Purple, White & Green: The Material Construction of Women's Suffrage

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for a degree or other qualification at this University or elsewhere. All sources are acknowledged as references.

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Abstract

This study examines the active role of material culture in the women's suffrage movement, offering new insight into the creative resistance of activists who used objects to convey their message, and the collective identities that were formed and articulated through material culture. It contributes to an emerging area of archaeology concerned with radicalism; this has long been under-explored because of the ephemerality of sources associated with radical movements. With an integrated text and material based analysis, this study focuses on the materiality of women's suffrage, its significance, and the role it played in their successful campaign.

This thesis is divided into four main chapters *Makings Worlds*, *Speaking Out*, *Direct Action* and *Legacies of Suffrage Material Culture*. In the act of forging new identities and freedoms for themselves, suffrage campaigners made new worlds via objects that commodified and legitimised their cause, merged domestic materials with politics, and created a strong visual legacy. They used printed materials to speak out, spread propaganda and challenge stereotypes perpetuated by the media and commercial publishers. Suffragettes' use of objects created their militant identity, and they forged complex relationships with the objects used in their direct action. This work makes an original contribution through consideration of all of these ways material culture impacted the movement. The final part of this work takes the understanding of suffrage materials and their legacy to the present day, with an analysis of the enduring legacy of suffrage materiality and the purple, white and green.

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Figure 198. "The Suffragette Nails her Colours to the Mast" picture postcard produced by Raphael Tuck and Sons Limited (c.1908-1914).

Figure 199. Picture Postcard. Men on public transport hide behind their papers to avoid giving a seat to a women's rights supporter dressed in a masculine style typical of anti-suffrage leaning commercial postcards (1907).

Figure 200. Picture postcard. 'While in the act of voting, Mrs Jones remembers that she has left a cake in the oven!' (c.1908-1914).

Figure 201. Satirical suffragette handbell (c. 1909).

Figure 202. Satirical novelty clock / paperweight shaped like a pocket watch with 'Vote for Women' written backwards around the perimeter of the face and image of a struggling father in the centre (1910).

Figure 203. 'Miss Flora Copper' handmade satirical suffragette doll (c. 1908-1914).

Figure 204. Handmade anti-suffrage doll which was posted through the letterbox of a woman anonymously (c. 1908-1914).

Figure 205. 'The Appeal of Womanhood' anti-suffrage postcard by Harold Bird, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage (1912).

Figure 206. Pro-suffrage postcard by Louise Jacobs, Suffrage Atelier (1912).

Figure 207. 'Mummy's a Suffragette' picture postcard (c. 1909).

Figure 208. 'The Suffragette not [underlined] at home' picture postcard. Illustration by political cartoonist Arthur Moreland, produced by C.W. Faulkener & Co (c.1908-1914).

Figure 209. "Just By Way of Change" picture postcard. London: Birn Brothers (c. 1909).

Figure 210. "My wife's joined the Suffrage Movement (I've suffered ever since!)" picture postcard by Bamforth & Co., Holmfirth (1909).

Figure 211. Satirical picture postcard purchased in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and sent to Flora Drummond at the WSPU headquarters (1909).

Figure 212. Picture postcard annotated with an anti-suffrage message and sent to the WSPU Headquarters as hate mail (1909).

Figure 213. Mrs Joseph McCabe bathing her baby. From the Women's Freedom League 'Suffragettes At Home' series of photographic postcards (1910).

Figure 214. Alison Neilans Cleans the Stove. From the Women's Freedom League 'Suffragettes At Home' series of photographic postcards (1910).

Figure 215. Mrs How Martyn Making Jam. From the 'Suffragettes At Home' series of photographic postcards (1910).

Figure 216. Mrs. Snow Makes Pastry. From the 'Suffragettes At Home' series of photographic postcards (1910).

Figure 217. 'Polling Station' wood-cut poster by the Suffrage Atelier (1909).

Figure 218. Pro-suffrage poster, 'What a woman may be, and yet not have the vote. What a man may have been, & yet not lose the vote' designed and published by the Suffrage Atelier (c.1912).

Figure 219. Women Writers Suffrage League postcard illustrated by William Henry Margetson (1909).

Figure 220. 'Justice Demands the Vote' poster produced by the Brighton and Hove Women's Franchise Society and distributed through the NUWSS (1908).

Figure 221. Walter Crane's logo for the Socialist League. The angel of Justice is flanked by two workers, oak leaves representing strength, and the League's motto: Agitate, Educate, Organise (c.1885).

Figure 222. 'A Garland for May Day' illustration by Walter Crane (1895).

Figure 223. 'Socialism, Liberalism and Toryism' illustration by Walter Crane from *Cartoons for the Cause* (1886-1896) which was given as a souvenir at the International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress (c.1896).

Figure 224. 'A Souvenir for May Day 1907' illustration by Walter Crane (1907).

Figure 225. Music score and words for 'The March of the Women'. Composed by Ethel Smyth with words by Cicely Hamilton (1911).

Figure 226. Cover illustration. *The Suffragette* (April 25, 1913).

Figure 227. '*The Majesty of the Law'.* A female allegory of Justice holds a Votes For Women banner and hunger strike sword. This illustration by Bernard Partridge was first published in *Punch* magazine, and was then reproduced with permission on the cover of *The Suffragette* (March 14, 1913).

Figure 228. 'The Anti-Suffrage Society as Portrait- Painter' pro-suffrage picture postcard by the Suffrage Atelier (c. 1909-1914).

Figure 229. Coloured etching by George Cruikshank. John Bull is harassed by small figures representing Ireland, France, Sweden, West Indies, East Indies, and the USA (1813).

Figure 230. Cover illustration of *Puck* magazine (5th October, 1897) by Joseph Keppler. John Bull is swarmed by mosquitos representing Afridis, Transvaal Republic, Grecian Question, Russia, France, Sudan Troubles and Germany (1897).

Figure 231. 'Won't you let me help you John?' poster by Joan Harvey Drew (1907).

Figure 232. "Why won't they let the women help?" poster by Joan Harvey Drew, produced by the Artists Suffrage League (c. 1910).

Figure 233. Pro-suffrage poster by Dora Meeson Coates showing Mrs Bull reprimanding the sons of John Bull for their greed in taking her help without allowing any for her own cause. The poster won a competition organised by the NUWSS and the Artists' Suffrage League. It was then produced and distributed by both organisations (1907).

Figure 234. Pro-suffrage propaganda poster produced by the Suffrage Atelier. John Bull refuses to share his umbrella believing it protects his wife and daughter, This refers to the argument that men were able to sufficiently represent the interests of women by their own votes (1912).

Figure 235. Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard produced by the Suffrage Atelier. John Bull and his wife ride a tired and struggling 'Male Franchise' horse, in reference to the argument that male franchise can not carry both men and women (c. 1909-1914).

Figure 236. Pro-suffrage poster by the Suffrage Atelier depicting John and Mrs Bull at 'Franchise Villa' (c. 1909-1912).

Figure 237. Pro-suffrage postcard produced by the Artists Suffrage League (c. 1908-1918).

Figure 238. Pro-suffrage poster produced by the WSPU in reference to the Prisoners Temporary Discharge (for Ill Health) Act, also referred to as the 'The Cat and Mouse Act' (1914).

Figure 239. Picture postcard produced in London by Bim Brothers, two cats claim 'We don't care if we never have a Vote' (1910).

Figure 240. Selection of five different suffragette animal figurines (1908-1928).

Figure 241. Photographic postcard produced by Photochrom Co. showing a cat wearing a hat and 'Votes For Women' sign (1908).

Figure 242. 'An Advokate for Women's Rights', postcard produced by A. and G. Taylor which satirises the Votes For Women campaign (c. 1909).

Figure 243. Picture postcard showing a suffragette represented as a snarling cat saying 'I want my Vote'. Its expression is contrasted with its small size and fluffy coat, suggesting it is vicious but incapable of doing much harm. This example was sent to Christabel Pankhurst on October 15th 1908, (1908).

Figure 244. Picture postcard showing the suffragette as a feisty and self-assured cat who takes no notice of the police notice which bans political or other meetings and asserts 'THE VOTE, I WILL HAVE IT!' (c. 1908).

Figure 245. Picture postcard. This *Kitten's Christmas Party* illustration by Louis Wain was first published in the *Illustrated London News* (1886).

Figure 246. Chinchilla Persian by Louis Wain (1905).

Figure 247. Picture postcard produced by satirising the Suffragette campaign. An angry cat holds a sign 'Vote for Shes', with the caption 'The Suffragette Down with the Tom Cats'. The large expressive eyes of the cat are similar to the work of Louis Wain (1907).

Figure 248. Commercial/ anti-suffrage postcard of a bulldog with caption 'Who Said Votes for Women!!!' and anti-suffrage symbol to the left of the dog (c. 1908).

Figure 249. Pro-suffrage 'lucky' black cat postcard. Published by E Mack for the International Suffrage Shop, 31 Bedford Street. The green background, white mouth and gold eyes of the cat might indicate that the card meant to represent the colours of the Women's Freedom League (c. 1910-1911).

Figure 250. Newspaper clipping showing suffragists Alice Burke and Nell Richardson and Saxon the cat. *The Sunday Oregonian* (July 9, 1916).

Figure 251. 'Fellow Women, Our Day Dawns At Last' postcard from the 'Woman Suffrage Series' (also known as the 'Dainty Series') produced in Scarborough by E.T.W Dennis & Sons (c. 1907).

Figure 252. 'What! You think a man could do it as well' postcard from the 'Woman Suffrage Series' (also known as the 'Dainty Series') produced in Scarborough by E.T.W Dennis & Sons (c. 1907).

Figure 253. Christmas card produced by the WSPU optimistically anticipating women's enfranchisement in 1910 with the upcoming Conciliation Bill. The card depicts a young drummer girl from the organisation's junior band (1909).

Figure 254. Christmas card designed by Hilda Dallas for the WSPU showing Santa Claus bringing 'Votes for Women' in the purple, white and green (1911).

Figure 255. Fold-up WSPU cardboard calendar (1913).

Figure 256. 'Anti-Suffrage Alphabet' illustrated and hand-printed booklet by artist Laurence Housman and edited by Leonora Tyson (1911).

Figure 257. Paper napkin printed as an official programme and souvenir of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra's visit to the City and South London (October 25th, 1902).

Figure 258. Souvenir paper napkin commemorating the state opening of Parliament (1906).

Figure 259. Souvenir paper napkin commemorating the Votes for Women Great Procession from the Embankment to Albert Hall, (18 June 1910).

Figure 260. Souvenir paper napkin with programme of the Votes for Women demonstration held at Hyde Park on Mrs Pankhurst's birthday (14 July 1912).

Figure 261. Souvenir paper napkin commemorating the NUWSS' Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage which included a demonstration in Hyde Park and a service at St Paul's Cathedral, London (26th and 27th July 1913).

Figure 262. Suffragette Louisa Burnham census entry: '*No Vote No Census. If I am intelligent enough to fill in this census form I can surely make an X on a Ballot paper.'* (1911).

Figure 263. Census Resistance badge (1911).

Figure 264. 'No persons here only women!' Another example of a protest form with census resistance flyer and stamps detailing an upcoming meeting pasted on top (1911).

Figure 265. Photograph of women marching in the 'Famous Women' Pageant of the Women's Coronation Procession (17 June 1911).

Figure 266. 'Spiritual Militancy' banner design from Mary Lowndes design album (c. 1908).

Figure 267. 'Then put your shields before your hearts, and fight with hearts more proof than shields.' Pro-suffrage postcard signed Poyntz Wright (c.1909-1914).

Figure 268. Cover illustration. *The Suffragette* (21 March, 1913).

Figure 269. The 'Bugler Girl' or 'Clarion Girl' design by artist Caroline Watts, first used on a pamphlet published by the NUWSS to advertise the 13th June 1908 procession (1908).

Figure 270. Photograph of an unknown suffragette campaigner proudly displaying a handmade placard from her wheelchair. Merging Edwardian politics with the early Mediaeval period, the maker has used the figure of a noble warrior woman (very likely Boudicca in her Iceni Queen helmet and with a sword) in front of the Houses of Parliament to urge passers by to 'Join the Next Deputation' (c.1908-1912).

Figure 271. Boudicca triptych illustration by Theodore Blake Wingman. Lithograph prints of this image were presented to formerly imprisoned WSPU members by constitutional leader Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1906).

Figure 272. 'Joan of Arc' ('Faith') painting by Annie Swynnerton (c.1904).

Figure 273. Hilda Dallas's poster advertising *The Suffragette* newspaper (1912).

Figure 274. Joan of Arc silver and purple/green enamel brooch (c. 1912).

Figure 275. Joan of Arc cover illustration of the WSPU's Seventh Annual Report. Price 3d. This copy was purchased by police from the WSPU headquarters at Lincoln's Inn House (1913).

Figure 276. Leonora Cohen's Cohen's handmade suffragette dress (1914).

Figure 277. Joan of Arc shield and bugler girl/ 'Angel of Freedom' logos on the inside cover of Leonora Cohen's scrapbook of newspaper cuttings entitled "Memories of a Leeds Suffragette" (1914), (scrapbook made c.1913-1969).

Figure 278. Prison warder doll, worn pinned to the shoulder of Leonora Cohen's Joan of Arc dress (c. 1914 / likely manufactured earlier).

Figure 279. St. Joan's Social & Political Alliance pin badge (1923).

Figure 280. Photograph of a banner believed to be that designed by Edith Craig for the CWSS shows Joan of Arc on horseback in the centre of the banner surrounded by fleur-de-lis and the words 'Iesus' and 'Marie' at either side with the name of the society across the bottom (Crawford, 2019b).

Figure 281. Banner in blue wool felt with cream cotton border and 'JOAN OF ARC' painted in blue with four appliquéd fleur-de-lis and crossed swords motifs and fringe of blue and cream banded silk along bottom edge. The banner was used in the June 1908 NUWSS procession (1908).

Figure 282. Photograph of Elsie Howey dressed as Joan of Arc as part of the 'welcome procession' which greeted the Suffragette leader Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence on her release from Holloway Prison on 17th April 1909. (1909).

Figure 283. Photograph of Marjorie Annan Bryce dressed as Joan of Arc at the Women's Coronation Procession, London (1911).

Figure 284. Photographic postcard produced by Searjeant, H. showing a statue of Joan of Arc with a laurel wreath and the dedication 'In Honour and in Loving and Revered Memory of Emily Wilding Davison, She Died For Women' (1913).

Figure 285. Photograph from the funeral of Emily Wilding Davison (14 June 1913).

Figure 286. 'Women's Franchise' 'At Last!' image depicting Joan of Arc. The illustration by Bernard Partridge was first produced for *Punch* magazine after women's partial enfranchisement in 1918. It was then published by the NUWSS as a postcard (1918).

Figure 287. Illustration of Helen Fox and Muriel Matters who chained themselves to the grille in the Ladies Gallery, House of Commons on 28 October 1908. Published in *The Illustrated London News* (7 November, 1908).

Figure 288. Feeding tube and funnel used to force feed suffragettes on hunger strike (1909-1914).

Figure 289. Padlock and chain used by suffragettes (c. 1907-1913).

Figure 290. Leather belt with chains used by suffragettes, (produced c. 1840, used by suffragettes c. 1907-1913).

Figure 291. Helen Fox of the WFL poses for a picture while chained to railings (c. 1908).

Figure 292. Helen Fox smiles for the picture while chained to railings (c. 1908).

Figure 293. Helen Fox again poses with her chains for the *Daily Mirror* (30 October 1908,9) while showing the bruises she obtained during the grille incident. The article documents three different bruises.

Figure 294. 'Beware! A Warning to Suffragists' pamphlet by Cicely Hamilton. The pamphlet included rhymes and illustrations by Mary Lowndes, Dora Meeson Coates and C. Hedley Charlton and was published by the Artists' Suffrage League (1908).

Figure 295. Commercial postcard captioned 'Now Move On' satirising the Votes For Women campaign. A suffragette has chained herself to railings outside the home of Mr Asquith, while a policeman with a large set of keys ponders over how to free her (c.1908).

Figure 296. Commercial postcard depicting police officers removing Edith New and Olivia Smith from the railings of 10 Downing Street. The women had chained themselves and shouted their protest in order to create a distraction, while fellow suffragettes Flora Drummond and Mary Macarthur attempted to enter the cabinet meeting taking place at the time (1908).

Figure 297. Postcard depicting 'The Suffragette that Knew Jiu-Jitsu' in reference to the arrest of Edith Garrud. Garrud taught Jiu-Jitsu classes to women campaigners for their protection. The illustration by Arthur Wallis Mills was first published in *Punch* magazine (1910).

Figure 298. *The Illustrated London News* depicted suffragette Helen Ogston with whip held high before the men who grappled to stop her at the Royal Albert Hall (5 December 1908).

Figure 299. Illustration of suffragette Theresa Garnett attacking Winston Churchill with a whip. Published in the *Manchester Evening News* (1909).

Figure 300. Braided leather dog whip found in the possession of suffragette Maud Arncliffe Sennett when she was arrested in 1911 for breaking a window at the office of the *Daily Mail* (c. 1909).

Figure 301. Illustration (presumably printed as postcards) of a young girl sneaking into the WSPU offices (1912).

Figure 302. List of evidence seized by police during raid on the WSPU offices (c. 1913).

Figure 303. An extract from *The Illustrated London News* (24 May 1913), shows a photograph of a suffragette hammer concealed inside a ‘dorothy bag’, a type of handbag which gathers in a drawstring at the top and can be hung from the wrist (1913).

Figure 304. ‘Good behaviour card’ (1914). Natural History Museum, London (formerly ‘British Museum (Natural History, South Kensington)’.

Figure 305. Transcript of Harriet Kerr’s defence of hammers found in the WSPU offices, Lincoln’s Inn (1913).

Figure 306. Silver brooch in the shape of a toffee hammer with the inscription 'Votes for Women' (1912). Such brooches were worn by suffragettes who had taken part in window smashing campaigns. This example was owned by Agnes Kelly who participated in the mass window smashing campaign on 1 March 1912. Kelly was awarded the brooch on the day of her release from Holloway Gaol.

Figure 307. Bookstand belonging to suffragette Caprina Fahey (date unknown).

Figure 308. ‘Mary Had a Little Hammer’ commercially produced postcard satirising the movement (c. 1912).

Figure 309. ‘One of the Striking Features of Kew Gardens’ commercially produced postcard likely referencing the destruction of the Tea Pavilion at Kew Gardens in March 1913, by suffragettes Olive Wharry and Lilian Lenton (c. 1913).

Figure 310. ‘ALL FOR THE CAUSE / GOING SHOPPING’ commercial postcard satirising the movement, produced for the National League for Opposing Women’s Suffrage (NLOWS) by John Hassall (1912).

Figure 311. ‘Men are not all angels, but some soon will be!’ commercial postcard which imagines the suffragette to have malicious, murderous intent (c. 1913).

Figure 312. Picture postcard depicting a young girl holding an oversized hammer with the caption "Now! Where's my vote?" Illustrated by Mabel Lucie Attwell and published by The Carlton Publishing Co., London (c. 1913).

Figure 313. Commercial picture postcard satirising the suffragettes use of hammers (c. 1913).

Figure 314. Photograph of an issue of *The Hammerer’s Magazine* (May 1912), showing the front cover with a hand holding a hammer.

Figure 315. Close up photograph of an issue of *The Hammerer’s Magazine* (May 1912), showing the hair-pin binding and stitching (1912).

Figure 316. Photograph of an issue of *The Hammerer’s Magazine* (May 1912), showing the front cover with a blue floral / convict’s arrow illustration.

Figure 317. Comic illustration showing the difficulties of washing in Winson Green, by a suffragette inmate, *The Hammerer’s Magazine* (May 1912).

Figure 318. Annotated illustration of ‘the new spoons’, by a suffragette inmate of Winson Green, *The Hammerer’s Magazine* (May 1912).

Figure 319. ‘Monday Morning in Winson Green’ illustration by a suffragette inmate, *The Hammerer’s Magazine* (May 1912).

Figure 320. Leather glove which belonged to suffragette Alice Farmer and was used by her in direct action (c.1912 - object likely dates earlier).

Figure 321. Hammer which belonged to suffragette Alice Farmer and was used by her in direct action (c.1912 - though items themselves likely date earlier).

Figure 322. Colourised version of an election poster which first appeared in *Votes For Women* (29 Oct, 1909) in black and white. It denounced the government's treatment of suffragette prisoners by showing a suffragette being nasally force fed. The poster was colourised and distributed by the WSPU and other organisations. This example was produced by London publishers David Allen & Sons (1913).

Figure 323. Election poster by Alfred Pearse issued by the WSPU, denouncing the government's treatment of suffragette prisoners with an illustration of violent force feeding (1910).

Figure 324. Hunger Strike medal awarded to Alice Farmer (1912).

Figure 325. Holloway brooch awarded to Alice Farmer (1909).

Figure 326. Medal awarded to Helen Tyson by the Streatham branch of the WSPU on her release from Holloway in 1909. It is inscribed 'to Mrs Helen Tyson in remembrance of Feb 24th to March 24th 1909 a token of affection from the new union'. The 'Dx2 7' refers to the number of the prison wing and cell in which Helen was held during her month in Holloway (1909).

Figure 327. Medallion awarded to Leonora Tyson. It is inscribed ‘LEONORA TYSON/IN REMEMBRANCE OF MARCH 9TH TO MAY 8TH 1912. A TOKEN OF APPRECIATION FROM THE STREATHAM WSPU.’ The reverse is marked: 'DX2 32', which corresponds to the number of the prison wing and cell occupied by Leonora during her 2 month imprisonment in Holloway for window smashing in March 1912.

Figure 328. Medal awarded to Kate Lilley upon her release from prison after she served two months of hard labour for breaking a window in the War Office. It has her Holloway wing number 'Dx3' and cell number '5'. The reverse is engraved 'K Lilley March 9th to April 29th 1912 HL'.The 'HL' on the medal stands for 'hard labour’ (1912).

Figure 329. ‘Florence Nightingale / Crimea’ banner designs and swatches from Mary Lowndes design album (1908).

Figure 330. Florence Nightingale banner made in orange velvet and purple sateen with red and gold appliqué and silk tassel fringing. Used in the NUWSS Procession (1908).

Figure 331. Illuminated address presented to Alice Farmer after her release from prison (1912).

Figure 332. Illuminated address presented to Elsa Gye after her imprisonment (c. 1908-1909).

Figure 333. Illuminated address signed by Millicent Garrett Fawcett, ‘on behalf of the Combined Committee of the National Society for Women’s Suffrage’ (a predecessor of the NUWSS). It was given to Queen Victoria on her Diamond Jubilee (1897).

Figure 334. ‘Angel of Freedom’ or ‘Trumpeting Angel’ design by Sylvia Pankhurst for the WSPU, shown on a flyer advertising The Women’s Exhibition (1909).

Figure 335. Votes for Women ‘Angel of Freedom’ embossed medallion, likely commissioned from a jeweller (c. 1909-1914).

Figure 336. Banner made by the West Ham branch of the WSPU. The ‘Angel of Freedom’ in the centre was adapted from Sylvia Pankhurst's design by branch members Misses M A and E Brice (presumably sisters) (c. 1910).

Figure 337. Metal and enamel badge in the WSPU colours depicting Sylvia Pankhurst’s ‘Angel of Freedom’ (1910).

