The National Archives
Education Service

Britain 1906-1918

Gallery Four : Gaining Women’s Suffrage
Contents

Overview ........................................................................................................................................ 3
Case Studies .................................................................................................................................... 3
Gallery Background ......................................................................................................................... 3
Militants : Overview ......................................................................................................................... 4
Source 1 ........................................................................................................................................ 5
Source 2 ........................................................................................................................................ 9
Source 3 ....................................................................................................................................... 15
Source 4 ....................................................................................................................................... 18
Source 5 ....................................................................................................................................... 21
Source 6 ....................................................................................................................................... 24
Source 7 ....................................................................................................................................... 25
Source 8 ....................................................................................................................................... 28
Source 9 ....................................................................................................................................... 30
Source 10 ..................................................................................................................................... 32
Moderates : Overview ...................................................................................................................... 35
Source 1 ....................................................................................................................................... 36
Source 2 ....................................................................................................................................... 39
Source 3 ....................................................................................................................................... 44
Source 4 ....................................................................................................................................... 45
Source 5 ....................................................................................................................................... 49
Source 6 ....................................................................................................................................... 53
Suffragist, Suffragette : Overview .................................................................................................. 57
Source 1 ....................................................................................................................................... 58
Source 2 ....................................................................................................................................... 60
Source 3 ....................................................................................................................................... 63
Source 4 ....................................................................................................................................... 66
Source 5 ....................................................................................................................................... 70
Women, Work & War : Overview .................................................................................................... 73
Source 1 ....................................................................................................................................... 74
Source 2 ....................................................................................................................................... 78
Source 3 ....................................................................................................................................... 80
Source 4 ....................................................................................................................................... 83
Source 5 ....................................................................................................................................... 92
Source 6 ....................................................................................................................................... 95
Source 7 ..................................................................................................................................... 100
Source 8 ..................................................................................................................................... 105
Source 9 ..................................................................................................................................... 108
Source 10 ................................................................................................................................... 112
Overview
In 1918 the Representation of the People Act gave the vote to some women. How was this achieved? In this gallery you are going to examine the contribution of different groups. And using the sources and information in the case studies you are going to create an online 'Hall of Fame' of campaigners for women's suffrage.

THE BIG QUESTION IN THIS GALLERY IS:

WHO SHOULD HAVE PRIDE OF PLACE IN THE WOMEN’S SUFFRAGE HALL OF FAME?

Look at the Big Question for a worksheet that will show you how to use the case studies and how to organise your work.

Case Studies
The Big Question is too big to tackle in one go, so we have broken it up into smaller sections called case studies. Look at the case studies to study the historical sources.

See the following case studies in this gallery to study the sources:
- Militants
- Moderates
- Suffragist, Suffragette
- Women, Work & War

Gallery Background
See Gallery Background for some information and sources which may be useful in your investigation.
Case Study – Militants

Militants: Overview
Many different groups and individuals played a part in achieving the vote for some women in 1918. One of the most well known groups were the militant Suffragettes, mostly those who belonged to the WSPU led by Emmeline Pankhurst. Some historians believe the publicity created by the Suffragettes was vital. Others believe the Suffragettes harmed their cause. In this case study you are going to study a number of sources from the time. These sources will help you to investigate the impact of the Suffragettes in terms of women achieving the vote in 1918.

Sources:
- Treatment of Suffragettes in prison, 1906
- The Trial of the Suffragette leaders, 1909
- Rally for women’s suffrage, London, 1910
- Letter on women and the police, 1911
- News reports on militant Suffragettes, 1914
- Film showing death of Emily Davidson, 1913
- Report on inquest into death of Emily Davidson
- Cartoon on Suffragettes and police, 1913
- Trial of men who attacked Suffragettes, 1914
- Newsreels on the Suffragettes

How to use the sources in this case study:
You can use these case study sources in two ways:

The Big Question
All of the sources in this case study have been chosen to help you decide why the Liberals brought in measures to help children. If you are tackling the Big Question Part 1 you should:
- Study each source carefully – use the questions to help you get the most from the source.
- Look at the list of possible reasons in Part 1 of the Big Question.
- Decide which reasons are supported or contradicted by the source.

Exam Practice
If you want to get some practice on examination type questions, just go to or download the Practice Questions.

Don’t forget – if there are words or phrases in the sources which you cannot understand, try the glossary
Source 1
Extracts from The Star newspaper, 31 October 1906, on the treatment of Suffragettes in prison
(Reproduced by permission of the British Library)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:

You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:

- What is the general attitude of The Star towards the women prisoners?
- What particular actions does it complain about?
- Why does the Star think the government's actions are unwise?
Source 1A

Transcript

The Star
POLITICAL PRISONERS, NOT COMMON CRIMINALS.
WHAT WE THINK.

CRIMINALS?

There is not the slightest doubt that the Suffragettes are political prisoners, and as such they ought to be treated as first-class misdemeanants, and not as common criminals.

There can be no question as to either the impolicy or the injustice of treating these women as common criminals. The Jameson Raiders were guilty of a crime infinitely more grave, yet they were treated with the utmost courtesy and consideration. They were not denied the privileges of receiving letters from their friends. They were not asked to sleep on the plank bed and to live on a coarse and meagre prison diet.

From the point of view of the agitation in favor of Woman’s Suffrage, the more martyrs are made the better for the cause. We know that the leaders of the movement do not want sympathy or pity; they want merely political enfranchisement. But that does not prevent us from protesting against the brutality and folly of treating these political reformers as criminals. We look to the Home Secretary to use his pen swiftly and sensibly.
WHAT WE THINK.

CRIMINALS?
There is not the slightest doubt that the Suffragettes are political prisoners, and as such they ought to be treated as first-class misdemeanants, and not as common criminals. ……

There can be no question as to either the impolicy or the injustice of treating these women as common criminals. The Jameson Raiders were guilty of a crime infinitely more grave, yet they were treated with the utmost courtesy and consideration. They were not denied the privileges of receiving letters from their friends. They were not asked to sleep on the plank bed and to live on a coarse and meagre prison diet. ……

From the point of view of the agitation of Woman's Suffrage, the more martyrs are made the better for the cause. We know that the leaders of the movement do not want sympathy or pity; they want merely political enfranchisement. But that does not prevent us from protesting against the brutality and folly of treating these political reformers as criminals. We look to the Home Secretary to use his pen swiftly and sensibly.
Source 2
Part of a pamphlet called 'The Trial of the Suffragette leaders' published in 1909
(PRO 30/69/1834)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What impression do you get from the front cover of this pamphlet about the events of 1908?
- What do the front cover and the portrait of Mrs Pankhurst tell you about this pamphlet?
- Did the events described in this pamphlet generate publicity for the cause of women's suffrage? What were the Suffragettes trying to do?
- Were they well organised?
- What happened to them before they could 'rush' Parliament?
- Was the trial important?
- How far can you accept all the points made in this pamphlet?
THE TRIAL
OF THE
SUFFRAGETTE
LEADERS

Kindly sent by the London News Agency.

Inspector Jarvis reading the Warrant.

Published by
THE WOMAN’S PRESS, 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

PRICE ONE PENNY.
Transcript

THE TRIAL OF THE SUFFRAGETTE LEADERS
Inspector Jarvis reading the Warrant.
Published by
The Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.
Price one penny.
Transcript
MRS. PANKHURST.
(Founder of the Women's Social and Political Union.)
INTRODUCTION.

The intense interest evoked by the trial of the Suffragette leaders, Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond, calls for a full account of the case in an accessible form. To this only a few words by way of introduction are necessary.

The Women’s Social and Political Union had for some time selected October 13, 1908, as a day on which to make a special effort to enter the House of Commons and approach the Prime Minister.

Accordingly, a few days previous to October 13, it was decided to issue a special bill in the following terms:

“Women’s Social and Political Union, 4 Clements Inn. Votes for Women. Men and Women, Help the Suffragettes to Rush the House of Commons on Tuesday Evening, October 13, at 7:30.”

In support of this request Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond all spoke at a public meeting in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, 11th, explaining what they wished the people to do, emphasising the fact that they wished them to come unarmed, and without sticks or stones, but to give the women their support.

On Monday morning, October 12, Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond were each served with a summons, which read as follows:

Information has been laid this day by the Commissioner of Police for that you in the month of October in the year 1908 were guilty of conduct likely to provoke a breach of the peace by initiating and causing to be initiated and publishing and causing to be published a certain handbill calling upon and inciting the public to do a certain wrongful and illegal act—viz., to rush the House of Commons at 7:30 p.m. on October 13 last.

You are, therefore, hereby summoned to appear before the Court of Summary Jurisdiction, sitting at the Bow-street Police Station on Monday, October 12, at the hour of 3:30, to answer to the said information, and to show cause why you and each of you should not be ordered to find sureties for good behaviour.

(Signed) H. CURTIS BENNETT.

In the annals of history this trial will play an important part. The brilliant conduct of the case by Christabel Pankhurst, the startling evidence given concerning a police magistrate, the presence of two Cabinet Ministers as witnesses, the profound speeches for the defence—all these will attract attention, but far beyond all in importance will be remembered the direct attack of the Government upon the leaders of the women’s movement and their futile attempt to break down by coercive measures the agitation for constitutional right.
Transcript

The intense interest evoked by the trial of the Suffragette leaders, Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond, calls for a full account of the case in an accessible form. To this only a few words by way of introduction are necessary. The Women's Social and Political Union had for some time selected October 13, 1908, as a day on which to make a special effort to enter the House of Commons and approach the Prime Minister. ……

Accordingly, a few days previous to October 13, it was decided to issue a special bill in the following terms:-

"Women's Social and Political Union, 4 Clements Inn. Votes for Women. Men and Women, Help the Suffragettes to Rush the House of Commons on Tuesday Evening, October 13, at 7.30."

In support of this request Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond all spoke at a public meeting in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, 11th, explaining what they wished the people to do, emphasising the fact that they wished them to come unarmed, and without sticks or stones, but to give the women their support.

On Monday morning, October 12, Mrs Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs Drummond were each served with a summons, which read as follows:-

Information has been laid this day by the Commissioner of Police for that you in the month of October in the year 1908 were guilty of conduct likely to provoke a breach of the peace by initiating and causing to be initiated and publishing and causing to be published a certain handbill calling upon and inciting the public to do a certain wrongful and illegal act-viz., to rush the House of Commons at 7·30 p.m. on October 13 inst.

