtures of milk, eggs, sugar, and salt (Ford, 1991). These elements are represented using the mannequins and the eggs and milk on the floor to represent the liquids the women were fed. Further, the information panel on the exhibit reads:

> To ensure that the protesting suffragists did not die of hunger and become martyrs, Superintendent Whittaker ordered prison physician, Doctor Gannon, and prison Matron Herndon to force feed the women three times a day. This horrific process included tying or holding a woman down and forcing a rubber tube up her nose and down into her stomach. A mixture of raw eggs and milk was then poured directly into her stomach. This brutal action tore her esophagus, made her nose bleed and gave her extreme stomach distress. Seventy-two women were imprisoned at the Workhouse. Suffragist leaders Lucy Burns and Dora Lewis were force-fed at Lorton. (*Life in the cell*, n.d.)[16]

The combination of reading and seeing a suffragist being force-fed highlights the experience for visitors and asks them to witness this procedure. The exhibit also does more and engages visitors' sense of hearing and sight.

The exhibit includes a table on the inside of the cell with small pictures of four suffragists, Lucy Burns, Dora Lewis, Alice Paul, and Rose Winslow (see Figure 23). In front of their photographs, museum visitors can press buttons to hear their experiences being force-fed read out loud. While it is not the actual suffragists' voices, their stories are read from their first-hand accounts of being force-fed. There is no information regarding where the first-hand experiences come from, but Lucy Burns' seems to match the quote from the "Night of Terror" panel. The exhibit encourages visitors to "press a button to hear each suffragist's ordeal." The word "ordeal" is interesting. Their force-feeding experiences are often framed as horrific and torturous, as explored in chapter 4, and this word choice seems to lessen the embodied experience. Despite the directions, the ability to hear the suffragists' stories being force-fed read-aloud offers another engagement of visitors' senses.

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[16] The panel also mentions that the women were not imprisoned in these exact cells because the building they were imprisoned in was torn down. It also mentions that these particular cells were built in the 1970s.

When I pressed the buttons to listen to the stories, the volume was so loud that it reverberated in the empty space, which created an almost surreal experience. It was startling because of the volume and because it offered an opportunity to listen to re-embodied voices. I have read several first-hand accounts of suffragists being force-fed, but up until the exhibit, I had not heard them read aloud before, which allowed me to experience these accounts in new ways. Hearing what these women endured, seeing it depicted, and standing directly outside of a cell create an experience for visitors that is all-encompassing and difficult to ignore. I imagine this experience is even more impactful for visitors with no previous knowledge of force-feeding and what the procedure looked like for suffragists, especially considering the mannequins display a less violent version with fewer people holding down the suffragist.

Scholars argue museums function rhetorically through their engagement of visitors with the physical space and experiences they create (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010; Casey; 2004; Nelson, 2021; Smith & Bergman, 2010). For example, Nelson (2021) suggests, "while the content of museums and memorials may be forgotten with time, the bodily feelings and emotions produced by the experience often remain" (p. 50). This claim is particularly salient for the force-feeding exhibit in the LBM because it works to evoke embodied experiences through visitors' senses and ability to engage with the exhibit directly. Perhaps, in these ways, visitors could recall the feelings they experienced in the exhibit when they think about voting and are motivated to exercise their right to vote. At least, this is the intent, as stated by McKie for the museum writ large and directly in the "Why Vote?" panel analyzed above (see Figure 15). While there is no concrete way to measure the link between people visiting the museum and an increase in voter turnout, the force-feeding exhibit creates a visceral experience for visitors that emphasizes suffragists' body rhetoric. In doing so, audiences can confront their ignorance about this aspect of suffrage history and are invited to connect their actions to the importance of voting in a democracy.

When I initially visited the museum, the force-feeding mannequins stuck with me and sparked my research interests. It is a crucial factor that inspired this project because I was eager to learn more about the suffragists' experiences being force-fed and how their body rhetoric led to their imprisonment and in-prison protests. After returning to the museum and seeing this new exhibit, the mannequins depicting a suffragist's force-feeding still are fixed in my mind. It is one thing to read about suffragists' body rhetoric and experiences and another to see it displayed and insert myself in similar, recreated contexts. McKie (2020) argues that "the suffragists are silent no more: their stories are being told into the new century" (para. 13). This quote aptly describes the Lucy Burns Museum and its work memorializing suffragists' body rhetoric and making them legible and literally giving their experiences a voice in the cellblock tour. Further, the exhibits and information presented continue to create a moral imperative to vote. This claim is further supported by the "Shall Not Be Denied" pamphlet visitors can take home. While it focuses on the history of the entirety of the suffrage movement, there is a particular quote that solidifies the call to action for visitors. Carrie Chapman Catt, a well-known suffrage leader, says, “Women have suffered agony of soul which you can never comprehend, that you and your daughters might inherit political freedom. That vote has been costly. Prize it! – 1920” (as cited in Library of Congress, n.d.c).

Discussion

My analysis illustrates how the exhibits and news coverage of the museum present suffragists’ body rhetoric to encourage viewers to (1) see and recognize their picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings as essential pieces of suffrage history and (2) honor and respect the women’s efforts by increasing voter turnout in the 21st century. For this to occur, the designers and curator rely on visitors wanting to lay some claim to being informed about suffrage, understanding voting rights were not always available to everyone, and being engaged citizens who vote. Several implications can be drawn from the analysis of the museum using the framework from the methods section. Specifically, seeing the museum as a critique of power, hegemony, and patriarchal bias, unstable where meaning is constantly being made and remade, and considering whose voices are present and absent.

The Lucy Burns Museum presents several opportunities to critique the power dynamics regarding gender and explore the “distribution of and contested claims to power” as shown in the exhibits (Hirsch & Smith, 2002, p. 6). The LBM presents a version of collective memory surrounding women’s suffrage in the United States, which on a fundamental level, was a movement to gain political rights for women and challenge men’s hegemonic power. Therefore, the museum itself makes the contention over voting rights visible to visitors. Further, the exhibits often rely on gender when framing the suffragists’ body rhetoric and their opponents. In other words, the suffragists' actions are revered, highlighted, and seen overall as justified as explored throughout the analysis. In contrast, men are framed as the aggressors or opponents to the suffrage battle whether that be President Wilson, prison officials and guards, judges sentencing the women to jail time, and more. Overall, the museum portrays the suffragists as strong, politically motivated social actors without relying too heavily on the gender stereotypes that the women faced historically, as explored in chapter 4.