Figure 338. White china teapot decorated with Sylvia Pankhurst's ‘Angel of Freedom’, part of the 22 piece tea service commissioned for the Women’s Exhibition (1909).

Figure 339. ‘The Roll of Honour’ list of suffragette prisoners. *The Suffragette* (9 May 1913).

Figure 340. ‘Roll of Honour: Suffragette Prisoners 1905-1914’ booklet, produced by John Wadsworth Ltd, The Rydale Press, Keighley (1914).

Figure 341. ‘THEY WENT TO PRISON’ booklet (c.1914).

Figure 342. Christabel Pankhurst waves to suffragette prisoners from a house overlooking Holloway Prison (likely the one rented by suffragettes on Dalmeny Avenue) (1909).

Figure 343. Holloway prison brooch presented to formerly imprisoned WFL members from 1907. This example was awarded to Muriel Matters and is engraved ‘MM’. An inscription on the back reads 'WFL/Margaret S Clayton/Holloway/March 20th/April 13th 1907' (1908).

Figure 344. Banner designed for the Chelsea branch of the WSPU by Herman Ross. It was first used at the Queen's Hall on 17 June 1908 ahead of Women's Sunday (21 June 1908).

Figure 345. Silver plated convict’s arrow pin brooch (1909).

Figure 346. Suffragette umbrella stand removed from Duke Street prison. The stand dates back to 1872, the repainting would have likely taken place c. 1908-1914.

Figure 347. Pack of patience playing cards, handmade by Kitty Marshall while in Holloway Gaol. She was imprisoned for throwing a potato at the fanlight window over the front door of the Home Secretary, Winston Churchill (1910).

Figure 348. 'Drawings of life in Holloway gaol', pencil on toilet paper, bound with needle and thread. Made by suffragette prisoner Florence Hull while imprisoned in Holloway. She was sentenced to two weeks for smashing a window in the Colonial Office (1913).

Figure 349. Luggage label attached to a box of apples which was modified for use as a calendar by suffragette Winefride Mary Rix while she was imprisoned in Holloway Gaol (1912).

Figure 350. Earthenware egg cup with convict’s arrow, smuggled from Holloway Gaol by a suffragette prisoner (c. 1905-1914).

Figure 351. Bonnet with black painted convict arrows worn as part of a replica prison costume for demonstrations and fundraising events (1909-1914).

Figure 352. Replica prison badge which also formed part of suffragettes replica prison costume (c. 1909).

Figure 353. Photographic postcard produced by the WSPU and signed by Edith How Martyn (c.1906-1907).

Figure 354. Photograph of ‘The Suffragette Handkerchief’ which is embroidered with sixty-six signatures and two sets of initials, mostly of women imprisoned in Holloway Gaol for their part in the WSPU window smashing demonstrations of March 1912, (1912).

Figure 355. Pair of socks which was handmade by imprisoned suffragette Edith New, and presumably smuggled out upon her release. The red banding on the socks indicate they were intended for a boys juvenile facility such as Borstal (c.1907-1908).

Figure 356. Pank-a-Squith board game (1909).

Figure 357. Close up photograph of the Pank-a-Squith board game with lead suffragette playing figure (1909).

Figure 358. Close up photograph of the Pank-a-Squith board game (1909).

Figure 359. Close up photograph of the Pank-a-Squith board game (1909).

Figure 360. Close up photograph of the centre of the Pank-a-Squith board game (1909).

Figure 361. Advert for the ‘Pank-a-Squith’ board game, produced in time for Christmas sales. *Votes For Women* (26 November 1909).

Figure 362. Aerial shot of marchers dressed in purple, white and green to create the effect of a WSPU flag formation through central London (2018).

Figure 363. Photograph of women marching together dressed in purple, white and green to celebrate 100 years since women won the right to vote (2018).

Figure 364. Photograph of women holding placards for different issues of gender inequality 100 years since women won the right to vote (2018).

Figure 365. Photograph of objects on display within the former People's City Gallery at Museum of London (2022).

Figure 366. Photograph of objects on display within the former People's City Gallery at Museum of London (2022).

Figure 367. Photograph of suffrage objects from a collection which belonged to suffragette sisters Edith, Florence, and Grace Hodgson (discovered in 2018).

Figure 368. Photograph of an 1898 coin stamped with 'Votes For Women' which was found in 2022 secured on the underside of an antique bowl dating back to the 1910s-1920s.

Figure 369. 'Protest While You Still Can' a placard held by a protestor at a 'Kill the Bill' protest, in reference to the Public Order Bill (2023).

Figure 370. Spectator cartoon by Grizelda which shares the view that Just Stop Oil protestors are 'annoying' (2023).

Figure 371. One of numerous widely-shared memes which disparages both climate change activist Greta Thunberg's U.N. Climate Summit speech as well as trans and non-binary people (c.2019).

Figure 372. Pro-suffrage poster designed by Catherine Courtauld for the Suffrage Atelier. Despite the sun rising (representative of women's freedom), 'the anti-suffrage ostrich' ignorantly buries its head and insists it is not (1912).

Figure 373. A cartoon by Dan Wasserman shows an ostrich (representative of global leaders) burying its head to avoid climate change (2019).

Figure 374. Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard designed and published by Ernestine Mills. Mrs Partington of the Anti-Suffrage Society makes a futile attempt to keep out the tide of women's suffrage. She is shocked that the wave of 'professional women, taxpayers, mothers, medical women, Liberal, Socialist and Conservative women...keeps rising' (1910).

Figure 375. Comic illustration by David Horsey showing world leaders making a futile plan for a future meeting, while ignoring the looming climate change iceberg ahead (2009).

Figure 376. Emma Bridgewater 'Strong Women' Half Pint Mug with 'Deeds Not Words' printed on the inside rim and purple/green lettering.

Figure 377. Felt suffragette decoration (2023).

Figure 378. Purple, white and green face masks with the slogan 'Deeds Not Words' which were sold during the Covid 19 pandemic (2020).

Figure 379. Silk scarf printed with Votes For Women and a silhouette design (2023).

Figure 380. Suffragette rubber duck (2023).

Figure 381. Radio Times special edition on the British women's suffrage movement published to coincide with BBC drama *Shoulder to Shoulder* (1974).

Figure 382. Glynis Johns sings 'Sister Suffragette' in Mary Poppins (1964).

Figure 383. Glynis Johns sings 'Sister Suffragette' Mary Poppins (1964) [screenshot from Youtube video clip of the film with subtitles].

Figure 384. 'Women's Struggle Won the Vote Use It for Disarmament' banner by Thalia Campbell (designer), with help from Ian Campbell and Jan Higgs (1982).

Figure 385. Photograph of a Climate Rush activist wearing a suffragette style sash and fabrics printed with 'Deeds Not Words' while chained to railings at the Houses of Parliament (2008).

Figure 386. Sisters Uncut logo (2022).

Figure 387. Sisters Uncut activists protest at Parliament (2016).

Figure 388. Sisters Uncut activists protest at Parliament (2016).

Figure 389. WASPI protester in Edwardian style outfit holds a placard with a picture of Emmeline Pankhurst with the words ‘100 years of the vote and still idiots in power’. The purple feathers in her hat are another nod to Pankhurst (2019).

Figure 390. Purple dyed ostrich feather from a hat worn by Emmeline Pankhurst (1909).

Figure 391. Photograph of a WASPI protester wearing several of the types of objects used by historic suffrage campaigners: a straw boater hat, rosette and a sash in the colours. She also holds purple and white flowers - suffrage campaigners often carried purple and white flowers in processions or wore them pinned to hats and clothing (2019).

Figure 392. Photograph of WASPI protesters holding a WSPU flag amended with their own protest statement (2019).

Figure 393. Materials used by UK Extinction Rebellion activists (2021).

Figure 394. Green Party campaigner wearing a replica Votes For Women sash and chains (12 Jan, 2022).

Figure 395. Purple, white and green ‘Votes For Women’ WSPU sash (also referred to as ‘the regalia’). This example would have been worn by a WSPU supporter at demonstrations, processions and public events (c. 1908-1910).

Figure 396. Photograph of Linda Bellos wearing a purple, white and green pocket square (2018).

Figure 397. Photograph of Rose Venice Allen wearing purple, white and green pinned ribbons to her clothing (2018).

Figure 398. Purple white and green coloured lanyard printed with ‘Woman adult human female’ (2023).

Figure 399. Purple, white and green flag stickers printed with ‘SINGLE SEX FACILITY WOMEN ONLY’ (2023).

Figure 400. Photographs of Thangam Debonnaire, Rachael Hamilton and Joanna Cherry wearing suffragette colours in Parliament (2022).

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Figure 417. Two stones modified with suffrage messages which were thrown through railings at Buckingham Palace on 27 May 1914.

List of Abbreviations

AFL - Actresses Franchise League
ASL - Artists' Suffrage League
CLWS - Church League for Women's Suffrage
CWSS - Catholic Women's Suffrage Society
ELFS - East London Federation of Suffragettes
GWL - Glasgow Women's Library
ILP - Independent Labour Party
ILWS - Irish League for Women's Suffrage
IWSA - International Women's Suffrage Alliance
IWSF - Irish Women's Suffrage Federation
JLWS - Jewish League for Woman Suffrage
LSE - London School of Economics, The Women's Library
LSWS - London Society for Women's Suffrage
MLWS - Men's League for Women's Suffrage
MoL - Museum of London
NLOWS - National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage
NUWSS - National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
PHM - People's History Museum
TCC - *The Common Cause*
TNA - The National Archives
VFW - *Votes For Women*
WFL - Women's Freedom League
WSPU - Women's Social & Political Union
WTRL - Women's Tax Resistance League
WWSL - Women Writers Suffrage League

1. Introduction

It is difficult to truly appreciate the length of time women fought for the right to vote. British women's enfranchisement in the Edwardian era came after an incredibly long battle against the government and the public, whose opinion often ranged from unsympathetic to actively hostile and derisive. Material culture was at the centre of suffrage campaigners' attempts to control their public image and win favour during this time. It was also a vital means by which organisations could construct and legitimise their organisational identities and secure new members to build their campaign. Debates around women's suffrage circulated in printed propaganda and other materials, and objects used in suffragette militancy became tied to the image of the campaigners themselves. Previous radical and political movements had used objects, but the role of material culture in the women's suffrage movement went beyond this; women were able to harness new consumerism to commercialise and commodify their cause and finance their campaign. Objects became signifiers of different organisational factions, symbols of solidarity and ways that women could acknowledge and celebrate their skills and achievements - medals recognised women's bravery and militant accomplishments, while banners and other pieces that used domestic needlework became the glories of the largest political spectacles ever conducted at that time. The creation of feminist visual languages in the Votes For Women campaign shaped women's empowerment in ways that would transcend the movement and continue to be used in the present day.

Material culture analysis is the fundamental pathway to further understanding of suffrage history. The overarching objective of this research is to facilitate a new and profound understanding of the integral role of objects in the movement. In doing so, this study aims to provide new insights into the creative resistance of activists who harnessed materials, and why and how they used specific objects to support their work. Original contributions to this area are achieved first by situating objects as the starting point, and then integrating other sources and modes of analysis to help answer the questions they prompt. Secondly, the structure of this thesis allows objects to navigate their own stories through flexible categories which build further understanding of object capacity, rather than a more rigid classification method that might limit or confine. This study defines the active role of material culture in the women's suffrage movement over four main chapters. Beginning with those that facilitated the world building and financial viability of the movement, *Making Worlds* considers the importance of objects in the creation and maintenance of collective identity and symbolic communication, while the second part of this chapter focuses on the emergence of new consumerism and women's conscious consumption toward their political goal. *Speaking Out* centres on the printed materials shared by anti-suffragists and commercial publishers, as well as those that worked alongside campaigners to negotiate their public representations and promote the movement. *Direct Action* then explores the role of objects as facilitators in the creation of suffragettes' militant identity, before analysing the objects most commonly used in direct action, materials made by women in prison, and objects given to reward imprisonment. Finally, *Legacies of Suffrage Materiality* brings understanding of suffrage material culture and the tensions, conflicts and possibilities it harnesses to the present day by analysing the ongoing creation of 'suffrage merchandise', as well as the continuing impact suffrage materials have had on activism since the movement, and how the purple, white and green scheme has been reinvested and contested since its original usage. Stories of materials and campaigners are woven throughout, and illuminate neglected areas of the movement in ways that ask questions, pose new ideas and highlight complexities.

While this thesis includes objects from various suffrage organisations, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), the Women's Freedom League (WFL) and the Women's Social & Political Union (WSPU) feature most prominently. Previous research into women's suffrage has routinely favoured the WSPU, and it is necessary to focus on this organisation in detail again, though from a new material centred perspective given the role of their famous colour scheme and their prolific material production. This work includes objects made throughout the movement, but focuses primarily on the period from 1908 until the onset of the First World War, as this time has the highest density of materials.

It is recognised that a majority of existing suffrage materials were used by and marketed to middle- and upper-class women, so discussion at times focuses more heavily on their actions and perspectives. However, it is wrong to conclude, as so many do, that British women's suffrage was 'a middle-class movement'. These women were typically more educated and thus more informed about politics, had the purchasing power, social privileges and leisurely time to spend volunteering and campaigning, as well as the resources to fund suffrage work through spending and donations (Beckett & Cherry 2019, xxvii). Yet it is vital to recognise that their work was only made possible by the help of working women who freed up middle- and upper-class time through their employment as servants, cooks, housekeepers, nannies, etc, while the effective spectacle of mass demonstrations, parades and rallies were wholly dependent on the attendance and support of working women en masse (Corbett-Ashby 1974). Working women were also contributing to the materiality of the movement behind the scenes at commercial manufacturers, for example, as needlewomen or pottery painters (Beckett & Cherry 2019, xxvii). Women's suffrage was built on top of these women, their stories were used as propaganda, and those who came to appear in more central roles offered much to the movement.

1.1 The Face of the Movement

Before considering the historical context which led up to the formation of the women's suffrage groups, it is useful in this opening chapter to introduce and centre the campaigners themselves. Findings published in 2018 revealed new information on the demographics of those involved in the movement:

> '91% of those targeted by police between 1908 and 1914 were female, 73.2% were born in England, 6.7% born in Scotland, 3% born in Ireland, 2.8% born in India, 2.4% born in America, 2.4% born in Wales. The mean year of birth for militant suffragettes involved in direct action during this period was 1872. This means that as women in their 30s, the majority would have secured the right to vote in 1918 provided they met the minimum property requirements (…) The majority of the women were well educated with significant numbers of teachers, doctors, nurses and writers (…) 48.8% of English-born suffragettes were born in the South East, defined as Essex, Kent, London, Middlesex and Surrey. Notable contingents also came from the industrialised areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The few identifiably working-class women primarily came from large cities and typically worked in factories in roles such as mill hands and weavers' (The Historical Association).

This data provides some excellent insights, though it is important to note that this study looked only at those arrested, it is not a complete picture of the movement as it only sheds light on the militant campaign. A whole demographic picture is not possible, though other research helps build a fuller image and understanding of the demographics involved in the movement. Robinson (2018, XIV; 4) detailed the most ambitious constitutional act, 'The Great Pilgrimage' held in 1913, where suffragists of all ages and backgrounds 'from duchesses to fishwives,' marched shoulder to shoulder embarking

on a six week protest across the country in an act of unity and solidarity for the cause, ‘carrying slightly grubby banners’ and often with rosettes and sashes in their colours of ‘berry red and leaf green’. Events such as the Pilgrimage produced a range of posters and flyers as well as commemorative handkerchiefs, badges and postcards (Beckett & Cherry 2018, xxvii). Existing maps demonstrate the extent of the NUWSS’s national campaign (figures 1&2). Suffragist ‘pilgrims’ set off on several planned routes from numerous starting points including Newcastle, Carlisle, Bangor, and Brighton to name a few, each culminating in one march to London and a rally of around 50,000 people (ibid, 5; Iglikowski-Broad 2018). The suffragists chose one of Britain’s oldest historical routes, where pre-Celtic and Celtic traders travelled and Roman soldiers marched. Watling Street is perhaps most famous for The Battle of Watling Street, or as the route where pilgrims walked to the shrine of St Thomas, as Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales indicates (Tatton-Brown 2001, 128). Perhaps the suffragists chose Watling Street simply as it is one of the longest routes across Britain, ensuring their campaign covered the most ground, though it is a curious merging of their political ‘pilgrimage’ with a route layered with so much history.



Figure 1. Map issued by the NUWSS detailing the Watling Street route of The Great Pilgrimage (1913).

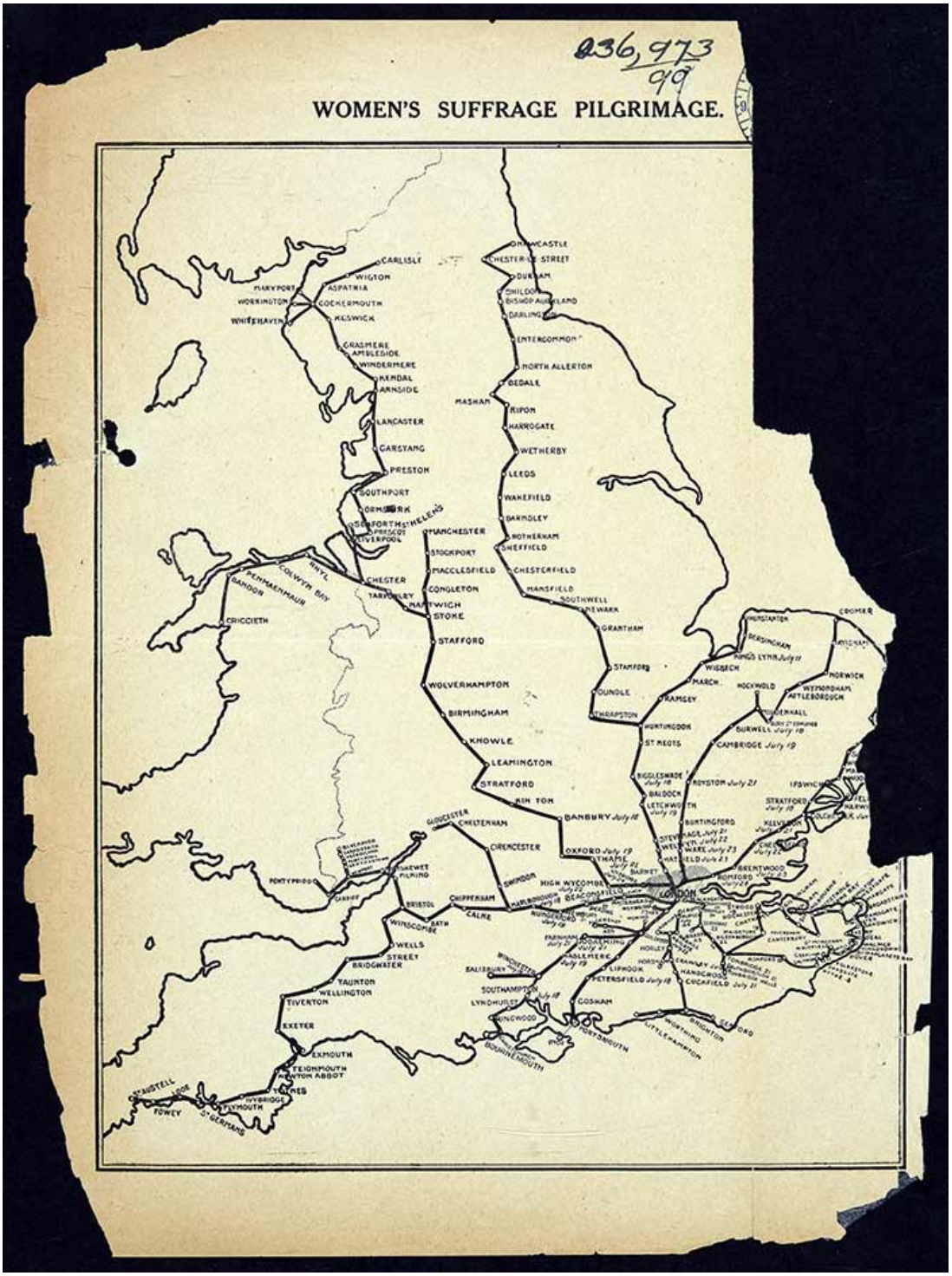

Figure 2. Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage map from *The Common Cause* which shows the various routes taken from June to July 1913. National Archives: HO45/10695/231366.

Campaigners dropped in and out according to the time they had to spare, though many left their jobs, families and daily lives and stayed the full six-week course. Robinson (2018, 6) notes not only the class variation of pilgrims, but also the wide age range of supporters who took part including young women with children, an elderly couple and one woman accompanied by her 80-year-old father. The Great Pilgrimage as described by Robinson, was made up of suffragists from various regions and backgrounds, standing as representatives for the cause. The militant campaign was also active nationwide, the WSPU operated 90 branches across the UK, though London held the highest concentration with 34 branches. With their headquarters in London, campaigners could focus their attention on Parliament, and women from other areas often took trips to the Capital for campaign work (MoL 2021).

Regardless of their location or status, before 1918 all British women were deprived of a voice in a government to which they were subservient. They paid taxes in the expenditure of which they had no say, all while facing further inequalities between sexes regarding divorce, inheritance, child guardianship laws, working conditions and pay (Atkinson 2018a, 119; 503). The greatest injustices were faced by working-class women with modern industrialism causing serious injury and death through accidents and overwork. Working women could also expect to earn significantly lower wages than men doing the equivalent, or often less work. In 1913, the WSPU arranged for a deputation to attend Parliament to make their case to the Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd George. Headmistress Mrs Bonwick, explained that she earned only two thirds of the salary afforded by the male teachers under her command. While East London sweatshop worker Mrs Wood described her own circumstances, she earned 9s per week machine stitching pinafores, bringing to work her own light and thread. The average wage for men during this time was £3 per week (Robinson 2018,14). This huge disparity made it incredibly difficult for working women to earn a living wage (figure 3).

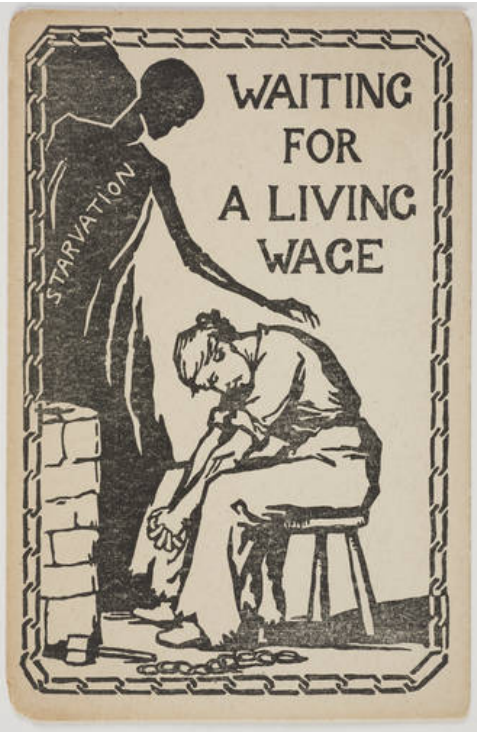

Figure 3. ‘Waiting for a Living Wage’ pro-suffrage postcard designed by Catherine Courtauld for the Suffrage Atelier (1913), MoL:50.82/1588.