You are, therefore, hereby summoned to appear before the Court of Summary Jurisdiction, sitting at the Bow-street Police Station on Monday, October 12, at the hour of 3.30, to answer to the said information, and to show cause why you and each of you should not be ordered to find sureties for good behaviour.

(Signed) H. CURTIS BENNETT. ……

In the annals of history this trial will play an important part. The brilliant conduct of the case by Christabel Pankhurst, the startling evidence given concerning a police magistrate, the presence of two Cabinet Ministers as witnesses, the profound speeches for the defence - all these will attract attention, but far beyond all in importance will be remembered the direct attack of the Government upon the leaders of the women's movement and their futile attempt to break down by coercive measures the agitation for constitutional right.
Source 3
A handbill advertising a rally for women's suffrage in London, November 1910
(HO 144/1106/200455)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What does this handbill tell you about Suffragette aims?
- What does it suggest about Suffragette methods and organisation?
- Would this bill be effective in generating sympathy for women's suffrage?
VOTES FOR WOMEN

WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION,
4, CLEMENT'S INN.

A DEPUTATION OF WOMEN
WILL ARRIVE IN
PARLIAMENT SQUARE
At 8 o'clock,
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

TO LOVERS OF FAIR PLAY!

WOMEN VERSUS THE GOVERNMENT!
Will you come and Umpire?

Read “VOTES FOR WOMEN,” Weekly, One Penny, from all Newsagents and Bookstalls.
Transcript

VOTES FOR WOMEN
WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION, 4, Clements Inn.

A DEPUTATION OF WOMEN WILL ARRIVE IN PARLIAMENT SQUARE
At 8 o'clock,
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22.
TO LOVERS OF FAIR PLAY!
WOMEN VERSUS THE GOVERNMENT!
Will you come and Umpire?
Read "VOTES FOR WOMEN," Weekly, One Penny, from all Newsagents and Bookstalls.
Source 4
Extract from a letter published in The Times newspaper on women and the police, March 1911
(HO 144/1106/200455)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- How does the letter writer try to establish that his evidence is reliable? 18
- Do you find his letter convincing?
- What evidence is there in this letter of the Suffragettes' organisation? 18
- What does it suggest about public attitudes towards the Suffragettes? 18
- What positive factors might Suffragettes take from this letter?
THE WOMEN AND THE POLICE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,—At the request of some of those who took part in the women’s deputation to the House of Commons on November 18 of last year, I have endeavoured to examine the allegations made against the conduct of the police on that occasion. With that object, I have carefully read upwards of one hundred statements made by eye-witnesses, and I have also seen and questioned 10 of the women who were there.

The following facts are either admitted or beyond reasonable dispute:—

1. The women taking part in the deputation collected partly at Caxton Hall and partly at Clement’s Inn. They were instructed by their leaders to avoid all violence. They were entirely unarmed, even umbrellas or parasols being forbidden. Among them were women of all ages up to 65 or 70.

2. Some of the women, including Mrs. Pankhurst, were allowed to approach quite close to St. Stephen’s entrance. The rest were stopped some distance away. Very few arrests, if any, were made for several hours, and during that time the women suffered every species of indignity and violence.

All this does not depend on the evidence of the sufferers alone. It is confirmed by those who saw the condition of their limbs and bodies immediately afterwards. Some of the women still feel the effect of the treatment they then received.

Apart from the assaults above mentioned, complaints of indignities of a very gross kind have also been made by women, and some of these were repeated in my presence. They do not, however, admit of

In conclusion, may I ask whether any one thinks that if the deputation had consisted of unarmed men of the same character their demand for an inquiry would have been refused? Who can doubt that the Home Secretary and the other Ministers would have tumbled over one another in their eagerness to grant anything that was asked? Are we, then, to take it as officially admitted that in this country there is one law for male electors and another for voteless women?

Yours obediently,

ROBERT CECIL.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,-At the request of some of those who took part in the women's deputation to the House of Commons on November 18 of last year, I have endeavoured to examine the allegations made against the conduct of the police on that occasion. With that object, I have carefully read upwards of one hundred statements made by eye-witnesses, and I have also seen and questioned 10 of the women who were there. ……

The following facts are either admitted or beyond reasonable dispute:-

1. The women taking part in the deputation collected partly at Caxton Hall and partly at Clement's Inn. They were instructed by their leaders to avoid violence. They were entirely unarmed, even umbrellas or parasols being forbidden. Among them were women of all ages up to 65 or 70. ……

2. Some of the women, including Mrs. Pankhurst were allowed to approach quite close to St. Stephen's entrance. The rest were stopped some distance away. Very few arrests, if any, were made for several hours, and during that time the women suffered every species of indignity and violence. ……

All this does not depend on the evidence of the sufferers alone. It is confirmed by those who saw the condition of their limbs and bodies immediately afterwards. Some of the women still feel the effect of the treatment they then received.

Apart from the assaults above mentioned, complaints of indignities of a very gross kind have also been made by women, and some of these were repeated in my presence. ……

In conclusion, may I ask whether any one thinks that if the deputation had consisted of unarmed men of the same character their demand for an inquiry would have been refused? Who can doubt the Home Secretary and the other Ministers would have tumbled over one another in their eagerness to anything that was asked? Are we, then, to take it as officially admitted that in this country there is one law for male electors and another for voteless women?

Yours obediently,
ROBERT CECIL.
Source 5
Reports from The Morning Post newspaper, June 1914, on Suffragettes
(HO 144/1388)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What does the source tell you about Suffragette activities?
- What does it suggest about their organisation?
- Does it tell you anything about attitudes towards the Suffragettes?
PRECAUTIONS AT THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

As a precaution against damage to the valuable paintings at the Royal Exchange, a notice was posted outside the building yesterday prohibiting the admission of women until further notice.

ARRESTED AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

Four militant Suffragists appeared at the main gates of Buckingham Palace yesterday afternoon. One of them chained herself to the gates, while another waved a flag and shouted. When these two were taken to Cannon-row Police Station their two companions accompanied them and waited at the station till informed that their friends would probably be brought up at Bow-street to-day.

MINISTERS’ HOSTESSES THREATENED.

Mrs. Mansel, at the meeting of the Women’s Social and Political Union in London yesterday, referring to Cabinet Ministers being received as guests at well-known houses, said that any women who harboured these Cabinet Ministers would be followed up by militant Suffragists. “We shall follow them,” she added, “to remind them of their duty, to call upon them to do their duty, and ask them how they can so misbehave in this way and be such traitors to their sex.”
Transcript

PRECAUTIONS AT THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

As a precaution against damage to the valuable paintings at the Royal Exchange, a notice was posted outside the building yesterday prohibiting the admission of women until further notice.

ARRESTED AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

Four militant Suffragists appeared at the main gates of Buckingham Palace yesterday afternoon. One of them chained herself to the gates, while another waved a flag and shouted. When these two were taken to Cannon-row Police Station their two companions accompanied them and waited at the station till informed that their friends would probably be brought up at Bow-street to-day.

MINISTERS' HOSTESSES THREATENED.

Mrs. Mamsel, at the meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union in London yesterday, referring to Cabinet Ministers being received as guests at well-known houses, said that any women who harboured these Cabinet Ministers would be followed up by militant Suffragists. "We shall follow them," she added, "to remind them of their duty, and ask them how they can so misbehave in this way and be such traitors to their sex."
Source 6

News film from the 1913 Derby race showing the death of Suffragette Emily Davison (British Pathe: 1700.33)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:

- Approximately how long is this clip?
- How much of the clip is devoted to the Suffragette action?
- Does this suggest the news team did not think it was important?
- Emily Davison did not die at the course. She was taken to hospital and died later. Does this change your view of the clip?
- How do you think this event affected public opinion on the Suffragettes?

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/britain1906to1918/movie/g4cs1s6_adsl.wmv
Source 7

Report from the Daily Express on the coroner's inquest into the death of Emily Davison, June 1913 (HO 144/1150/210.696)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What events are described in this report in relation to Emily Davison's death?
- Is the report sympathetic towards Miss Davison?
- Is it sympathetic towards her cause?
- How does the report suggest Miss Davison was a strange figure?
- What evidence are the suggestions based on?
- Is this report more useful to an historian than a report of the actual race and Emily Davison's death?
BLIGHTED BY MILITANCY.

TRAGEDY OF THE DERBY SUFFRAGETTE.

RUINED CAREER.

The story of a brilliant career marred, with an ignominious death as its conclusion, was unfolded in the little red-brick police court at Epsom yesterday during the inquest on Miss Emily Wilding Davison, the suffragette who stopped the King's horse during the Derby.

A verdict of "Death by Misadventure" was returned after Captain H. Jocelyn Davison, Miss Davison's half-brother, had given evidence showing how his sister's great attainments and brilliant record had withered like Dead Sea fruit under the malignant influence of militancy.

The pathetic loneliness to which Miss Davison's career of militancy had brought her was illustrated by the evidence of a police sergeant named Frank Bunn. Describing his efforts to render assistance to the unconscious woman as she lay on the course after the accident, he said:

"I called out among the crowd, 'Does anyone know this woman?' But there was no reply."

An Epsom doctor described the death as having been due to a fracture of the base of the skull, and in summing up the coroner said:

"It is exceedingly sad—and it seems to me that an educated lady should sacrifice her life in such a way."
Transcript

BLIGHTED BY MILITANCY.
TRAGEDY OF THE DERBY SUFFRAGETTE.
RUINED CAREER.

The story of a brilliant career, marred with an ignominious death as its conclusion, was unfolded in the little red-brick police court at Epsom yesterday during the inquest on Miss Emily Wilding Davison, the Suffragette who stopped the King's horse during the Derby.

A verdict of "Death by Misadventure" was returned after Captain H. Jocelyn Davison, Miss Davison's half-brother, had given evidence showing how his sister's great attainments and brilliant record had withered like Dead Sea fruit under the malignant influence of militancy. ……

The pathetic loneliness to which Miss Davison's career of militancy had brought her was illustrated by the evidence of a police sergeant named Frank Bunn. Describing his efforts to render assistance to the unconscious woman as she lay on the course after the accident, he said:- "I called out among the crowd, 'Does any one know this woman?' But there was no reply." ……

An Epsom doctor described the death as having been due to a fracture of the base of the skull, and in summing up the coroner said:- "It is exceedingly sad - so it seems to me - that an educated lady should sacrifice her life in such a way".

