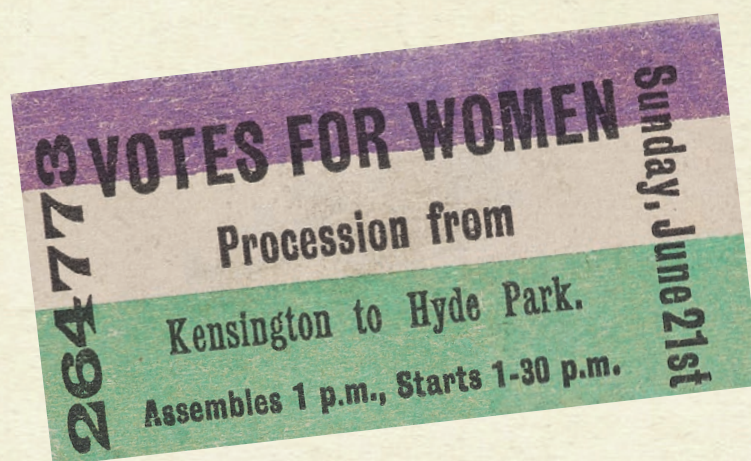

SUFFRAGE IN A BOX:

ITEM CAPTIONS

TEACHERS GUIDE



1 The Polling Station. (Publisher: Suffrage Atelier).

Suffrage campaigners were experts in creating powerful propaganda images which expressed their sense of injustice. This image shows the whole range of women being kept out of the polling station by the law and authority represented by the policeman. These include musicians, clerical workers, mothers, university graduates, nurses, mayors, and artists. The men include gentlemen, manual workers, and agricultural labourers. This hints at the class hierarchies and tensions which were so important in British society at this time, and which also influenced the suffrage movement. All the women are represented as gracious and dignified, in contrast to the men, who are slouching and casual. This image was produced by the Suffrage Atelier, which brought together artists to create pictures which could be quickly and easily reproduced.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford John Johnson Collection; Postcards 12 (385)



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2 The late Miss E.W. Davison (1913).

Emily Wilding Davison is best known as the suffragette who died after being trampled by the King's horse on Derby Day, but as this photo shows, there was much more to her story. She studied at Royal Holloway College in London and St Hugh's College Oxford, but left her job as a teacher to become a full-time suffragette. She was one of the most committed militants, who famously hid in a cupboard in the House of Commons on census night, 1911, so that she could give this as her address, and was the first woman to begin setting fire to post boxes. She was arrested many times, and subjected to force-feeding when she went on hunger-strike.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection; Postcards 12 (268)



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3 Funeral of Miss E.W. Davison. The coffin at Victoria (14 June 1913).

The funeral of Emily Wilding Davison on 14 June 1913 was a profoundly solemn and moving occasion. Women carried bouquets of lilies in the suffragette colours of purple, white and green and thousands lined the streets to pay their respects. Many historians now think that her death was unintentional: a return ticket to London was found in her pocket.

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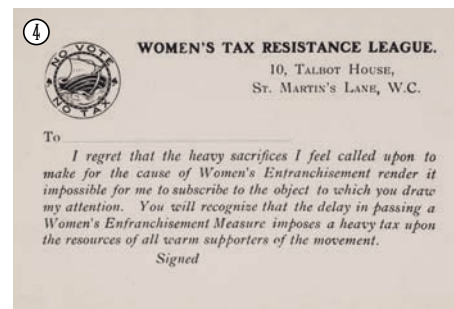


FUNERAL OF MISS E.W. DAVISON. THE COFFIN AT VICTORIA.
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4 No vote–No tax. Women’s Tax Resistance League (c.1909).

Founded in 1909, the Women’s Tax Resistance League’s slogan was simply ‘no vote: no tax’. Largely made up of wealthier women, it was associated with the Women’s Freedom League who stressed constitutional forms of militancy: that is, non-violent and passive protests. Many women – especially wealthier ones – were angry and frustrated that they were expected to pay taxes but had no say over the ways their taxes were spent. Women who refused to pay their taxes were often arrested and their property would be confiscated by bailiffs.

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5 Banner of the Oxford Women Students’ Society for Women’s Suffrage.

Designed by Edmund Hort New (1871-1931). The Oxford Women’s Students Society for Women’s Suffrage brought together individual societies which had been formed at the different women’s colleges: Somerville, St Hugh’s, Lady Margaret Hall and St Hilda’s. Women could study at the colleges but were not awarded degrees by the University until 1920. This group was non-militant and associated with the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies. In general, people in Oxford – both women and men – were in favour of women’s suffrage.

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6 Band of the Women’s Social & Political Union (established 1909).

The WSPU’s drum and fife band was established in 1909 to lead their processions and marches. Marching bands had previously been all-male, and it was a novelty to see women announcing their presence so loudly. The drum major, who led the band, was Mary Leigh. She was the first suffragette to be arrested for stone-throwing and also the first suffragette to be forcibly fed in prison while on hunger-strike, indicating the depth of her commitment to the cause.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (352)



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7 Members of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), at a market in Cambridge (1908).