The dominance of middle-class women throughout the entire history of feminism is regularly noted by historians, and as mentioned, this prevalence is particularly apparent in the women’s suffrage movement. Although tens of thousands of working-class women were involved, their contributions have long been overshadowed by an emphasis on significant middle-class figures, their politics and their methods. Some of the most prominent working-class suffragettes were from the northern labour and trade union movement; Annie Kenney is the most famous working-class suffragette, a leading member of the militant campaign; she was imprisoned 13 times for her activism (Rahman 2018). Selina Cooper is another well known figure, a textile worker since the age of 10 she presented a petition to Parliament in 1901 signed by almost 30,000 women working in Lancashire’s cotton mills (Jackson 2018). The impact of lesser known working-class women is much harder to trace, though recent biographical studies are helping to rescue ‘the rank and file suffragist’ and recover the experience of ‘ordinary’ working-class women (ibid).

Banks (1981) considered the factors that motivated women to campaign for suffrage, and found that the discontent of middle-class women was linked more closely to gender inequality than class. While the discontent of working-class women was made up by a multitude of factors, and requires a more thorough analysis of sex, class and the relationship between feminism, socialism and the labour and trade union movements in order to fully explore their integration in feminist movements (ibid, 5). For example, between 1906 and 1912 suffragists from working-class backgrounds found themselves torn between 'a socialist movement that denied feminism, and a feminist movement which dismissed socialism' (Rowbotham; Weeks 1977 in Stanley-Holton 1986, 60). Though, campaigners did recognise that experiences within the movement differed between classes. Lady Constance Lytton famously disguised herself as working-class under the pseudonym Jane Wharton while imprisoned to expose unequal treatment of poorer women (Green 2017, 77). Activism by middle-class suffragists typically extended beyond their own interests to encompass a range of issues suffered by working-class women. However, while this strengthened their campaign and highlighted the issues faced by working women, there could be a tendency to homogenise working-class experience and presume women's voices. Some middle- and upper-class women felt it their responsibility to liberate working-women, which might be viewed as either honourable or patronising. There were clearly immense sympathies for the lives of working-women as well as attempts to help, though this also highlights doubts about the capacity for the working-class to help themselves (Jenkins 2019). What is clear is that some middle-class women were considerate of measures to help level the playing field, for example Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence rallied *Votes for Women* readers to help subsidise costs,

> 'I still want help for assisted fares. You will see from the list of contributions how generous was the response last week to my appeal. I hear from Mrs. Pankhurst that hundreds of working women from Leeds and Pudsey want to come if the price of the tickets can be put within the range of the things possible. I am sure that within the week the necessary money to assist these women will be forthcoming' (Pethick-Lawrence 1908a, 249).

Leading suffragette representatives such as Christabel Pankhurst stressed inclusivity, in the first issue of *Votes For Women* she instructed readers 'if you have any class feeling you must leave it behind for the women in our movement know no barriers of class or distinction' (Atkinson 2018a, 6). Despite this Christabel and Sylvia Pankhurst famously feuded over working-class women's involvement; Sylvia stood strongly socialist, she built a working-class faction of the WSPU made up of women from East London, and launched working women's paper the *Women's Dreadnaught* to a circulation of at least 20,000 (Mountford 2006). However, according to Sylvia, her mother and sister told her to separate her women from the WSPU as, while they were not opposed to a working women's movement, they felt the lives of working women were 'too hard' and their education 'too meagre' to equip them for their specific task[1] (Jackson 2018). Others attribute the split to Sylvia's continuing close alliance with the Independent Labour Party (ILP) or Emmeline and Christabel's feeling that Sylvia's new group would confuse the movement (Smith 2003, 104; Atkinson 2018a, 452).

It is astounding to consider that Emmeline and Christabel might have failed to recognise the contribution of working women both before and during the movement, though this evidences the class

[1] Emmeline and Christabel were perhaps referring to the WSPU's direct action strategy. While some working-class women such as Selina Martin, Adelaide Knight and Dora Thewlis were prepared to risk arrest, this type of militancy alienated a lot of working-women for whom the risks were too high. Working-women often had children to care and provide for, imprisonment could lead to the loss of their job and thus their home and children (Jackson 2018).

From January 1914 the newly independent East London Federation (ELFS) continued to work for the cause along with Sylvia and working class members such as Julia Scurr, Melvina Walker, Minnie Lansbury, Daisy Parsons, Jessie Payne and Nellie Cressall, who were able to occupy key roles within the organisation (ibid).

prejudice of the time. That said, Jenkins (2019, 480) found that 'the significance of class within the WSPU was fluid and shifting rather than fixed and static', while there were obstructions, there were also ample opportunities for 'meaningful and lasting cross-class collaboration'. Banks (1981, 7) noted that although the methods of the numerous suffrage societies and organisations differed greatly, the campaign itself was ultimatley held together by 'a strong sense of unity amongst feminists of all persuasions as they came to see the vote as the answer to their own particular problems'. As Holton describes, 'all women were affected by matters concerning female sexuality, general economic subordination, and the conditions of motherhood (…) On the basis of such a shared consensus of women's wrongs, suffragists were able to build a sense of sexual solidarity among women from varying classes' (Stanley-Holton 1986, 27).

Public imagination of the suffrage movement centres white middle-class campaigners. It's important not to revise a more inclusive narrative, though it's fair to assume that there were ethnically diverse supporters of the British women's cause, however, their stories are even more difficult to trace. As Adegoke (2018) explains,

> '...the first 1866 petition demanding women be given the vote on the same terms as men was signed by 1,499 women. Of that number, only one of them was undoubtedly a woman of colour - Sarah Parker Remond, an African-American lecturer on anti-slavery and women's rights who had moved to London in order to rustle up support for the abolition of slavery in the states'.

Indian women have been clearly identified as being directly active in the movement through photographs and newspapers. Most prominent being Sophia Duleep Singh, daughter of the last maharaja of the Sikh empire. Sophia chose to fight inequality in Britain and India, and became an active radical in the militant suffrage campaign (figure 4) (Anand 2018; Crawford 2018a). Race issues in the British women's movement weren't as considerable as those in America or Australia, whereby many campaigns were lobbying for white only voters. However, while British campaigners weren't openly discriminating when it came to enfranchisement, the movement could not be called progressive. Mukherjee (in Adegoke 2018) explained,

> '...the issue of Indian women who might vote in Britain was not being raised. They were not there to represent the campaign for votes in India though either. They were used then to show support for the British, largely 'white' campaign, and to represent the size of the empire, rather than to reflect in any way on the diversity of the British population at the time.'

This is evidenced by photographs of Indian campaigners at the Women's Coronation Procession, holding up flags which represented them as being part of India within 'the Empire section' (figure 5). As with working-class women, there were implications that white middle-class women could 'look after' and speak for Indian women if they were granted the vote (Leszkiewicz 2015). While many white suffragettes campaigned for racial equality and the rights of women in India and elsewhere[2], white suffrage campaigners often spoke *for*, rather than *with* minority women, and imperialist attitudes (such as those held by Emmeline Pankhurst) were an unfortunate part of the movement.

This introduction has outlined the intentions and structure of this work, and provided a brief overview of the demographics of the movement in terms of geography, class and race. The following historical context gives a summary of the movement, before the literature review shares the current extent of

[2] British women helped fight for Indian women's rights in Britain and India; Millicent Fawcett led a campaign against the abhorrent abuse of Indian women by British military personnel outside of cantonments (Leszkiewicz, 2015).

relevant research and the new contributions delivered by this thesis before proceeding with the methods and body of this work.





Figure 4. (Above) Princess Duleep Singh (second left) and other suffragettes fundraising for the war effort (1916). Topical Press Agency / Getty Images.

Figure 5. (Below) ‘India Section’ of The Women’s Coronation Procession (1911). MoL:50.82/1653.

2. Historical Context

The Great Reform Act (1832) was the catalyst to the founding of the women's suffrage movement in Britain. By defining voters as 'male persons' it was the first formal definition that explicitly excluded women from the electorate[3] (UK Parliament n.d.,a). Prior to this only a small percentage of men aged 21 and over who owned freehold land or property with an annual value of 40 shillings or more were able to vote in the counties, though this varied widely in boroughs according to local custom (Culpin 2018). This first Reform Act abolished the 40 shilling franchise which had operated since 1429, broadened property qualifications in the counties, got rid of so-called 'rotten boroughs' and created a uniform franchise with different property stipulations (UK Parliament n.d.,b). This increased the electorate from around 366,000 to 650,000 men (approximately 18% of the total adult male population) (British Library n.d).

The reform came at a time of great political tension, and this limited increase of the electorate was a bitter disappointment to all radical reformers. Protestors rioted and burned down Nottingham Castle, and the Chartist movement was born from the failure of the Act to extend the vote to workers. An initial draft of the People's Charter actually included women's enfranchisement, though many members felt this might hinder its development and so 'it was unfortunately left out' (Jones 1983, 2). Mary Smith from Stanmore, Yorkshire was the first woman to directly challenge the Great Reform Act, stating that 'as she paid taxes and was subject to the rule of law,' she did not see why she and other women should not be permitted to vote (Atkinson 2018a, 3; UK Parliament 2016). Smith asked radical MP and Peterloo veteran Henry Hunt to present the first petition to Parliament for women's enfranchisement. Hunt cited 'several excellent reasons' why certain women should be entitled to vote, though the petition was laughed out of the House of Commons on 3 August 1832[4] (ibid).

Despite being excluded from the Charter, women played an important role in furthering the manhood suffrage cause, a role which has often been overlooked both by historians and male Chartists at the time. Over one hundred female Chartist groups were recorded before 1848 (Chastain 2004). Rather than working for their own gendered political interests, these women supported Chartism and its male political demands out of their own class interest, the interests of their families, as well as specific objection to the government (ibid). Many of the activities and materials later used by suffrage campaigners were employed by women in the Chartist movement,

> 'They embroidered banners, sashes and caps of liberty for speakers, organized tea parties and soirees to raise money or to entertain and honour leading figures, and took the leading role in setting up the many Chartist day and evening schools that were established for adults and children throughout the manufacturing districts' (ibid).

Another earlier example of women actively supporting radical reform is evidenced before the Peterloo Massacre in 1819, when the Manchester Female Reform Society urged women 'to exert your influence with your fathers, your husbands, your sons, your relatives, and your friends, to join the Male Union for constitutionally demanding a Reform' (Fildes 2019).

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[3] There were a few exceptional cases of women casting a vote in Parliamentary elections due to property ownership before 1832, though these instances were incredibly rare (Rix 2018; UK Parliament n.d.,b).

[4] Ridicule at the expense of Hunt continued in the press thereafter. As with Mill's later intervention, newspapers took light relief in the issue; 'Mr Mill's crotchet of a female franchise [is] the most fanciful of all the "fancy" franchises' (Robinson 2018, 28). At this point the idea of men making a stand for women's enfranchisement was more comical than effective.

Despite welcoming women's participation in Chartism and earlier radical reform, the movement did not excel in terms of gender awareness. Banks (1981, 52) notes that the Chartists 'never allowed feminism more than a peripheral place in their aims and objectives,' Malgreem suggested 'there was no feminist component within chartism' and radicals O'Brian and Deacon 'believed that the neglect of women had contributed to failure' (Jones 1983, 4).

However, Chartism was not the only movement in which women were politically active during the nineteenth century. Women were part of a wide landscape of reform groups in Britain in the early 1800s. Women had an incredible input in the Abolition movement during the first forty years of the eighteenth century, they were active in the Temperance societies which emerged in the late 1820s and in the new Trade Union movement, as well as a plethora of other co-operative societies (Evans 2023; Robinson 2018, 33). It's worth mentioning that there was likely not much crossover or sympathies shared between these societies at the time; Chartism was considered far less 'respectable' than Abolitionism, for example, and Temperance could be incredibly divisive and prejudicial, especially when combined with ideas about class morality (Evans 2023; Zeiger 2022). Suffragism would ultimately unite many women as they gathered from this variety of movements and class backgrounds to continue a rich heritage of activism with one specific goal in mind (Robinson 2018, 33).

2.1 Feminism

Before continuing to outline the events which led to the formation of the women's suffrage groups, it is worthwhile to note here how feminism was growing and establishing within groups as its own ideology during this time. The term 'feminist' was not used in England until the 1890s, feminist discourse was instead often termed 'the woman question' (Delap 2011, 319-348; Robinson 2018, 22). However, feminism was taking root in these early radical movements which paved the road for the Votes For Women campaign. Banks (1981) tracked the origins and development of feminism in Britain and the United States from its earliest beginnings to the late 1970s. Identifying feminism as a process, with philosophical and political strands that developed from one movement into another, she defined three intellectual traditions; evangelical feminism, enlightenment feminism and socialist feminism. Evangelical feminism is recognised as intrinsic to the work of many nineteenth-century female reformers, whose religious beliefs were enmeshed in their passion for social reform. This was most significant in the campaign against slavery, believed to be 'fundamentally a religious and moral issue' (ibid, 7;19). As previously mentioned, women were strong advocates for abolitionism; by 1833, the national women's anti-slavery petition had more than 187,000 signatures, and women actively campaigned to dissuade the public from purchasing slave-grown products (Historic England 2015). By the 1850's women 'remained the backbone of the fund-raising effort, largely through their work with bazaars and sewing circles' (Banks 1981, 20). Women also held fundraising tea parties, purchased 'anti-slavery' sugar bowls, teaware, medallions and bags (figure 6) (Historic England 2015). These activities which merged politics with domesticity would later be employed and developed in new ways in the suffrage campaign.



Figure 6. Bag and pamphlets produced by the Female Society for Birmingham as part of their campaign for abolition. The Society was founded in 1825, and the bags were made by women in sewing circles and kept for display or distributed as propaganda for the cause. The image printed on the bag is of a black enslaved woman nursing her child and was one of a series commissioned specifically by the Society for distribution in albums of prints and for use on their propaganda merchandise (c. 1827), V&A:T.20-1951.

While evangelical feminism was tied to religion and morality, enlightenment feminism appealed more to equal rights and human reason. Feminists of this tradition chose to emphasise the similarities between men and women, promoting an end to male privilege and women's exclusion (Banks 1981, 7-8; 28-47). Feminist enlightenment (and some socialist) thinking is evidenced in publications such as William Thompson and Anna Wheeler's, *Appeal of one Half of the Human Race* (1825) - the first publication to directly advocate for votes for women (Marlow 2015, 3). A critical response to James Mill's *Essay on Government* (1820), it offered an 'unabashed feminist critique of the gendered social relations of the time' (Jose 2019, 827). Mill had claimed that women did not need the vote as extending franchise to all men over 40 would allow them to sufficiently represent the interests of their wives and daughters. This argument was heavily criticised, most notably by Mill's own son, enlightenment philosopher and political economist John Stuart Mill (Ball 2018). His own work *The Subjection of Women* (1869) echoed many of the same justifications as Mary Wollstonecraft's groundbreaking feminist work *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), but with specific attention to the legal and political subordination of women (Mill 1869).

While the readership of these publications would not have been especially diverse outside of capturing the attention of the middle- and upper-classes, and politicians, thinkers and scholars of the time, the ideas penned had an immense impact by diffusion. For example, following the success of *Appeal*, Wheeler contributed to co-operative and socialist journals, and delivered influential lectures (Pankhurst 1954, 137). Her feminism and work with the Owenites (a socialist movement established by reformer Robert Owen) instigated many ideas that would later be turned into action by suffrage campaigners. Richard Pankhurst (son of Sylvia) claimed Wheeler's 'eventful life and work' was key to

'crystallising the latent demands of women' and offered the practical ideas that Wollstonestonecraft had only 'hinted' at (ibid, 133,143). She outlined programmes for equal education, possession of property, equal moral codes as well as civil and political rights and 'rejected the arguments commonly used to defend the exclusion of her sex from political representation' (ibid, 137-138).

2.2 Formation of Suffrage Groups

Not long before the Second Reform Act (1867), the actions of the briefly active Kensington Society, a discussion group of mostly young, unmarried, educated middle-class women, helped establish the women's suffrage movement in Britain. In 1866, society members Barbara Bodichon, Emily Davies and Jessie Boucherett drafted and delivered a petition of 1,500 signatures asking for women's enfranchisement. The names of many working-class women including seamstresses, shopkeepers and laundresses were present, suggesting members of the society had canvassed the streets for names (Robinson 2018, 26). This petition - to include women householders as well as men - was presented to Parliament by Liberal MP John Stuart Mill, though it was rejected after a brief debate (Atkinson 2018a, 6). The Second Reform Act passed in 1867, and the Third which passed in 1884 continued to broaden the franchise for millions of men. By 1884 it is estimated that just over 60% of men over 21 were enfranchised (Culpin 2018). The increasing male enfranchisement and ongoing rejections to women during this time gradually strengthened women's suffrage agitation throughout the country. In the 50 years following the 1867 Act almost 17,000 petitions for women's enfranchisement were submitted to Parliament (ibid). Many of these were supported by private members' bills which were submitted almost every year after Mill's intervention (Atkinson 2018a, 7-8; Pankhurst 1914/2016, 20).

Growing recognition of this injustice from the mid-19th century onwards led women across the country to join together, forming various groups and organisations to campaign for the vote through peaceful, constitutional means. Known as the suffragists[5], they held public meetings and published leaflets and journals outlining their justifications for granting women's enfranchisement (UK Parliament 2010a). The most well-known suffragist, Millicent Garrett Fawcett (figure 7), began her campaigning in the 1870s, and in 1887 she became the founder and leader of the principle suffrage organisation: the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), an amalgamation of more than a dozen societies. Millicent was raised in a Liberal household and married Cambridge professor and Liberal MP Henry Fawcett in 1867 (UK Parliament n.d.,c). She published extensively on women's rights and regularly watched debates from the Ladies' Gallery in the House of Commons. Fawcett worked diligently for her cause, to her, 'women's suffrage



Figure 7. Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847 - 1929) addressing the crowd at an open air rally in Hyde Park (1913), LSE.

[5] The suffrage movement is typically categorised in rigid terms; militant or constitutional. While it is necessary to use this terminology to make distinctions between the dominant factions of the movement, it should be noted that these categories were not always exclusive or self-evident (Stanley-Holton 1986, 153). Stanley-Holton's work on the democratic suffragists (those committed to continuing work with politicians, ensuring that women's enfranchisement was kept in the forefront of discussions on franchise reform), reveals that suffrage-movement politics was fluid in nature, 'there was greater sympathy among different sections of the movement, greater tensions within them, and more complex relations with other political movements than the existing conventions of suffrage history have allowed' (ibid, 96-117; 153).

was not a matter for fiery revolution, but an evolutionary certainty' (Robinson 2018, 40;43). Her determination and tactical leadership succeeded in keeping the issue in Parliament, while the suffragists used lobbying to persuade MPs sympathetic to their cause to raise the issue of women's suffrage on the floor of the House.

The issue of women's suffrage divided political parties; the Liberal government were moderately in favour, but some of its leaders, most notably the long-standing outspoken opponent of the cause Herbert Asquith, were strongly opposed (figure 8) (Pankhurst 1914/2016, 106). Conservatives believed in maintaining the existing state of affairs, and while Conservative leadership were somewhat sympathetic, a larger majority of the Tory backbench were not, with many Conservatives directly supporting the anti-suffrage movement (see Appendix 1). Fearing that enfranchised women would vote for the opposition, ultimately neither party wanted to pass a bill that could benefit the electoral chances of the other, or allow time for a private members bill to pass (Atkinson 2018a, 17-18). The emerging Independent Labour Party (founded in 1893 to represent working men), was also disjointed in their reactions toward the campaign. A small group of Labour MPs consistently and actively backed the women's cause; MP George Lansbury and Labour Party leader Keir Hardie were both strong supporters of women's suffrage, and in 1912 Hardie convinced the party to support votes for women. Though prior to this, other members showed the same prejudice and reluctance for women to be granted voting rights, particularly as the party's main goal was to secure votes for working-class men, many of whom were still unfranchised, and thus women naturally came second (Tickner 1987, 4).



Figure 8. 'The Right Dishonourable Double Face Asquith' pro-suffrage postcard (c. 1909-1910), MoL:50.82/843.

By the start of the twentieth century the moderate campaign had made little progress, leading to criticism that by focusing on Parliament the movement had missed the opportunity to garner mass support throughout the UK (UK Parliament 2010a). By this point women in other areas of the world were beginning to become enfranchised. Wyoming became the first American State to grant voting rights to women in 1869. Colorado followed in 1893, though it would not be until 1920 that women were enfranchised throughout the United States as a whole (Marlow 2015, xvii). Prompted by women's rights leader and founder of the *Women's Suffrage Journal* Lydia Becker, the Isle of Man was the first National Parliament to grant votes for women householders in a general election in 1881

(Isle of Man Gov 2017). The women's suffrage cause garnered widespread support in New Zealand, and owing to a comparatively small population size and 'lack of an entrenched conservative tradition,' New Zealand became the first country to allow all women to vote in 1893 (Pickles 2018). Followed by most of Australia in 1902, barring Queensland and Western Australia who continued to deny Aboriginal men and women their voting rights until the 1960s (Marlow 2015, xvii; Fawcett Society 2018).

2.3 The WSPU

Emmeline Goulden (figure 9) grew up in Manchester the eldest of 10 children. Her parents were politically active abolitionists and supporters of women's suffrage which advanced her interest in politics. She attended her first women's suffrage meeting with her mother at age 14 where she heard Lydia Becker speak (Pankhurst 1914/2016, 21). In 1879, Emmeline married lawyer Dr. Richard Pankhurst. Already an active participant of the women's suffrage movement, Richard was among a group of male supporters who lent the weight of their names to advance the cause while it was still in its infancy, many being ostracised and suffering financially for their feminist views (ibid, 24). Emmeline gave birth to five children over the next ten years, daughters Christabel, Sylvia and Adela and two sons Frank (who died aged four) and Henry. She remained politically active during this time; forming the Women's Enfranchisement League together with her husband, serving on the committee of the Women's Suffrage Society, working as a Poor Law Guardian, working to secure an extension to the Married Women's Property Act (1882)[6] and supporting other women's causes (ibid, 25). Richard encouraged Emmeline's work until his sudden death in 1898, after which she began work as a registrar and then as a member of the Manchester School Board. Each position gave Emmeline further experience of the plight of women, shaping her conviction of their need for enfranchisement.

Emmeline's daughters also became active campaigners for the vote. Sylvia gave up her career as an artist to dedicate her skills to the cause, and Christabel would become a central leading figure alongside Emmeline. Christabel's frustration and determination were evident in her comments to her mother, 'how long you women have been trying for the vote. For my part, I mean to get it (…) it is unendurable to think of another generation of women wasting their lives begging for the vote. We must not lose any more time. We must act' (ibid, 44-45). In 1903, Emmeline Pankhurst formed the WSPU, a women-only group that operated without any party affiliation, their sole focus on securing votes for women. The organisation's campaign slogan was 'Deeds Not Words.'



Figure 9. Emmeline Pankhurst (1858 - 1928) addresses the crowd, Trafalgar Square (1908). National Portrait Gallery, London.

The WSPU amplified publicity for the campaign with open air meetings - their first militant act, and speeches at community events that brought suffrage propaganda to a new public. Annie Kenney, a millworker from Oldham, joined the organisation during this time, and would become one of the

[6] Prior to the 1870 Married Women's Property Act women were required to give up all rights to any property they owned to their husbands upon marriage. The 1882 extension granted women full personal control over their property (UK Parliament n.d.,g).