Source 8

Cartoon published in 1913 commenting on relations between Suffragettes and police
(George Morrow, November 1913, © Punch, Ltd., pu02575)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- How does the cartoonist portray the Suffragette?
- How does he make the police officer look?
- What are relations between them like?
- Does the relationship between the officer and Suffragette fit with what you have seen in other sources in this case study?
- Does the relationship fit with your knowledge of the events of 1913?
THE SPREAD OF TANGO.
ARREST OF A MILITANT SUFFRAGETTE.
Source 9

Report from The Morning Post newspaper, June 1914, on the trial of men accused of attacking militant Suffragettes
(HO 144/1318)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- Why were the men on trial?
- What do you think this phrase means: ‘without calling on the prisoners for their defence’?
- How were the men punished?
- What reason was given for this punishment?
- What does this suggest about attitudes to the Suffragettes?

PUBLIC INDIGNATION.
At the South Western Police Court yesterday Leslie Walton, student, Kempshott-road, Streatham; Leslie Grimwood, clerk, Gleneldon-road; and Albert William Leadbetter, insurance superintendent, Raymouth-road, Bermondsey, were charged before Mr. Lister Drummond with insulting conduct during the progress of a Suffragist meeting at Streatham Common. A hostile crowd gathered, and there were ugly rushes to get at the women speakers. The police had to intervene.

Police-constable Paul said there was an effort on the part of the young men of Streatham to put the militants in the pond.

Mr. Lister Drummond, without calling on the prisoners for their defence, said it was impossible to shut one’s eyes to the fact that the behaviour of these women had created a strong feeling of resentment and disgust. He would not impose any penalty on that occasion, and in ordering the discharge of the defendants advised them to abstain from any interference in the future.
Transcript

PUBLIC INDIGNATION.

At the South Western Police Court yesterday Leslie Walton, student, Kempshott-road, Streatham; Leslie Grimwood, clerk, Gleneldon-road; and Albert William Leadbetter, insurance superintendent, Raymouth-road, Bermondsey, were charged before Mr. Lister Drummond with insulting conduct during the progress of a Suffragist meeting at Streatham Common. A hostile crowd gathered, and there were ugly rushes to get at the women speakers. The police had to intervene. Police-Constable Paul said there was an effort on the part of the young men of Streatham to put the militants in the pond.

Mr. Lister Drummond, without calling on the prisoners for their defence, said it was impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that the behaviour of these women had created a strong feeling of resentment and disgust. He would not impose any penalty on that occasion, and in ordering the discharge of the defendants advised them to abstain from any interference in the future.
Source 10

Newsreel clips showing contrasting sides of the Suffragettes: Suffragette Pageant in London
(British Pathe: 1700.33)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:

- What impression does the first clip give of the Suffragettes?
- What does it suggest about their organisation?
- How would this clip have affected public opinion towards women's suffrage? 32
- In what ways would the second clip have affected public opinion?
Source 10A

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/britain1906to1918/movie/g4cs1s10a_adsl.wmv
Source 10B

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/britain1906to1918/movie/g4cs1s10b_adsl.wmv
Case Study – Moderates

**Moderates: Overview**

In this case study you are going to study the role of the moderate women's movement, the NUWSS, and their allies in getting the vote for women in 1918. The NUWSS were led by Millicent Fawcett and were usually known as the Suffragists.

Some historians believed the work of the moderates was less spectacular than the action of the militants, but it was more effective in the longer term. In this case study you are going to study a number of sources from the time and see whether you agree.

**Sources:**

- Report on a Suffragist march, 1907
- Letter to ‘The Daily News’, 1908
- Film showing a NUWSS rally in Hyde Park
- Extract from a NUWSS pamphlet, 1911
- NUWSS Information sheet, 1912
- The Suffragist pilgrimage to London, 1913

**How to use the sources in this case study:**

You can use these case study sources in two ways:

**The Big Question**

All of the sources in this case study have been chosen to help you decide why the Liberals brought in measures to help children. If you are tackling the Big Question Part 1 you should:

- Study each source carefully – use the questions to help you get the most from the source.
- Look at the list of possible reasons in Part 1 of the Big Question.
- Decide which reasons are supported or contradicted by the source.

**Exam Practice**

If you want to get some practice on examination type questions, just go to or download the Practice Questions.

Don’t forget – if there are words or phrases in the sources which you cannot understand, try the glossary
Source 1
Report from The Daily Mail on a Suffragist March, 11 February 1907
(By permission of the British Library)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:

- What does this source tell you about the march?
- What does it suggest about the strength of the NUWSS and its supporters?
- What do you think this phrase means: 'the clerk of the weather was as unsympathetic as a Liberal steward'?
- What is the general attitude of the report towards the women?
- What was Mrs Gore Booth unhappy about?
- What did Keir Hardie mean in his speech?
PROCENSION AND SPEECHES.

Forty societies were represented in the procession, including many delegates from the North and the Midlands. The metropol-itan districts were very strong, and their banners were a feature. Though the clerk of the weather was as unsympathetic as a Liberal steward, the demonstrators held on bravely through the mud. They were led by such ladies as Mrs. Fawcett, Lady Maud Parry, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, Lady Strachey, Lady Emily Lutyens, Lady Frances Balfour, the Countess of Carlisle and her daughters, one of whom carried a banner, and Mrs. Peaches Phipson, M.D. A long string of smart carriages and motor-cars formed part of the procession.

There were two meetings—one in Trafalgar-square, the other in Exeter Hall. At the former Miss Gore Booth deplored the alienation of the Labour Party through the action of a certain section of the suffrage movement.

Mr. Keir Hardie found himself strongly in sympathy with the resolution proposed at this gathering, for it was on the lines of those defeated at the Belfast conference. He demanded a Bill this session. He declared that those who are not prepared to act to others as they would desire others to act to them are unworthy of the rights of citizens.
**Transcript**

**PROCESSION AND SPEECHES.**

Forty societies were represented in the procession, including many delegates from the North and the Midlands. The metropolitan districts were very strong, and their banners were a feature. Though the clerk of the weather was as unsympathetic as a Liberal steward, the demonstrators held on bravely through the mud. They were led by such ladies as Mrs. Fawcett, Lady Maud Parry, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, Lady Strachey, Lady Emily Lutyens, Lady Frances Balfour, the Countess of Carlisle and her daughters, one of whom carried a banner, and Mrs. Peachy Phipson, M.D. A long string of smart carriages and motor-cars formed part of the procession.

There were two meetings - one in Trafalgar-square, the other in Exeter Hall. At the former Miss Gore Booth deplored the alienation of the Labour Party through the action of a certain section of the suffrage movement.

Mr. Keir Hardie found himself strongly in sympathy with the resolution proposed at this gathering, for it was on the lines of those defeated at the Belfast conference. He demanded a Bill this session. He declared that those who are not prepared to act to others as they would desire others to act to them are unworthy of the rights of citizens.
Source 2
Extract from a letter written to The Daily News, November 1908
(MEPO 2/1223)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:

- What is the overall attitude of the writer towards women's suffrage?
- How can you tell what his view is on women's suffrage?
- According to the letter, were the Suffragettes mentioned looking for trouble?
- Who does the letter writer blame for the trouble?
- Do you think this incident might have affected the views of the writer and other people like him towards the question of women getting the vote?
Source 2A

Sir,—While I altogether disapprove of the reckless and foolish proceedings (for such they seem to me) of the militant section of the Suffragettes, such gross injustice as has been meted out to Mrs. Penn Gaskell and Miss Smith, concerning whose case I put a question to the Home Secretary on Wednesday, can only tend strongly to enlist my sympathy with their cause. These two ladies do not belong to the militant section. They had no desire whatever to come into conflict with the police. They were walking—not together, but separately—in Piccadilly and Regent-street, carrying placards and distributing handbills announcing a public meeting. These bills and placards were admitted by the magistrate who tried the case to be entirely unobjectionable.

Mrs. Gaskell and Miss Smith were walking, not on the pavement, but in the gutter. While so doing they were summarily arrested by two police officers and taken to Vine-street Police Station and thence to the Great Marlborough-street Police Court. It is stated that they were apprehended only when they had shown a determination not to obey the police warning to move away, and when their removal from the street had become necessary in order to put an end to the obstruction. I have no hesitation in saying that this statement is untrue. Miss Smith is personally unknown to me, but Mrs. Penn Gaskell I know well as a colleague on the Council of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and as an earnest worker in the cause of humanity. She assures me, and I unhesitatingly accept her statement, that both she and her friend would have gone away at once if they had been directed by the police to do so, but no such order was given to them...
Transcript

Sir,-While I altogether disapprove of the reckless and foolish proceedings (for such they seem to me) of the militant section of the Suffragettes, such gross injustice as has been meted out to Mrs. Penn Gaskell and Miss Smith, concerning whose case I put a question to the Home Secretary on Wednesday, can only tend strongly to enlist my sympathy with their cause. These two ladies do not belong to the militant section. They had no desire whatever to come into conflict with the police. They were walking - not together, but separately - in Piccadilly and Regent-street, carrying placards and distributing handbills announcing a public meeting. These bills and placards were admitted by the magistrate who tried the case to be entirely unobjectionable. Mrs. Gaskell and Miss Smith were walking, not on the pavement, but in the gutter. While so doing they were summarily arrested by two police officers and taken to Vine-street Police Station and thence to the Great Marlborough-street Police Court. It is stated ……

that they were apprehended only "when they had shown a determination not to obey the police warning to move away, and when their removal from the street had become necessary in order to put an end to the obstruction," I have no hesitation in saying that this statement is untrue. Miss Smith is personally unknown to me, but Mrs. Penn Gaskell I know well as a colleague on the Council of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and as an earnest worker in the cause of humanity. She assures me, and I unhesitatingly accept her statement, that both she and her friend would have gone away at once if they had been directed by the police to do so, but no such order was given to them.
The ladies themselves denied upon oath that there was any crowd in Regent-street at the time of their arrest, or any obstruction either to roadway or footway, and they called independent witnesses who testified to the same effect.

The magistrate accepted the evidence of the police, and found as a fact that an obstruction had been caused, but that he looked upon the supposed offence as a very trivial one is clear, for though he ordered the ladies to enter into recognisances to be of good behaviour for six months, they were actually allowed to go away without having complied with the order. I confess that such proceedings stir my indignation and disgust much more than the extravagancies of the militant suffragettes, who are at least ready to suffer for their cause. I know that the police have a very difficult duty to perform, and that they generally perform it admirably. The present case is an exception.—Yours, etc.,  

GEORGE GREENWOOD.

House of Commons, Nov. 5.
Transcript

The ladies themselves denied upon oath that there was any crowd in Regent-street at the time of their arrest, or any obstruction either to roadway or footway, and they called independent witnesses who testified to the same effect.