This image shows women from the National Union of Suffrage Societies at work in Cambridge. The Cambridge Women’s Suffrage Association was formed in 1884, but like many local societies, was rather small and marginal until the twentieth century. By 1908, when this photograph was taken, the society had become much more organised, professional and dynamic. Here, the women are selling literature and information about the cause at a market stall, showing them taking the message out in a proactive way.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (331)



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8 Great Votes for Women Demonstration in Hyde Park, Sunday, June 21, 1908.

This demonstration in June 1908 – the first on this scale organised by the WSPU - was one of the most spectacular events of the entire campaign and became known as ‘Woman’s Sunday’. As the banners showing the names of societies from different towns and cities suggest, special trains had brought thousands of women to demonstrate that the issue was supported right across the country. Women participated in a huge march across London and listen to nearly a hundred speakers on twenty platforms across the park. Organisers had predicted a quarter of a million people would attend: *The Times* newspaper, which was unusually positive about the glorious spectacle, suggested it was perhaps more like half a million. Nevertheless, the Prime Minister, Asquith, made no response to this peaceful demonstration. This convinced many women that more provocative forms of militancy would be necessary to get his attention.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (302)

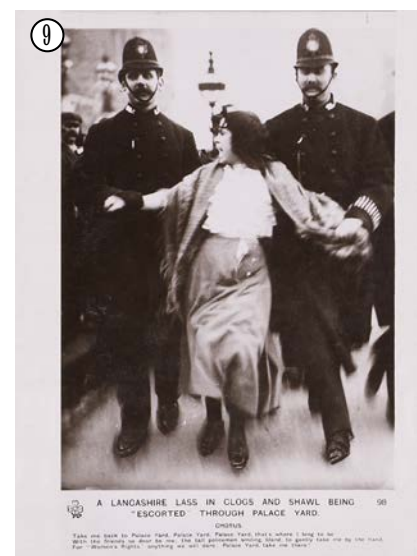


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9 A Lancashire lass in clogs and shawl being “Escorted” through Palace Yard (1907).

This photograph was front-page news in March 1907 because the ‘Lancashire Lass’ pictured was only sixteen. Dora Thewliss was one of seventy-five women – mostly tailoresses and weavers – arrested on this deputation to the House of Commons. They were protesting at the fact that the King’s Speech setting out the government’s programme for the year had, once again, made no mention of votes for women. Dora was nicknamed the ‘Baby Suffragette’ by the newspapers. A weaver from Huddersfield, she grew up in a strongly socialist household and was among the many working-class women who wanted the vote in order to improve the working conditions in factories. She eventually emigrated to Australia.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (297)



A LANCASHIRE LASS IN CLOGS AND SHAWL BEING "ESCORTED" THROUGH PALACE YARD.

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10 Mrs. Edith How Martyn, W.S.P.U. (Women's Social and Political Union).

Edith How Martyn had studied maths and physics at university in Wales and was a lecturer in maths when she gave up her job to become a full-time organiser for the Women's Social and Political Union. The double image here asks the viewer to question whether a respectable educated woman should be imprisoned for her political beliefs. When the WSPU became increasingly violent, she joined the Women's Freedom League because she believed in peaceful and passive resistance. She stood as a parliamentary candidate in the 1918 election and in the 1920s, founded the Suffragette Fellowship which aimed to preserve the memories



Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (272)

11 The New Century. Woman's Rights.

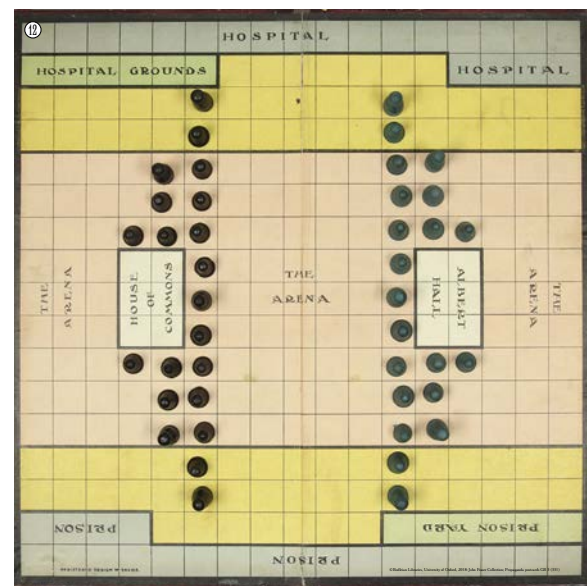
Anti-suffrage propaganda attempted to tap into people's fears about the disorder and disruption which might arise if women abandoned their traditional roles. Here, the usual domestic arrangements have been turned upside-down. The husband is portrayed as weak and unmanly, having to carry out demeaning and menial household tasks.



Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (420)

12 Suffragetto. (game).

Games and toys brought the cause into women's homes, enabling women to have fun and raise funds at the same time. One player was a suffragette trying to escape the police and get into the House of Commons while stopping the policeman getting into the Albert Hall; the policeman had to stop the suffragette from reaching parliament while getting into the Albert Hall to break up a meeting. Other famous games played by suffragettes include the board game Pank-A-Squith and the card game Panko.



Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: 38491 d.6/1

13 Women's Coronation Procession, June 17, 1911 (five days before the coronation of King George V).

The Women's Coronation Procession was staged by all the suffrage societies – militant and non-militant - to demonstrate their patriotism and loyalty to the crown and to indicate their desire to become full citizens able to serve the King. This pageant was particularly notable for including a section of women from across the Empire. Women from Australia and New Zealand – who already had the vote walked with women from India and the West Indies. There was also a 'Prisoners Pageant' and a 'Historical Pageant' on display.

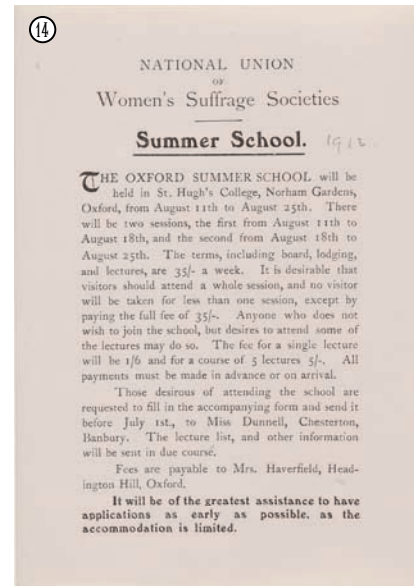
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (310)



14 Flyer: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) Summer School (1913).

Suffrage summer schools were established in order to help women meet like-minded activists, to listen to lectures on relevant political and social issues, and to train them in practical campaigning skills such as public speaking. Summer schools were also run in St Andrews, the Conwy Valley, and Weymouth. They are an indication of the importance these women placed on political education and the importance of using the vote wisely.

©Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection; Women's Suffrage box 2/2.



15 'Votes for Women' Ribbons.

The suffragettes used the colours of purple (for dignity) white (for purity) and green (for hope) and women were encouraged to proudly display the colours to signal their allegiance. Clothes, fabrics, jewellery and household goods were all sold in these colours.

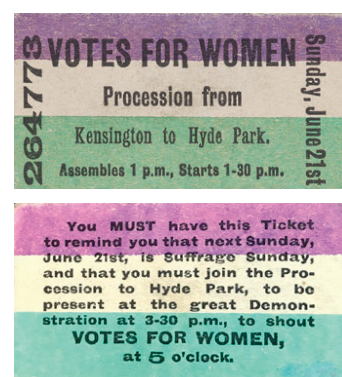
©Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection; Women's Suffrage box 3/2.



16 Ticket for the Votes for Women demonstration in Hyde Park, Sunday, June 21, 1908.

Different suffrage organisations used different colours - the NUWSS, for example, used red, green and white – but the purple, white and green are now the most recognisable colours of the movement, showing how effective the suffragettes were in their marketing campaigns. The careful instructions on the ticket are also a reminder of the suffragettes' discipline and attention to detail.

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17 Souvenir in Commemoration of Great Law-abiding Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage (1913).

The great suffrage pilgrimage in the summer of 1913 was one of the most significant demonstrations organised by the non-militant National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. At a time when more extreme suffragette violence was hitting the headlines, these women set out to prove that the majority of campaigners were peaceful. Women walked along three routes around the country for up to six weeks – sometimes welcomed with open arms and sometimes with overt hostility – and met in Hyde Park before a few were invited to meet with the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith.

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18 Votes for Women Souvenir Official Programme (1911).

On June 17th, 1911, all the significant suffrage societies joined together in a procession through London to celebrate the coronation of George V. While it's often thought that women were divided into 'militants' and 'non-militants', this procession shows that in fact, most women were supportive of each other's efforts and frequently collaborated. The programme here emphasises women's patriotism as an indicator of their fitness to vote, as well as stressing that the procession will be representative of the diverse range of classes of women who wanted the vote. The reference to imperialism, however, suggests how many of the women involved were uncritical supporters of the British Empire.

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19 An 'Indignation Meeting' of Women Citizens and Taxpayers (1909).

Women were not just campaigning for the vote: as this image indicates, they wanted to become full citizens playing an active role in public life. These women in Birmingham were expressing their 'indignation' that they were being excluded from meetings that the Prime Minister, Asquith, was holding to discuss his Budget in the city. Eva Gore-Booth was an Irish aristocrat who became passionately involved in organising working-class women. She was an important early influence on Christabel Pankhurst, and was the sister of Constance Markievicz, who was elected as Britain's first female MP. Ethel Snowden had trained to be a teacher before becoming a socialist and labour activist. She is referred to here under her husband's name: Philip Snowden was a leading Labour politician and later the first Labour Chancellor. Both women were senior members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

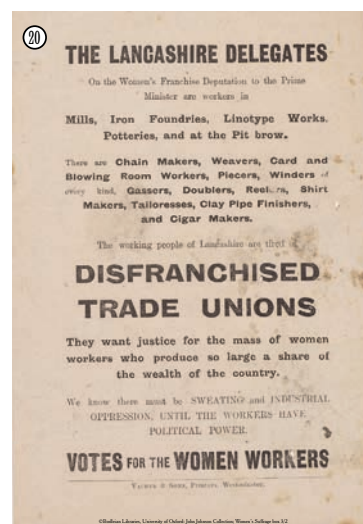
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20 The Lancashire Delegates.