Union's key organisers alongside Christabel. In 1905, Pankhurst's WSPU drew up plans to directly address politicians in the Liberal Cabinet during a meeting at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester. Kenney stood to question Sir Edward Grey on whether the Liberal's planned to give women the vote if they were returned to power. Christabel waved a small banner with the slogan 'Votes For Women' while Annie spoke (figure 10). Originally the banner read 'Will the Liberal Government Give Votes For Women' but this was too cumbersome for the women to carry so it was cut down to only three words (ibid, 25-57). Thus, as Robinson (2018, 64) writes, 'was born one of the most enduring political slogans of our history'.



Figure 10. Annie Kenney (left) and Christabel Pankhurst (right). 'Votes for Women' was adopted as a slogan for the suffrage movement after it proved impossible to fit their original slogan, 'Will the Liberal Party Give Votes for Women?' onto a banner (1908). Paul Fearn / Alamy Stock Photo.

Upon presenting the banner, the two women were met with hostility, refusing to be silenced, both women were eventually violently dragged from the room and subsequently provoked an arrest on charges of 'assault against a policeman' (Pankhurst 1914/2016, 51; Ziarek 2008, 3). The publicity surrounding the women's political performance was unrivalled, something that did not go unnoticed by Emmeline (Roe 1974a). While media reactions vilified the two girls, declaring that they had 'let down their sex' and injured the cause 'perhaps irrevocably' with their actions, their efforts were not in vain as 'scores of women wrote to newspapers expressing their sympathy with the women' and the WSPU received a large number of new members (Pankhurst 1914/2016, 55-56). While gaining the added benefit of increased public attention, this first spectacle must also be recognised as the initial breaking of 'the conspiracy of silence' which as Ziarek (2008, 4) discusses, marked women's entry 'as speaking subjects into the political arena of discourse and action'. The cause had finally become a live topic for debate throughout Great Britain.

After years of peaceful campaigning which had been ignored, Pankhurst called for a national campaign of civil disobedience. This escalation reflects the disillusionment of the earlier radical campaigners who turned to more direct action after the events of Peterloo in 1819. Setting up headquarters at Clements Inn in London in 1906, the suffragettes began buttonholing politicians and taking every opportunity to interrupt and undermine men's politics during public meetings, repeating their question to every Cabinet Minister they encountered. Women were verbally abused, often being violently removed from meetings following their interruptions, but they kept up this work, focusing their questions on certain politicians, most notably Winston Churchill who was 'unmercilessly' heckled at every opportunity. Whether for or against their tactics, the publicity the WSPU generated through this first phase of militancy woke various groups of non-militant suffragists who in turn, organised a 'gigantic' manifesto calling for action from the Liberals (Pankhurst 1914/2016, 57-70).

The WSPU carried on their government agitation, while leading frequent deputations to the prime minister (albeit unsuccessfully), and continuing to raise awareness of the cause through rallies, public meetings, demonstrations and processions. Campaigners were met with hostility, often being pelted with rotten food, as well as verbal and physical assaults. Despite this, the Union's campaign clearly reached women, and they succeeded in expanding their support. Membership increased as did

financial backing, leading to the formation of additional WSPU branches across England and many in Scotland and Wales (Robinson 2018, 8).

2.4 Material Culture and the Purple, White & Green

In the early days, to save money on advertising suffragettes would chalk notices on pavements (figure 11) and produce their own posters, but as the movement grew so did the range of objects used to further the cause (Atkinson 2018a, 49). While banners have been re-envisioned and reworked through various struggles, 'Votes For Women' broadened the scope of political objects right from the start, building onto the inheritance of material culture seen in earlier radical movements (Featherstone & Kelliher 2019). Items ranged from handbills, banners and badges used to raise awareness and share the campaign message. Sashes, clothing and accessories were worn to announce allegiance and achieve the 'suffragette look', while keepsakes such as jewellery, crockery and other trinkets allowed supporters to buy into the movement. As previously mentioned, the middle-class wealth of many feminists involved in the cause was an incredible asset to the movement, and a driving factor in the vast expansion of material culture that would have never been possible in earlier political and radical movements. Yet the ways in which suffrage campaigners across the board chose to utilise funds and advertise reveals a great deal about their astuteness and determination when it came to raising money and creating a mass movement that caught public attention. For example, a card game *Suffragette* was one of the first examples of suffrage merchandise released in time for Christmas 1907. The four sets within the deck were provocatively entitled '*Piecrust Principles* / *The Career of the Suffragettes* / *Broken Promises* / *The Sensational Press*' (Atkinson 2018a, 80).



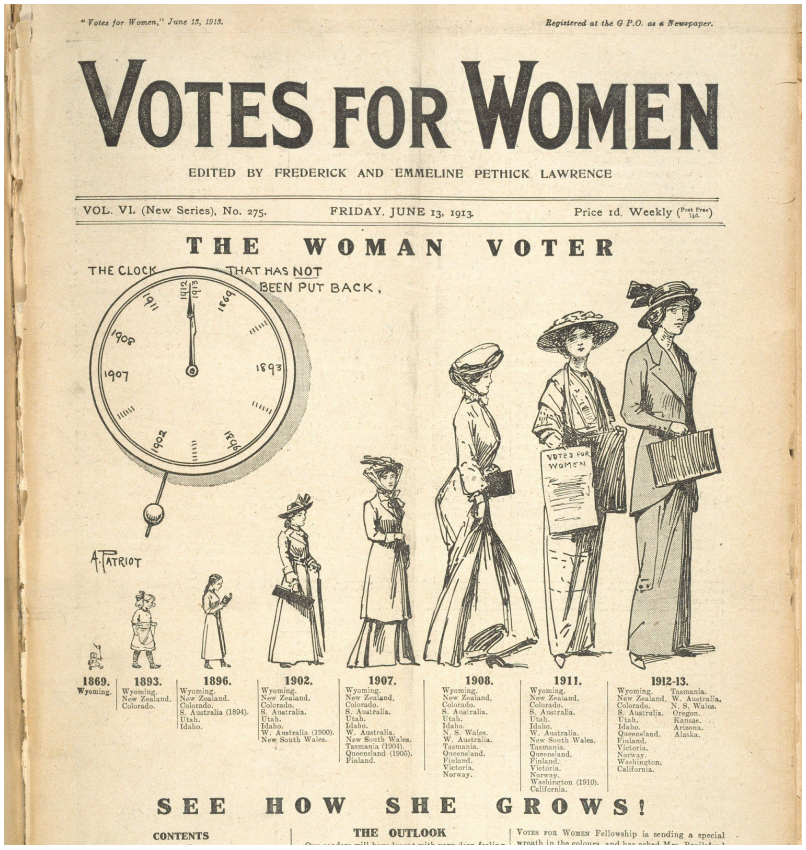
Figure 11. Annie Kenney chalks 'Votes for Women' on the pavement' (1907). Getty Images.

In October 1907, the WSPU began publishing their own journal *Votes For Women* (figure 12), founded and edited by husband and wife Frederick and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence. The wealthy socialist Pethick-Lawrences were instrumental figures alongside the Pankhursts in the militant campaign. Fred, who worked as a 'poor man's lawyer' and then a Labour politician, offered legal expertise alongside his great wealth and 'publishing and commercial genius,' all of which were invaluable to the WSPU (Florey 2013, 138). Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, a lifelong women's rights activist and patron of women's suffrage, joined the WSPU in 1906, bringing with her fifteen years of charity work experience. She was skilled at strategising, knew how to keep costs down and offered a repertoire of fundraising ideas. She became the WSPU Treasurer and raised thousands of pounds for the organisation (Atkinson 2018a, 49).

In 1908, the WSPU organised a mass demonstration, known as 'Women's Sunday' (the day chosen to allow working women to attend). In the weeks leading up to the event, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence launched the imaginative tricolour combination she had devised.

> 'Purple is the royal colour. It stands for the blood that flows in the veins of every suffragette, the instinct for freedom and dignity (…) white stands for purity in private and public life (…) green is the colour of hope and the emblem of Spring' (ibid, 95) (figure 13).

Emmeline arranged for 700 banners made by suffragettes across the country to be carried during the procession, and their appearance at the event was closely directed. She urged supporters to 'be guided by the colours of your dress (…) the effect will be very much lost unless the colours are carried out by every woman in the ranks' (ibid, 96). The event was held on 21 June 1908, and seven different processions marched to Hyde Park where speeches were made at twenty different platforms. The WSPU succeeded in gathering over 250,000 people, the largest demonstration ever to have been held at that time in the UK, surpassing all the greatest political demonstrations led by un-enfranchised men during the campaigns of the Victorian era. The day was a huge success that inspired other organisations to become more proactive; the NUWSS organised their own 'Great Procession' of some 13,000 women, with numerous other suffrage campaign groups taking part (ibid; Pankhurst 1914/2016, 77).



"Votes for Women," June 13, 1913. Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VI. (New Series), No. 275. FRIDAY. JUNE 13, 1913. Price 1d. Weekly

THE WOMAN VOTER

THE CLOCK THAT HAS NOT BEEN PUT BACK.

A. PATRIOT

1869. Wyoming.
1893. Wyoming. New Zealand. Colorado.
1896. Wyoming. New Zealand. Colorado. S. Australia (1894). Utah. Idaho.
1902. Wyoming. New Zealand. Colorado. S. Australia. Utah. Idaho. W. Australia (1900). New South Wales. Tasmania (1904). Queensland (1905). Finland.
1907. Wyoming. New Zealand. Colorado. S. Australia. Utah. Idaho. W. Australia. New South Wales. Tasmania. Queensland. Finland. Victoria. Norway.
1908. Wyoming. New Zealand. Colorado. S. Australia. Utah. Idaho. N. S. Wales. W. Australia. Tasmania. Queensland. Finland. Victoria. Norway.
1911. Wyoming. New Zealand. Colorado. S. Australia. Utah. Idaho. W. Australia. New South Wales. Tasmania. Queensland. Finland. Victoria. Norway. Washington (1910). California.
1912-13. Wyoming. New Zealand. Colorado. S. Australia. Utah. Idaho. Queensland. Finland. Victoria. Norway. Washington. California. Tasmania. W. Australia. N. S. Wales. Oregon. Kansas. Arizona. Alaska.

SEE HOW SHE GROWS!

CONTENTS

THE OUTLOOK

Votes for Women Fellowship is sending a special

Figure 12. Cover page of *Votes For Women* (13 June, 1913), LSE. The journal ran from 1907 until 1918, with circulation rising in 1909 from around 30,000 readers to selling around 40,000 issues per week (Atkinson 2018, 190; Crawford 1999, 460-461). The newspaper was initially edited by Frederick and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence for the WSPU until the group split in 1912, after which control of the paper was transferred to the Pethick-Lawrences new splinter group the United Suffragists. The WSPU continued publishing with their new paper entitled *The Suffragette*. Around the same time other periodicals and papers were also circulating such as *The Vote* by The Women's Freedom League (WFL) and *The Common Cause* which was established by a group of independent suffragists in support of the NUWSS (Stanley-Holton 1986, 43-44).

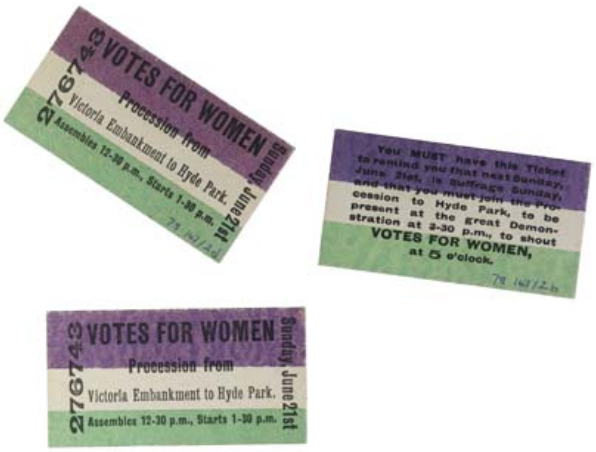


Figure 13. Handbills designed to resemble bus/tram tickets were handed out to the public leading up to Women's Sunday. Printed in the organisation's purple, white and green, one side advertises 'Votes for Women Procession from Victoria Embankment to Hyde Park Assembles 12-30pm Starts 1-30pm'. The reverse has additional information about the event (1908). MoL:78.167/2.

2.5 The Militant Escalation

Despite relentless efforts to demonstrate both the need for women's enfranchisement and support for the cause, campaigners continued to be ignored by politicians. Frustrated, the WSPU again stepped up their militant actions. From the early 20th century, women who pursued militant methods of campaigning were known by the initially derogatory term 'suffragettes;' a description first used by the *Daily Mail* in 1906. However, the term was adopted by women and became widely used (UK Parliament 2010b). Suffragette militancy was in part a transgression of expected gender roles (Cowman 2000, 817). Men had rioted, destroyed property (such as pulling down the Hyde Park railings in 1866) and were able to employ the threat of mass violence, which helped to secure the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867. Women had, until this point, no comparable means to threaten the Government into action (Tickner 1987, 7). With an understanding that every advance of men's political freedom had been achieved with violence and the destruction of property, the suffragettes felt the necessity of physical revolt. They inspired women to stray from traditional roles, believing that militancy was the only path to enfranchisement. This militant stage of the British suffrage campaign was significant not only because it provoked and justified women's militancy, but because the suffragettes helped redefine the right to *vote* as a more fundamental women's right to *revolt* (Pankhurst 1914/2016, 200-202; Ziarek 2008, 1).

In the following years Pankhurst would call upon WSPU members to suspend their disruption whenever there was hope that a bill on women's suffrage might pass, this ceasefire would then end and suffragette militancy resumed, only further escalated, when the bills subsequently failed. Robinson (2018, 62-63) explains, the WSPU never raised as much money or secured as many members as the NUWSS, yet they succeeded 'on celebrity and heady sensationalism' and in creating 'an intensely emotional link' between the Pankhursts and their followers, their devotion was unparalleled. The Conciliation Bill which would have granted a measure of women the vote was brought to the House of Commons on three separate occasions between 1910 and 1912, though it ultimately failed each time. Feeling betrayed by Prime Minister Asquith after the first conciliation defeat, 300 protestors marched to the House of Commons carrying banners; 'Asquith Has Vetoed Our Bill'; 'Where There's a Bill There's a Way'; 'Women's Will Beat's Asquith's Won't' (figure 14). Expecting the protest, extra police forces had been drafted in from all areas of London to deal with the

suffragettes, and upon their approach the women were met by a barrage of verbal and physical abuse, their banners ‘seized by police and torn to pieces’ (Pankhurst 1914/2016, 171). Suffragettes were accustomed to abuse and hostility, though on this occasion the police brutality was extreme and unprecedented, lasting over a period of six hours. One of the darkest moments of the campaign, the day would thereafter be referred to as ‘Black Friday.’



Figure 14. Heavy police presence surround suffrage protesters on Black Friday (18th November 1910). MoL:2003.46/241.

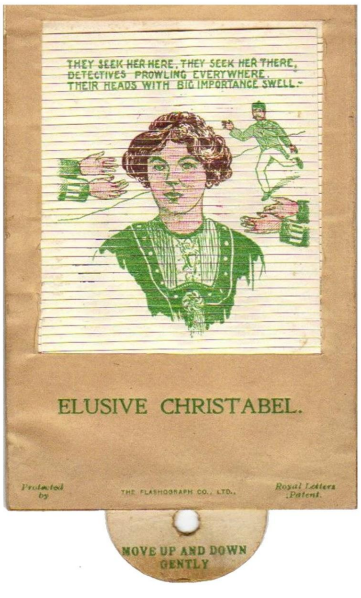
Votes for Women was, as accounts by Rosa May Billinghurst and others (see Appendix 2) show, in many ways, its own war fought radically on the streets and in prisons by Edwardian women facing extreme and routinely sexualised government sanctioned violence. Suffragette demonstrations did not end with Black Friday, but the events of the day marked a change in tactic for many campaigners who did not want to endure this violence again. Instead, suffragettes again met state violence with escalated militancy, and window-smashing was employed as a key campaign tactic by the WSPU (Collinson, 2018). Women carried stones and toffee hammers which were easy to conceal, and participated in huge window-smashing demonstrations that were meticulously planned and carried out, leading to hundreds of arrests. Pankhurst (1914/2016, 200) explained; ‘we have made more progress with less hurt to ourselves by breaking glass than ever we made when we allowed them to break our bodies’. Militancy became increasingly extreme, as suffragettes set out to wage as much guerrilla warfare as the government and people of England would tolerate. Arson including letter box fires and destruction of private property, planting bombs and attacks on artwork in museums were methods embraced by some suffragettes, while scores of women volunteered to deliberately break laws and face arrest and imprisonment in the name of the cause.

When imprisoned, suffragettes would hunger strike in further protest. The ancient trope of female martyrdom, self-sacrifice and suffering was all too familiar in the spectacle of force-feeding, which was both endured by suffragettes and utilised by the WSPU to further condemn the government. Forced feeding was carried out in prisons throughout the campaign, despite 116 physicians writing to the Prime minister to protest against the practise and ‘warn of the grave dangers involved’ (Pankhurst 1914/2016, 150). The horrors of force-feeding were detailed in the testimonies of hundreds of victims. Resisting suffragettes would be held down by several wardresses while a rubber tube would be forced into the mouth or nose. A funnel would then be attached and filled with milk, eggs and other liquid mixtures. Alongside the extreme brutality and trauma of the practice, hunger striking women (and

some men) regularly suffered broken teeth, bleeding gums, infection, tears to the stomach or oesophagus, prolonged vomiting and choking if food were poured into the lungs rather than the stomach (Atkinson 2018a; Cook 2018; Pankhurst 1914/2016; Robinson 2018, 79). Pedersen notes that hunger striking suffragettes 'tested their faith by endurance' and highlights the 'particularly sexualised torment' of the act of force-feeding, which unavoidably uses the language of rape (Pedersen 2018, para. 17).

Suffragettes more than shared in the dangers of their militant actions. Radicalism left them vulnerable to brutal treatment by police, the danger of long prison sentences, solitary confinement, and forcible feeding which left their bodies dangerously weakened and often with lifelong injuries. Refusing to eat, and often even to drink in an attempt to force a response from government, suffragettes were at serious risk of death. Fearful that the death of a woman would create a 'suffragette martyr' and increase unrest, the government attempted to deal with the problem with the 1913 *Prisoners Temporary Discharge for Ill Health Act,* known informally as the 'Cat and Mouse Act' (UK Parliament 2011). The Act gave temporary early release to gravely malnourished prisoners. Once released they were kept under constant police surveillance only to be recalled to prison once their health was deemed sufficiently recovered. Though intended to undermine their resolve, most suffragettes released on licence disappeared from authorities and recovered under the care of sympathisers, before continuing to commit further militant acts (Atkinson 2018a, 385). If located, paroled prisoners under temporary release would be rearrested, where the process would begin again.

The suffragettes' struggle held Edwardian public imagination and had a monumental impact on popular culture at the time. Novelty satirical games such as 'Elusive Christabel' and 'Suffragettes In and Out of Prison' (figures 15 & 16) were sold by street traders. The aim of the latter, given as a promotional gift by newspapers, was to roll a dice and free suffragettes from Holloway.





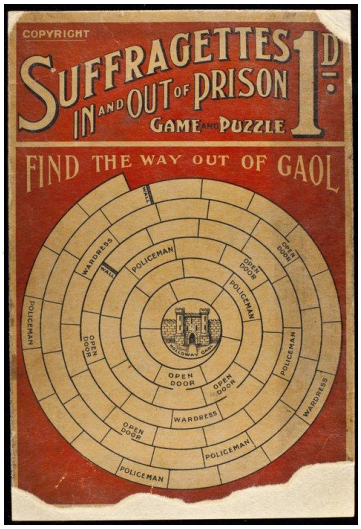


Figure 15 (left). Mechanical game entitled 'Elusive Christabel', satirising the failure of the police to find and arrest Christabel Pankhurst, (1912), MoL:68.13/1c.

Figure 16 (right). 'Suffragettes In and Out of Prison' game, (1908), MoL:80.525/256.

Suffragettes were 'deeply unpopular' during this time of increased militancy (Atkinson 2018b). Their actions had alienated a lot of the British public and angered some constitutionalists who felt they must

work even harder to 'prove women worthy' of enfranchisement. Tensions were also rising inside ranks with factions in the WSPU. Many members split from the organisation and joined others due to the use of increasingly radical tactics, particularly arson, while many were unhappy with the Pankhurst's autocratic leadership. Suffragette Emma Spronson left the WSPU believing Mrs Pankhurst was 'out for a dictatorship', while another described Christabel as 'cynical and cold at heart' (Robinson 2018, 66). The Women's Freedom League (WFL) was formed in 1907 by Teresa Billington-Greig and Charlotte Despard with more than seventy other former WSPU members. Still willing to break the law, the WFL favoured non-violent resistance such as refusing to pay taxes and non-cooperation with the census, rather than vandalism and destruction of property.

Emmeline Pankhurst and the other WSPU leaders were in and out of prison during this time, and having fled to Paris, Christabel continued to direct the organisation while in hiding. WFL membership grew to around 4,000 people - more than double that of the WSPU, and NUWSS membership soared with 600 branches to the WSPU's 80. In January 1914, the East London branches of the WSPU broke to form the East London Federation of Suffragettes (ELFS) (East End Women's Museum n.d). A month later in February 1914, another off-shoot of the WSPU, the United Suffragists, was established and joined by former WSPU leader Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence along with her husband Fredrick. This new organisation opened to both women and men, and included many former members from the WSPU, as well as some from the NUWSS (Atkinson 2018a, 453). By 1914 there were more than 35 major suffrage organisations throughout Great Britain, including several run by sympathetic men, such as the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement and the Men's Society for Women's Rights (Marlow 2015, xviii).

2.6 Enfranchisement

Facing a greater threat to the nation, suffrage activities were scaled down at the onset of the First World War. All remaining suffragette prisoners were offered amnesty by the Home Secretary and released, and suffrage campaigners shifted focus in a number of different ways (Tickner 1987, 230). Having fought against the government for so many years Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst surprisingly joined forces with their adversaries, they announced that the WSPU's militant campaign would be suspended and urged women to support the government and nation in a full war effort - believing 'women's patriotic war service would earn them the right to vote after it ended' (Atkinson 2018a, 514; Holmes 2021, 434). As Holmes (2021, 436-437) writes, 'To Christabel and Emmeline, the war was an opportunity. They would jump on the war horse and spur it to ride to the women's vote'. *The Suffragette* newspaper was renamed *Britannia*, both women made recruitment speeches and called for conscription, and some suffragettes handed white feathers as a sign of cowardice to men not in uniform. Believing their appropriation of militant methods in recruitment drives 'a tragic betrayal' of women's stand for peace, the actions of Emmeline and Christabel and other imperialist suffragettes disgusted many feminist pacifists involved in the movement (Tickner 1987, 230). This included Sylvia and Adela Pankhurst who, having broken from their mother and sister due to previous irreconcilable political views, were both passionate pacifists like their father (Pugh 2008, 302-303). The WFL continued campaigning but suspended their militancy and turned to volunteer work, forming women's police services and Women's National Aid Corps. The NUWSS took up relief work but continued their constitutional campaign, believing more than ever that this was the time for women 'to show themselves worthy of citizenship' (Atkinson 2018a, 514).