The magistrate accepted the evidence of the police, and found as a fact that an obstruction had been caused, but that he looked upon the supposed offence as a very trivial one is clear, for thought he ordered the ladies to enter into recognisances to be of good behaviour for six months, they were actually allowed to go away without having complied with the order. I confess that such proceedings stir my indignation and disgust much more than the extravagancies of the militant suffragettes, who are at least ready to suffer for their cause. I know that the police have a very difficult duty to perform, and that they generally perform it admirably. The present case is an exception.-Yours etc.,
George Greenwood.
House of Commons, Nov 5.
Source 3
News footage from 1910 showing a NUWSS rally in Hyde Park
(British Pathe: 1700.33)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What does the clip suggest about the organisation of the Suffragists?
- What does the clip show in terms of the numbers at the rally?
- Is this clip useful evidence for studying public attitudes towards women's suffrage?

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/britain1906to1918/movie/g4cs2s3_ads1.wmv
Source 4
Extract from a pamphlet published by the NUWSS in 1911
(PRO 30/69/1834)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What evidence is there in this source that the NUWSS was well supported?
- What evidence is there that it was well organised?
- What tactics did it use?
- How did the NUWSS get involved in politics and in pressuring the government? 45
- How was the NUWSS different from the militant Suffragettes?
HISTORY OF THE AGITATION IN THE COUNTRY.

The first Women's Suffrage Societies were founded in Manchester, in London, and in Edinburgh, in 1867, and in Bristol and in Birmingham, in 1868.

These united to form the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

This Union has grown into a large and powerful body, its progress during the last two years being especially remarkable.

In January, 1909, there were 70 affiliated societies; In January, 1911, there were 204 affiliated societies; And new societies are now being formed every week. Increase in individual membership has been equally remarkable.

In January, 1909, there were 13,161 members; In January, 1911, there were 23,376 members. Societies of the National Union are now, therefore, in existence in all parts of Great Britain. Some of them work in a considerable number of Parliamentary constituencies ……
The National Union, in fact, takes part in all general and by-elections, and regards this part of its work as the most important it has to do, both as propaganda and as a means of bringing pressure to bear upon the Government. Its election policy is to

OPPOSE ITS ENEMIES AND SUPPORT ITS FRIENDS,
and in carrying out this policy it

DISREGARDS ALL PARTIES.

For the purposes of its peaceful propaganda, whether by Public Meetings, Petitions, or other constitutional forms of agitation, the N.U.W.S.S. has, during the past year (1910), alone, raised considerably over

£20,000.

Very large sums have also been raised by other Suffrage Societies, working on different lines.

The N.U.W.S.S. has employed the money it has raised, and the services also of thousands of voluntary workers, in an agitation conducted on perfectly constitutional lines. It has organised meetings and demonstrations, collected signatures to petitions, and by deputations and other means, pressed the question of Women’s Suffrage upon the notice both of the Government, of private Members of Parliament, and of candidates for Parliament.
Transcript

The National Union, in fact, takes part in all general and by-elections, and regards this part of its work as the most important it has to do, both as propaganda and as a means of bringing pressure to bear upon the Government. Its election policy is to OPPOSE ITS ENEMIES AND SUPPORT ITS FRIENDS, and in carrying out this policy it DISREGARDS ALL PARTIES.

For the purposes of its peaceful propaganda, whether by Public Meetings, Petitions, or other constitutional forms of agitation, the N.U.W.S.S. has, during the past year (1910), alone, raised considerably over £20,000.

Very large sums have also been raised by other Suffrage Societies, working on different lines.

The N.U.W.S.S. has employed the money it has raised, and the services also of thousands of voluntary workers, in an agitation conducted on perfectly constitutional lines. It has organised meetings and demonstrations, collected signatures to petitions, and by deputations and other means, pressed the question of Women's Suffrage upon the notice both of the Government, of private Members of Parliament, and of candidates for Parliament.
Source 5
An information sheet published in 1912 by the West Lancashire, West Cheshire and North Wales Federation of the NUWSS
(T 172/968b)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- Is this list of organisations impressive?
- Does it suggest many people supported women's suffrage?
- Does it provide evidence that the Suffragists were effective and well organised campaigners?
- Is it convincing evidence?
**RESOLUTIONS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE** have been passed by:

### County, City, Town, and Urban District Councils, etc.
- Carnarvonshire County Council (with no dissentients).
- Liverpool City Council.
- Chester Town Council.
- Bangor Town Council.
- Preston Town Council.
- Warrington.
- Southport.
- Wallasey.
- Widnes.
- Holyhead.
- Pwllheli.
- Ormskirk Urban District Council.
- Huyton.
- Llandudno.
- Penmaenmawr.
- Llanfairfechan.
- Llangollen.
- Bethesda.
- Portmadoc.
- Dolgelley.
- Wrexham.
- Lleyn Rural District Council.
- Nevin Parish Council.

### Political Associations.
- County Liberal Association of North Carnarvonshire (twice).
- County Liberal Association of South Carnarvonshire.
- Merionethshire County Liberal Association.
- Preston Men’s Liberal Association.
- Southport.
- Widnes.
- Bangor.
- Carnarvon.
- Pwllheli.
- Towy.
- Bala.
- Portmadoc Men’s Liberal Association Executive Committee.
- Conservative and Unionist Women’s Franchise Association.
- Lancahire and Cheshire Women’s Liberal Association.
- Liverpool (East Toxteth, West Toxteth, Wavertree) Women’s Liberal Associations.
- Bangor Women’s Liberal Association.
- Carnarvon Women’s Liberal Association.
- Penmaenmawr Women’s Liberal Association.
- Pwllheli Women’s Liberal Association, and many others.

### Other Bodies.
- Liverpool Trades’ Council.
- Liverpool Federation of University Women.
- Pwllheli Free Church Council.
- Pwllheli Board of Guardians.
- Women’s Temperance Associations of Carnarvon
  - Pwllheli
  - Llanerech
  - Llithfaen
  - Llanelhaearn
  - and many others.

The Women’s Liberal Federation, the British Women’s Temperance Association, and the Women’s Co-operative Guilds all work for Women’s Suffrage, and pass frequent resolutions on the subject. At many Literary and Debating Societies, resolutions in favour have been passed, in most instances unanimously.
**Transcript**

RESOLUTIONS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE have been passed by:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County, City, Town, and Urban District Councils, etc.</th>
<th>Political Associations.</th>
<th>Other Bodies.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carnarvonshire County Council (with no dissentients)</td>
<td>County Liberal Association of North Carnarvonshire (twice)</td>
<td>Liverpool Trades’ Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liverpool City Council</td>
<td>County Liberal Association of South Carnarvonshire</td>
<td>Liverpool Federation of University Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester Town Council</td>
<td>Merionethshire County Liberal Association</td>
<td>Pwllheli Free Church Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangor Town Council</td>
<td>Liverpool Liberal Federal Council</td>
<td>Pwllheli Board of Guardians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preston Town Council</td>
<td>Preston Men’s Liberal Association</td>
<td>Women’s Temperance Associations of Carnarvon, Pwllheli, Llanerch, Llithfaen, Llanaelhaiarn and many others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warrington Town Council</td>
<td>Southport Men’s Liberal Association</td>
<td>The Women’s Liberal Federation, the British Women’s Temperance Association, and the Women’s Co-operative Guilds all work for Women’s Suffrage, and pass frequent resolutions on the subject. At many Literary and Debating Societies, resolutions in favour have been passed, in most instances unanimously.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southport Town Council</td>
<td>Widnes Men’s Liberal Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallasey Town Council</td>
<td>Bangor Men’s Liberal Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widnes Town Council</td>
<td>Carnarvon Men’s Liberal Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holyhead Town Council</td>
<td>Pwllheli Men’s Liberal Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pwllheli Town Council</td>
<td>Towyn Men’s Liberal Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ormskirk Urban</td>
<td>Bala Men’s Liberal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Council</td>
<td>Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huyton Urban District Council</td>
<td>Portmadoc Men’s Liberal Association Executive Committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandudno Urban District Council</td>
<td>Conservative and Unionist Women’s Franchise Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penmaenmawr Urban District Council</td>
<td>Lancashire and Cheshire Women’s Liberal Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llanfairfechan Urban District Council</td>
<td>Liverpool (East Toxteth, West Toxtheth, Wavertree) Women’s Liberal Associations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llangollen Urban District Council</td>
<td>Bangor Women’s Liberal Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethesda Urban District Council</td>
<td>Carnarvon Women’s Liberal Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portmadoc Urban District Council</td>
<td>Penmaenmawr Women’s Liberal Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolgelley Urban District Council</td>
<td>Pwllheli Women’s Liberal Association, and many others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrexham Urban District Council</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lleyn Rural District Council</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevin Parish Council</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Source 6

Extracts from the journal Votes For Women on the Suffragist 'Pilgrimage' to London in July-August 1913
(Votes for Women, 4 July 1913, 25 July 1913, 1 August 1913. Reproduced by permission of the British Library)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- Source 6a could simply have been drawn and all the various pilgrimages made up. What suggests this was not the case?
- Source 6b shows how the people were organised in Hyde Park. What effect might this organisation have had on public opinion?
- Source 6c shows a photograph of the crowd. Is this useful evidence about the pilgrimage and its effect on public opinion?
Source 6A
TO HYDE PARK!

DEMONSTRATION SATURDAY, JULY 26 AT 5 P.M.

Map of Hyde Park and environs showing the points of assembly and routes of the four great processions joining in the monster demonstration, at 5 p.m., in the Park to-morrow (Saturday), which is the culminating feature of the National Pilgrimage through England, organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
Source 6C

Transcript
A general view of the crowd
Case Study – Suffragist, Suffragette

Suffragist, Suffragette: Overview

In this case study you are going to study sources which look at the relationship between the Suffragists and Suffragettes. You are going to examine the ways in which they worked together, and the ways in which they came into conflict.

Sources

- Women’s Freedom League manifesto, 1912
- Letter commenting on Suffragettes, 1912
- Letter from Emmeline Pankhurst, 1913
- Letter from Millicent Fawcett of NUWSS, 1912

How to use the sources in this case study:

You can use these case study sources in two ways:

The Big Question

All of the sources in this case study have been chosen to help you decide why the Liberals brought in measures to help children. If you are tackling the Big Question Part 1 you should:

- Study each source carefully – use the questions to help you get the most from the source.
- Look at the list of possible reasons in Part 1 of the Big Question.
- Decide which reasons are supported or contradicted by the source.