That is not to say the exhibits are completely unproblematic. A limitation uncovered in my analysis is the presentation of suffragists' embodied protests, especially while imprisoned, as productive and successful rhetorical strategies for political prisoners. As covered in the historical accounts of suffragists' body rhetoric, their use of leveraging their bodies to achieve political goals is highly contextual. In other words, their privileged identities and classifications as political prisoners enabled their body rhetoric to be more successful. I am not suggesting that the violence and force-feeding suffragists endured were not horrific and did not have lasting impacts on suffragists. However, they were able to use these experiences to provide further evidence of their unlawful arrests, argue for their early release from prison, and garner enough public backlash to change President Wilson's mind to support the federal suffrage amendment (*From prison to the vote*, n.d.). Other prisoners at the Workhouse faced similar violence and mistreatment and would not have the same success protesting or leveraging their bodies without facing more severe consequences (Ford, 1991). Therefore, while the suffragists' embodied in-prison protests are important to remember and frame the hard-won passing of the nineteenth amendment, they are not necessarily accessible to prisoners outside of that particular context.

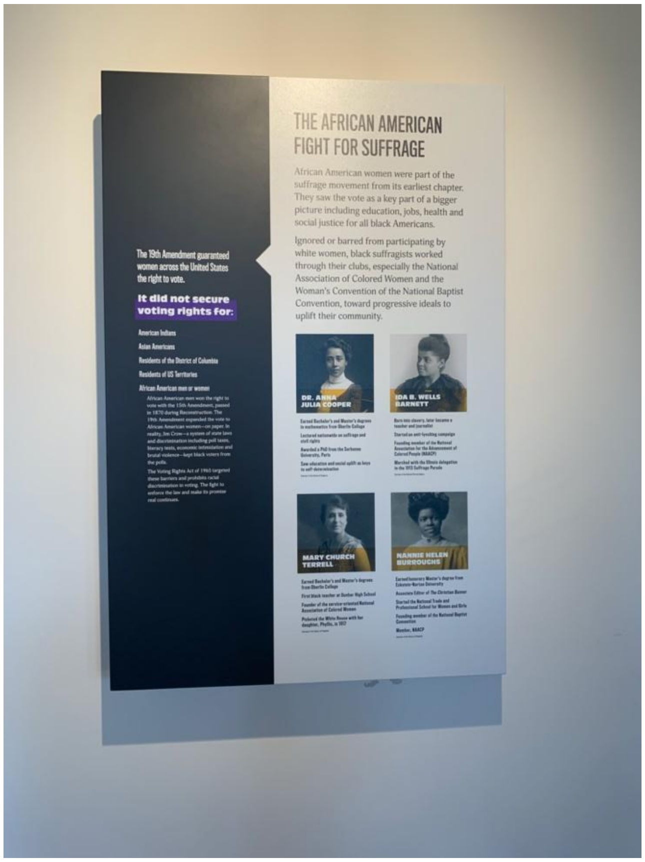
Further, it is impossible to ignore that the LBM also focuses on the Workhouse's history as a prison and one with an extremely violent and problematic past. The prison has a history of violence, overcrowding, mistreatment, inhumane living conditions, and more. The “Close Lorton” panel in the museum explains that “by 1995 Lorton housed 7,300 inmates, 44% above capacity” (*Close Lorton*, n.d.). Further, as mentioned above, several accounts on the history of the Workhouse side of the museum explain the site’s violence from prisoners and guards, riots, and high recidivism rates at the prison (*From the Workhouse to the wall,* n.d.). This information is only a snapshot of the 91-year history of the space as a prison. An entire project could focus on the Workhouse, the power dynamics displayed and their nuances, and the carceral politics involved throughout its history, to name a few. By sheer size and space allotted to the suffrage side of the museum versus the prison history side, it becomes clear the suffragists’ intersection with the Workhouse is emphasized more. There appears to be a clear value placed on remembering the white, middle/upper-class suffragists' experiences over the incarcerated people that also experienced horrific treatment throughout the prison’s history.

That point leads to the second aspect of seeing museums not as stable markers of history but as becomings where meaning is made and remade based on numerous elements (Bartlett & Henderson, 2013; Bergsdóttir, 2016; Ewalt, 2016; Lueck, 2021; Olson, 2021). As highlighted in the analysis, audiences most likely advertised to visit the LBM are wealthy, educated tourists, local audiences, women, and more. Visitors bring their lived experiences to interpreting the museum and its exhibits. For some, the museum may be the first time they are exposed to this version of history. Others may know more about the suffragists’ connection to the Workhouse. Despite the museum’s intentions to make the suffragists’ efforts legible and encourage people to vote, visitors experience the museum differently. Further, as Lucek (2020) argues, “the public’s engagement with and remembrance of the past is rhetorically responsive to public needs, investments, and anxieties in the present” (Lueck, 2020, p. 108). As the museum presents suffragists' body rhetoric over 100 years after their actions, visitors bring their contemporary feelings and experiences to bear with their interaction with exhibits. These immeasurable contextual factors complicate understandings of the museum, despite how the information is presented as singular accounts of suffragists' embodied strategies.

Further, if a value is placed on museums as both remembering the past and responding to realities in the present, then the LBM does not account for many possibilities outside of calling for people to exercise the right to vote. In other words, the museum stabilizes meanings surrounding suffragists' embodied rhetoric in history, including understanding picketing as peaceful and radical not violent and illegal, white suffragists as political prisoners not criminal prisoners, hunger strikes and force-feedings as horrific, and demonstrations of the extremes the women experienced to gain the right to vote. In other words, visitors receive a story and version of history that centers white, middle/upper class women's extraordinary displays of civic virtues in the name of fighting injustice. In turn, it calls for visitors to acknowledge and honor those efforts by voting. This stable version of U.S. history continues to place African American women at the periphery of exhibits along with voter suppression and social justice issues related to prisons.

For example, in the "Votes for Women" exhibit where visitors can put on sashes, there is a call to "stand in solidarity" with suffragists by posting a picture on social media (Figure 13). Specifically, visitors are able to experience and enact an aspect of picketing as an embodied tactic. However, to offer a critique of this exhibit, "standing in solidarity" could rehearse civic virtues like participating in protests against ongoing voter suppression efforts and other social and voting injustices in contemporary America, like lack of access to proper voting identification, transportation to polls, or closing of polling places (ACLU, 2021; Brennan Center, 2022b; Davies, 2022; League of Women Voters, 2022). In other words, if the intent is to get LBM visitors to vote and recognize the context, extraordinary displays of civic action, and hard-won battle surrounding women's suffrage, there should also be recognition and advocacy for the current context and discrimination surrounding voting rights. Voting still remains inaccessible for some groups in the United States, which the museum could highlight concerning calls to action along with voting, but it does not. In other words, voting rights for white, middle/upper-class women remain secure in 2022, which matches audiences of the museum that fit similar demographics. However, strict voting identification laws and proposed legislation intended to restrict voting rights continue to disproportionately affect people of color and marginalized groups (Brennan Center, 2022a). The work for securing voting rights in America is not over, as the LBM presents.