The role of women in society changed dramatically; women were needed in every sector of the homefront and became employed in jobs they previously never had the opportunity to carry out. Finally able to prove themselves capable beyond traditionally 'female' roles, women worked in munitions industries, and as nurses, teachers, in transportation, on heavy machinery and farm work in

the Women's Land Army. From 1914, working age women's employment rates increased from 23.6% to between 37.7% and 46.7% in 1918 (Braybon 1989, 49). Women's enfranchisement became inevitable for numerous reasons. As Atkinson (2018a, 520) describes, 'many of the arguments against women's suffrage seemed hollow in the context of the war,' and the government planned to reward women for their immense wartime contribution with a limited measure of suffrage, while enfranchising the small remaining number of men returning from war who were also unable to vote due to residency qualifications and other restrictions (UK Parliament n.d.,d).

Suffrage campaigners fought tirelessly for years in a battle for equality that was fraught with treachery and false promises by politicians, great let downs, disappointments and virulent opposition in Parliament, in the media and on the streets. Many had dedicated and sacrificed so much of their lives and their health to secure political freedom for women at great personal cost. Votes For Women was the most spectacular and dramatic single-issue political campaign of the twentieth century, yet ironically, as the vote came with Britain still at war, victory was subdued. Absent was the 'pageantry and rejoicing' which would have come in pre-war days (Atkinson 2018a, 519; Tickner 1987, 236). The first Act to give votes to women in Britain became law on 6 February 1918. This first instalment under the Representation of the People Act meant that a woman over the age of thirty was entitled to vote if she was; a householder; the wife of a householder; the occupier of property with an annual rent of £5; a graduate of a British university; or similarly qualified but not a graduate. This limited enfranchisement was a triumph for 8,400,000 women who met this criteria and were able to vote in the general election of 1918 (Atkinson 2018a, 519). The Act also opened doors for further measures that began to address other inequalities between the sexes, though many within the movement were upset with the limitations of the ruling. Suffragette Lilian Lenton commented,

> 'I was extremely pleased but very disgusted at the curious terms on which we got it. Men had a vote at 21, all men. Women only had a vote when they were 30, and then only if they were householders or the wives of householders. Personally I didn't vote for a very long time because I hadn't either a husband or furniture' (ibid, 547).

It was not until another decade later, on 2 July 1928 that all women would secure equal enfranchisement with men. Though celebrated, many reactions from suffragettes again echoed the same mixed feelings as the first Act. Suffragette Mary Phillips commented, 'when we got the vote, it was sort of an anti-climax actually. It came in such a sneaky way. You couldn't rejoice as you would have done if it had come at a time of militancy' (ibid, 556). Phillip's comments demonstrate the 'joyful militancy' described by Bergman and Montgomery (2017) in their study of the same name. The joy of the 'rupture' moments and feelings of transformative potential that militant acts provoke was clearly felt by many suffragettes, especially bored and frustrated middle- and upper-class women. Suffragette Margaret Mackworth described militant suffrage as:

> 'the very salt of life. The knowledge of it had come like a draught of fresh air into our padded, stifled lives. It gave us release of energy, it gave us that sense of being some use in the scheme of things, without which no human being can live at peace' (Robinson 2018, 289).

The rich and profoundly interesting story of women's complex and lengthy struggle for the vote, only touched on in this outline of events, is a history that continues to inspire, shock and divide opinion. The suffragettes pioneered some of the most inventive and revolutionary methods of political agitation ever seen, and paved the way for women to take an active role in politics and society. The following discussion outlines ways that archaeologists have covered some of the themes present in this work and the current extent of research on suffrage materiality, before presenting the gaps in existing research that justify this thesis.

3. Literature Review

Though an extensive archaeological study of suffrage materiality is a new endeavour, archaeologists have covered many of the major themes and topics presented in this work. Perspectives have been drawn from contemporary and historical archaeology on the themes of politics, marginalised people, consumerism, identity, imprisonment, protest, resistance, power and gender. Smith (2006) demonstrated how heritage, material culture and the interconnected themes of value, identity and performance are tied up in complex power relations; 'heritage is a culturally directed process of intense emotional power, that is both a personal and social act of making sense of, and understanding, the past and the present' (ibid, 304). Smith also highlighted that objects related to working class history, for example historic trade union banners, are 'a significant aid to memory and commemoration', particularly if they retain their use via reincorporation in ongoing community traditions (ibid, 257-258). Though as Smith describes, this highlights the paradox of museum displays which contextualise materials into 'static' objects (ibid, 262-263). This is particularly relevant to the political material culture covered in this thesis, which makes clear that suffrage artefacts have undergone a myriad of transformations, both physically and in terms of the meaning-making processes acted around and upon them historically, as well as by curators and individuals in the present day.

McAtackney and Ryzewski's (2017) collection on creativity, ruination, and political action in the city offered an archaeological perspective on memorial. Physical memorials determine hierarchies and narratives on who and what is remembered, they 'claim states of being' and are political in their 'shaping and directing perceptions of social order, national identity and political transition' (Doss 2010; McAtackney 2017, 196). It is integral to consider the extent and ways that the past can construct its own understanding in the present (McAtackney & Ryzewski 2017, 263). Suffrage campaigners conscious curation of their objects memorialised their own activity, through this it can be determined that their collections have biases, but, as this thesis shows, they also provide insight into how campaigners shaped their legacy through object use that was forward-thinking.

Archaeologies of protest are also drawn upon in this work, specifically those relating to gender, for example Schofield & Anderton's (2000) study on Greenham Common which demonstrated how feminist material culture impacted upon a contentious site. Archaeologies of resistance and hope described in Dézsi's (2024) work on protest further articulates that protest movements can be starting points, not just in terms of community creation, but in navigating and showing new ways of living, producing and creating in order to work toward an alternate future; '"figuring it out" was in itself an experience of empowerment' (159). As with Dézsi's study, protest archaeologies have advanced our understanding of capitalism and the related social consequences throughout history, for example Soar & Tremlett (2017) and Beisaw & Olin (2020). Archaeologists have also explored material culture in various institutions, McAtackney (2014, 50-51) writes,

> 'In the prison environment unexpected interactions and relationships between people and things are significant, as prisoners are typically surrounded by the same, mundane artefacts… in reality, many seemingly meaningless objects were used to subvert the will of the authorities in multiple and unforeseen ways: to alleviate prisoner discomfort, enable leisure, destroy or injure, or to aggravate and disturb the operations of individual prison officers or the authorities.'

As well as challenging and subverting authority through objects, historical archaeologists noted that inmates have maintained identities via 'the retention of personally meaningful material culture'

(Spencer-Wood 2009, 43). Identity creation through material culture has been studied in various contexts. Mullins (2011, 2) writes, 'Inanimate, apparently commonplace objects have been a surprisingly powerful mechanism people have wielded to define the most significant dimensions of their identities, just as those same things simultaneously have perpetuated deep-seated inequalities.' Identity creation is often explored through the lens of consumerism. Spencer-Wood (1987) helped realise the full potential of combining a range of documentary sources in historical archaeology, and built understanding of historic consumer behaviour. This foundational text was furthered in subsequent years; Mullins' (1999) analysis focused on African American consumerism and labour, revealing the political promise vested in mundane commodities by disenfranchised people, and the interconnectedness of capitalism and racism, where materiality continues to produce inequality. Mullins' (2011) comprehensive analysis of consumer culture covered a wide spectrum of topics including consumer power and politics, identity creation and expression, shopping behaviours and the domestic. In doing so, Mullins highlighted areas of further enquiry for historical archaeologists:

> 'The ways in which everyday consumption provided footholds to citizenship - and what genuine privileges that citizenship brought with it - loom as important questions in consumer scholarship and provide archaeologists rich potential to probe the link between the most apparently mundane materialism and various forms of perceived and real political empowerment' (ibid, 178).

While furthering thought on this as it pertains to suffragism, this thesis engages with feminist theory, which has been integrated in archaeology in various meaningful ways. Kiddey (2020, 23) called for application of 'an explicitly feminist lens' in community archaeology, to counter the troubling rise in hate directed at communities based on race, sexuality and gender, as intersectional feminist perspectives allow for broad consideration and can help produce archaeological studies that are more politically engaged, and more activist. Engagement with this perspective allows researchers to mobilise the past in ways that 'disrupt and counter' harmful ideologies (ibid, 28). 'By demonstrating contemporary, historical and pre-historical alternatives to capitalism, patriarchy, segregation, and oppression, the future is potentially liberated from the strangle-holds of much of the political and economic present' (ibid, 29). Kiddey also argued against wholly scientific approaches to the past,

> 'We must defend space for that which cannot be quantified, measured, packaged, and sold. If we do not defend qualitative and interpretive approaches to the past, we risk losing completely ways of knowing which may yet provide essential lessons about alternative temporalities and less-destructive futures… what archaeology needs is not certitude but more complexity, more ambiguity, less reduction, less impulse to seek closure' (ibid, 35).

An important consideration in this work is the lens through which we view the past, and the terms we use to describe it. Kerber (1988) and Vickery (1993) are among scholars who have expressed neglected complexities behind the notion of separate spheres and 'the cult of domesticity'. Work on suffrage has often neglected to question this framework, and has subsequently built on top of it. Stanley-Holton (1980) offered an extensive collection of historic feminist discussion on 'spheres', though while acknowledging that the movement was also shaped by a myriad of other factors, their (1986) study focuses more on feminist's efforts to navigate and challenge these constraints, rather than questioning to what extent they actually operated. Approaches by Crawford (2000) and Atkinson (2018) also generally align with the separate spheres framework without explicitly critiquing it. Rappaport (2000) describes how the Victorian bourgeoisie were divided on shopping 'because shoppers blatantly disregarded the vision of society neatly divided into separate spheres' (ibid, 5-6). This study paints the female shopper as a 'disruptive figure' putting at stake the middle-class families' social respectability by partaking in activities within the public realm, defined as 'the market, politics, and public space' (ibid, 6;52). Though Rappaport recognises that 'the public face of consumption had both public and private meanings… class and gender identities were often constructed within the

commercial spaces of the late-nineteenth-century city' and 'gender was produced in public as well as the private spheres' (ibid, 12).

Suffrage campaigners and feminist writers of the time are responsible for historians' treatment of separate spheres. Campaigners' accounts explicitly evidence that their existence felt confined within the domestic, and the movement expressed this via their demonstrations and material culture. Discourse around women's confinement and servitude within the private was used as the foundation for many of their arguments, and their suffering and exclusion from public life was leveraged on behalf of their campaign, while the concept of spheres also acted to bolster arguments by the anti-movement. On all sides, discussion from the time is filled with ideas on 'elevation', 'breaking' and 'redefinition' of women's sphere (Stanley-Holton 1986, 13-21). It is likely that to suffrage campaigners a separation of 'realms' or 'spheres' was most keenly felt, primarily due to class position, and the prevailing voices of the middle-class. As Hall (1981, 174: Vickery 1993, 387) explained, 'The separation of spheres was one of the fundamental organising characteristics of middle-class society in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England.' Rappaport (2000, 224;16) has further commented that 'Though the nineteenth-century middle classes did not live in neatly divided spheres, this ideal was central to the construction of their class identity'. Yet women used the trope in ways which were beneficial; separate spheres provided a rhetorical cage to render themselves prisoners, with feminism held as the key to freedom. At the same time, women's own actions and other conflicting strategies upheld women as brave warriors and intrepid heroines, as discussed later in this work. Beyond the rhetoric device, the extent that segregation between public and private actually impacted women's lives, and the rigidity of these constraints is difficult to determine. Campaigner's feminist polemic was naturally inflammatory and designed to attract supporters, and thus did not elucidate the true nuances of women's daily lives. Vickery (1993, 385;391) questioned whether men and women conformed to authoritative ideologies, how often cynicism or irony played a part in women's descriptions, how often they professed one thing and performed another, and whether a public upholding of male authority and female submission masked a more contented private realm which challenged the notion. She cited several cases of elite Victorian marriages whereby the male was the more passive partner, preferring homemaking tasks and disinterested or fatigued by public life, while the wife brought a stronger influence to the marriage (ibid, 390). Boundaries for working women engaged in jobs beyond the home are also markedly different, and further obscured by reliance on the segregation of public and private are the 'knowledge, labour and capital' of women in public/male only businesses and endeavours (ibid, 393).

Caine's (1997) work on *English Feminism* recognises the separate spheres model as both a constraint and a stimulus to the movement. It appears in accounts by campaigners as the 'pressure cooker' of frustrations from which erupted the feminist movement (Vickery 1993, 388). Clearly the campaigners who were most vocal about confined spheres were already breaking and redefining theirs via their political activity which, as this thesis shows, merged politics with domesticity. Vickery goes as far as to consider that obsession with women's sphere/place in Victorian discourse might be judged as a conservative response, indicating that women were already becoming more active beyond the home (ibid, 400). Rappaport (2000, 23) also notes 'One of the key features of the late-Victorian suburban woman was her refusal to stay at home or even remain in her local high-street. As early as the 1850s, she seemed to be in constant motion, ever travelling to and through the city centre.'

Relevant to this thesis, is a more specific critique of the notion that the domestic was ever somehow separate from the public and the political. Vickery (1998) demonstrated that the private worlds of middle and upper-class Georgian women were profoundly political. They managed households and staff, negotiated socially, helped sustain familial property and alliances and secured advantageous marriages.

> ‘The household and family were not the limit of an elite woman’s horizon. Nor was the house in any simple sense a private, domestic sphere. Indeed, the idea that the home was a refuge insulated from the social world is one that would have perplexed the well-established in this period’ (ibid, 9).

Greig’s (2013, 164-165) study of the fashionable Georgian elite also revealed that political culture ‘was embedded in the daily routines of the beau monde…its informal and sociable nature ensured that all those who boasted a passport to London’s fashionable ranks, women as well as men, were able to participate in its interior political systems.’

Spencer-Wood (2012) brought an archaeological perspective to the concept of spheres within a broad geographic context, showing how these ideas permeated throughout different cultures. Examining the tensions behind gendered systems, the edited collection was able to critique spheres by highlighting ‘border-crossings’ and case studies that evidence historic women’s intersectional and public roles. The study showed that archaeological analysis of gendered practices and material culture, especially those which express social reform ideas, requires interdisciplinary approaches. Commentary on ‘domestic reform’, ‘public’ and ‘domestic feminist theory’ provided by Spencer-Wood is particularly formative to discussion of these themes where they appear in this thesis (ibid, 406-409).

The lives of women of differing circumstances varied greatly, and this study does not promote any singular way of thinking about women’s position, or propose an alternate feminist framework, instead it understands that multiple realities were true at once. It is therefore not necessary to disregard the conception of spheres, which are incredibly relevant to campaigners' own dialogue of the movement. Indeed, it is evidently clear that women were oppressed by a myriad of gendered constraints, but it is important to acknowledge that a sole reliance on a prescriptive view of the public/private can obstruct findings. This work shows how campaigners used and politicised domestic materials to both reinforce and subvert ideologies in ways productive to their campaign. While articulating these points, this thesis often references the public and private spheres, in ways that suffrage campaigners understood these terms, but this discussion also helps complicate restricted scholarly notions of the domestic. It is apparent through the materials presented that campaigners' integration of politics with domesticity, both inside and outside of the home, evidences a more dynamic, shifting and nuanced history than a rigid social division.

3.1. Current Extent of Research on Suffrage Materiality

Women’s enfranchisement in the UK has been widely researched, though it ‘remains a highly contested area’ with considerable research into some areas and gaps in others (Beckett & Cherry 2018, xxi). Biographies of key figures, suffragette activity with particular focus on London and major cities, and a predominant narrative between the moderate methods of the suffragists and the militant WSPU make up a great deal of existing work.

Suffrage campaigners were the curators of their own history: they wrote early accounts, assembled collections and took part in oral histories. From this basis historians analysed the pivotal roles of the suffragists/suffragettes through biographies, and traced the initial growth and development of the two major suffrage societies; the NUWSS and WSPU. Since the 1960s, research on suffrage has grown to include detailed accounts of many suffrage societies. Aspects including financing, differing political views, and alliances between groups have all been the subject of studies, though perhaps without the same depth that livelier aspects of the movement inspire (Beckett & Cherry 2019, xx; Stanley-Holton 1986, 3). The labour of women at work and at home, increasing educational and employment opportunities, the definition and regulation of female sexuality, the place of women in family and

community, public and wider society, were all part of the political and cultural moment and broader debate in which the women's suffrage narrative took place (Liddington & Norris 2000, 20-39; Tickner 1987, 1; 174-175). Work by Atkinson (2018a), Cowman (2005), Crawford (2001), Liddington & Norris (2000), Mayhall (1999), Purvis (2019), Robinson (2018), Stanley-Holton (1986) and Tickner (1987) are among many scholars who fleshed out and diversified this history in the publications cited here and numerous others. This work often challenged suffrage hierarchies beyond that of the Pankhursts, and payed attention not only to specific intricacies of the sprawling story of women's struggle for enfranchisement, but to suffrage within broader cultural and political frameworks, and with new attention to the complexities of suffrage as part of women's history.

More recently, research has considered the movement further in terms of class, regional activities, international connections and with emerging recognition of the importance of suffrage visual culture, art and design (Beckett & Cherry 2019, xx). While historians have understood the importance of suffrage materials, the subject has not been explored in the same depth;

> 'suffrage scholars have long been aware of the importance of suffrage "novelties" to the movement, and have alluded to them in their studies, but often have had little personal experience in dealing with the objects at close hand; thus their analyses of suffrage artifacts have necessarily been limited' (Florey 2013, 1).

This is also the case in archaeology, as the material culture of political activism is a relatively new area of research, especially concerning 19th century artefacts which have long been neglected by archaeologists. Kitchener (2021) and González-Ruibal (2014) exemplify emerging thought on 19th and 20th century political activism within archaeology, but more studies are needed to better understand the role of artefacts and artefactual theory and practise as it relates to this time period. Material culture has played a key role in achieving social change, objects have defined encounters and inspired activists, yet the role of objects in social movements is a mostly untold story (Flood & Grindon 2014, 9). Failure to properly 'notice' 19th and 20th century political artefacts within historical and archaeological scholarship is one of the main causes for these stories remaining untold. A second (and perhaps more significant) cause is the ephemeral nature of most objects relating to social/political movements, and likely a lack of foresight that these objects might be worth saving at the time. With this in mind, scholarly analysis of artefacts must be considered essential to furthering knowledge on political histories, and in turn informing current knowledge on the intersecting ideas of social change, activism and humanity. This research is particularly accessible when it comes to suffrage history, due to the variety of underutilised material resources available in archives and museums.

> 'What linked the constitutionalists and the militants, who were united on ends but not means, was the use of a new kind of political spectacle, and the production of an iconography of their own' (Tickner 1987, 10).

Political activism drives a wealth of responses in material culture, but few historical movements have managed to amass a collection of items as extensive in scale and variety as the campaign for women's suffrage. The proliferation of suffrage artefacts can be attributed to several different factors. Firstly, the turn of the century saw innovation in both printing and manufacturing methods, these developments led to a boom in production of a variety of materials, this in conjunction with the number of women hand-making materials for the cause hugely increased the volume of artefacts produced compared to previous historical campaigns. Increased commercialisation and consumption, the emergence of department stores, and the variety of suffrage periodicals with ample room for businesses to advertise their wares in 'the colours', all further boosted the production and sale of suffrage commodities. A final point on the extensiveness of suffrage materiality concerned many of

the campaigners themselves, as Florey writes, there was an 'eagerness' among many suffrage supporters to buy, wear, display and collect memorabilia - 'to have it become part of them in a tangible way' (Florey 2013, 2). This idea emphasises the significance women placed on their identity as suffrage supporters. The embodiment of the 'suffragette spirit' gave women not only a political voice, but an alternate definition of themselves outside of the constraints of marriage, and could represent a stand against various grievances and injustices. As Geraldine Lennox explained in a 1932 lecture,

> 'The Suffragette Spirit! What was it? It was an unswerving loyalty to an ideal – the political emancipation of womanhood, with all that implied; obedience to leaders; a thorough discipline and denial of self, with all its petty weaknesses; a sharing of work and hardships and a magnificent enthusiasm which made all loss and suffering of no account. It was a spirit that would not sit down under injustice – a spirit meant to get things done' (Lennox; Mayhall 1995, 329-330).

With this definition in mind, it's clear to see why commodities became so popular to first wave feminists who could afford to buy a piece of memorabilia that represented and expressed a complexity of abstract ideals beyond simply 'the vote'.

Tickner's (1987) analysis forms the foundation of research on suffrage materiality, and demonstrates the importance of visual spectacle within the movement, the parades, pilgrimages and mass demonstrations alongside imagery of both the pro- and anti-suffrage sides. This work acknowledged the role of women artists in shaping the campaign: The Suffrage Atelier forwarded the movement by supplying pictorial advertisements, banners and decorations and The Artists' Suffrage League[7] furthered the cause through production of posters, postcards and leaflets. While Sylvia Pankhurst and Alfred Pearse contributed immensely through their artwork and creative schemes. Tickner addressed how these artists forged new cultural identities, challenging ideas about the role of women in society: 'they threw themselves into agitation by symbol (…) and by its means contested the reputation of women, and their associations with all those attributes (…) that were used to argue their exclusion from the franchise and from public life' (Tickner 1987, 16). One of the successes of the study is this critical analysis of representations of suffrage campaigners in media at the time, from the stereotypes perpetuated by the anti-suffrage opposition to the challenging, though sometimes conflicting narratives suffrage campaigners created themselves to counter this hate and promote their cause. Elaborating on common tropes used against feminist campaigners from 'the spinster' to the 'hysterical,' 'masculine' and 'fallen' woman, Tickner (151-226) detailed how suffrage activists subverted these expectations through material culture while producing a new typology. Artists and makers emphasised women's oppression and exploitation, as well as their intelligence, heroism, domesticity and femininity, among other attributes, through diverse representations such as 'the working woman,' 'the modern woman,' 'the womanly woman,' and 'the militant woman' (ibid, 173). This analysis makes clear that material culture held a vital role in combating misogynist stereotypes, legitimising new definitions of womanhood and mediating the ways suffrage activism was understood by society. Tickner writes on the movement's imagery:

> 'it was not a footnote or an illustration to the 'real' political history going on elsewhere, but an integral part of the fabric of social conflict with its own contradictions and ironies and its own power to shape thought, focus debates and stimulate action' (ibid, 1).

[7] The Artists Suffrage League (ASL), founded by Mary Lowndes, consisted of professional artists (mostly middle-aged women who lived within walking distance of each other in Chelsea) who designed and executed propaganda materials and organised decorative schemes within public demonstrations and meetings (Tickner 1987, 16, 19). The organisation 'advocated a collaborative, non-militant approach in their quest for political and artistic equality'; their official banner bore the words 'Alliance not Defiance' (Thomas 2018, 31). Tickner writes that constitutionalists and The ASL 'led the way in suffrage propaganda, in part because they did not enjoy the equivocal publicity gained by the WSPU's militancy' (Tickner 1987, 29).

Perhaps for its accomplishments Tickner's work on representation has not been furthered in more recent years, though as is discussed in the following section, neither Tickner's work, nor any other study, has explored the representation and impact of objects used extensively in militant action and how these materials forged new visual and metaphorical languages of their own. This work also does not engage with material culture theory and ideas around object agency, which is particularly relevant to pro- and anti-suffrage stereotypes and representations which circulated unleashed from their original media.