Exam Practice

If you want to get some practice on examination type questions, just go to or download the Practice Questions.

Don’t forget – if there are words or phrases in the sources which you cannot understand, try the glossary.
**Source 1**
Cartoon from Punch Magazine published in 1906  
(Bernard Partridge, January 1906, © Punch, Ltd., pu03116)

**How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:**
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

**Ask Yourself:**
- Who are the two figures shown in the cartoon?
- What impression does the cartoonist give of each figure?
- What seems to be the relationship between them?
- What does the caption mean?
Transcript
"THE SHRIEKING SISTER - The sensible woman: "You help our cause? Why, you're its worst enemy!""
Source 2
Extract from the Manifesto of the Women's Freedom League published in 1912
(T 172/968b)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What kind of movement is the Women's Freedom League?
- What kind of protests has it carried out in the past?
- Does it believe that militant action works?
- What was its view on militancy in March 1912 and why?
- What does this source suggest about the relationship between the League and the WSPU?
Votes for Women.  Women’s Freedom League  
Weekly Paper: "THE VOTE."  
President: Mrs. DESPARD.  
Vice-President: Miss C. V. TITE.  
Political or Militant Dept.: Mrs. HOW MARTYN, A.R.C.S., R.Sc.  
Secretary: Miss F. A. UNDERWOOD.  
1, ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI,  
STRAND, LONDON, W.C.  

MANIFESTO OF THE  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.  
March 4th, 1912.  

We, the undersigned, members of the National Executive Committee of the Women’s Freedom League, are requested by the Committee to state the reasons which have led them to refrain from militant action at this juncture.  

Mr. Asquith’s Pledge.  
The statement is frequently made that the “militant societies” regard Mr. Asquith’s pledge as worthless, therefore it becomes necessary to remind the public that one militant society takes an entirely different view. The Women’s Freedom League believes in and has frequently used methods of political agitation and protest which have led to the imprisonment of many of its members. It was the first suffrage society to make tax resistance a part of its official programme, it initiated the protest resulting in the removal of the “grille” of the House of Commons, the “Ballot Box” protest and “Census Resistance,” besides many other less well-known protests. We believe that it is largely owing to those protests that Mr. Asquith’s pledges have been won, and are of the opinion that time should be allowed for them to be fulfilled.  

Can Militancy help just now?  
That may be true, but the question is not “Are we content with the situation?” but “Can militancy improve it?” We do not believe it can. It may be that unforeseen circumstances will arise when it would obviously be necessary to make a real and far-reaching protest, but at the present time those circumstances have not arisen. The situation is difficult, it is one of strained suspense which is almost intolerable, but it is impossible to say that anything can be gained while much may be lost by inopportune militancy. An important factor in all militant action is that it should appeal to that sense of fairmindedness which is in the long run found in the public. So long as to the ordinary person there appears to be a good chance of the question being successfully considered in Parliament, that ordinary person will not be convinced that militancy is expedient.
MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
March 4th, 1912.

We, the undersigned, members of the National Executive Committee of the Women's Freedom League, are requested by the Committee to state the reasons which have led them to refrain from militant action at this juncture.

Mr. Asquith's Pledge.

The statement is frequently made that the "militant societies" regard Mr. Asquith's pledge as worthless, therefore it becomes necessary to remind the public that one militant society takes an entirely different view. The Women's Freedom League believe in and has frequently used methods of political agitation and protest which have led to the imprisonment of many of its members: It was the first suffrage society to make tax resistance a part of its official programme, it initiated the protest resulting in the removal of the "grille" of the House of Commons, the "Ballot Box" protest and "Census Resistance", besides many other less well-known protests. We believe that it is largely owing to these protests that Mr. Asquith's pledges have been won, and are of the opinion that time should be allowed for them to be fulfilled. ……

Can Militancy help just now?
…… the question is not "Are we content with the situation?" but "Can militancy improve it?" We do not believe it can. It may be that unforeseen circumstances will arise when it would obviously be necessary to make a real and far-reaching protest, but at present time those circumstances have not arisen. The situation is difficult, it is one of strained suspense which is almost intolerable, but it is impossible to say that anything can be gained while much may be lost by inopportune militancy. An important factor in all militant action is that it should appeal to that sense of fairmindedness which is in the long run found in the public. So long as to the ordinary person there appears to be a good chance of the question being successfully considered in Parliament, that ordinary person will not be convinced that militancy is expedient.
Source 3
A letter from the Home Counties Union of Women's Liberal Associations commenting on Suffragettes, 1912 (T 172/968b)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- Who is writing the letter?
- Would the Liberal government pay careful attention to this letter? 63
- What attitude is shown towards the militants?
- Would a letter like this help the cause of women's suffrage?
Dear Sir,

As President of the Home Counties Union of Women’s Liberal Associations numbering 220 Associations and over 25,000 active Liberal women workers, I write on their behalf to protest against the illegal actions of a relatively small number of women, the members of the Social and Political Union, during the past few days. We feel deeply that such action is not only a disgrace to the women concerned, but may prove to be the gravest hindrance to the cause of Woman’s Suffrage, to which we are devoted both as women and Liberals. The action of the militants is not even consistent, for last year they strongly supported the Conciliation Bill and they are now opposing it.

We have again and again protested against the so-called militant tactics but never more so than now when victory is in sight, thanks to the pledges of the Government to give facilities to our question in Parliament. We would point out to the Liberal, Labour and Irish parties in the House, that in numbers the militant women are of no account compared to the women who have adopted constitutional methods.

The members of our Union have given ungrudging service in the Home Counties to the Liberal Party, and as Liberals we now appeal to all the members forming the Majority in the House to do justice to their women allies.

It is neither right nor just that the misguided action of the few should further delay justice to the many, and we who have worked for Liberalism both in the dark days and since brighter days have dawned look now to our friends for this act of justice to women.

I am,
Yours truly,
EVA McLAKEN.
Transcript
Dear Sir,
As President of the Home Counties Union of Women's Liberal Associations numbering 220 Associations and over 25,000 active Liberal women workers, I write on their behalf to protest against the illegal actions of a relatively small number of women, the members of the Social and Political Union, during the past few days. We feel deeply that such action is not only a disgrace to the women concerned, but may prove to be the gravest hindrance to the cause of Woman's Suffrage, to which we are devoted both as women and Liberals. The action of the militants is not even consistent, for last year they strongly supported the Conciliation Bill and they are now opposing it.

We have again and again protested against the so-called militant tactics but never more so than now when victory is in sight, thanks to the pledges of the Government to give facilities to our question in Parliament. We would point out to the Liberal, Labour and Irish parties in the House, that in numbers the militant women are of no account compared to the women who have adopted constitutional methods.

The members of our Union have given ungrudging service in the Home Counties to the Liberal Party, and as Liberals we now appeal to all the members forming the Majority in the House to do justice to their women allies.

It is neither right nor just that the misguided action of the few should further delay justice to the many, and we who have worked for Liberalism both in the dark days and since brighter days have dawned look now to our friends for this act of justice to women.

I am,
Yours truly,
EVA McLAREN.
Source 4
A letter from Emmeline Pankhurst to WSPU members, January 1913
(CRIM 1/139/2)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What is the attitude of Mrs Pankhurst towards the Liberal government?
- What are her views on militancy?
- What are her views on opponents of militancy?
- What effect would this letter have had on attitudes towards women's suffrage?
Dear Friend,

The Prime Minister has announced that in the week beginning January 20th the Women's Amendments to the Manhood Suffrage Bill will be discussed and voted upon. This means that within a few short days the fate of these Amendments will be finally decided.

The W.S.P.U. has from the first declined to call any truce on the strength of the Prime Minister's so-called pledge, and has refused to depend upon the Amendments in question, because the Government have not accepted the responsibility of getting them carried. ……
There are degrees of militancy. Some women are able to go further than others in militant action and each woman is the judge of her own duty so far as that is concerned. To be militant in some way or other is, however, a moral obligation. It is a duty which every woman will owe to her own conscience and self-respect, to other women who are less fortunate than she is herself, and to all those who are to come after her.

If any woman refrains from militant protest against the injury done by the Government and the House of Commons to women and to the race, she will share the responsibility for the crime. Submission under such circumstances will be itself a crime.

I know that the defeat of the Amendments will prove to thousands of women that to rely only on peaceful, patient methods, is to court failure, and that militancy is inevitable.

We must, as I have said, prepare to meet the crisis before it arises. Will you therefore tell me (by letter, if it is not possible to do so by word of mouth), that you are ready to take your share in manifesting in a practical manner your indignation at the betrayal of our cause.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) [Signature]
Transcript
There are degrees of militancy. Some women are able to go further than others in militant action and each woman is the judge of her own duty so far as that is concerned. To be militant in some way or other is, however, a moral obligation. It is a duty which every woman will owe to her own conscience and self-respect, to other women who are less fortunate than she is herself, and to all those who are to come after her.

If any woman refrains from militant protest against the injury done by the Government and the House of Commons to women and to the race, she will share the responsibility for the crime. Submission under such circumstances will be itself a crime.

I know that the defeat of the Amendments will prove to thousands of women that to rely only on peaceful, patient methods, is to court failure, and that militancy is inevitable.

We must, as I have said, prepare to meet the crisis before it arises. Will you therefore tell me (by letter, if it is not possible to do so by word of mouth), that you are ready to take your share in manifesting in a practical manner your indignation at the betrayal of our cause.

Yours sincerely,
(signed) E. Pankhurst
Source 5
A letter from NUWSS leader Millicent Fawcett to Liberal government minister David Lloyd George, 1912
(T 172/968b)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What is the main purpose of this letter?
- How does the letter criticise the Suffragettes?
- What differences are there between Suffragists and Suffragettes, according to the letter?
- Is this a reliable view of the relationship between the Suffragists and Suffragettes?
Dear Sir,

In view of the most deplorable proceedings of the Militant Suffragists belonging to the Women's Social & Political Union and the consequent harm which may result to the whole Suffrage Movement, may we beg to remind you of the following facts:-

(1) That those guilty of the disturbances of Friday and Monday last are a small and decreasing minority among Suffragists. The lists of those appearing before the Magistrates shew the same names repeated again and again. There cannot in our judgment be more than a few hundred in all who have put themselves under the leadership of the Social & Political Union for the commission of lawless actions.

(2) The great bulk of organised Suffragists throughout the country have conducted their campaign in a strictly law-abiding and constitutional manner.