The discrimination some voters face is explicitly stated in one place in the museum, which is on the "The African American Fight for Suffrage" panel (see Figure 24). This panel is on a wall on its own and is much smaller compared to the large, spinning panels throughout the suffrage side of the museum. Further, there are benches set up in this section facing a television that make accessing the panel somewhat difficult. The placement of this panel speaks to an uneven distribution in the representation of Black women's role in the suffrage movement and the museum writ large.



THE AFRICAN AMERICAN FIGHT FOR SUFFRAGE

African American women were part of the suffrage movement from its earliest chapter. They saw the vote as a key part of a bigger picture including education, jobs, health and social justice for all black Americans.

Ignored or barred from participating by white women, black suffragists worked through their clubs, especially the National Association of Colored Women and the Woman's Convention of the National Baptist Convention, toward progressive ideals to uplift their community.

The 19th Amendment guaranteed women across the United States the right to vote.

It did not secure voting rights for:

American Indians
Asian Americans
Residents of the District of Columbia
Residents of US Territories
African American men or women

DR. ANNA JULIA COOPER
IDA B. WELLS BARNETT
MARY CHURCH TERRELL
NANNIE HELEN BURROUGHS

Figure 24: *The African American fight for suffrage.* Photo by author.

This lack of representation of women of color is not unique to the museum. Several scholars and writers highlight the exclusion of Black women's role and racism in the suffrage movement, both historically and in research surrounding the suffrage movement (Epps & Warren, 2020; Jones, 2020; Logan, 1995; Palczewski, 2016; Staples, 2019; Sundaramoorthy & Broussard, 2020; Terborg-Penn, 1998; 2020; Tetrault, 2014). This panel highlights Black suffragists, including Dr. Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells Barnett, Mary Church Terrell, and Nannie Helen Burroughs, and lists their work for the suffrage movement. It also highlights the more universal goals of Black suffragists versus the more exclusionary goals of white suffragists (i.e., to gain the right to vote for middle to upper-class white women only). The panel explains, "they saw the vote as a key part of a bigger picture including education, jobs, and social justice for all Black Americans" (*The African American fight for suffrage*, n.d.). It also recognizes that

Black women were often "ignored or barred from participating by white women" and formed their clubs to advocate for their communities (*The African American fight for suffrage*, n.d.). This panel does offer insight into Black suffragists' role in the suffrage movement, but notably to a much lesser extent in the museum. Therefore, we can consider what the museum might look like if, instead, African American women and their experiences were centered. Certainly, the exhibition's call to action would feature protesting for universal rights more so than individuals voting. As it stands, the museum implies that the right for women to vote was won, end of story. In reality, voter suppression efforts are ongoing in the United States over 100 years later.

Another implication of my analysis and seeing the museum as unstable comes from reflecting on my positionality as a researcher. Given the current global pandemic, travel has become difficult, and being able to travel to Virginia to access the museum was essential to completing this chapter and analyzing the museum.[17] Further, reflecting on my positionality as a white, middle-class, woman and feminist directly influenced how I experienced the museum. For example, I saw women like me represented in the museum protesting for the right to vote at a time when women's rights were severely limited. I found myself asking questions like, would I be willing to risk imprisonment for a political cause? I would be willing to picket, but would I risk violence in prison to seek the right to vote? Would I be brave enough to hunger strike? Even these questions are marked with privilege because I do not have to worry about being able to vote or leverage my body in prison to stand up for that political cause and more. I also had background knowledge on the suffragists' time at the Workhouse, which allowed an additional level of context for my interpretation of the museum and what was included and left out. Finally, being able to walk through the museum, especially the cellblock tour, was a unique experience. For example, being able to walk freely through the cellblock and see how incredibly small the cells were, how little privacy they offered, and to know people spent months to years in the cells was impactful for several reasons. One reason is that, again, it created a place to reflect on my privilege and ability to leave that space of my own accord. The tour and museum also raise several concerns about prisons and their problematic histories and nature that are difficult to ignore when someone can walk through and visually see these realities (albeit to a much lesser degree).

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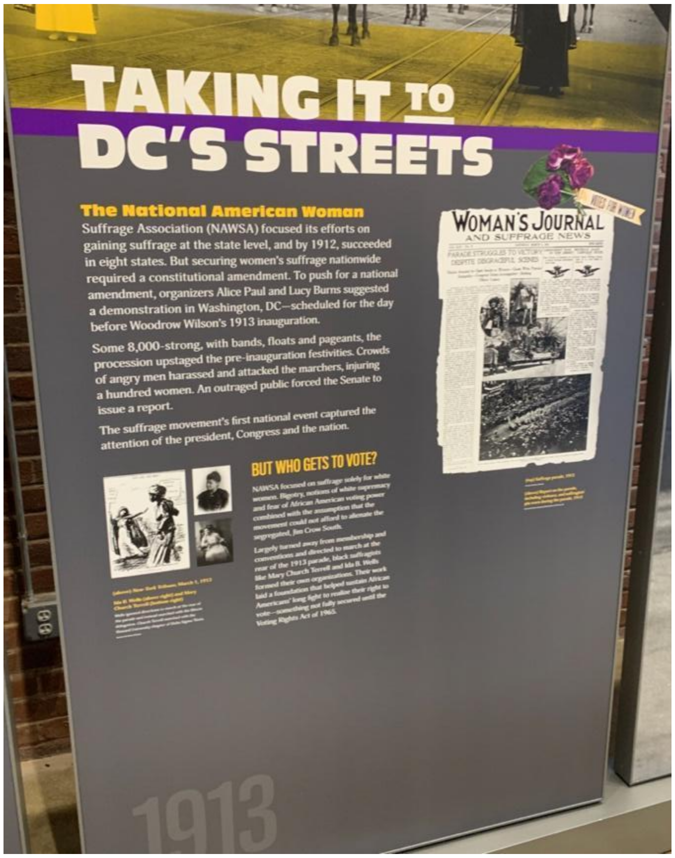
[17] However, because of the pandemic, I was able to be the only one in the museum at the time besides my mom who went with me and the docent working at the time. This reality enabled me to take my time and not have to navigate around anyone else at the museum.