Working-class women, especially in areas like Lancashire and Yorkshire, had a long tradition of organising and campaigning through trade unions. Women were central to the success of Britain's industry and manufacturing, yet they often worked for long hours in difficult conditions, for less money than men. They had no ability to influence the laws which shaped their lives. Even though many were members of trade unions, and paid subscriptions to support Labour party candidates, they could not elect sympathetic candidates themselves. Working-class women had been campaigning for the vote since at least the 1880s and yet their role in the fight for the vote is often downplayed or disregarded.

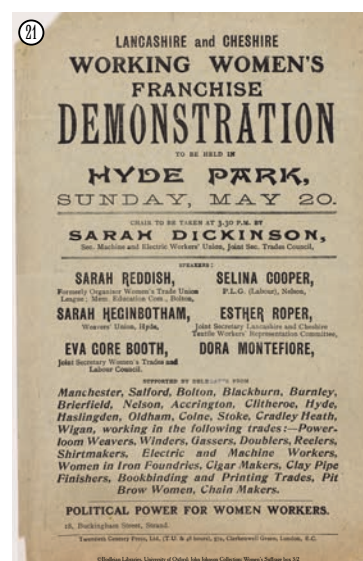
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21 Lancashire and Cheshire Working Women's Franchise demonstration, Hyde Park, 20 May 1906.

This event had been organised by the leading members of the Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Textile and Other Workers' Representation Committee. Though the organisers were not working-class themselves, these women were nevertheless passionately committed to putting working-class women at the centre of the franchise campaign because such women stood to gain most from having the vote. As such, they campaigned for *all* women to gain the vote – not just votes for women on the same terms as men, which had the potential to exclude many working-class women. They also campaigned against 'protective legislation': laws which were supposedly designed to protect women at work but mostly had the effect of putting them out of work altogether.

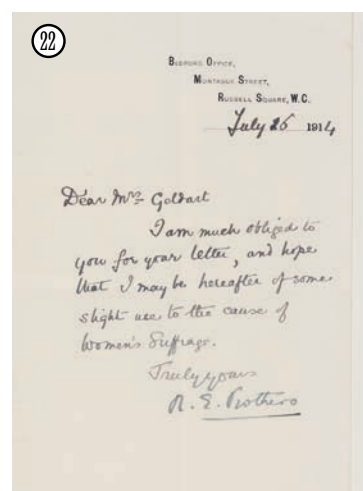
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22 NUWSS, Oxford Branch: Procession, June 17th, 1911.

Oxford women were very prominent within the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. The Oxford branch – the Oxford Women's Suffrage Society – was formed in 1904 and held its first public meeting in Somerville College the following year. This leaflet provides their instructions for joining the Women's Coronation Procession in 1911. Winifred Haverfield became secretary of the branch in 1909 but eventually resigned from the Society, probably because she was opposed to the organisations increasingly close links to, and financial support for, the Labour Party.

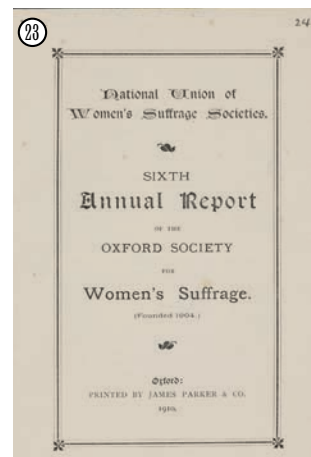
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23 Sixth Annual Report of the Oxford Society for Women's Suffrage (1910).

Towns and cities around the country had local societies which were well-organised and highly professional. Oxford had a long tradition of supporting suffrage, and had presented petition to Parliament from as early as 1869. A meeting at Lincoln College addressed by Lydia Becker - then the leader of the franchise campaign – in 1872 had attracted significant attention. Men as well as women were committed to the cause and by 1910 this branch had several hundred members. The chair was Jessie Payne Margoliouth, who was an expert in Syrian culture and married to a Professor of Arabic at the University.

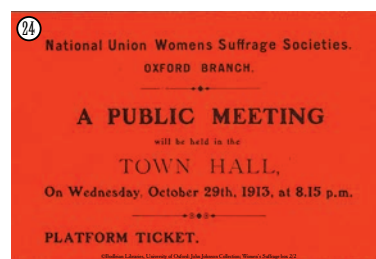
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24 Ticket for a public meeting of the NUWSS, Oxford Branch, at the Town Hall, Wednesday, October 29, 1913.

Public meetings offered a chance to debate the issues, attract new supporters and raise money for the cause. The NUWSS in Oxford chose the Town Hall as a venue because women meeting outdoors or engaging in processions ran the risk of being mistaken for militants and attacked.