(3) The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies have not only conducted their own work on law-abiding lines, they have emphatically and repeatedly protested against the use of violence in any form. These protests have appeared in the press in November 1908, October 1909, and so recently as December 9th 1911. They were repeated at a meeting in London on March 5th 1912 and they are thoroughly and cordially endorsed by our whole organisation.

(4) The lawless section of the suffragists have since November last lost no opportunity of attacking and decrying the Conciliation Bill which all other great National Women's Suffrage Organisations support. A weakening in the support of the Conciliation Bill would be welcome to that small section of Suffragists who have lately made themselves conspicuous by wilful attacks upon private property.

We, therefore, make a strong personal appeal to you not to punish the great mass of law-abiding suffragists for the faults of the small section of law-breakers; and above all not to back the policy of those law-breakers by withholding your support from the Conciliation Bill.

We are, on behalf of the Committee, Yours faithfully,

MILLICENT G. FAWCETT - President
EDITH PALLISER - Hon. Parl. Secretary
K. D. COURTNEY - Hon. Secretary
FRANCES STERLING - Treasurer (pro tem)
Transcript

Dear Sir,

In view of the most deplorable proceedings of the Militant Suffragists belonging to the Women's Social & Political Union and the consequent harm which may result to the whole Suffrage Movement, may we beg to remind you of the following facts:

(1) That those guilty of the disturbances of Friday and Monday last are a small and decreasing minority among Suffragists. The lists of those appearing before the Magistrates show the same names repeated again and again. There cannot in our judgment be more than a few hundred in all who have put themselves under the leadership of the Social & Political Union for the commission of lawless actions.

(2) The great bulk of organised Suffragists throughout the country have conducted their campaign in a strictly law-abiding and constitutional manner. ……

(3) The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies have not only conducted their own work on law-abiding lines, they have emphatically and repeatedly protested against the use of violence in any form. These protests have appeared in the press in November 1908, October 1909, and so recently as December 9th 1911. They were repeated at a meeting in London on March 5th 1912 and they are thoroughly and cordially endorsed by our whole organisation.

(4) The lawless section of the suffragists have since November last lost no opportunity of attacking and decrying the Conciliation Bill which all other great National Women's Suffrage Organisations support. A weakening in the support of the Conciliation Bill would be welcome to that small section of Suffragists who have lately made themselves conspicuous by wilful attacks upon private property.

We, therefore, make a strong personal appeal to you not to punish the great mass of law-abiding suffragists for the faults of the small section of law-breakers; and above all not to back the policy of these law-breakers by withholding your support from the Conciliation Bill.

We are, on behalf of the Committee,
Yours faithfully,

MILICENT G. FAWCETT - President
EDITH PALLISER - Hon. Parl. Secretary
K.D. COURTNEY - Hon. Secretary
FRANCES STERLING - Treasurer (pro tem)
Case Study – Women, Work & War

Women, Work & War: Overview

Britain was involved in the Great War from 1914-18. As the war dragged on, many men went to fight. Thousands of women also joined the armed forces. Others took over ‘men’s work’ in the factories and fields. Women had always worked of course - in homes, fields and factories. However, the contribution of women to Britain's war effort did seem to capture the imagination of the country.

In this case study you will study a range of sources on women in wartime and decide how important this work was in getting the vote for some women in 1918.

Sources

- Women’s Right To Serve march, 1915
- Women’s Land Army certificate, 1915
- Letter to Minister of War from NUWSS, 1917
- Letter to Lloyd George from NUWSS, 1917
- Women in the armed forces, 1917
- Women working in the munitions industry
- Films showing jobs women did in WW1
- Report on women in agriculture, 1918
- Report on women in industry, 1919
- Cartoon: ‘At Last’, 1918

How to use the sources in this case study:

You can use these case study sources in two ways:

The Big Question

All of the sources in this case study have been chosen to help you decide why the Liberals brought in measures to help children. If you are tackling the Big Question Part 1 you should:

- Study each source carefully – use the questions to help you get the most from the source.
- Look at the list of possible reasons in Part 1 of the Big Question.
- Decide which reasons are supported or contradicted by the source.

Exam Practice

If you want to get some practice on examination type questions, just go to or download the Practice Questions.

Don’t forget – if there are words or phrases in the sources which you cannot understand, try the glossary.
Source 1
Report from The Illustrated London News of a Women's Right To Serve March in 1915
(ZPER 34/147)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What is meant by the 'Right To Serve'
- Do you think that women marching for the right to serve would help the cause of women's suffrage? 74
- Is this report critical or in favour of the march?
- Does the march seem to be well organised?
THE WOMAN'S RIGHT-TO-SERVE DEMONSTRATION: A GREAT PROCESSION.

The demonstration, on July 17, of thousands of women from all classes—aristocrats, professionals, workers in many forms of art and industry, women who rejoice in demonstrating, and women whom nothing but clear conviction and a strong sense of duty would draw from their quiet homes into the glare of publicity—which was organised to demand as a right that women should be allowed to take their share in munition and other war work, was a success in every detail, except the weather, which was deplorable.

As our photographs prove, it was picturesque, enthusiastic and impressive, and drew a concourse of many thousands, some of whom may have "come to scoff," but remained to sympathise, encourage, and admire. The demonstration will be historic, and when the story of the World War comes to be written, the patriotic part played by women of the Empire, of France, of Belgium, of Italy, of Russia, will be chronicled, and this great demonstration of women craving to work for the war will find honourable place.
Source 1B

Transcript

In a neighbourhood noted before the war for militant suffragette demonstrations! The procession in the shadow of the Houses of Parliament.
Source 1C

Transcript

The Allies: The bearer of the flags of the nations warring against Germany
Source 2
Certificate issued to members of the Women's Land Army, 1915
(MAF 42/8)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What was the aim of the certificate?
- Do you think women were proud to receive it?
- What suggests that this certificate carries a high status?
- Does this source suggest that women's work was valued?
Every woman who helps in agriculture during the war is as truly serving her country as the man who is fighting in the trenches or on the sea.

Transcript

Every woman who helps in agriculture during the war is as truly serving her country as the man who is fighting in the trenches or on the sea.
Source 3
A letter to the Minister of War from the NUWSS, January 1917
(NATS 1/1271)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What is the attitude of the NUWSS to women serving in the army? What concerns do the NUWSS committee have?
- Would you say the NUWSS is criticising the government's plans?
- Is the NUWSS being helpful or unhelpful?
- How would the attitude of the NUWSS affect people's views towards female suffrage?
My Lord,

I am desired by the Women's Interests Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to write to you on the subject of the proposed employment of women in the non-combatant work of the Army. My Committee welcomes the proposal, which they believe to be one that has long been desired by the women of this country, as enabling them to take an even fuller share in the sustained effort of their country.

My Committee feel, however, that in the employment of women in such work, particularly in France, certain grave difficulties and dangers inevitably arise and that these can only be overcome by particular care in the selection of the women sent out, and in the conditions under which they work.

My Committee hold most strongly that for all employment of women with the Army the selection of women must be in the hands of women, and that a very large part of their control and discipline when employed must also be in the hands of women. They believe that a staff of women inspectors will be absolutely essential if the employment is to be on any large scale, and that without such control of women by women, discipline and regularly will not be obtained.

It is of the first importance to engage in advance the women officers who will be in charge. They therefore venture to suggest that a small board should be formed of women experienced in the management of large numbers of other women and that this board should have power to recommend for appointment all women officers needed at the outset for the scheme.

They suggest also that this board might advise as to the details of the employment of the women, such as terms of contract, health insurance, pay, grading, housing, uniform, etc., and that it should be formed strictly from among women with practical experience of similar work.

I am,

My Lord,

Your obedient Servant,

(3d) OLIVE A. JETLEY
My Lord,

I am desired by the Women's Interests Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to write to you on the subject of the proposed employment of women in the non-combatant work of the Army. My Committee welcomes the proposal, which they believe to be one that has long been desired by the women of this country, as enabling them to take an even fuller share in the sustained effort of their country.

My Committee feel, however, that in the employment of women in such work, particularly in France, certain grave difficulties and dangers inevitably arise and that these can only be overcome by particular care in the selection of the women sent out, and in the conditions under which they work.

My Committee hold most strongly that for all employment of women with the Army the selection of women must be in the hands of women, and that a very large part of their control and discipline when employed must also be in the hands of women. They believe that a staff of women inspectors will be absolutely essential if the employment is to be on any large scale, and that without such control of women by women, discipline and regularity will not be obtained. ……

… it is of the first importance to engage in advance the women officers who will be in charge. They therefore venture to suggest that a small board should be formed of women experienced in the management of large numbers of other women and that this board should have power to recommend for appointment all women officers needed at the outset for the scheme, ……

They suggest also that this board might advise as to the details of the employment of the women, such as terms of contract, health insurance, pay, grading, housing, uniform, etc., and that it should be formed strictly from among women with practical experience of similar work. ……

I am,
My Lord,
Your obedient Servant,
(sd) OLIVE A. JETLEY
Secretary: Women's Interests Committee
Source 4
Extract from a letter to Prime Minister Lloyd George by the NUWSS, March 1917
(NATS 1/1271)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What is the motion put forward in this letter?
- What methods are used to suggest that many people now support women's suffrage?
- Is there any evidence that the war has changed people's views on female suffrage?
- How convincing is the evidence?
- What does this phrase mean: 'We think that the comprehensive nature of the signatures is self evident'? 83
- According to the letter, why is reconstruction such an important issue?
Dear Sir,

In view of the recommendations regarding the franchise about to be made by the Conference on Electoral Reform, we beg to submit for your consideration the enclosed Memorial, which is in the following terms:

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, URGE THE NECESSITY OF ENFRANCHISING WOMEN IN ANY PROPOSED ELECTORAL REFORM BROUGHT FORWARD DURING THE WAR, SO THAT THEY SHALL TAKE PART IN THE ELECTION OF THE PARLIAMENT WHICH WILL DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE WAR.

Signatures have been invited not from the general public, but from WELL-KNOWN AND REPRESENTATIVE PEOPLE. The signatories number about 4,000 influential persons. Many of these are men and women who before the experience of war conditions were indifferent, even hostile, to the often expressed demand of women for some share in the Political Life of the country and have not only readily appended
Transcript

SIR,

In view of the recommendations regarding the franchise about to be made by the Conference on Electoral Reform, we beg to submit for your consideration the enclosed Memorial, which is in the following terms:

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, URGE THE NECESSITY OF ENFRANCHISING WOMEN IN ANY PROPOSED ELECTORAL REFORM BROUGHT FORWARD DURING THE WAR, SO THAT THEY SHALL TAKE PART IN THE ELECTION OF THE PARLIAMENT WHICH WILL DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE WAR.