Another factor that will influence how visitors interact with the Lucy Burns Museum is the future plans for the Workhouse Arts Center. While the museum will remain along with the current uses of the buildings for art exhibits and classes, there are plans to restore other buildings on site. The center's website explains that two buildings will be restored and leased commercially, which is a project that is underway ("Future," 2022). They mention that "for the first time in the Workhouse Arts Center's history, there will be a restaurant, and possibly a coffee shop/brewery, located right on campus" ("Future," 2022). While I can see the benefits of using the space and restoring the buildings versus tearing them down, it seems an odd juxtaposition to have a brewery or coffee shop located in spaces that abused prisoners; to make a profit off of the site's history without any other educational or community-centered purpose. There is certainly room to continue to explore the Workhouse Arts Center and the Workhouses' long, complicated history in future projects.

The final aspect I will discuss is whose voices are represented and notably absent from the museum's exhibits and its implications. As explored above, the representation of Black suffragists' role in the suffrage movement in the LBM is severely lacking compared to white suffragists. In fact, there are only two panels in the museum that highlight Black suffragists and their role in the movement. First, "The African American Fight for Suffrage" panel (see Figure 24) explored above does list groups of people that did not gain the right to vote when the 19th amendment was passed including, "American Indians, Asian Americans, residents of the District of Columbia, residents of US territories, African American men or women." It also provides context for Black suffrage leaders and their focus on universal suffrage rights. The second mention of Black women's role in the suffrage movement is on one of the first panels in the museum (see Figure 25). The "Taking it to DC's Streets" panel mostly focuses on the 1913 suffrage parade organized by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns. However, at the bottom, there is a section titled "But Who Gets to Vote?" that explains the exclusion of Black women from white suffrage organizations due to "fear of African American voting power combined with the assumption that the movement could not afford to alienate the segregated, Jim Crow South" (*Taking it to DC's streets,* n.d.). This section also highlights Ida B. Wells Barnett and Mary Church Terrell's formation of suffrage organizations. It explains, "their work laid a foundation that helped sustain African Americans' long fight to realize their right to vote – something not fully secured until the Voting Rights Act of 1965" (*Taking it to DC's streets,* n.d.). While this panel does provide context for Black women's involvement in the suffrage movement and their impact, the information about their role is lacking.



TAKING IT TO DC'S STREETS

The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) focused its efforts on gaining suffrage at the state level, and by 1912, succeeded in eight states. But securing women's suffrage nationwide required a constitutional amendment. To push for a national amendment, organizers Alice Paul and Lucy Burns suggested a demonstration in Washington, DC—scheduled for the day before Woodrow Wilson's 1913 inauguration.

Some 8,000-strong, with bands, floats and pageants, the procession upstaged the pre-inauguration festivities. Crowds of angry men harassed and attacked the marchers, injuring a hundred women. An outraged public forced the Senate to issue a report.

The suffrage movement's first national event captured the attention of the president, Congress and the nation.

BUT WHO GETS TO VOTE?

NAWSA focused on suffrage solely for white women. Bigotry, notions of white supremacy and fear of African American voting power combined with the assumption that the movement could not afford to alienate the segregated, Jim Crow South.

Largely turned away from membership and conventions and directed to march at the rear of the 1913 parade, black suffragists like Mary Church Terrell and Ida B. Wells formed their own organizations. Their work laid a foundation that helped sustain African Americans' long fight to realize their right to vote—something not fully secured until the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Figure 25: *Taking it to DC's streets*. Photo by author.

Further, there is only one visual depiction of Black women imprisoned at the Workhouse, despite the several accounts from suffragists that mentioned they were imprisoned together along with women from various socioeconomic statuses.[18] The image is on the Workhouse history side of the museum, separate from the suffrage half. The image depicts two Black women in prison attire (see Figure 26). The only text acknowledging these women is a credit to the Library of Congress for the image.

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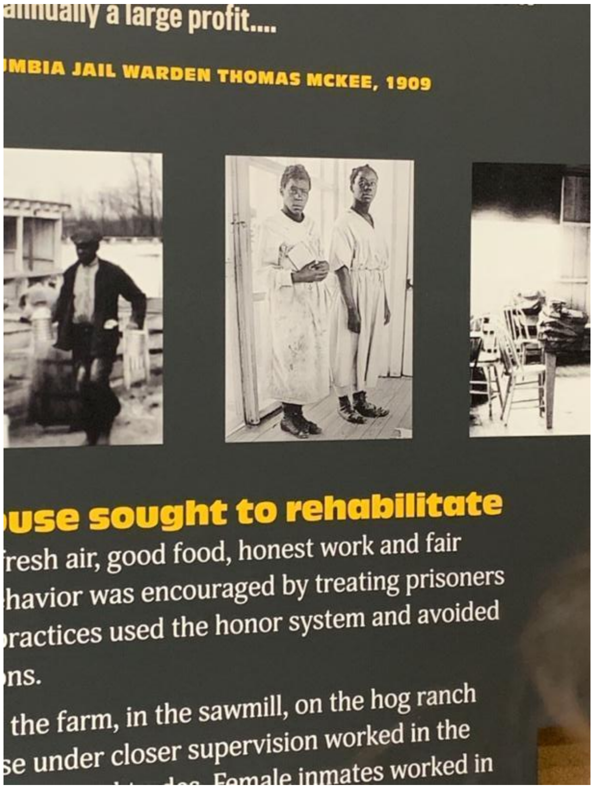
[18] I explore these examples in detail in Chapter 4.



annually a large profit....

MBIA JAIL WARDEN THOMAS MCKEE, 1909

use sought to rehabilitate

resh air, good food, honest work and fair
havior was encouraged by treating prisoners
ractices used the honor system and avoided
ns.

the farm, in the sawmill, on the hog ranch
se under closer supervision worked in the
Female inmates worked in

Figure 26: *Work and Reform*. Photo by author.

As mentioned in chapter 4, there are no first-hand accounts that have survived from women besides suffragists imprisoned at the Workhouse. This could be because almost everything was destroyed after the jail closed in 2001, which is why the prison logs McKie used to begin curating the museum are the source of much information and are limited (Nappier, 2020). Nappier (2020) explains, “minus a few other boxes, most everything else associated with the prison had been thrown away over the years” (para. 10). This reality speaks to other disparities in terms of texts that are saved from historic sites, representations presented in museums, accessibility of publishing first-hand accounts, and more, which all contribute to the museum’s content and visitors’ engagement.