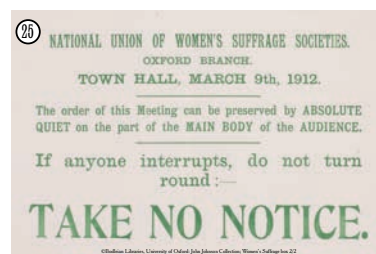
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25 NUWSS, Oxford Branch: 'Take No Notice', 9 March 1912.

Hecklers were often a major problem for suffrage campaigners. In university towns such as Bristol and Oxford, male students could be noisy, disruptive and rude. Women were instructed to disregard their attempts to create disorder and instead, preserve their dignity. Feelings were running high in March 1912 as, for the third time, a compromise Bill which would have enfranchised some women – the 'Conciliation Bill' – was being considered by the House of Commons. It was defeated later in the month, prompting outrage and betrayal among suffrage supporters and intensifying the militant campaign.

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26 NUWSS, Oxford Branch: Notices of open-air meetings, 1912.

Open-air meetings enabled women to put their case to passers-by who wouldn't otherwise have come to a public meeting. As this poster from 1907, women set out to make their mark in all areas of the city and were keen to show that they were both 'non party' and 'non militant'. Nevertheless, even the act of public speaking required significant bravery and courage since it challenged long-established social norms. Women were not expected to express their opinions or have a voice in public, and those who did ran significant risks.

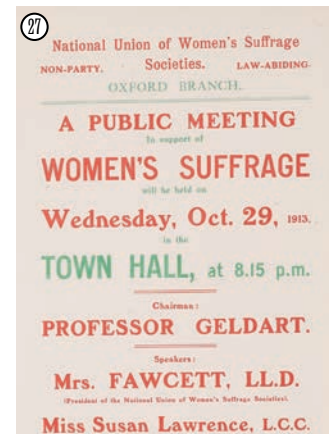
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27 NUWSS, Oxford Branch: Public Meeting in support of Women's Suffrage, Wednesday, Oct 29, 1913.

Millicent Fawcett, the leader of the National Women's Suffrage Societies, was a fairly frequent visitor to Oxford, and in 1908 had taken part in a debate at the Oxford Union. Susan Lawrence had been serving on the London County Council as a Conservative but had recently converted to socialism and was active in campaigning for women's rights in the labour movement. She was elected to the House of Commons in 1923, one of the first three Labour women MPs who were returned at that election. William Geldart was professor of English Law at the University of Oxford.

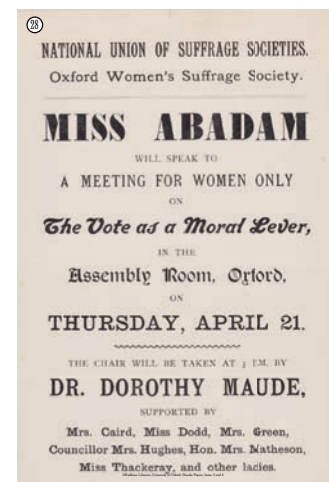
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28 NUWSS, Oxford Branch: A meeting for women only, Thursday April 21, 1910.

Traditionally, it had been argued that women were fundamentally different from men, and that their distinctive, caring, nature made them ideally suited to their place in the home, and unsuited to the rough and tumble of public life. Some women activist turned this argument on its head and argued that it was precisely because women had different qualities that they needed the franchise. Using the vote as a 'moral lever' would enable them to improve the quality of public debate and bring about progressive change. Alice Abadam was one of the most prominent Welsh campaigners for suffrage.

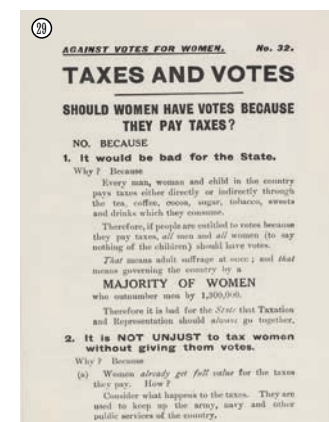
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29 'Against votes for Women', no. 32.

Anti-suffragists put forward a whole range of reasons why women didn't need and shouldn't get the vote. Here, the writer attempts to make the cause ridiculous. It was common to link women with children in order to claim that they weren't capable of the reasoned thought that voting required. The poster also indicates one of the anti-suffragists' worst fears: that women voters would outnumber men, and so had the potential to be the dominant force in British politics.

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30 Suffragettes. Beauty & intellect are superior to brute force.

Anti-suffrage propaganda often implied that suffragettes were ugly, horrible and grotesque. By making them into ridiculous figures of fun, anti-suffrage campaigners could dismiss their arguments as equally ridiculous. The references to husbands and babies being shouted by the crowd were often hurled at suffragettes as they tried to get their message across.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (407)