Signatures have been invited not from the general public, but from WELL-KNOWN AND REPRESENTATIVE PEOPLE. The signatories number about 4,000 influential persons. Many of these are men and women who before the experience of war conditions were indifferent, even hostile, to the often expressed demand of women for some share in the Political Life of the country and have not only readily appended…
their signatures but also obtained signatures from others. The support of the women’s claim to enfranchisement, which was strong in this district before the war, has greatly increased and we believe that, were opinions tested, this would be found to be true throughout the country.

The Memorial has been organised by the Manchester and District Federation of Women’s Suffrage Societies (National Union Women’s Suffrage Societies), assisted by the following:

- Church League for Women’s Suffrage
- Free Church League for Women’s Suffrage
- Friends’ League for Women’s Suffrage
- Manchester Men’s League for Women’s Suffrage
- United Suffragists
- Women’s International League

The signatures are those of representative and influential persons approached in the constituencies of

- Accrington
- Altrincham
- Ashton-under-Lyne
- Blackburn
- Bolton
- Burnley
- Bury
- Clitheroe
- Eccles
- Gorton
- Heywood
- High Peak Division of Derbyshire
- Hyde
- Knutsford
- Leigh
- Macclesfield
- Manchester
- Oldham
- Prestwich
- Radcliffe-Cum-Farnworth
- Rochdale
- Salford
- Stockport
- Stretford
- Wigan

We think that the comprehensive nature of the signatures is self-evident, and shows an obvious demand for Women’s Suffrage at this time. The signatures include, among others:

**PUBLIC OFFICIALS**

- 8 Mayors.
Transcript

…their signatures but also obtained signatures from others. The support of the women's claim to enfranchisement, which was strong in this district before the war, has greatly increased and we believe that, were opinions tested, this would be found to be true throughout the country.

The Memorial has been organised by the Manchester and District Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies (National Union Women's Suffrage Societies), assisted by the following:

Church League for Women's Suffrage
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage
Manchester Men's League for Women's Suffrage
United Suffragists
Women's International League

The signatures are those of representative and influential persons approached in the constituencies of:
ACCRINGTON
ALTRINCHAM
ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE
BLACKBURN
BOLTON
BURNLEY
BURY
CLITHEROE
ECCLES
GORTON
HEYWOOD
HIGH PEAK DIVISION OF DERBYSHIRE
HYDE

KNUTSFORD
LEIGH
MACCLESFIELD
MANCHESTER
OLDHAM
PRESTWICH
RADCLIFFE-CUM-FARNWORTH
ROCHDALE
SALFORD
STOCKPORT
STRETFORD
WESTHOUGHTON
WIGAN

We think that the comprehensive nature of the signatures is self evident, and shows an obvious demand for Women's Suffrage at this time. The signatures include, among others:

PUBLIC OFFICIALS
15 Members of Parliament.
8 Mayors.
Aldermen and County, City, Town and Urban District Councillors.
89 Poor Law Guardians.
128 Important Public Officials, including Directors of Education, Superintendents of Police, Chairmen of Insurance Committees, Officials of Statutory War Pensions Committee, Education Committees, Station Masters of Important Stations, Postmasters of Large Towns, Factory Inspectors, etc.
34 Magistrates.

POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

341 Officials of Trade Unions and Trade Councils, including five National Bodies; all Trade Unions representing organised Women Munition Workers, and the most important of the Trade Unions in this area which are affected by Female Labour.
181 Representatives of various Political Organisations, including numerous representatives of the Labour Party and the I.L.P., the Representatives of the above Suffrage Organisations and an addendum signed by the Officials of the Liberal Men's League for Women's Suffrage.
191 Officials of Co-operative Guilds.

PROFESSIONS

31 University Professors and Lecturers
119 Headmasters and Headmistresses
274 School Teachers
95 Clergymen and Ministers
78 Members of the Medical Profession
47 Representatives of the Press, including the Editors of three important Papers
68 Lawyers, Artists and Representatives of other Professions

BUSINESS AND COMMERCE

194 Large Employers of Labour, Directors and Managers of Companies, of whom 31 are Engineers
64 Bank Managers and Persons holding responsible positions in Commercial Houses, Insurance Companies, etc.
Transcript

140 Aldermen and County, City, Town and Urban District Councillors.
89 Poor Law Guardians.
128 Important Public Officials, including Directors of Education, Superintendents of Police, Chairmen of Insurance Committees, Officials of Statutory War Pensions Committee, Education Committees, Station Masters of Important Stations, Postmasters of Large Towns, Factory Inspectors, etc.
34 Magistrates.

POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS
341 Officials of Trade Unions and Trade Councils, including five National Bodies; all Trade Unions representing organised Women Munition Workers, and the most important of the Trade Unions in this area which are affected by Female Labour.
181 Representatives of various Political Organisations, including numerous representatives of the Labour Party and the I.L.P., the Representatives of the above Suffrage Organisations and an addendum signed by the Officials of the Liberal Men's League for Women's Suffrage.
191 Officials of Co-operative Guilds.

PROFESSIONS
31 University Professors and Lecturers
119 Headmasters and Headmistresses
274 School Teachers
95 Clergymen and Ministers
78 Members of the Medical Profession
47 Representatives of the Press, including the Editors of three important Papers
68 Lawyers, Artists and Representatives of other Professions

BUSINESS AND COMMERCE
194 Large Employers of Labour, Directors and Managers of Companies, of whom 31 are Engineers
64 Bank Managers and Persons holding responsible positions in Commercial Houses, Insurance Companies, etc.
SOCIAL WELFARE

48 Officials of Hospitals
189 Social Workers, including Officials of Religious Bodies, Officers of Adult Schools, Representatives of Temperance and Philanthropic Organisations, Superintendents of Welfare Work, etc.

We hold Women’s Suffrage to be a measure essential to the welfare of the country at this crisis. War conditions have greatly extended the sphere of industrial service for women. As a consequence of their wider national service it would be positively dangerous for a Parliament which did not represent women to deal with the problems of industrial and social reconstruction which have to be considered after the war.

We would remind you that more than a million women have directly replaced men in industry and that throughout the country there is a vast army of women wage earners. As you, Sir, yourself have stated in your Guildhall Speech of January 11th, 1917, women “have helped to win the war and without them we could not have done it.”

We cannot think that the nation could contemplate any extension of the Franchise which would exclude them.

Nor do we forget the thousands of Households which are now unrepresented in the Councils of their Country, because upon them the lot has fallen to lose their men on the field of battle.

On these and other grounds, we beg to urge that women be enfranchised so as to be included among those who shall elect the Parliament to decide the questions of reconstruction after the war.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servants,

(Signed) C. D. SIMPSON,
Chairman of Memorial Committee

M. G. THODAY,
Hon. Secretary of Memorial Committee
Transcript

SOCIAL WELFARE
48 Officials of Hospitals
189 Social Workers, including Officials of Religious Bodies, Officers of Adult Schools, Representatives of Temperance and Philanthropic Organisations, Superintendents of Welfare Work, etc.

We hold Women's Suffrage to be a measure essential to the welfare of the country at this crisis. War conditions have greatly extended the sphere of industrial service for women. As a consequence of their wider national service it would be positively dangerous for a Parliament which did not represent women to deal with the problems of industrial and social reconstruction which have to be considered after the war.

We would remind you that more than a million women have directly replaced men in industry and that throughout the country there is a vast army of women wage earners. As you, Sir, yourself have stated in your Guildhall Speech of January 11th, 1917, women "have helped to win the war and without them we could not have done it." We cannot think that the nation could contemplate any extension of the Franchise which would exclude them.

Nor do we forget the thousands of Households which are now unrepresented in the Councils of their Country, because upon them the lot has fallen to lose their men on the field of battle.

On these and other grounds, we beg to urge that women be enfranchised so as to be included among those who shall elect the Parliament to decide the questions of reconstruction after the war.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servants,

(Signed) C. D. SIMPSON,
Chairman of Memorial Committee

M. G. THODAY,
Hon. Secretary of Memorial Committee
Source 5
Illustration from the Illustrated London News, November 1917, showing women in the armed forces
(ZPER 34/151)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What jobs are women doing in this illustration?
- Do you get the impression that the newspaper is impressed with women's contribution? 92
- Is there anything in this source to suggest a changing attitude towards women?
- How would articles like this be used by the NUWSS?
Britain 1906-1918

Gallery Four

THE WOMEN'S ARMY: THE W.A.A.C. ON HOME AND FOREIGN SERVICE.

WINNING GOLDEN OPINIONS FOR THEIR WORK IN FRANCE AND AT HOME: THE WOMEN’S ARMY AUXILIARY CORPS.

At the opening of the new recruiting-hall for the W.A.A.C. in Tavistock Square, high tributes of praise were paid to its work. The Minister of Labour, Mr. G. H. Robey, said: “These women will know that they are sharing with our glorious Navy and splendid service the positions of insight and duty at the British Empire.” General Sir Neville Marmont and Sir Henry W. Longueville said that they were glad women employed in the different ranks, and that women workers picked up the work quickly, and the chauffeurs were equally satisfactory. Some of the women have been in France now for six months. Lord-Admiral Sir Francis Lloyd said that the W.A.A.C. in the London District had been an enormous success. Wherever the women worked they employed, there was satisfaction where there had been dast, good working where there had been indifference, and - where there had been waste. Sir Francis Lloyd said that women workers were more economical and better; they

www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/
Transcript

At the opening of the new recruiting-hut for the W.A.A.C. in Trafalgar Square, high tributes of praise were paid to its work. The Minister of Labour, Mr. G. H. Roberts, said: "These women will know that they are sharing with our glorious Navy and splendid armies the position of knights and ladies of the British Empire." General Sir Nevill Macready said that there were 9600 women employed in the different camps, and he had had nothing but good reports of them. In France lately he heard that women cooks were, both for the officers' mess and the men's, more economical and better; also that women clerks picked up the work quickly, and the chauffeurs were equally satisfactory. Some of the women have been in France now for six months. Lieut.-General Sir Francis Lloyd said that the W.A.A.C. in the London District had been an enormous success. Wherever the women cooks were employed, there was cleanliness where there had been dirt, good cooking where there had been indifferent, and economy where there had been waste. He urged outside organisations not controlled by the Army to give up their separate policies and join the W.A.A.C.
Source 6
Photographs and posters showing women working in the munitions industry
(MUN 5/164/1124/40; EXT 1/315 part 1 & 2)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
• What jobs are women doing in sources 6a-c?
• How would this work affect attitudes to giving women the vote?
• Do these images provide evidence that women’s work was important?
• Do they provide evidence that people or politicians valued the work women did?
Source 6A
MORE AEROPLANES ARE NEEDED
WOMEN COME AND HELP!
FREE TRAINING AND MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCES
Apply at Once
MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS OF WAR

WANTED!
MORE AEROPLANES

The Ministry of Munitions offers to train Women to make Aeroplane parts.