Conclusion

This chapter explored how suffragists’ body rhetoric is presented in the Lucy Burns Museum and how it memorializes their embodied strategies over 100 years later. Specifically, I analyzed how body rhetoric and body-based arguments were displayed through suffragists' many forms of embodied protests, including picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings. In addition, I showed how the exhibits worked to encourage visitors to overcome voter apathy by recognizing the suffragists' struggle for suffrage and honoring their efforts by voting in contemporary elections. Along with chapter 4, the differences and similarities between how suffragists' body rhetoric is presented and talked about offer points of comparison and speak to the utility of the body heuristic I have adopted throughout this project. I will discuss these implications and suggestions for future research in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Scholars and historians have analyzed the various ways suffragists relied on rhetorical strategies to argue and gain support for women's suffrage, from newspapers, publications, picketing, and parades to tours and more (Borda, 2002; Jerry, 1991; Lumsden, 1995; 2019; Palczewski, 2010, 2016; Stillion Southard, 2007; Steiner, 2020; Tonn, 1991; Webb, 2012). Suffrage scholarship highlights ways that women utilized their bodies to protest. For example, they participated in suffrage parades where they placed their bodies in the street to march, and they embodied ideologies of silence when picketing and holding signs in front of the White House (Borda, 2002; Stillion Southard, 2007). This project adds to these conversations a focus on suffragists' use of body rhetoric through picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feeding to account for how their embodied rhetoric works in ways their words or other protests alone did not. Further, I explored the implications and limitations of the suffragists' use of their body rhetoric historically and how their actions continue to be memorialized in similar ways in the Lucy Burns Museum.

My analysis uncovered the ways in which suffragists used their bodies to make present their carefully constructed and deliberate embodied strategies to create a context where audiences were held accountable for recognizing their rights as citizens. The suffragists leveraged their body rhetoric, through picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings, to enact that they were deserving of the right to vote. By ignoring, discrediting, or denying the women's body rhetoric, audiences risked criticism for not protecting women, not supporting a democracy where all citizens can vote, allowing women to be tortured in prison, and more. Suffragists' body rhetoric demonstrated their certainty and commitment to gaining the right to vote by putting their bodies on the line and holding the public and Wilson Administration accountable for recognizing their efforts and rights as citizens in a democratic society. In what follows, I provide a summary of each chapter. Next, I discuss limitations and directions for future research. Finally, I offer concluding remarks.

Review of Chapter 1

Chapter 1 justified this project and how it sought to fill a gap in suffrage scholarship by focusing on suffragists' body rhetoric. Suffragists' picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings in 1917 and displays of their body rhetoric in the Lucy Burns Museum in 2022 share similar tag lines: voting is a salient topic. Whether that be gaining the right to vote for women in the first place or encouraging visitors to vote in recent elections, suffragists' embodied actions continue to function rhetorically. My goal for this project was to explore suffragists' hunger strikes and force-feedings and how they are linked to the history of the suffrage movement and the passing of the 19th amendment. More precisely, how did the imprisoned suffragists' bodies generate rhetorical force? And how is their body rhetoric re-presented 100 years later in the Lucy Burns Museum? Therefore, chapter 1 documented the need for this project.

First, I discussed ways to define "bodies" as a starting point to approach how bodies act rhetorically. I explained the importance of centering knowledge rooted in lived experiences (Anzaldúa, 1999; Calafell, 2012; hooks, 1991; Martinez, 2000; Otis, 2019). In other words, people's embodied experiences are based on how they live and exist in the world. Those realities are situated in relationships of power, oppression, domination, and more. I also explored how bodies are socially constructed and how they can serve identification and constitutive functions for individuals (Butler, 2007; Foucault, 1995; Khrebtan-Hörhager & Kononeko, 2015; McKinnon, 2016). Finally, I discussed how bodies are material and symbolic resources for protesting oppression and injustice, as seen through the case study of the grotesque protest (Bivens & Cole, 2017).

Second, I explored scholarship on protest rhetoric, recognizing that bodies can be used to resist oppression and mitigate injustice (Chevrette & Hess, 2019; DeLuca, 1999; Haiman, 1967; Harold & DeLuca, 2005; Lake, 1983; Spratt, 2008). More, bodies are framed, understood, and exist in comparison to “normalized” and dominant bodies that are presented as “white, cisgender, able-bodied, heterosexual men” (Chávez, 2018, p. 244). Therefore, people using their bodies to protest and using rhetoric that differs from these social, cultural, and historical norms often face barriers to being heard, understood, and more. I also explained how other imprisoned people protested using hunger strikes in prison to generate agency (Hauser, 1997; Howarth, 2012; Kanaboshi, 2014; Larkin, 1991; O’Hearn, 2009; Passmore, 2014). This section of chapter 1 illuminated the gap my project sought to fill in discussing how suffragists used their bodies to protest in prison, specifically through hunger strikes and force-feedings.

Chapter 1 also discussed suffrage scholarship and how this project could add to it by exploring their embodied rhetoric at multiple points in history, specifically focusing on how they used their bodies to generate rhetorical force. To establish a need for this project, I first discussed ways suffragists relied on postcards and more traditional forms of rhetoric, like publications, to communicate their arguments (Jerry, 1991; Lumsden, 1995; 2019; Palczewski, 2010; Steiner, 2020; Tonn, 1991; Webb, 2012). Next, I discussed other forms of body rhetoric, like parades, picketing, and tours, that suffragists employed (Borda, 2002; Stillion Southard, 2007; Palczewski, 2016). I also covered how suffragists’ picketing and their “Prison Special” tour focused on the events that led to and followed their imprisonment (Stillion Southard, 2007;

Palczewski, 2016). Therefore, my project spoke to how the women continued to use body rhetoric to protest, specifically during their imprisonment.

Finally, I discussed scholarly conversations regarding museums, memory, and feminism (Andrews, 2011; Bartlett & Henderson, 2013; Bergsdóttir, 2016; Clover & Williamson, 2019; Hamlin, 2019; Hein, 2007; Jacobs, 2008; Viv & Helena, 2015). Broadly, scholars question who is in control of framing museums and creating content meant to memorialize particular aspects of history. By asking these questions, rhetorical critics can begin to ask whose stories are being retold and remembered and the implications of those choices. For example, Tetrault (2014) explains that for memories of Seneca Falls, public memories of suffragists' body rhetoric are often manipulated, reinforced, retold, and more until it becomes stable and fact. Using this framework, this project analyzed the Lucy Burns Museum to unpack the retelling of suffragists' body rhetoric from white, middle/upper-class women's perspectives and the absence of contextual information explored in chapter 4. In other words, the museum frames the women's embodied protests in ways that suggest once the 19th amendment was passed, the work was done, and everyone had the right to vote. However, as chapter 4 highlights, the suffragists' body rhetoric is more complex than the museum presents, making a broader understanding of their efforts invisible to visitors. Therefore, chapter 1 situated this project in these relevant bodies of literature and spoke to how it fills a gap in theorizing about women's protest body rhetoric.