Florey (2013), widened research on suffrage materiality beyond the expected sashes and banners with an alphabetised review which detailed objects produced during both the British and American campaigns. Florey used objects to demonstrate not only their use in the movement, but in relation to popular culture, advertising and production methods of the time. Where Tickner used suffrage materiality as a lens to examine the movement in terms of feminist history, the strengths of Florey's work is in his ability to situate the uses of specific types of artefacts within the time period, and examine the history of the artefacts themselves, while comparing and making connections between both the British and American campaigns. For example, Florey detailed the history of the celluloid badge which was 'employed extensively for the first time' during the Mckinley presidential campaign in 1896, culminating in 'the golden age of campaign buttons' between 1908 and 1917, when production of suffrage memorabilia in the USA was at a height (ibid, 31). These badges and buttons 'were the one area of memorabilia where American suffragists out-produced the English', though Florey notes that 'English buttons in general had a considerable impact on the American suffragist movement' with US organisations appropriating the same slogans, colours and designs (ibid, 33, 56).

Garrett & Thomas (2019) re-established the significant role artists played in the British campaign while considering the formation of artistic identities, broadening Tickner's commentary on the ASL and the Suffrage Atelier by deeping consideration of the institutional politics of each and highlighting other groups such as the Women's Guild of Arts and Glasgow School of Art. Thomas (2019, 37) described not only their politics but the women themselves, 'the ease with which these women formed new institutional ties amply demonstrates the sophisticated, multi-layered kinship, friendship and professional networks female artists had developed'. Morton (2019, 67) explained the contrast between the 'high professional standards' of the ASL with the simplicity of designs created by the Suffrage Atelier. Thomas and Morton enhanced understanding of the dynamic relationship between art and suffrage material culture in its various forms, while emphasising the variety of artists involved in creating the visual legacy of the movement. Crawford's (2019a) contribution focused on the commercial enterprise of the movement and the lives of some business owners who produced varied goods for 'the suffrage market' and advertised through the suffrage press. The WSPU's newspaper *Votes For Women* served to 'reinforce the agitation' and 'be a mouthpiece of the advance guard' (ibid, 118). This research detailed how adverts that appealed to women aided the organisation in financial self-sufficiency and demonstrated one of the numerous ways art, commercialisation and politics intersected in the suffrage movement, each aspect feeding into another to create a visually memorable and effective material campaign (ibid, 120).

Other than these works, research on suffrage material culture has tended to consist of concise studies that focus on specific objects, such as Goring (2002) or Atkinson's (2008) respective papers on suffragette jewellery, Mercer's (2009) research on the WSPU shops or Wheeler's (2012) on suffrage textiles. There have been additional studies within the broader material culture of the movement such as Hockenhull's (2016) paper on coins defaced with 'Votes for Women.' Though these emerging studies have often relied on each other, as Hockenhull (2016, 242) describes, 'there is no record of their [the coins] existence in works on suffrage history and material culture prior to Florey's 2013 book'. Being small in number and therefore limited in their political and cultural potential, the coins

exist on the periphery of the historiography of the movement, but are an interesting and vital inclusion to scholarship on suffrage materiality, and serve to evidence the types of materials that have been long forgotten in suffrage discourse.

As well as the works described, many of the historical texts which deal with specific parts of the movement offer information on suffrage materials where they appear in each context. For example, Atkinson's (2018a) comprehensive work on the WSPU, Robinson's (2018) illuminating research on the suffragists, or Crawford's (2001) enormously valuable reference guide which covers not only the many hundreds of individuals and organisations involved in the movement, but also some of the artefacts and ephemera.

3.2 New Research and Reframing Political Materials Through Applied Archaeological Theory

The studies just outlined have formed the body of thought on suffrage materiality, as have the work of professionals in the museums and archives that house these materials. Historians and curators contributed significantly in their analysis of these objects, their manufacture, and to a lesser extent the relationships between the makers and the activists who used them. Yet there is room to explore the active role of suffrage artefacts, the complex relationships surrounding their usages, and there are still object types that have been left out of existing work. Florey's (2013) study was extensive, but there is opportunity to further establish the functions of badges and deeply consider their recurring symbolism. Membership cards, objects made in prisons, one offs and repurposed items were not included, and while Florey covered cigarettes, this discussion centred more on the controversy of women smokers and the US campaign, but there are insights to be gained by discussing the selling of suffrage cigarettes and other consumables during wartime. Crawford (2019a) examined business owners who sold for the suffrage market, but this study helps place goods as active components within the connected themes of increasing commercialisation and new freedoms for women, whereby suffrage commodities allowed women to become politically driven consumers and shapers of society.

Crucially, objects used in direct action, for example hammers, padlocks, chains and weaponry such as whips have only been briefly mentioned in reference to the actions they were involved in, and have not been analysed as artefacts that shared a pivotal role in defining and determining militant activity. Analysis of suffrage jewellery and adornment (Goring 2002; Atkinson 2008) focused on individual pieces, their makers and wearers, but did not examine their place within the context of the tax resistance struggle, or fully determine their role within ceremony and awarding, or wider related ideas on the Arts & Crafts movement. This thesis is also able to bring into discussion recently acquired objects, such as Alice Farmer's collection, as well as objects that have not been relevant to other research or deemed too peripheral to warrant much consideration. For example, *The Hammerers Magazine* produced by suffragette prisoners, or the bookstand owned by Caprina Fahey. Inclusions such as these are not mere updates on existing scholarship, but are pathways to new understanding: the brooch awarded to Millicent Garrett Fawcett (Murphy 2016) enables new analysis of ceremony and recognition, and issues of *The Hammerers Magazine* are an incredible resource of unexplored information on suffragette identity creation. While analysing the role of objects this work makes considerable use of the taped suffrage interviews conducted by Harrison (1974-1981), and new discussion of the national and international impact of leaflets, for example, is reliant on minute books, annual reports and other documentation kept at LSE Women's Library. The section *"Spender's in the Suffrage Movement, Unite"* highlights neglected insights into campaigners' thoughts on finance and consumerism, sourced from these minute books.

Tickner's (1987) work defined ideas about suffrage representation, however, neither Tickner's nor the limited landscape of work that focuses specifically on suffrage materials has applied artifactual theories drawn from archaeology. The exception is Green (2017) who discussed Kopytoff (1986), Miller (2005), and 'thing theory' within her work on feminist periodicals. This study further extends this integration of material theories. Combining new and existing interpretations on identity creation and suffrage materiality with ideas on object agency offers a new perspective: 'Until recently, material objects were given little attention in disciplines such as anthropology, history or sociology, being seen mainly as functional items vital to the social process but seldom as informing it' (Gosden & Marshall 1999, 169). But, as Miller (2005, 5) describes, material culture 'implies that much of what we are exists not through our consciousness or body, but as an exterior environment that habituates and prompts us.' Considering objects as 'vibrant', 'animate' or 'active' allows us to think about the scenes they set within the suffrage movement, the behaviour they might have prompted, and their ability to determine what took place, which in turn allows for more thorough analysis of their 'role.'

Goring (2002, 85) came close to this, writing;

> 'thousands of examples [of suffragette jewellery] must have been made and worn between 1908 and 1914 (…) Every jewel will have had a unique personal story attached to it, with the capacity to bear witness to one of the most remarkable and sustained movements for social change of the 20th century.'

This notion of artefacts 'bearing witness' is often described in relation to pivotal moments in history. Objects take on new symbolic significance after their involvement in an event. The evolving biographies of these objects, their trajectories and what they have 'witnessed' becomes more complex when we consider not only the object's history, but the responses it might provoke culturally, aesthetically and in the case of women's suffrage, politically, as well as the expectations and values an individual might hold and attribute to an object, which differs from person to person (Kopytoff 1986). Turning this around, objects also have the capacity to influence and provoke an emotional response or action. Green (2017, 41) made this connection;

> '...suffrage activists and authors were quite aware that the suffrage paper was more than a guide to things, but that it counted as a thing itself, circulating in such a way that it could forge intimate relationships between readers and the movement, readers and marketers, and finally between the reader and the paper itself.'

Suffrage papers transferred 'emotion'; 'as repositories of affect papers attached specific meanings to things in order to stitch women readers more intimately to an abstract idea' (ibid, 41-42). Though Green's work focused on suffrage papers, she used the example of a familiar everyday object such as a teacup (figure 17) rebranded by the movement to become a commercial tool, '...the teacup is both itself and more than itself: an emblem of taste, certainly,



Figure 17. WSPU teacup and saucer decorated with Sylvia Pankhurst's 'trumpeting angel' motif in purple, white and green. The design incorporates a winged angel blowing her trumpet, the banner of 'Freedom' above her head. In the background are the initials of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) set against prison bars surrounded by the thistle, shamrock, rose and dangling chains (1909). PHM.

but also a badge of honor, a reminder of commitment, a recruiting tool, and a memento. The teacup is more than a teacup, in part, because of the various strategies that produce an object as a branded "feminist thing" (ibid, 45, 48). The use of 'thing theory' and object biographies in material culture studies allows us to consider the value placed upon an object, the feelings and ideas that can be transferred to a humble teacup to make it 'more than itself'. As Gosden and Marshall (1999, 169) describe, one of the central ideas within archaeology focuses on 'the way human and object histories inform each other' with the understanding that 'as people and objects gather time, movement and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other.'

Concurrently, the consequences and outcomes of history shape our present day attitudes towards historical materials, and the judgements and responses we arrive at based on this context. Kopytoff (1986, 67) used the examples of a Renoir painting ending up in an incinerator, and the biography of a murdered person to demonstrate this point. Both of the final outcomes mark each of these biographies as 'tragic', thus shaping the judgments we make of each. Applying this understanding to suffrage materials, their significance and meaning today has been largely constructed by the political history they were a product of. For example, the train ticket purchased by Emily Wilding Davison on Derby Day 1913 when she stepped out in front of the King's horse (figure 18). The impact of Davison's actions and the tragic nature of her death had various ramifications for the movement, its legacy and her own, but it also marked the ticket as an object of speculation. The return ticket was proof to many that she intended to return home. Purvis (2013, 353) concluded she was 'a risk-taker who probably did not intend to die,' though she would have certainly expected to have been arrested for her actions that day. The notepaper, envelopes and stamps in her pockets offered further insight, perhaps she intended to write letters from a police cell that day, though it is impossible to know for certain (ibid; Crawford, 2013a).

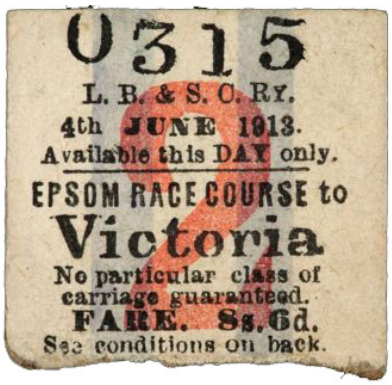


Figure 18. Emily Wilding Davison's return ticket from Epsom to London Victoria. Though no one who knew Emily personally knew of her intentions, her death was ruled as 'accidental' by the coroner. 'Fracture at the base of the skull caused by being accidentally knocked down by a horse through wilfully rushing on to the race course at Epsom Downs Surrey on the 4th June 1913 during the progress of a race.' (1913), LSE.

Analysis of an object such as this train ticket and its legacy thereafter (as an object that has provoked questions and prompted conclusions), is one example of the importance of materials in legitimising or discrediting ideas about history that might otherwise remain obscure. As Appadurai (1986, 5) explained,

> 'We have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories. It is only through the analysis of these trajectories that we can interpret the human transactions and calculations that enliven things. Thus, even though from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context.'

The train ticket exemplifies an ephemeral object preserved as an important piece of history because of its biography. Objects gain significance as a mutual process of value creation that connects people and events (Gosden & Marshall 1999, 170). This is one type of suffrage artefact. The following chapters also discuss objects classed as 'commodities,' using Kopytoff's (1986, 68) definition: 'A commodity is a thing that has use value and that can be exchanged in a discrete transaction for a

counterpart, the very fact of exchange indicating that the counterpart has, in the immediate context, an equivalent value.' A WSPU tea set sold to profit the campaign is an example of a suffrage commodity, though its design and associations to the WSPU mean that it could also be referred to as 'merchandise.' Commodities can be collectable, and/or hold sentimental value; a piece of jewellery made of purple white and green stones might be cherished by its owner for its meaning in relation to ideas surrounding the campaign, or simply because it was a gift from a loved one or a family heirloom. On the other hand, a homemade beaded necklace not sold to the public, but for the use of its maker, would come with its own set of meanings, some unique and some the same as the 'commodity', though it would warrant a different definition other than commodity or merchandise. Equally, both forms of suffrage jewellery would take on new roles and significance when worn in public for others to see and interpret.

Aside from commodities and merchandise, there are artefacts used to advertise, provoke thought and instruct, for example a newspaper, pamphlet or poster, all of which might be referred to as 'propaganda.' Though again, this definition is not exclusive to these types of materials, being that a tea set with suffrage insignia or jewellery in the colours could also be accurately described as a propaganda item, though perhaps a more subtle form, being that it's meaning is inferred from an existing body of knowledge of colours and symbolism that help make it identifiable, rather than text that boldly asserts itself. Here we see that the definition of 'commodity' provided by Kopytoff and other routinely used definitions can help in understanding and defining uses and value, but they can also be limiting and not wholly accurate. These terms do not fully define the more complex nature of suffrage objects that are routinely category defying due to their multifaceted natures. For this reason the frameworks described by Kopytoff and other object theorists operate only as a guide, and are not definitive when discussing suffrage materiality.

Another category would include objects used by protestors that were not available for commercial sale, for example a handmade banner held in a march to deliver a message. Or a padlock and chain, hammer or stone used in militant action, which derive meaning from the performance in which they played a part. In this sense their meaning is 'enacted' and their status changed thereafter the event (Gosden & Marshall 1999, 175). The term 'souvenir' or 'keepsake' is also worth questioning. A 'suffrage souvenir' often refers to an object which has been kept as a reminder of a particular moment, place, event or person. Within the MoL collection is a loaf of bread, kept and taken from prison by a suffragette (figure 19). Museum object notes describe it as 'a souvenir [removed] from Holloway by a released suffragette prisoner' (MoL:50.82/1221). The classification of the object as a 'souvenir' has ramifications both on the object and the motives of the campaigner who took it. Like Kopytoff's definition of 'commodity', the usage here is not entirely appropriate for the bread, and does not fully capture the personal and political nature of this or other suffrage objects also classified as 'souvenirs'. Suffragette prisoners often smuggled bread from prison, for example, Mary Leigh and Edith New were photographed joyfully holding their uneaten loaves (figure 20). Mary was the first suffragette to be force fed, her health having suffered for her hunger strikes and injuries gained during protests (Robinson 2018, 323). Edith was also one of the first hunger strikers, though she managed to avoid forced feeding, being released five days into her strike (Crawford 2001, 446). The bread, as this picture demonstrates, was more than a souvenir, it was a trophy.

This example serves to demonstrate how the terms we use can define and limit our thoughts on an object. The motivation for taking the bread might have been to operate as a memento with specific meaning tied to a memory significant to the individual (as souvenir would suggest), or to relay the prison experience to others, but to reconsider it as a trophy redefines and offers a whole new perspective on the action of taking it. Held high for all to see, the bread was clearly an earned symbol of the women's unwavering commitment and dedication to the cause, the ordeal they survived and

those whose rights they fought for. ‘Bread for all, and roses too’ (suffragist Beatrice Chapman in Robinson 2018, 15).





Figure 19. Small loaf of bread (preserved and gifted to MoL in 1950) issued to prisoners in Holloway jail. Removed by a released suffragette prisoner (c. 1907-1914). MoL:50.82/1221.

Figure 20. Mary Leigh and Edith New, ‘the first suffragette window-smashers,’ hold up their loaves of prison bread upon their release from Holloway. The women were met by a brass band playing ‘The Marseillaise’ and presented with bouquets of flowers from their fellow supporters. Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs Pethick-Lawrence were among those dressed in their suffrage finery waiting to greet the women, who were then taken in horse-drawn carriage to a celebratory breakfast in their honour (1908), (Atkinson 2018,111-112; Crawford 1999, 446). MoL:NN22713.

The bread and other items make the case for fresh consideration of terminology and application of critical thinking toward the classification of political objects. The opportunities for both applying object theories and renegotiating the terms used to describe objects can offer much value and appreciation of the role of materials in the women's suffrage movement. It is worth noting here that Kopytoff (1986) relies largely on categories which fit neatly into capitalist relationships. Yet this study shows that even in the early twentieth century, groups and individuals could both engage in these relationships for their own ends (and not the market’s), sometimes subverting them and sometimes not, while simultaneously creating material relationships that sat outside of these categories. More subtle object categories provided by archaeologists such as Gosden & Marshall (1999) can be used more flexibly. The consideration toward object types, classification and discussion provided by this work provides original contribution via a new emphasis on the agency of material culture used in the movement.

When put into practice existing object theories have not always been able to fully express the layered, contested, evolving and ‘elastic’ nature of object meanings (Colwell 2022, 129). Emerging ‘palimpsest theory of objects’ extends object biographies to detail ‘the overlapping, shifting, and competing meanings of objects’ across their lifespan and various contexts (ibid). A palimpsest creates a layered object which is the composite sum of all additions, removals, changes and amendments. The recent framework provided by Colwell (2022) is especially relevant to the final chapter of this work which makes a further original contribution through consideration of the ongoing usage of WSPU colours via contemporary suffrage ‘merchandise’ (a fitting usage of the term here), appropriation by recent activists right up to the time of this writing, and the legacy of this material history. This chapter warrants different handling and application of theory than the previous historically focused work, but is

especially timely, given the ongoing discourse around, and contentious nature of, recent use of WSPU colours by some TERF (Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminist) protestors.

4. Methodology

4.1 Research Questions

Having provided an overview of the women's suffrage movement, existing research on its materiality, the gaps in this research that warrant this study, as well as a critical viewpoint that harnesses object theory and classification, this work uses this understanding to examine the active role of material culture in the women's suffrage movement. This study offers new insight into the creative resistance of activists who used objects to convey their message, and the collective identities that were formed and articulated through material culture. The following questions are addressed throughout; what was the role of objects in the women's suffrage movement and how did objects help to support the campaign? How did they help to construct collective identities? What were the types of materials appropriated by campaigners?

4.2 Research Design and Technique

Some contemporary archaeological studies have found it beneficial to employ a mixed methodology; McAtackney (2014, 40-41) found that a fluid and reflexive approach allowed for the discovery of 'hidden narratives' and multiple perspectives 'by placing the material form at the centre and interrogating the prejudices and partialities of individual sources'. While McAtackney and Ryzewski (2017, 263) used 'a multitude of methodologies and approaches in their examination'. Previous non-material culture approaches to suffrage history have not been able to elaborate upon or reveal the nuances and complexities of campaigners use of objects, which is a neglected pathway to a deeper understanding of the movement. When applied to this study, a mixed methodological approach allows for the conceptual framing provided by the themes of gender, resistance, protest, etc to help navigate the material culture, while noting commonalities and differences between it and the movement with past political protest, and past and present use of related objects.

While Florey's (2013) categorisation of suffrage objects by type was effective, the previous discussion of theory and classification demonstrates that broader categorising of suffrage materials as 'commodity' etc, is not always optimal. As there is such a substantial volume and range of suffrage artefacts available, this work groups suffrage materials based on their primary role and contribution to the movement. This categorisation in itself helps to better establish their involvements. Initially, several methods of organisation were explored to better interpret the assemblage, including spatial distribution, connection to mass production, and by material. These were not sufficient for an analytical approach that could fully capture their multiple and emotive qualities. Instead, the categories chosen are inspired by a framework used by the V&A in their 2014 *Disobedient Objects* exhibition. This exhibition was the first of it's kind to examine the role of objects in social movements, and showcased items from inflatables used in worker protests in Berlin and Barcelona in 2012, to a beaten pan lid used in noise-making demonstrations against Argentina's government policies in 2008 (Graeber 2014, 73; Flood & Grindon 2014, 10-11). Within the exhibition, objects were divided under the titles *Making Worlds*, *Direct Action* and *Speaking Out*, among others. Using these terms as the focus of each chapter, this study utilises and further defines these categories to suit the artefacts covered. Applying this method of categorising to artefacts from a single social movement allows for a deeper level of understanding to be gained on their role and significance.

Elements of the framework proposed by Kopytoff (1986) to examine object biographies also help to interpret aspects such as; iconography, period, culture, materials, value, manufacture, function, physical history, ownership, collecting, status and aesthetic qualities, by posing questions such as;

where did it come from? Who made it? How did it come to be? What were the techniques used to create it? How much was it worth? What was it used for? What changes have been brought about to it because of this usage? What has been added or taken away? How many are there? What does it represent and how does it encompass the idea? (Harris 2020). Placing objects at the centre of discussion allows material evidence to become the starting point, prompting questions such as these which may not be asked otherwise. In this sense, the object can be seen as an activator/mediator, producing new historical insights. While object theories underpin this work, visual communication theory and feminist theory are also applied, and protest history, social history and, to a lesser extent, military history are relevant in part.

Use of the term 'suffrage campaigners' is used throughout this work to stand for both suffragists and suffragettes and bypass the need for this distinction at times when it is not necessary. These campaigners were routinely depicted as 'masculine' and 'unwomanly' in anti-suffrage and commercial material, often in reference to ways of dressing and appearance. These terms are contentious today, but a great deal of both anti- and pro-suffrage propaganda revolved around generalisations about men and women. This gender stereotyping derived from individual societal roles in public and at home, but extended to include deeply entrenched ideas about what men and women should look like and their behaviours. Most of all it emphasised and perpetuated differences - anyone who challenged gendered boundaries was seen as 'unnatural', and often met with ridicule and hatred. The concept of gender is a social construct which defines ideas about what it means to be a man or woman (Scott 1986, 1053-1075). Today we can appreciate that the confines of gender and stereotyping can constrict us, limit individual expression and negatively impact a person's sense of 'self'. There is also evidence that gender stereotypes can be detrimental on a larger scale by impeding women's career prospects, both in terms of bias in employment, as well as limiting women's own ideas about themselves (Hentschel et al. 2019). For the purpose of this study it is necessary to refer to some imagery in classifications such as 'masculine' and 'feminine', as it reveals the maker's intentions behind the propaganda, though it is recognised today that there is more open fluidity in fashion and gender, and narrow stereotypes can and should be challenged. This is acknowledged in the final chapter of this work which includes some discussion of the issues faced by transgender people, relevant to the materials discussed.