WILL YOU ACCEPT THIS OFFER?

Both in London and the Provinces there are Instructional Workshops and Centres where women between the ages of 18 and 35 may be trained to make Aeroplane and Aero Engine Parts. Admission is free and maintenance allowances are payable during training.

Instruction is given in Machine work, Oxyacetylene Welding, Aeroplane Woodwork, Light Fitting, Coremaking, etc.

If YOU follow up any of these lines of work and become proficient, YOU are definitely assisting the men in the fighting line.

FULL INFORMATION CAN BE OBTAINED BY APPLICATION TO THE Employment Exchange, or Director, Training Section, MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS, 6, Whitehall Gdns., S.W. 1.
MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS OF WAR
WANTED!
MORE AEROPLANES
The Ministry of Munitions offers to train Women to make Aeroplane parts.
WILL YOU ACCEPT THIS OFFER?

Both in London and the Provinces there are Instructional Workshops and Centres where women between the ages of 18 and 35 may be trained to make Aeroplane and Aero Engine Parts. Admission is free and maintenance allowances are payable during training.

Instruction is given in Machine work, Oxyacetylene Welding, Aeroplane Woodwork, Light Fitting, Coremaking, etc.

If YOU follow up any of these lines of work and become proficient, YOU are definitely assisting the men in the fighting line.

Full information can be obtained by application to the Employment Exchange, or Director, Training Section, Ministry of Munitions, 6, Whitehall Gdns., S.W.1,
Source 7
News footage from the Great War showing some of the jobs women tackled
(British Pathe: 2360.04, film ref ON248G)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What jobs are women doing in sources 7a-7d?
- Which jobs might have most surprised the general public?
- What impact would women doing this work have on public attitudes?
- Do you think the work that women did would help or hinder the campaign for the vote?
- Who might have shot the clips?
- Does this suggest anything about the value of the film as evidence?
Source 7A

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/britain1906to1918/movie/g4cs4s7a_adsl.wmv
Source 7B

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/britain1906to1918/movie/g4cs4s7b_adsl.wmv
Source 7C

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/britain1906to1918/movie/g4cs4s7c_adsl.wmv
Source 7D

http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/britain1906to1918/movie/g4cs4s7d_adsl.wmv
Source 8
News footage from the Great War showing some of the jobs women tackled
(British Pathe: 2360.04, film ref ON248G)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- Who is the author of the report?
- What have been the main contributions made by women?
- How important were those contributions?
- Would this type of report be effective in influencing political views on women’s suffrage?
WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE DURING WAR-TIME.

MISS MERIEL L. TALBOT, C.B.E.,
Director, Women’s Branch, Food Production Department.

The members of the Women’s County Committees have at much cost to themselves, both of time and money, given constant oversight to the work with all its many details and difficulties. In several counties to-day the Women’s Committee has realised the importance of getting a corporate feeling among all the workers, from the Village Registrars to the County President, and has adopted a regular system of election by ballot. The county is divided into districts resembling Rural Districts. Each District Committee is elected by the Village Registrars of the area. The District Committee elects representatives for the Central Executive Committee. Thus the County Executive is not merely a body nominated by a few individuals, but it is appointed by the wish of all those concerned in the work throughout the county. It is representative in fact as well as in name.

Since the War, women have been called not only to do men’s work in field and factory, but also in many unexpected places in the public service. Experience has already proved that their shortcomings—which women are the first to recognise—are the result of want of training rather than of zeal or capacity. On the War Agricultural Committees women, while giving so generously of their time and interest, are realising the responsibilities of public service, and gaining generally from the experience.
Transcript

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE DURING WAR-TIME.
MISS MERIEL L. TALBOT, C.B.E.,
Director, Women's Branch, Food Production Department.

……. The members of the Women's County Committees have at much cost to themselves, both of time and money, given constant oversight to the work with all its many details and difficulties. In several counties to-day the Women's Committee has realised the importance of getting a corporate feeling among all the workers, from the Village Registrars to the County President, and has adopted a regular system of election by ballot. The county is divided info districts resembling Rural Districts. Each District Committee is elected by the Village Registrars of the area. The District Committee elects representatives for the Central Executive Committee. Thus the County Executive is not merely a body nominated by a few individuals, but it is appointed by the wish of all those concerned in the work throughout the county. It is representative in fact as well as in name.

Since the War, women have been called not only to do men's work in field and factory, but also in many unexpected places in the public service. Experience has already proved that their shortcomings - which women are the first to recognise - are the result of want of training rather than of zeal or capacity. On the War Agricultural Committees women, while giving so generously of their time and interest, are realising the responsibilities of public service, and gaining generally from the experience.
Source 9
Extracts from the Report of the War Cabinet committee on Women In Industry, published in 1919 (MUN 5/88/342/18)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
• What new occupations are women doing?
• Where are women no longer working?
• Why is this?
• What does source 9a suggest about attitudes towards women working? 108
• Does source 9b confirm or contradict the impression given by source 9a?
### 92. Increased Employment of Women during the War.

In the second half of 1915 unemployed women were rapidly absorbed in munition factories, and in January, 1916, in industry proper the number of women had already increased by over a quarter of a million, of whom about one-half were employed in the Metal and Chemical trades. From this time onwards the figure of female employment rose steadily until in July, 1918, the total number of occupied women had, according to Board of Trade figures, increased by $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or from just under 6 million to nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ million as shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers of Women Working</th>
<th>In July, 1914</th>
<th>In July, 1918</th>
<th>In July, 1918, over (+) or under (−) numbers in July, 1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Industry</td>
<td>2,178,600</td>
<td>2,970,600</td>
<td>+792,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Domestic Service</td>
<td>1,658,000</td>
<td>1,298,000</td>
<td>−360,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Commerce, etc.</td>
<td>505,500</td>
<td>934,500</td>
<td>+429,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In National and Local Government, including Education</td>
<td>262,200</td>
<td>460,200</td>
<td>+198,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Agriculture</td>
<td>190,000</td>
<td>228,000</td>
<td>+38,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In employment of Hotels, Public Houses, Theatres, etc.</td>
<td>181,000</td>
<td>220,000</td>
<td>+39,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Transport</td>
<td>18,200</td>
<td>117,200</td>
<td>+99,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In other, including Professional employment and as home workers</td>
<td>542,500</td>
<td>652,500</td>
<td>+110,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altogether in occupations</td>
<td>5,966,000</td>
<td>7,311,000</td>
<td>+1,345,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table includes among the unoccupied those engaged in domestic work at home and other unpaid work except V.A.D. nurses, who with the various naval, military and air organised corps of women (numbering some 61,000 in September, 1918), are comprised in the total for “other, including professional employment.”
Transcript

Increased Employment of Women during the War.

-In the second half of 1915 unemployed women were rapidly absorbed in munition factories, and in January, 1916, in industry proper the number of women had already increased by over a quarter of a million, of whom about one-half were employed in the Metal and Chemical trades. From this time onwards the figure of female employment rose steadily until in July, 1918, the total number of occupied women had, according to Board of Trade figures, increased by 22½ per cent. or from just under 6 million to nearly 7 1/3 million as shown in the following table:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On their own account or as Employers</td>
<td>430,000</td>
<td>470,000</td>
<td>+ 40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Industry</td>
<td>2,178,600</td>
<td>2,970,600</td>
<td>+ 792,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Domestic Service</td>
<td>1,658,000</td>
<td>1,258,000</td>
<td>- 400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Commerce, etc.</td>
<td>505,500</td>
<td>934,500</td>
<td>+ 429,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In National and Local Government, including Education</td>
<td>262,200</td>
<td>460,200</td>
<td>+ 198,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Agriculture</td>
<td>190,000</td>
<td>228,000</td>
<td>+38,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In employment of Hotels, Public Houses, Theatres, etc.</td>
<td>181,000</td>
<td>220,000</td>
<td>+39,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Transport</td>
<td>18,200</td>
<td>117,200</td>
<td>+ 99,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In other, including Professional employment and as home workers</td>
<td>542,500</td>
<td>652,500</td>
<td>+110,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altogether in occupations</td>
<td>5,996,000</td>
<td>7,311,000</td>
<td>+ 1,345,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table includes among the unoccupied those engaged in domestic work at home and other unpaid work except V.A.D. nurses, who with the various naval, military and air organised corps of women (numbering some 61,000 in September, 1918), are comprised in the total for "other, including professional employment." ......
Transcript

Exact comparisons were therefore hard to make. The Engineering and National Employers’ Federation submitted, however, the following general statement as to the comparative quality and quantity of men's and women's output and other factors affecting productive value in the trades represented by them:

"OUTPUT.

Quality.
Sheet Metal.—Better than men's work.
Engineering.—Women's work fair, equal to boys. Men far superior.
Repetition Light Work.—Women and girls equal to men and boys.
Aircraft Woodwork.—Equal in most branches.
Cartridges.—Equal.
Shells.—Men, then boys, women last.

Quantity.
Sheet Metal.—Women 90 per cent. of men's output.
Engineering.—Women fair. If work varies, women not so good as men. Approximate, two-thirds of men.
Repetition Work.—Nearly same.
Aircraft Woodwork.—Equal.
Cartridges.—Generally equal, and in some cases as much as 20 per cent more than men.
Shells.—Boys, then men, and women last.

www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/
Source 10
Cartoon from Punch Magazine published in January 1918
(Bernard Partridge, January 1918, © Punch, Ltd., pu02576)

How to use this source to help you answer the Big Question:
You need to study the source carefully before you decide whether it supports or contradicts any of the reasons in the Big Question.

Ask Yourself:
- What would you say is the general tone of this cartoon?
- The woman in the cartoon is meant to show British women like Joan of Arc, the French female leader from medieval times. What is the artist trying to achieve by this?
- Compare this cartoon with source 1 in case study 3 of this gallery, which is by the same cartoonist. How has his attitude changed?