Review of Chapter 2

In this chapter, I presented three heuristics to guide my analysis and present frameworks for scholars to consider when approaching body rhetoric. First, I explored seeing bodies as material and symbolic, which values individuals' lived experiences and centers knowledge from those experiences (Anzaldúa, 1999; Calafell, 2012; hooks, 1991; Martinez, 2000; Otis, 2019).

Those embodied realities influence how rhetors use their bodies, for what purposes, and with what means and access to resources and various methods. Materially, bodies physically exist in space and can be symbols themselves or evoke other symbols that create, reify, and challenge multiple meanings and ideologies. The symbolic aspects of bodies indicate that they are, in part, socially constructed. In other words, the ways that boundaries, classifications, identities, characteristics, and more are assigned to certain bodies and not others come from the society, culture, institutions, and histories to which they are linked. Symbolic meanings assigned to bodies come from lived experiences, but they also come through other mediating factors, like power structures, hegemonic norms, etc., with which bodies interact. Therefore, critics can unpack how these meanings are assigned, challenged, and used to create and reify meanings assigned to people's bodies.

Second, the bodies-in-protest heuristic consists of body-based arguments and bodies-as-rhetoric. These elements work together to unpack how bodies work rhetorically. First, body-based arguments are instances in protests where rhetors refer to bodies to support oral or written arguments. In other words, someone's embodied actions are talked about or used to support claims, but their bodies are not present, depicted, shown, or made visible. Body-based arguments can also encompass how people's embodied actions are interpreted and talked about, including people talking about their experiences and bodies or others talking about bodies that are not their own. Further, bodies-as-rhetoric can function in three ways: build on pre-existing meanings of bodies, temporarily challenge meanings and/or dominant ideologies about bodies, and change meaning through repeated reconstructions of meanings associated with bodies.

The third heuristic calls for critics to see body rhetoric as a culmination of performative, intersectional texts. Embodied rhetoric seen through the lens of "intersectional" forms can also comprise visual and verbal rhetoric and does not privilege one form over another (Enck-Wanzer, 2006). In other words, only looking at one aspect of an individual's body rhetoric and performance cannot account for the broader design of body rhetoric. Instead, one must look at a variety of texts stemming from the methods used by social actors and talk about their actions. In doing so, critics can account for body rhetoric that is inseparable from visceral embodied experiences of individuals, affect, or other sensory access like "visual" or "auditory"; or, in the case of body-based arguments, inseparable from the oral or written forms in which they are made.

The theoretical foundation discussed in this chapter regarding embodied rhetoric illuminates important commitments to analyzing suffragists' embodied rhetoric and attending to the various contextual factors at work when studying protesting bodies. These commitments include acknowledging people's use of body rhetoric is inextricably linked to how they experience and exist in the world, which stems from feminist epistemologies discussed in this project (Anzaldúa, 1999; Calafell, 2012; hooks, 1991; Martinez, 2000; Otis, 2019). Further, analyzing bodies in protests encompasses more than embodied performances and enactments and can include discourse and context surrounding the rhetoric. To offer insight into how bodies function rhetorically, critics can look at how bodies build on pre-existing meanings, temporarily challenge meanings of bodies, and change meanings through repeated reconstructions. Similarly, value can be placed on embodied rhetoric as a performative, intersectional form that can also comprise visual and verbal rhetoric (Enck-Wanzer, 2006). Together, these three heuristics can account for multiple ways bodies act rhetorically.

Review of Chapter 3

Chapter 3 offered essential context needed for analyzing suffragists' body rhetoric, historical coverage of their actions, and how their embodied rhetoric is memorialized in the Lucy Burns Museum. Hunger strikes and force-feedings are not unique realities experienced for the first time by American suffragists. Both have extensive histories connecting them to other social movements and tactics used by imprisoned people throughout the world and history (Hauser, 1997; Howarth, 2012; Kanaboshi, 2014; Larkin, 1991; O'Hearn, 2009; Passmore, 2014). Further, there is a particular link to British suffragettes' use of hunger strikes and their experiences of being force-fed that are credited for directly influencing American suffragists' use of the strategy (Adickes, 2002; Geddes, 2008; Stillion Southard, 2007; Williams, 2008). Force-feeding has a similarly complex history rooted in medical procedures performed on patients imprisoned or institutionalized with mental illness (Williams, 2008). Further, the procedure has similar forms across its applications, including a tube inserted down someone's nose or throat, down their esophagus to their stomach, with a liquid being poured down the tube with a funnel (Miller 2009; 2016). This contextual information works to situate the suffragists' hunger strikes and force-feeding in the context of how they were used in the American and British suffrage movements. It also explores how hunger strikes and force-feedings have been used by various groups and points throughout history. In other words, the hunger strikes and force-feedings suffragists endured were not new or unique experiences, which this chapter helped to contextualize.

Chapter 3 also discussed other forms of body rhetoric employed by suffragists, including their parades and picketing that provide background information regarding ways the women used their bodies rhetorically. For example, the parades present suffragists' use of their bodies to increase visibility and support the right to vote. On a material level, suffragists enacted physical strength in marching and showed their ability to act collectively. On a symbolic level, suffragists illustrated that they could both act politically in public and still appear conventionally modest and feminine through their presence, appearances, and messages (Borda, 2002). Similarly, suffragists' picketing and placing their bodies in front of the White House demonstrated their willingness to undertake the risk of being arrested and the political, social, and cultural contexts that led to the negative reception and violence in response to their picketing. These two examples of suffragists' body rhetoric using various tactics offered the information necessary to fully understand how their embodied rhetoric led to their imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings.

Review of Chapter 4

Chapter 4 explored how suffragists used their bodies to protest as material and symbolic resources by challenging and reifying ideologies within the context of 1917. Specifically, I analyzed how body rhetoric and body-based arguments were employed through suffragists' many forms of embodied protests, including picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings. Like Borda's (2002) findings that suffragist parades demonstrated the women's performances of their civic duties as equal citizens, my project explored other forms of suffragists' body rhetoric to unpack how they used their bodies to generate rhetorical force. Similarly, Stillion Southard (2007) accounts for how suffragists relied on ideologies that women should stay silent to subvert and exploit those expectations when picketing. In other words, the women silently picketed, held signs, wore sashes, and enacted their ability to act politically and militantly, all the while remaining physically silent. While the parades and picketing of suffragists were spaces where women willingly placed their bodies to protest, their arrests led to the need to enact body rhetoric while imprisoned. Therefore, my project extends scholarship about suffragists' body rhetoric to enact and challenge ideologies by exploring how they continued to do so and adapt to embodied protests in prison.