31 Women's Social and Political Union, Votes for Women, October 1907. Cover image by David Wilson (1873-1935).

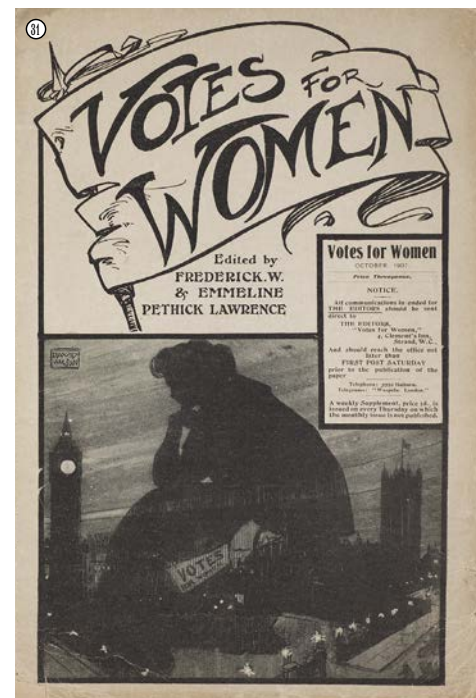
The WSPU's newspaper, *Votes for Women*, was first published in October 1907, and was printed weekly from the following April. It was edited and financed by Emmeline and Fred Pethick-Lawrence, some of the WSPU's wealthiest supporters. At a time when many mainstream newspapers were hostile to the women's cause, *Votes for Women* aimed to showcase another side of the movement. It was an essential part of the organisation's broader strategy to attract public attention and influence public opinion. New recruits to the WSPU were frequently asked to go out and sell the newspaper as their first act for the organisation, since newspaper-selling required publicly identifying yourself with the cause persistence, a sense of humour, and an ability to deal with indifference and hostility: all essential qualities for suffragettes.

Some aspects of the newspaper – such as the Dedication - were the same every week so that new readers had a clear understanding of the organisation and its goals. The cover usually featured an especially striking image – often designed by an artist – followed by a discussion of 'The Outlook' which summarised the week's events. The news sections were made up of suffragette activities and interventions – such as deputations to parliament or disruption of political meeting – and were often sensational in tone. The press coverage in other newspapers was also summarised or quoted to show the impact that the campaign was having. Major speeches were often printed in full so that the message reached more people, and leading figures in the WSPU contributed articles on issues of interest. Sylvia Pankhurst, for example, wrote a longstanding series on the history of the suffragette movement. The idea was to build a sense of identity and community around a set of shared ideas and goals.

The newspaper also carried very practical information for supporters. The programme of forthcoming events enabled women to plan to attend meetings and rallies, while branches from around the country sent weekly updates of their local plans for events and campaigns. The newspaper carried frequent and stirring appeals for more substantial help: for example, asking for donations which would then be publicised in future newspapers or calling for volunteers to help organise processions and parades. Since the newspaper was read by many women who had money to spend, it was very popular among advertisers.

The Pethick-Lawrences left the WSPU in 1912 and took the newspaper with them. The WSPU began a new publication, *The Suffragette*, renamed *Britannia* in the war to reflect their intense patriotism. Other suffrage societies also had their own publications: the NUWSS published *Common Cause* and the Women's Freedom League printed *The Vote*. For a brief period from 1911, more radical women read *The Freewoman* which challenged many conventional ideas about marriage, motherhood and men and women's roles at home. In the war, Sylvia Pankhurst's Federation of East London of Suffragettes published *The Women's Dreadnought* – later the *Worker's Dreadnought* – written by and for working-class women, which campaigned for peace and social justice, and was the first British publication to employ a Black journalist.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: N. G.A. Oxon a.4



32 'A "Fair" Suffragette'. Newspaper clipping from The Oxford Journal Illustrated, 6 September 1911, page 16.

Suffrage campaigners often took their message to social occasions like fairs where a good-humoured crowd might be more receptive to hearing them and to buying the newspaper. Selling the suffragette newspaper *Votes for Women* was an important means of raising funds as well as awareness of the cause. The double meaning in the word 'fair' here draws attention to this suffragette's appearance. Suffragettes took care to dress well, using their femininity to counter the anti-suffragist argument that they were disrespectful and even unwomanly.



33 Birkenhead and District Women's Suffrage Society (NUWSS) petition, 1910.

Petitions remained an important tool used by the NUWSS well into the twentieth century. Here, both the distinctive colours and the bold assertion that they are 'non-militant' attempt to distinguish the society from the WSPU. An attempt to gain signatures – from existing voters – was an attempt to show the breadth of support behind women's suffrage among men.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection; Women's Suffrage box 2/2



34 Suffragette Procession led by 'Joan of Arc' (1909).

Joan of Arc was often described as the 'Patron Saint of Suffragettes.' She signified female heroism a willingness to take action, justified by God. As such, a suffragette dressed as Joan of Arc frequently took the lead in their pageants and processions, leading the women into battle. The woman dressed as 'Joan' was Elsie Howey, a young woman from Nottingham who was well known as one of the most daring of the suffragettes.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (325)



35 Mrs. Pankhurst arrested in Victoria Street, Feb. 13, 1908.

In February 1908, the WSPU held a 'Women's Parliament' in Caxton Hall, Westminster, after which, Emmeline Pankhurst led a small deputation of twelve other women. Mrs Pankhurst here holds a bunch of flowers in one hand and a petition in the other. All the women were arrested, and Mrs Pankhurst was sentenced to six weeks. This was her first time in prison and she was profoundly moved by the conditions she witnessed.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (300)



36 Band of the Women's Social & Political Union (1910).

This is the suffragette's famous fife and drum band in action on the 18th June 1910, during the 'Prison to Citizenship' march. The WSPU had called a truce and halted militancy while a proposed law to give women the vote was making its way through Parliament. Instead, they returned to the drama and spectacle of pageants and processions, which have clearly attracted both men and women to the streets. This bill did not have time to progress through Parliament before a General Election was called.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: John Fraser Collection; Propaganda postcards GB 3 (352)



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37 Women's Suffrage procession, June 18th, 1910.