4.3 Sources

- Museum of London (approx 974 objects)
- The Women's Library, LSE (approx 146 assemblages from individuals and groups, oral history recordings and digitised periodicals)
- Leeds Museums & Galleries (200+ objects)
- Manchester People's History Museum (approx 30 objects)
- Glasgow Women's Library (200+ objects)
- The National Archives (various separate datasets - see description below)
- The UK Parliamentary Archives (approx 20 objects; 86 police reports; 20 petitions; 400+ related correspondence)

Former members of the WSPU and WFL gathered in 1926 to form The Suffragette Fellowship with the aim to 'keep alive the Suffragette spirit' through collection and preservation of the objects and written materials of suffragette prisoners (MoL 2018). These materials were later donated to MoL in 1950 leaving the Museum with the largest militant collection of around 974 objects. While this is an extensive assemblage, The Suffragette Fellowship displayed clear bias in their collecting. By favouring suffragettes who had been imprisoned, they prioritised materials that conveyed a specific type of militancy (discussed further in Chapter 7). Primary data has been gathered from this collection, though this study acknowledges that objects belonging to militant suffragettes who were not

imprisoned may have been missed, and working from a range of sources is necessary to help mitigate this. The Women's Library at LSE holds another early collection which originated from the London Society for Women's Suffrage (LSWS), and, like the Fellowship collection, it was started in 1926 to preserve suffrage history, while also being a resource to newly enfranchised women as a library (LSE n.d.,a). This collection consists of approximately 146 suffrage assemblages of individuals and an expanse of object types. It holds the annual reports of major women's suffrage organisations as well as pamphlets, leaflets, minute books and an extensive quantity of full copies of suffrage newspapers and journals. Research trips to both MoL and LSE have been vital in gathering primary data for this work, while The Women's Rights Collection within LSE digital library has been another crucial resource, particularly the digitised newspapers and the oral history tapes which were recorded by historian Brian Harrison between 1974-1981.

Leeds Museums & Galleries has been another excellent resource. Their collection contains 200+ objects donated by suffragette Leonora Cohen in 1966. Research into these various sources revealed that objects can appear in unexpected places, and viewing multiple different collections can be helpful in further illuminating another. For example, correspondence from Leonora Cohen to Grace Roe and The Suffragette Fellowship make up part of the LSE collection, while Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence's hunger strike medal is part of the Leonora Cohen collection at Leeds Museums & Galleries. Born in Bristol and growing up in Weston-super-Mare before living in London, the medal might be expected to be in a museum with regional connection, or indeed a larger or more well known suffrage collection such as MoL or LSE's, given that Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence was a forefront leader of the movement. Yet this more muddled, unexpected finding of such an object is infinitely more interesting, and poses questions about the connections between women and objects in terms of how they made their journeys into the collections where they now reside. Perhaps Cohen borrowed the medal from Pethick-Lawrence after the movement for an event, or maybe it was left to her as a gesture of friendship and shared solidarity. Perhaps, it was simply loaned from another collection and never made its way back. Leeds curators are unsure of the answer, but either way this example shows that collections are not straightforward, and how an object comes to be in an assemblage is not always clear. This is often the case with suffrage materials which are typically very early collections, curated by campaigners just after the movement, though there have been sporadic but continued updates, with objects found and acquired in years since (see pp. 287-288). Centenaries have prompted some collecting activity; curator Donna Gilligan appealed for suffrage materials from the Irish movement in 2016, ahead of the 2018 partial centenary (Ward 2021, 177). Hoping to write Irish women back into the national narrative, Gilligan acquired around 70 objects from private collections, not including materials located in archives (ibid). The continued sourcing and cataloguing of objects pertaining to a specific faction or underrepresented area of the movement, in this case Irish women, does have a bearing on our understanding. While other findings such as lost banners, medals or materials pertaining to lesser acknowledged individuals (see again pg 288) do not significantly change what we already know, but are nonetheless exciting additions that can shed light on individuals and their actions, and allow for the telling of new suffrage stories through materiality.

Other main UK suffrage collections consulted include Manchester People's History Museum and The National Archives 'Women's Suffrage' collection, which has digitised historical records from various departments including Home Office, Metropolitan Police and Treasury records as well as some materials viewable in person[8]. These collections hold information relating to suffrage organisations and activities, government responses to civil disobedience, cabinet papers, arrest records and public opinion among other information. The UK Parliamentary Archives were another valuable source for finding women's suffrage documentation, including diaries and letters made by suffragettes as well as petitions and legislative acts.

[8] Archivists were helpful in answering questions and photographing materials from this collection while in-person research was unavailable due to Covid-19 restrictions.

Glasgow Women's Library holds an extensive collection of suffrage postcards, some written and others left blank, indicating that they were either kept safely for posterity, or that they once belonged in an assemblage, scrapbook or album. While some collection catalogues provide information on objects' lives before the museum, the accompanying objects they were kept with, and their journey into an archive/museum, this information is often not available. Postcards are frequently kept as loose, individual examples, both in GWL and other archives. It is difficult, and often impossible, to know whether these postcards were once broken up from albums and moved around before or after they came to their current collections, and whether in this process the intentions of the original collector have been lost. This is likely the case with many postcards and other printed ephemera (covered in Chapter 6), which are often fairly pristine despite their age and history, suggesting that throughout the movement many activists were carefully preserving them in scrapbooks. Several examples of whole suffrage scrapbooks do exist in collections, for example Garrett Fawcett's within LSE, or Arncliffe Sennet's within the British Library, which brings a personal viewpoint to her experience of suffrage via inclusion of her thoughts and friendships (Watton 2020).

4.4 Methods and Limitations of Study

Initial plans for this research involved more data gathering trips to examine the material collections of the various museums and archives listed. While some trips were possible, these occurred much later than first anticipated due to restrictions and disruption to institutions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic throughout the first two years of this work. During this time materials available via online collections databases were utilised primarily, alongside other digitised materials such as suffrage newspapers. Focus was directed toward objects less dependent on being viewed and analysed in person, for example printed ephemera. These adjustments aimed to mitigate the impacts of the pandemic on this research, though undoubtedly this did limit the initial scope of the project as it was first planned.

Besides the challenges of researching at the time of this study, another limitation is the archival silences present in any study that focuses on historic materials. Manoff (2016, 2) uses Theimer's discussion to explain two types of archival silence, '...archival silences refer to gaps or omissions in a body of original records' they also refer to 'materials that are not available in formats useful for scholarly research and, more specifically, materials which have not been digitised and marked up.' It's worth noting, as Manoff and Theimer do, that this description does not fully account for the myriad of other ways that lead to archival silences: sources that are not openly available or yet ready for scholarly use for various reasons, or those which have been omitted via 'selective archival digitisation' are among other factors (ibid). The acknowledgement of archival silences is especially relevant to the ephemeral materials covered in this work, and is discussed on pp. 140-141.

Despite these limitations, materials from the Votes for Women campaign are generally incredibly well preserved compared to other historical movements, and there are various data collection opportunities for this material. The fact that this study has been undertaken at a time when there is increased digital access to archives of suffrage materials means it is easier to collate and compare information. While gathering data for this work it has been possible to bring together materials in an extensive spreadsheet which crosses numerous museum, archive and private collections. This allowed for a more thorough overview than would have been achievable without the opportunities provided by digital software. Compiling this 'suffrage materials catalogue' (see Appendix 4) made it possible to quickly search and locate all print materials relating to 'force-feeding' or 'census resistance', for example. Of course these searches are still limited by this researcher's success in locating objects and categorising them correctly, and the scope of searches is limited to the sample data collected, though this study has amassed a considerable database of just under 500 objects.

This is by no means the total sum of what exists, but is a core assemblage of materials specifically relevant to this study.

Utilising collections catalogues, other digitised materials and corresponding with archivists and curators made it possible to ascertain the variety and extent of suffrage artefacts, while documentation elaborated on their usage. Optical character recognition is a feature of online archives (such as the British Newspaper Archive) which has been another asset to this project, making it possible to locate mentions of a particular object or occurrence in suffrage newspapers. For example, mentions of soap in advertisements could be found and combined with analysis of the physical object (such as a box of soap within LSE) for an integrated textual and material study. This was also helpful in determining usage of whips and other weapons by searching keywords and terms to find their mentions in reports. It is recognised that optical character recognition does not capture everything and does not understand context, therefore it has been integral to read around these mentions within each newspaper to gain a fuller picture, while also combining this research with other primary sources. The process of gathering data while working in archives was naturally more time consuming, especially when working through stacks of minute books or other materials with several volumes and dense blocks of handwritten text. To optimise time, texts were scan read while looking out for specific keywords. WFL minute books recorded between 1908-1915 were excellent for this as headings were typically underlined, which made it easy to find discussion from the Merchandise, Literature and Propaganda Departments, and reports from each relevant committee. When coming across a book that may or may not be relevant, sampling the text by turning to various sections throughout and skimming pages made it possible to determine whether to continue reading or not. While again this method does not capture all data, it allows for the most materials to be covered as possible. Photographs of text and notes were also taken to refer back to in most archives visited.

The following chapters demonstrate the roles of suffrage artefacts, and each chapter includes its own conclusion. These findings are then brought together in the concluding chapter to discuss the overall impact of suffrage materiality and its legacy as it relates both to the historic movement as well as contemporary feminism, identity and radicalism.

5. Making Worlds

This chapter critically examines the role of objects in the act of 'making worlds', that is, how objects helped to construct campaign group identities, how they prompted the gatherings and physical infrastructures of suffrage events, markets and shops, and how the movement became enmeshed with new feminist consumer culture, which it both influenced and heavily leaned into. Three key ideas link the objects in this chapter: the importance of materials in the creation and maintenance of a politicised collective identity; the use of material culture in symbolic communication; and the conscious consumption of material goods to aid a particular political goal.

When pushing for change, activists find new ways of organising, communicating and uniting together to create a recognisable social movement. One element of this, the production of material culture, can influence the ways an organisation is able to mobilise, attract members, get their point across and achieve their desired outcome. Mann (2014, 29) defines 'Maktivists' as 'people who make things for social change'. This creative activism or 'Maktivism' ('Make-tivism') additionally benefits activists as making things together creates and enhances their social bonds. An activist group might choose to build onto an existing identity (perhaps in order to emphasise a history) and then adjust new boundaries to suit, or form an entirely new identity (Horowitz 2017). For example, some American suffrage organisations modelled their campaign colours after the WSPU's distinctive purple, white and green colour scheme (Florey 2013, 79). This allowed them to distance themselves from the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) whose colours were yellow and black, and also helped them to reflect their differing approach (ibid, 77-79).

Suffrage campaigners were sometimes mocked by those who felt their 'preoccupation with visuals' trivialised their message. Anti-suffragist Francis Latham wrote after a suffrage demonstration,

> '...but for the opportunity to display themselves to the admiring gaze of men, in pretty costumes, big hats, carrying flowers (…) very few damsels would have appeared on the scene. The summer procession was merely an attractive show, without the slightest political significance' (Latham 1911, 20).

Overlooked in this comment is the way that coded materials allowed activists to construct and 'perform' their activism via acceptable activities that displayed them. Performative aspects of protests help to create meaning, as onlookers (and participants) begin to associate a visual identity with particular actions and events. Soar and Tremlett (2017, 429) describe performance in regard to protest as 'a site of negotiation' where meaning, truth and new social realities can be created. Butler (1988) explained that gender identity is temporal and constituted via repetition of gendered acts. 'Gender reality is performative which means, quite simply, that it is real only to the extent that it is performed' (ibid, 527). Clothing is typically the main signifier in this gendered negotiation and performance, as the body politic articulates the wearers political ideas and their identity without verbal or written expression (Navickas 2010, 543). Suffrage campaigners powerfully gendered themselves by conforming to fashionable, feminine styles (that to critics like Latham might read as superficial), while simultaneously subverting their performance via materials that signalled a new radical political identity. This identity needed to be performed publicly, both to positively navigate women's public presence, but also to help create and fasten meaning to their visual expression for outsiders, while signalling others who understood their coded materials.

An activist group's chosen colours and symbols work both outside of, and within, the usual boundaries of the group, as they become physical reminders that help renew feelings of dedication in group

members and supporters (Soar & Tremlett 2017, 430). They might also help incite new gatherings and occasions, not only as prompts, but because of the need to create more materials or convene to make and mend objects such as banners before a rally (figure 21).



Figure 21. Making banners for the upcoming procession of 23 July 1910. An inscription on the reverse of the photograph reads, 'Next Saturday's Mammoth Procession of the Suffragettes will be a Pageant in itself. The preparations are on a vast scale and the banners and floral decorations carried by the Processionists promise to be of a most striking and picturesque nature. Our picture shows members making final preparations. Hundreds are busily at work at centres all over London.' (1910). LSE:7JCC/O/02/015.

5.1 What is the Role of Aesthetics in Creating an Effective Challenge?

The role of aesthetics is a strong recurring theme within this chapter, which poses questions about the value of visuals as they relate to activism. While some objects such as banners were meticulously planned and executed, materials used in protest typically arise from a flexible creative process where objects are made from refashioned items to suit a purpose. A leather covered baton used by suffragette Lettice Floyd is an excellent example of this creative adaptation (figure 22).



Figure 22. Lettice Floyd's leather covered baton, adapted with a ribbon in the WSPU colours (1912). MoL:50.82/1206.

Floyd became a full time organiser for the WSPU in 1908, her baton may have been used for self defence or to break windows during the window smashing campaign in 1912 where she was arrested (MoL: 50.82/1206). Following her arrest she was imprisoned in Holloway for 'wilful damage', where she hunger-striked and was forcibly fed (Crawford 2001, 224-225). Floyd's weapon of choice was customised; a ribbon in the WSPU colours was added around the handle, forging a link between it and its owner, and between it and the militant movement. White for purity, green for hope and purple for dignity. Merging these colours with a weapon crafts it into something new and symbolic, and reimagines and reinforces the act of property destruction. Or if we consider self defence, it encapsulates the jeopardy and struggle of its maker who, like many suffragettes and suffragists, may have faced violence while protesting. Floyd's customisation of the baton perhaps bonded her to it, and further legitimised her identity as part of the WSPU. It could also be assumed that the addition of the ribbon was merely decorative, in keeping with the suffragette aesthetic, it ensures it is added to their world where everything could be made or bought in the colours.

This begs the question, what is the role of aesthetics in creating an effective challenge? Can a decorated object used in political protest ever be considered merely decorative? Recent research has established that the role of aesthetics goes beyond 'Kantian interpretations of what is beautiful or pleasing to the eye' and instead needs to be understood as comprising 'a range of performances' (McGarry et al. 2019, 17). McGarry et al. maintain that 'whilst aesthetics can be understood as a quality, style, taste or value, we believe this positivist position fails to capture the complex communicative and expressive processes in protest action, and what it means for democratic processes' (ibid). Aesthetic choices can also have a huge impact on how a movement is heard and seen, as such these choices can be especially important for minority groups and marginalised people who might not be recognised without a collective visual identity (ibid, 18-19).

> 'Aesthetics of protest carry a potential symbolic resonance bound up with identities, affect, attitudes, and new meanings and knowledge; aesthetics are thus a dynamic process which are attuned to adapt to and support rapid social change engendered by protest movements. Political voice is not concerned with merely being recognized or included in the existing political order; it seeks to rupture dominant political, cultural, and economic structures' (ibid, 19).

Suffrage campaign groups used specific colours and styles to communicate ideas, raise awareness and increase visibility of their cause and to help with further mobilisation. The aesthetics of suffrage marches, exhibitions, and acts of protest were usually meticulously planned in the same way a theatrical performance might be staged, with each scene taken into consideration. The aesthetic qualities of a political performance help to redefine a space, an act, or often in this case, an object such as a hammer or a baton. By viewing the protest as a performance it becomes easier to read the visual language of the moment as a series of intentions which were used to make a point, to pose a challenge and produce an effective protest. The strong visual identity of suffrage groups also helped to document their protest, allowing it to be understood and attached to the movement then and thereafter. When aesthetics become politicised in this way this helps to create new ways of seeing which challenge existing power structures and orthodoxies. For example, Floyd's baton is not just purple, white and green; in archaeological discourse it might be considered a male-coded object (Barrett 1988, 12), but through its customisation and use it is now clearly a feminist object (or a feminised male-coded object), as well as being an expression of dissent toward the government and one of solidarity to un-enfranchised women. Once the relationship between the colours, symbols and slogans of the movement were clearly established, this recognisable visual language was utilised and a 'new world' created - which subsequent use continued to build on. With this in mind, one can understand that the aesthetic decisions made by suffrage campaigners are inherently an active choice, one which forms their practice as activists who express their ideas and intentions through a

range of resources. All protest objects that harness the visual identity of their movement are active participants that perform, amplify and communicate. The suffragettes forged new identities and meanings through their methods of protest, and challenged dominant ideas about womanhood.

5.2 How Did Objects Help Construct Collective Identities?

Klandermans (2014, 2) noted that identity is one of three factors in the dynamic of protest participation:

> 'People may want to take part in political protest because they want to change their circumstances (instrumental motives), to act as a member of their group (identity motive), or to express their views and feelings (ideological motive). Social movements may supply the opportunity to fulfil these demands and the more they do, the more movement participation turns into a satisfying experience.'

Suffrage campaigners likely acted on behalf of a mixture of these different motivating factors; many campaigners (most notably Emmeline Pankhurst) described being driven to women's causes from a young age by a deep sense of inequality and injustice (the ideological motive). Working-class women were often motivated by their desire for better and fairer pay, while middle- and upper-class women often rallied for change on behalf of the working classes and to seek fairer legislation for themselves when it came to issues like taxation and property ownership. These examples would be considered as both instrumental and ideological motives. Identity as a motivating factor is something which is often shaped by the activities and symbols which emerge from the group itself, which then act as a motivating force and a source of direction and representation. For example, the wearing of organisation colours such as the NUWSS red, white and green or the WSPU purple, white and green, helped members to feel in tune with their collective, while also providing a visible representation of their allegiance to others once the groups associated colours, emblems and symbols became established. The stronger the group identity, the more likely members are to act on behalf of the group as they feel supported by the organisation (ibid, 3).

Personal adornments such as organisational pin badges, sashes and jewellery 'in the colours' played a considerable role in strengthening the identity of a group and providing this support. Coded materials such as these act as a form of solidarity between wearers and supporters. They also enable people to make themselves recognisable with their cause, thus aiding group formation by helping to direct new members to existing ones. In wider society, a group's ideologies then become represented through these recognisable symbols, becoming a shorthand as 'abstract ideas are transformed into concrete images' (Awad & Wagoner 2020, 99-100). Symbols become 'anchor points' for issues, in the similar way that religious symbolism becomes bound to a particular religion. National flags are another example; during wartime the Union Jack was used extensively to unite Great Britain and to encourage men to sign up to fight by provoking a sense of national duty.

The most prolific and important objects that aided suffrage campaigners in these ways are examined in the following sections: Pin badges, which were used to identify and recruit members; Jewellery, which allowed some members to share their more discreet and personal solidarity with the cause; Membership Cards, which helped to maintain and legitimise campaign group identity, and finally; Banners, which were perhaps the most effective world building tool in that they played a significant role in the image of the movement which translated through their use in processions and other events.

5.3 Pin Badges

The making and wearing of suffrage pins became popular around 1908. The WSPU and the WFL both began selling their own badges that year, and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence's introduction of the purple, white and green scheme in 1908 was popularised in various materials. This was a likely impetus to the making of badges, though the source of inspiration for this specific type of object may have come from The Primrose League's use of pins (Florey 2019, 137; 141). Founded in 1883, the Primrose League was formed by supporters of former Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli and aimed to promote Conservative party values in Britain. The League were one of the first to recognise the potential propaganda benefits of pin badges and produced various types. A writer in 1902 regarded 'the sight of the Primrose League badge' as having 'done as much to win recruits as the ablest of addresses and most eloquent of appeals' (figure 23) (ibid, 141). The NUWSS proposed the idea of an organisational badge in 1904, but the plan was dropped until it was picked up again between 1908-1909 (ibid, 49). Organisation pin badges remained popular from this point until around 1914, when their manufacture was largely discontinued due to the onset of the First World War (ibid, 137).



Figure 23. Primrose League gilt and enamel pin brooch with 5 petal yellow flower symbol, 'PL' monogram and 'Imperium Et Libertas' (Empire and Liberty). Made by T&J Bragg Ltd Birmingham. Design and patent number for the year 1886. The League chose the primrose as the symbol of their organisation as it was known to be Benjamin Disraeli's favourite flower, (c. 1886). Sally Bosleys Badge Shop.

Collectively viewing several pin badges from a particular organisation demonstrates their effectiveness as colour-coded symbols which contributed to an organisation's 'world building', and thus the ability for their members to be recognised and associated with their campaign group (figures 24-48). Pins worn during the movement ranged from highly decorative jewelled brooches, to hard enamel/metal and the more affordable celluloid. Badge designs tended to focus more on organisational identification than on movement politics, though new designs were often released to coincide with special events such as the 1913 Pilgrimage (figure 28). Paper and cardboard 'badges' fastened with a safety pin such as the NUWSS examples (figures 27 & 32) demonstrate that badges were sometimes made quickly for members stewarding an event. This is significant as it suggests they were seen as essential and important enough to warrant being quickly made to aid in the running of an event. It also suggests that the aesthetic of the badge was not foremost, and that its ability to translate a recognisable identity through use of organisational colours was its most important attribute. Pins were also often used as adornments on rosettes, or practically to help fasten a sash into place (figures 30, 31 & 33).

NUWSS - Red, White & Green

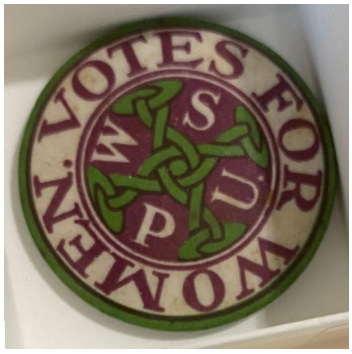


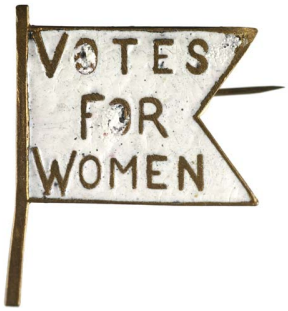
Figures 24-32 (from left to right).
Metal and enamel stick badge (1908-1918). LSE:TWL.2004.587.2;
Metal and enamel pin badge with rose in the NUWSS colours (1908-1918). LSE:TWL.2004.583.2;
'National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' red and white celluloid pin badge (1908-1918). LSE;
Paper 'Steward' badge with hand-drawn red and green border (c.1927). LSE:TWL.2004.595.4;
'Active Service League NUWSS' celluloid pin badge made for the 1913 Pilgrimage (1913). LSE:TWL.2004.589.3;
NUWSS celluloid pin badge reverse printed with address 22 Great Smith Street, Westminster. This location served as the organisation's headquarters from 1910 to 1918, (1910-1918). Houses of Parliament;
Collection of objects belonging to a suffragist: Metal/enamel pin badges, sash and flag all in the NUWSS red, white and green (1908-1918). LSE;
Metal 'Women's Suffrage' pin badge enamelled in red, used as a centrepiece of a handmade rosette (1906-1914). LSE;
Cardboard badge with 'Steward' written in black ink. There is a hole at the top of the cardboard with a safety-pin for fastening. A length of woven cotton ribbon with red, white and green stripe design has been cut diagonally and attached to the back bottom edge of the cardboard (1909-1928). LSE:TWL.2004.596.5.