Specifically, my analysis uncovered how suffragists and their advocates used or evoked body rhetoric to challenge and/or reify dominant ideologies about women's bodies. For example, I accounted for how suffragists' use of hunger strikes, the dedication and strength needed to refuse food and water for hours to days on end, and their accounts of the toll the strikes took on their well-being worked to challenge ideologies that suggested women were weak and frail. In doing so, the women countered arguments that they were not strong enough to vote by enacting their strength. Further, my analysis explored how opponents, namely prison officials, responded to suffragists' body rhetoric with violence and their embodiment of ideologies of dominance and control. For example, in response to the hunger strikes, prison officials held the suffragists down, forced tubes and funnels down their noses and throats, and force-fed them. Using violence to reassert control over the suffragists' bodies reified ideologies of dominance and control over the women's displays of agency. The clash in ideologies between both parties demonstrated how bodies act rhetorically and are leveraged in various ways during embodied protests.

Further, my analysis speaks to previous scholarship on suffragists' hunger strikes specifically and the various reasons theorized for their participation. Some scholars suggest the hunger strike enabled suffragists to fight back against the constraints of their imprisonment, challenge prison officials' authority, and create a scenario that necessitated a response (Atkinson, 2018; Ford, 1991). My project adds to a deeper understanding of how, exactly, women used their body rhetoric in the form of hunger strikes by analyzing their first-hand accounts of their experiences, news coverage of their protests, and responses from prison doctors and officials. The suffragists did employ their body rhetoric for the reasons laid out above and they did so by enacting ideologies of strength and collective political action, by using their bodies to create responses where their words alone failed.

Some takeaways of this chapter include the highly contextualized nature of the suffragists' body rhetoric. In other words, the white, middle/upper-class women were able to leverage their bodies in ways that led to their release from prison and success in ways that were not and are not accessible to all prisoners. Further, there are some references to Black women, immigrants, and women charged with various crimes imprisoned alongside the suffragists at the Workhouse. However, I emphasize the absence and lack of representation found in the historical records, first-hand accounts, and images relating to suffragists' picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and forced feedings. Several scholars and writers highlight the exclusion of Black women's role and racism in the suffrage movement, both historically and in research surrounding the suffrage movement (Epps & Warren, 2020; Jones, 2020; Logan, 1995; Palczewski, 2016; Staples, 2019; Sundaramoorthy & Broussard, 2020; Terborg-Penn, 1998; 2020; Tetrault, 2014). For example, Palczewski (2016) explains how suffragists, through the Prison Special tour, reminded audiences of the atrocities they experienced for suffrage through reenactments and written and oral communication while simultaneously silencing Black women and their active roles in the movement. Chapter 4 echoes these findings as they intersect with the suffragists' imprisonment and the lack of first-hand accounts and resources centered on Black women's experiences at the Workhouse that are alluded to in suffragists' accounts. I will speak to potential directions for future research to address this limitation below.

Review of Chapter 5

While suffragists' body rhetoric challenged ideologies that held women were not intelligent enough, strong enough, politically motivated, or capable of collective action in 1917, these ideologies are not current, pressing issues in 2022. However, the Lucy Burns Museum presents suffragists’ body rhetoric that still functions rhetorically over 100 years later. As explored in chapter 5, the main goals for museum visitors are to learn about the suffragists’ extraordinary displays of civic action for women’s rights and honor their memory by voting in recent elections. The exhibits make evident suffragist body rhetoric through visual presentations, first-hand accounts, and embodied experiences for visitors to accomplish these goals. However, returning to Yorgason’s (2000) claim that memorializing women’s rhetoric in museums depends “heavily on the agendas of the organizations doing the remembering,” it becomes evident the LBM does not present an unbiased, well-rounded, and diverse presentation of suffrage history (p. 261). In other words, my analysis explores how the curator and museum work to present an intentional, stable version of suffragists’ body rhetoric for specific purposes.

The Lucy Burns Museum memorializes the Occoquan Workhouse’s history as a prison but dedicates most of the space to its connection to women’s suffrage. As explored in chapter 4, suffragists’ efforts focused primarily on their self-interests (i.e., gaining the right to vote for middle/upper-class, white women). The same worldview is presented to memorialize suffragists’ body rhetoric in the LBM. The museum further encourages visitors to acknowledge and honor the women’s courageous acts of citizenship by exercising their hard-won and well-protected right to vote. However, Clover and Williamson (2019) argue that there are “patriarchal assumptions behind the language, images and stagecrafting (positioning, lighting) of museums and art galleries” (p. 143). This project expands beyond patriarchal assumptions to include how there are also raced, gendered, and classed assumptions behind museums and their exhibits. An implication of the addition of these assumptions is that visitors rely on the information presented in museums, which can present a chapter in history that appears stable without truly presenting a full picture of the context, story, labor, and people involved in that history.

Further, the LBM exhibits also offer visitors an opportunity to experience body rhetoric to contextualize the suffragists' experiences further. As explored in my analysis, there are ways individuals can embody aspects of suffragists' body rhetoric. For example, they can put on a sash and pretend to picket or walk through the restored cellblock. Both exhibitions work to engage visitors' senses and create embodied experiences that further contextualize suffragists' body rhetoric. These embodied interactions with the museum offer an additional layer of understanding of U.S. and suffrage history while continuing to center white, middle/upper-class women's body rhetoric. This reality leads to some critiques of the museum. First, it relies on visitors wanting to lay some claim to being informed about suffrage, understanding voting rights were not always available to everyone, and being engaged citizens who vote. They do this at the expense of imparting messages for visitors like using embodied protests to continue to fight voting injustices, leveraging bodies to seek political change and more.