All these women had endured a prison sentence as a result of their efforts to claim the vote. They are dressed in white to signify purity, and are carrying silver topped arrows as a reminder of the black arrows drawn over prison clothing. The arrows in prison were a mark of shame: here they are reclaimed as something noble and dignified. At this point, 617 women had gone to prison for the cause: eighty had gone on hunger strike.

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38 'Women Voters in Oxford.' Newspaper clipping from The Oxford Journal Illustrated, 18 December, 1918, page 7.

The 1918 Representation of the People Act gave the vote to selected women - those over thirty who met property qualifications, and university graduates – as well as all men over twenty-one. As a result, many of the younger, working-class women who had been so important in the war effort were not able to vote. Seventeen women stood as candidates in this election – including prominent suffrage campaigners like Christabel Pankhurst, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, and Charlotte Despard – but only Constance Markievicz was elected and, as a member of Sinn Fein, she did not take her seat.

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The women's suffrage campaign is often crudely divided into 'suffragettes' and 'suffragists'. In reality, there were a huge number of groups campaigning for the vote and for other social and political reforms. Women were often members of many different groups and groups also worked together.

The biggest suffrage society was the **National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies**. Led by **Millicent Fawcett** – a longtime feminist reformer and sister of the first woman doctor in England - this was made up of local branches from all around the country. They relied on conventional political tactics such as petitions and lobbying and were often described as the 'constitutionalists' for their emphasis on 'law-abiding' work. Members were often Liberals who were disillusioned by their party's failure to grant votes for women – like **Chrystal MacMillan**, **Helena Swanwick**, and **Catherine Marshall** - though after 1912 the NUWSS actively supported the Labour Party. These women were often pacifists and had strong connections to the international women's movement. After 1918, the NUWSS became the **National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship** and campaigned on issues like equal pay, pensions and the rights of mothers and widows. Many members remained active campaigners, including **Ellen Wilkinson** and **Eleanor Rathbone** who became some of the first women MPs.

The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) became known as the 'suffragettes' though this label is now often applied to any woman who campaigned for suffrage. Formed in 1903 by **Emmeline Pankhurst**, her daughters and their closest allies, this group came to national attention in 1905 when **Christabel Pankhurst** and **Annie Kenney** – a factory worker from Oldham – were arrested and sent to prison after disturbing a political meeting in Manchester. At first, many members were from the Labour movement though increasingly the WSPU actively sought to recruit middle-class women who could fully devote themselves to the cause. They were committed to 'deeds not words' and became known for 'militant tactics'. Although militancy is often thought of as being violent acts – especially the most controversial acts of bombing and arson which took place between 1912 and 1914 – militancy is actually better thought of as direct action. Many women thought of themselves joined the WPSU even though they never threw a stone or went to prison: simply speaking in public or joining a procession was enough of a challenge to social conventions for these women to call themselves militant.

Famous suffragettes include **Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence** and **Fred Pethick-Lawrence**, who poured their own money into the cause and established the suffrage newspaper *Votes for Women*, **Mary Leigh**, the first woman to go on hunger strike, **Kitty Marion**, an actress who was force-fed 232 times, **Mary Richardson**, who took an axe to the Rokeby Venus in the National Gallery, and **Emily Wilding Davison**, who died after a collision with the Kings horse on Derby Day. **Sylvia Pankhurst** left the organisation to found the **East London Federation of the Suffragettes** which sought to bring about direct improvements in the lives of working-class women in one of the poorest communities in the country. Because the suffragettes have been so closely linked with violence, their actions remain controversial, but very few actually took part in acts of violence. Their work galvanised the cause and made it a real political issue, and attracted many thousands of other women to campaign for the vote: they transformed women's confidence and self-belief and inspired them to work for a broad range of social and political reforms.

The **Women's Freedom League** was mainly made up of ex-members of the WSPU who wanted a greater say over strategy and tactics. These women considered themselves militant and in favour of direct action, but were explicitly non-violent. They preferred passive resistance, and were involved in boycotting the census as well as refusing to pay taxes. They were led by **Charlotte Despard**, a long-time radical who was also committed to the Labour Party and to Irish independence. One of their best-known members was **Muriel Matters**, an Australian who came to public attention when she chained herself to the grille which prevented women from properly seeing Parliamentary debates and attempted to fly a hot air balloon past Parliament. **Sophia Duleep Singh**, the Indian god-daughter of Queen Victoria, supported their **tax resistance** work though she was also a member of the WSPU.