Further, the representation of Black suffragists' role in suffrage history, their universal suffrage goals and their body rhetoric are largely absent in the LBM, with the few exceptions discussed in chapter 5. Therefore, the implications and limitations of this problematic reality continue to exclude Black women from history and public memories of the suffrage movement. For example, we could consider how other prisoners' (i.e., Black women, immigrants, and women from lower socioeconomic status) perspectives and first-hand accounts would change understandings and provide a broader picture of body rhetoric not limited to suffragists' privileged identities as presented in the museum. As hooks (2000) argues:

> It is essential for continued feminist struggle that black women recognize the special vantage point our marginality gives us to make use of this perspective to criticize the dominant racist, classist, sexist hegemony as well as to envision and create a counter-hegemony. (p. 16)

Considering the experiences at the Workhouse, Black women's perspective would provide a broader account of the conditions and realities of the prison because they see and act in both the margin and the center. What might the museum look like if, instead, African American women and their experiences were centered? Certainly, the museum would feature protesting for universal rights more so than individual voting rights and more that is lost to visitors.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

I will now speak to some limitations of my project and offer some suggestions to address these shortcomings in future scholarship. First, I relied solely on news coverage and publications from *The Suffragist* from 1917 to speak to how body-based arguments regarding suffragists' embodied protests circulated to public audiences. While suffragists' use of body rhetoric is not unique to their picketing, imprisonment, hunger strikes, and force-feedings, 1917 is the year the pickets began at the White House, which led to their imprisonment. Had America not entered World War I while suffragists picketed, the outcomes of their embodied protests might have looked different. In other words, 1917 created additional constraints for the women's body rhetoric not experienced previously. With that being said, I envision future projects could expand the analysis of suffragists' body rhetoric, specifically body-based arguments found in *The Suffragist* and news coverage beyond 1917, to explore how and if their body rhetoric was received differently in various contexts either before or after their publicized imprisonment. This approach would allow for a deeper understanding of how the women's hunger strikes and force-feedings are linked to the passing of the 19th amendment and how the suffragists continued to use their bodies to protest.

Further, the texts I analyzed in chapter 4 were limited by only accessing materials online or through interlibrary loans. Considering these constraints, I did not encounter any first-hand accounts from other imprisoned women at the Workhouse. Further, as explored in chapter 5, there is only one image of two Black women imprisoned at the Workhouse displayed in the LBM. However, other primary texts or pictures could be housed in archives or specific locations that are not accessible online. Therefore, a direction for future research is to continue attempting to recover materials from archives and more. For example, Palczewski (2016) analyzes the photograph of the two Black imprisoned women at the Workhouse and explains the labor required to visit archives, in this case, the Library of Congress, to comb through records and prioritize perspectives at the edges of history. In other words, scholars have a responsibility to identify the voices and experiences that are missing from retellings of history and work to restore or illuminate their place in scholarship. It could be possible to attempt to recover accounts from women imprisoned at the Workhouse outside of suffragists and analyze uses of body rhetoric in prison outside the context of suffrage. More broadly, scholars could analyze other groups' use of hunger strikes to see if they enacted body rhetoric in similar ways and to what effect. For example, did other hunger strikes lead to prisoners' early release from prison? Or was the context for suffragists' hunger strikes a singular success case?

A limitation of my analysis of the Lucy Burns Museum relates to my positionality as a researcher. As discussed in chapter 2, people's lived realities influence how they live and experience the world. This is certainly true regarding my identities and how my lived experiences influence my perspectives and analysis of the suffragists' body rhetoric and how it is memorialized. As discussed in chapter 5, my identity as a white, middle-class, educated, able-bodied woman enabled me to see exhibits representing individuals that looked like me protesting for a right to vote that I have never worried about. To address the limitations presented by my positionality as a researcher, I worked to present suffragists' accounts in their words as much as possible to analyze them in their context. Further, despite the severe lack of representation of Black women both in historical and contemporary displays of body rhetoric, I included the few mentions of their experiences and point to critiques of these realities. I also recognize I offer an analysis of suffragists' body rhetoric that relies on primary source material that has a problematic history as well. However, I worked on accounting for these constraints throughout this project and pointing out the texts' limitations in my analysis. More, I offer some additional directions for future research on the LBM.

For example, it would be possible to analyze representations of the museum on social media. Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter posts and photos could offer insight into how visitors respond to and interact with the exhibits online. Further, looking at #LucyBurnsMuseum could illustrate how people post their images of the museum, if they are wearing the sashes, the comments they add to their posts, and more. An analysis of these posts could also add to discussions about the link between visitors recognizing the importance of voting won by suffragists and enacting the call to action of the museum to vote. More broadly, researchers could work to understand how body rhetoric is taken up and circulated on social media. Another limitation of my analysis is that I focus solely on my experiences of the museum and its exhibits. I cannot speak to other messages visitors take away from the LBM. This limitation could be addressed by conducting interviewers or collecting survey data to speak to other messages visitors receive and interpret from moving through the museum.

Further, my project excluded analysis of the museum's exhibits about the 91-year history of the Occoquan Workhouse as a prison. That side of the LBM merits further analysis to explore its problematic history, how prisoners besides the suffragists employed body rhetoric, and how the Workhouse intersects with other events throughout history, like the Civil Rights Movement. Also, I did not discuss ability as it relates to the LBM. Considering how the museum relies on the ability to see, hear, and move through the museum and tight spaces in the cellblock tour would add to a deeper understanding of body rhetoric as experienced by various visitors. Future researchers could draw on that scholarship to add to the analysis of the museum and its exhibits.

A final suggestion for future research would be an analysis of the film *Iron Jawed Angels*. The movie was released in 2004 and told Alice Paul's story, portrayed by actress Hilary Swank, and her role in the suffrage movement, especially her time in prison. One particular scene in the film focuses on the force-feeding that Paul experienced and the use of hunger strikes. The film presents scenes featuring a suffragist being force-fed, without much context or details about the conditions that led to the women's hunger strikes. Therefore, an analysis of the movie and how it presents suffragists' body rhetoric could speak to other contemporary portrayals of the women's embodied efforts, how they are remembered, and what messages they convey to various audiences.

Conclusion

Throughout this project, I have explored how suffragists used their bodies to generate rhetorical force and how their embodied rhetoric is memorialized in the Lucy Burns Museum. In doing so, I valued suffragists' embodied experiences, utilized their words for accounts of their experiences, and displayed ways that scholars can account for bodies acting rhetorically, that bodies and rhetoric are not separate entities. In other words, I analyzed people rhetorically, strategically using their bodies. This project shows how scholars can account for how bodies can generate rhetorical force employed for protests by applying a bodies-in-protest heuristic and analyzing bodies-as-rhetoric and body-based arguments. It also prioritizes seeing bodies as material and symbolic and recognizes that embodied rhetoric is a performative, intersectional form. These are valuable frameworks to approach bodies acting rhetorically, and my project offers case studies specific to suffragists' body rhetoric. But, as suffragists' embodied rhetoric was highly contextual, people and social movements can continue to employ body rhetoric to fit their needs, seek social change, and protest.

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