Working women looked to the vote to enhance their rights and status at work, to improve their working conditions and as a step towards equal pay. Many of the largest groups involved working-class women in industrial communities, like the **Lancashire and Cheshire Women Textile and Other Workers' Representation Committee** who presented a petition from 30 000 working-class women to Parliament in 1901. Creative women not only formed professional societies such as the **Actresses Franchise League** and the **Women Writers' Franchise League** but used their talents and skills to further the cause. Famous actresses who supported the cause included **Ellen Terry** and **Lily Langtry** while well-known writers such as **Cicely Hamilton** and **Elizabeth Robins** produced new novels and plays which drew attention to the cause. The **Artists' Suffrage League** and the **Suffrage Atelier**, made up of supportive artists, were especially important, as women like **Mary Lowndes** created moving images and impressive banners which were a crucial part of suffrage propaganda.

Women who supported political parties also formed groups to put pressure on their leaders and the mainstream organisations. The **Conservative and Unionist Franchise Women's Association** was mainly made up of elite and wealthier women. The **Women's Liberal Federation** campaigned on many issues within the Liberal Party and were often hugely frustrated at the leadership's failure to support their demands: many joined the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies too. Labour women often demanded **adult suffrage** – votes for everyone – while the main suffrage organisations only asked for votes on the same terms as men. The leader of the Labour Party, **Keir Hardie**, was perhaps the most prominent politician actively committed to women's suffrage.

Many religious women also formed societies which sought greater recognition for women within different faith traditions. These included the **Church League for Women's Suffrage**, the **Jewish League for Women's Suffrage**, the **Catholic Women's Suffrage Society**, and the **Friends' League for Women's Suffrage**. One of the most famous religious activists for the vote was **Maude Royden**, who later led the campaign for women's ordination.

Those who didn't want women to get the vote also organised themselves into campaigning groups. The **Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage** and the **Women's National Anti-Suffrage League** eventually joined together to become the **National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage**.

1792: Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* makes a powerful call for equality between the sexes, especially in education

1830s: Working-class women are active in the Chartist movement which demands democratic reforms and the vote for working-class men: some claim the vote for themselves

1832: Mary Smith, a Yorkshirewoman, petitions her MP to demand the vote for spinsters

1857: The Langham Place Group is formed and becomes an important campaigning group for women's rights in education and employment as well as suffrage

1866: The first mass petition demanding the vote for women is presented to the Houses of Parliament, signed by 1521 women from around the country

1867: John Stuart Mill tries to amend the Second Reform Bill to use 'person' instead of 'man.' Suffrage societies are formed in Manchester, London and Edinburgh. The National Society for Women's Suffrage is set up to co-ordinate their work. After her accidental inclusion on the voting register, Lily Maxwell is the first woman to vote in national elections.

1881: The Isle of Man grants votes for women in national elections

1885 and 6: Women's organisations are established in the Conservative and Liberal Parties

1888: Women and girls making matches at the Bryant and May factory in London go on strike to protest against poor wages and working conditions

1893: Women get the right to vote in national elections in New Zealand

1894: Women get the right to vote in local elections

1897: The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is formed under Millicent Fawcett

1902: Working-class women from Lancashire and Yorkshire – who have been the driving force for suffrage in the 1890s - present a mass petition to Parliament

1903: The Women's Social and Political Union is formed by Emmeline Pankhurst

1905: Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney are imprisoned after demanding 'votes for women' at a political meeting in Manchester

1907: The NUWSS organises its first big procession, the 'Mud March.' The Qualification of Women Act

allows women to stand for election to county councils and as Mayors

1908: A bill granting votes for women passes a second reading in the House of Commons by a huge majority, but cannot progress further without Government support. Massive demonstrations are held in June by the NUWSS and WSPU. Suffragette militancy escalates.

1909: Suffragettes begin hunger strikes and the government introduces force-feeding

1910: The 'Conciliation Bill' designed by a cross-party group of MPs is put before the House three times but fails through lack of Government support. 'Black Friday' in November sees the suffragettes subjected to mass brutality and assault

1911: The Prime Minister, Asquith, announces that he will grant votes to all men, with no mention of women, sparking outrage among suffrage campaigners. A census boycott is organised using the slogan 'if women do not count, neither shall we be counted.'

1912: Suffragette militancy now extends to arson and bombing. The NUWSS begins to actively support the Labour Party

1913: The Government introduces the Cat and Mouse Act which releases and then rearrests suffrage prisoners. The NUWSS organises the Suffrage Pilgrimage. Emily Wilding Davison dies after being struck by the King's horse during the Derby.

1914: World War One causes significant disruption to the women's movement. Some – including Emmeline Pankhurst and Millicent Fawcett – are active supporters of the war, and give up campaigning for the women's movement; while others refuse to stop demanding votes, and still others argue that women should campaign for peace and join international pacifist organisations. Women are mobilised in significant numbers on the land and in factories.

1918: The Representation of the People Bill grants votes to some women over the age of thirty meeting property qualifications and university graduates.

1919: The Sex Discrimination Removal Act means that sex or marriage can no longer be used to exclude women from the professions

1920: Oxford decides to grant degrees to women (Cambridge follows in 1945)

1928: Women gain votes on the same terms as men