WSPU - Purple, White & Green















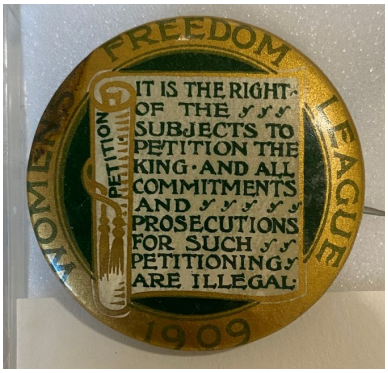






Figures 33-42 (from left to right).
Purple, white and green rosette and tin badge (1908-1912). MoL:77.166/6;
Shield-shaped silver and enamel ‘Votes For Women’ pin/lapel badge (c. 1909). MoL:77.166/4;
Circular ‘Votes For Women’ celluloid badge with 'WSPU' in white between celtic knots (1908-1910). LSE;
Metal and white enamel 'Votes for Women' pin badge in the shape of a flag (1910). MoL:74.450/2b;
Tin badge with ‘Freedom’ design by Sylvia Pankhurst which depicts a woman stepping through a gate with iron bars and heavy chains, carrying a 'Votes for Women' streamer (1909-1910). MoL: 77.166/3;
Purple, white and green enamelled shield badge (1909). MoL:74.81/6;
Cream satin badge embroidered with the word ‘Speaker’ and a metal bar brooch enamelled in green (1910). MoL:2003.46/8;
Circular metal badge with green and purple enamel, and angel in relief, inscribed WSPU / Votes for Women (1918). National Museums Scotland;
Purple, white and green striped ‘Votes For Women’ ribbon/patch, fastened with a pin (c.1908-1918). LSE;
Silver brooch in the shape of a toffee hammer with the inscription 'Votes for Women' (1912). MoL:50.82/1188a.

WFL - Green, Gold/Yellow & White













Figures 43-48 (from left to right).
Celluloid badge, "Petition. It is the right of the subjects to petition the king and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal" (1909). LSE;
Green, gold and white enamelled metal pin in the shape of a flag (c. 1907). LSE:TWL/2004/604;
Metal/enamel round pin badge. Reverse is engraved 'Toye & Co, Manufacturers, St Theobalds Rd' (c. 1907-1914). LSE:TWL/2004/604;
Gold, green and white celluloid badge with shield design. Paper disc in reverse, printed 'T[ait] Co, [Kentish] Town Rd, London NW' (c. 1907-1914). LSE:TWL.2004.601;
Enamelled brooch designed and made by the enamellist and artist Ernestine Mills. Possibly produced by Mills for sale in a WFL fundraising bazaar or as a private commission (c. 1908-1911). MoL:50.82/1141;
Gold, green and white celluloid badge with shield design (as before) with matching silk ribbons attached (c. 1907-1914). LSE:TWL.2004.603.

By 1909, the WSPU was commissioning a wide range of badges, brooches, pendants, pins and hatpins (figures 33-42). Many were manufactured by The Merchants' Portrait Company, while another large manufacturer, Toye and Co., made some metallic badges for the WSPU. Badges also helped define regional groups such as the Cymric Suffrage Union (Wales) (figure 51), as well as religious groupings (figures 52-54). The International Women's Suffrage Alliance, founded by suffragists from eleven different countries (including NUWSS leader Millicent Fawcett) produced their own badge and brooch designs (figure 55), and other groups who focused on particular issues such as the Census Resistance League and the Women's Tax Resistance League also produced pins (figure 56). These are only a small sample made during the movement, many other unique examples belonging to additional groups exist, yet those included here evidence the wide spectrum of designs and their popularity and accessibility as a propaganda material.



Figures 49-56 (from left to right).
Celluloid pin badge produced by the Women Writers Suffrage League, printed with a black and white image of a shield bearing the inscription: 'WWSL' (c. 1908-1918). LSE:TWL.2004.611;
Celluloid pin badge produced by the Actresses Franchise League, printed with a black, pale green and white shield with inscription: 'Votes for Women AFL'. Made by Merchants' Portrait Company (c. 1906-1914). LSE:TWL.2004.602;
Cymric Suffrage Union celluloid pin badge. The Cymric Suffrage Union was founded by Edith Mansell-Moullin in 1911 (c. 1911-1918). LSE;
Church League For Women's Suffrage celluloid pin badge (c. 1909-1918) LSE;
Free Church Federation For Woman Suffrage celluloid pin badge (c. 1910). LSE;
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society celluloid pin badge. The CWSS was founded in 1911, they renamed themselves St Joan's Social & Political Alliance in 1923 and the organisation ran until 1954, (c. 1911). LSE;
International Women's Suffrage Alliance metal badge. Image of a woman in classical dress holding balancing scales, embossed inscription front: 'Suf ... Fra ... Jus ... Gn' (c. 1902-1920). LSE:TWL.2004.618.2;
Tax Resistance League celluloid pin badge with image of a boat on rough sea with the slogan 'NO VOTE, NO TAX'. Designed by artist and suffragist Mary Sargent Florence (c. 1909-1914). LSE:TWL.2004.606.

5.3.1 Use of Existing Symbolism

Having provided an overview of the types of pin badges produced by bigger organisations and some smaller suffrage groups, before moving on to examine their role, it is worth delving deeper into the symbolism that appears within some examples. When forging their own movement identities, suffrage groups co-opted and replicated existing imagery and symbolism, tying it to their own messages and colours to make new meanings. The effectiveness and translation of these symbols into the suffrage movement relies on the ability of the material culture to connect women's suffrage to a greater existing cultural, political or historical narrative. Through this amended replication, campaigners used existing tropes of power to legitimise women's cause by grounding their propaganda iconography in a foundation of established, recognisable ideas, then forging new meanings from this basis. Much of this imagery, such as the shields on the Women Writers Suffrage League and Actresses Franchise League pins (figures 49 & 50), are tied to militarism and medieval imagery, themes that were heavily used by the militant movement (and to some extent the constitutionalist). The fleur de lis on the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society pin (figure 54) links to Joan of Arc (who the society would later rename themselves after) and this also fits within tropes of the militant woman and martyrdom, all of which are relevant to and covered in Chapter 7.

The choice to combine women's suffrage with religious iconography, such as the Jewish League for Woman Suffrage (JLWS) pin which incorporates the Star of David and use of the Hebrew language

(figure 57), demonstrates the complex layering of well established symbolism with new feminism. Religious suffrage groups frequently collaborated, and used the logos and symbols present on these badges on other materials such as placards and sandwich boards (figure 58).



Figure 57. (left) Jewish League for Woman Suffrage celluloid pin badge. Purple and blue with organisation letters inside the Star of David and hebrew inscription around the border. The JLWS was founded in 1912 with the aims to obtain Parliamentary suffrage for women and to improve the status of women within Judaism (c. 1919-1918). LSE:TWL.2004.613.



Figure 58. Religious Leagues for Women's Suffrage, from left to right: Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, The Church League for Women's Suffrage, The Jewish League for Woman Suffrage and the Free Church League [Federation] for Woman Suffrage (c. 1914). LSE:2SJA/K/35/12.

Perhaps these symbols might seem like obvious choices, yet the Jewish League's decision to combine their political activism with Jewish devotion and spread this through propaganda pin badges that visually depict the two, demonstrates not only the growth of the suffrage movement, suffrage propaganda and suffrage rhetoric into religion and culture, but it also indicates a ripple effect of suffrage into new types of feminist activity. Founded in 1912, the JLWS held a dual goal first to demand Parliamentary suffrage for women, and secondly, to improve the status of women in the Jewish community and the country (Kuzmack & Wilson 2021). This directly shows that suffragism was having a wider impact on women's rights in various ways beyond the vote, and materials such as pin badges were key to articulating these standpoints and combined goals. The society proclaimed in its first report, 'the absence of a Jewish Society advocating Woman Suffrage seemed an invidious exception' (ibid; JLWS 1913–1914, 9). As this statement suggests, materials such as the JLWS pin

badges represented more than their interests as suffragists, they proclaimed the existence of suffrage activists within the Jewish culture and religion, showing their support for Votes For Women on behalf of their community.

Irish organisational pins also built from existing established symbolism and allowed women to perform their intersectional feminist identities, though to different effect. The Irish Women's Suffrage Federation (IWSF) was founded in 1911 to unite the various suffrage groups scattered across Ireland, though many important groups such as the Irish Women's Suffrage Society (IWSS) which was based in Belfast, remained independent (Urquhart 2002, 275). The IWSF produced badges with a ringed cross symbol known as the 'Celtic cross' or 'high cross' - a well known symbol associated with Ireland (figures 59 & 60). Williams (2012, 21; 44) explains,

> 'a number of multivalent symbols and images have functioned to signify a timeless, essentialized Irishness that is intimately tied to the "Celtic" Middle Ages (…) Like religious icons, their visible form sparks immediate recognition, and their interpretation depends upon an abstract, conceptual prototype, a slippery notion of Irishness that transforms itself to suit a variety of times and places.'



Figure 59. The Irish Women's Suffrage Federation celluloid pin badge, made by Merchants' Portrait Company. The IWSF was founded in 1911 to unite the various suffrage societies across Ireland (c. 1911-1918). LSE.

Figure 60. Enamelled metal pin badge in the shape of the Irish Celtic Cross (as before). IWSF (c. 1911-1918). LSE.

Symbols that were felt to draw upon Ireland's ancient past gained popular use at the turn of the nineteenth century, when social, political and economic changes caused Ireland to assert its own non-British identity. Archaeologist George Petrie and illustrator Henry O'Neill helped popularise ringed crosses, and they were prominent at Dublin's 1853 Industrial Exhibition (coinciding with the Celtic Revival) (Roe 1965, 21). The Exhibition expanded the symbol's reach from academia to the wider public via prints and other souvenirs that 'articulated a comprehensive definition of Irishness' (ibid, 79). These symbols were then exported through diaspora to America as emblems of Ireland's cultural identity (ibid, 66).

Scholars of Irish suffrage have discussed the complexities of the movement for Irish women, which only increased after the 1916 uprising; 'Irish suffragists had to negotiate a tricky path between demanding women's rights and risking the antagonism of groups demanding the nation's right to self-determination' (Ryan 1995, 487). British suffragists were not always understanding of these difficulties for Irish women, who were torn between a demand for votes from British parliament, and calling for freedom from British control (ibid, 494-495). Material culture choices such as the IWSF pin badges (figures 59 & 60) evidence this attempt to entice Irish women, indicating that they were not greatly engaging with the wider movement at the time. Combining the cause with recognisable and

independently Irish symbolism was one way to make a direct appeal while promoting women's suffrage, especially when the imagery used was able to build onto an existing struggle. The symbolism was an attempt to get Catholic Irish nationalists on side, and perhaps an endeavour to smooth political/religious tensions between members. Bennette (1996, 170-171) described how the IWFL based much of its pro-suffrage argument on the same foundation as Irish nationalism, emphasising the struggle for liberation and freedom, which gave its feminism a predetermined basis within Irish society. In this context the ringed cross worked as a cultural signifier, and a symbol representative of Irish women's want of freedom from their un-enfranchised status, separate from other suffrage campaigns. This example demonstrates one of many ways that feminists were attempting to navigate and shape their cause to fit a myriad of complex cultural, political and traditional ideas through materiality. Beyond this, suffrage organisations across Ireland and Northern Ireland emphasised a strong desire to free women from their wider struggles, on a par with their desire for the vote. Urquhart (2002, 276) notes that Belfast's IWSS 'associated the vote with many elements of progressive social reform'.

Use of the Maid of Erin harp, clovers and the colour green by The Irish League For Women's Suffrage operates as another clear emblem of Irish national identity (figure 61). The Maid of Erin symbolises the spirit or personification of Ireland, like Brittania and other motherly/womanly allegories that were regularly used by British campaigners. She is sometimes shown weeping for her country and has often been used politically, for example within monuments commemorating the 1798 rebellion and other Irish conflicts (Causeway Museum 2019). The Harp of Erin, also often referred to as the 'angel harp', 'winged maiden harp' or the 'Irish harp' (though the latter exists in different forms), has its own associated traditions and meanings, having been used to represent Ireland since the thirteenth century (O'Donnell 2010, 255). Like the ringed cross and other symbols picked up by various suffrage organisations, it does not have a simple linear narrative or set of fixed meanings, having been reconfigured and imbued with various meanings over its history (ibid, 254), akin to a palimpsest. In the seventeenth century, the Irish harp became a metaphor for the Irish people, commonly demonstrated in literary works. 'Fingering the Irish harp' became a trope which meant controlling Irish people, leading to the metaphorical conclusion that 'once the Irish harp, or Ireland, was properly governed, then the nation and its people would be content to live in peace' (ibid, 255). This mantra was carried into Irish consciousness becoming a vehicle for utopian ideals in the various discourses in which it appeared. In the eighteenth century, imagery of the winged-maiden harp came to represent the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, becoming inextricably linked with a visual representation of Ireland's ambitions for economic and Parliamentary independence (ibid, 259). The fragile condition of the harp was increasingly aligned with an impoverished and miserable Irish people under English rule. By the end of the century 'it was impossible to extricate the Irish harp tradition from contemporary utopian desires to improve the condition of the Irish people' (ibid). The ILWS's appropriation of this symbol in their badge designs links suffrage to this important established political history, and in doing so, it makes women's enfranchisement a new freedom to fight for, and a renewed utopian goal for Irish people.



Figure 61. Irish League for Women's Suffrage celluloid pin in green and gold with 'maid of Erin' and shamrocks. The I.L.W.S. was a London based Irish suffrage organisation. Many Irish suffrage groups opted for Celtic Revival or nationalist-inspired symbolism and colors for their badges (Frawley, Cashmen, Beiner 2021, 146), (1910). LSE.

As these examples demonstrate, suffrage groups were not simply replicating existing icons, but were mindfully tying their activism to long established narratives via recognisable symbols on pin badges

that allowed them to harness existing tropes of power which worked in favour of their political goals. Some Irish suffrage badges were made to articulate and navigate the cause in complex cultural and political circumstances. It is unclear to what extent these badges actually reduced or perhaps ever heightened tensions, though it should also be considered that materials such as pin badges (being small and easily transportable) might have had a wider effect outside of the British campaign, in other areas of the world where their symbols and meanings are transferable. This is relevant to discussion of Jewish and Irish League badges, as well as other examples that tie suffragism to a wider culture, religion or nationality - as opposed to badges which focus specifically on British suffrage organisations.

Having provided some insight into the visual language of propaganda pins, the following sections examine discussion of the badges by suffrage group members and leaders. This helps discern the key functions of badges as they were worn by activists not only to identify themselves, but to incite conversations, attract new members, fundraise, and provide wearers with a sense of solidarity.

5.3.2 A Fundraising and Membership Tool

One of the main roles of organisational pin badges was to raise funds for the campaign while promoting Votes for Women. WSPU members were encouraged to wear their organisational colours at all times, and badges were one of the easiest and most affordable ways of achieving this. Founder of the WSPU colour scheme Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence (1908b, 296) instructed readers of *Votes for Women* to 'wear the colours as a duty and a privilege. Never be seen without your badge. Be proud to claim kinship and association with the heroic women who fell on the field on the day of our weaponless warfare'.

The badge was part of the uniform of the militant suffragette, and as Pethick-Lawrence described, it was an exclamation of 'kinship' and 'association' a person could choose to label themself with. The wearing of 'the colours' was a key way of raising awareness, she wrote;

> 'I wish I could impress on every mind as deeply as I feel myself the importance of *popularising the colours* in every way open to us (…) A woman was going down Oxford-street a few days ago, wearing our tricolour ribbon waist-belt, and the following conversation was overheard: "What can those colours be?" "I don't know, I'm sure, but you seem to see them everywhere." Now everyone has simply got to see to it that everywhere our colours may be in evidence. Avail yourselves of the tricolour badge by wearing it always. Send them to the hon. secretary, and buy a packet or two of a dozen together, and sell them to all of your friends for a penny each. Every one of you can become a sub vendor of the colours' (Pethick-Lawrence 1908a, 249).

Through this combined wearing and selling of a political ideology, it could be said that campaigners became 'feminist sales representatives'. Clearly the strategy proved effective, the fact that *the colours* are often referred to without additional explanation demonstrates how ubiquitous they became during the movement. Following Pethick-Lawrence's encouragement of badge wearing, Mrs East (1908, 422) also enthused 'The Value of the Badge',

> 'One afternoon, in the Queen's Hall, Mrs Pethick-Lawrence impressed upon the members the importance of always wearing our badge. My daughter and I have just returned from a month's holiday in the Lake District. We wore our badge *always*, indoors and out, and by its means were able to do a great deal of good work for our cause. It opened conversations in all sorts of places - in trains, on coaches, in shops, and, above all, among our fellow visitors in the hotels. We were able to tell many people about our cause, its aims,

> and objects; to explain many difficulties, and correct erroneous impressions which people outside our movement have gathered from the Press.'

Mrs East recognised the value of badges in helping to initiate conversions that would not have happened otherwise, they also gave her and her daughter the chance to address assumptions people had about the movement. She goes on to describe how through these interactions they were able to sell copies of *Votes For Women*, pamphlets, postcards and badges, make new friends and convert new members of the WSPU, concluding that 'the wearing of the badge has given us a great deal of pleasure and profit' (ibid).

5.3.3 Solidarity and Duty

As well as provoking conversation and helping convert new members, suffrage campaigners recognised that wearing organisational badges could bring feelings of solidarity and community. Badges were often referred to affectionately, and praised for their capacity to emphasise connections. Miss Vida Goldstein (1911, 209) wrote in VFW,

> 'I have been all over the United Kingdom, and I have always found that it made such a difference always to wear the badge. Everywhere that I have gone I have found the badge symbolising the sisterhood of woman. To-day I was in a crowded part of the city. I passed two young girls with badges. I had my badge on. We did not know each other, but we smiled; there was that badge of love and sympathy and sisterhood.'

The moment Miss Goldstein described evidences the abilities badges held in distilling the mixed emotions of the movement into a small objectified image. Following this interaction where the women shared a mutual acknowledgement of their common cause, all parties likely felt 'revitalised and reanimated' with their feelings toward the cause strengthened by this moment of solidarity (Awad & Wagoner 2020, 99). By contrast, a person acting alone or feeling they stand alone in a movement are more susceptible to lose energy, motivation and feel a sense of alienation from others - hence the great need for unifying symbols such as pin badges (ibid).

Wearing organisational badges functioned as 'passive propaganda' work. A badge wearer could feel they are doing their bit for the cause without actively selling suffrage newspapers and other materials, or going as far as to take part in direct action. Though for some campaigners it was the very least that could be done. In another issue of VFW*,* Mrs East (1909,1116) wrote again on badges, 'I wish all our members would faithfully wear the badge; in fact, with any one of our friends in prison I should be ashamed to go without it'. Here Mrs East demonstrates that, to her, wearing the badge was an act of solidarity on behalf of imprisoned women. To be 'ashamed' to not wear the badge portrays a sense of duty in badge wearing, the badge becomes more than a badge but an active feminist object and a carrier of emotion and intention.

This feeling was not exclusive to the WSPU, the exact sentiment was also echoed by NUWSS member Dorothy Tarrant (1910, 264), who wrote to the editor of *The Common Cause* to 'plead with all fellow-Suffragists to wear their badges at this critical time'. Many women (especially non-militant suffragists who were often mistaken for suffragettes) were understandably fearful of potentially provoking verbal and physical attacks by being recognised as a suffragist/suffragette, particularly during times of escalating militancy. As suffragette Grace Roe explained, '…when the revolutions started you had to be quite the other way, couldn't wear the colours…' (Roe 1974b). In her letter, Tarrant (1910, 264) acknowledges that many women are unwilling to 'make themselves conspicuous' by wearing an organisational badge, yet she stresses to her fellow women, 'Let the timid and retiring member bring herself, as in *duty* bound, to put on her colours, and so face the world (…) I dare

prophesy that in a very little while she will find herself not only more ardent for the cause, but actually *ashamed* of appearing anywhere without her badge of service' [emphasis added]. As much as statements about the benefits of badge wearing provide information on just that, they also reveal how women were actually behaving. The numerous implorations from Pethick-Lawrence, Mrs East and Dorothy Tarrant indicate that despite sharing the glories of badge wearing, many women were not wearing theirs. Wearing a suffrage badge in a march surrounded by the protection of a crowd of other women is a markedly different experience for a campaigner than wearing one while alone on a train carriage, out shopping or at dinner with her husband. The badge and the pressures of wearing it transform in each context, and this strenuous encouragement of badge-wearing masks some of the tensions women were likely feeling and the conflicts they grappled with in terms of wearing these materials in different settings.

Organisational pins made a person's political beliefs self-evident. Some were not comfortable with this, while others such as Mrs East and Dorothy Tarrant felt a strong sense of duty in badge wearing. However, pro-suffrage pins had the potential for misuse, as was experienced by Elizabeth Freeman who was misled and assaulted by a detective wearing a Men's League for Women's Suffrage badge (figures 62 & 63) during the suffragette march known as the 'Battle of Downing Street' (22 November, 1910). Having been roughly handled in the crowd, Freeman caught sight of a man wearing the badge and, believing him sympathetic, asked for his help in finding her a place to catch her breath. Instead he 'put his hand on Freeman's face and shoved her back into the crowd' (Florey 2013, 55). She received numerous injuries to her fingers, toes and wrist (ibid). As this example shows, the accessibility and identification of organisational pin badges meant that, in the wrong hands, they could be used by those with ill intent toward suffragists.



Figures 62 & 63. Men's League for Women's Suffrage celluloid pin badge with flower design in the organisation's colours of yellow and black, and a second design without the logo (c.1907-1918). LSE:TWL.2004.608.

Instances such as this one appear less common, and despite their potential for misuse, the previous examples show that pin badges facilitated collective identities through unifying colours and designs that became recognisable, or used existing symbolism to draw power from well established histories and enforce the campaign in different ways. They were tools for prompting conversation and giving campaigners additional opportunities to recruit new members and sell goods to finance the cause. They also acted to maintain group identities, by promoting feelings of solidarity, community and duty - though textual sources also indicate the apprehension many women likely felt about wearing their badges in different environments. The continuing achievement of these badges today is that the processes of meaning-making that formed them has endured well past the time they were needed. The colours, symbols and designs present on many are still immediately recognisable as representing 'women's suffrage'.

5.4 Jewellery and Other Adornments

Women who could afford to do so wore their organisational colours in more elaborate ways through jewellery, or handmade adornments. This not only helped build group identity, but made their activism fashionable and personal, while imbuing their attire and thus their daily lives with their politics. Through jewellery women could show their allegiance far more discreetly than an organisational pin badge. Women who may not have felt comfortable wearing an explicitly political badge, or who had an unsupportive husband might have opted for this.

Highly decorative jewellery in the Arts & Crafts or Modernist styles was popular in the Edwardian era (figure 64). Women with less to spend made necklaces with glass beads. One example in the WSPU colours with 'VFW' beading was likely woven at home on a beading loom (figures 65 & 66), and another incredibly intricate example (figure 67) was likely made in a similar way by a WSPU member. There are other existing examples of unique handmade adornments made by WSPU members which are very discreet. A brooch embroidered with a violet in purple, white and green silk threads and mounted in a silver metal frame is believed to have belonged to well known suffragette Grace Roe (figure 68).



Figure 64. Gold, amethyst, diamond and enamel (WSPU coloured) brooch/pendant, (c.1910), Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museums: ABDAG011435.

Within the LSE collection there is also a set of embroidered silk buttons (figure 69). It is probable that the embroidery on the buttons represents the female gender symbol, though it also bears resemblance to the ancient Egyptian ankh symbol[9] (particularly as the stitching flares out around the top of the loops and at the edges of the horizontal lines). Egyptian motifs and influences became popular in western society at this time, reaching a height after Tutankhamun's tomb was discovered in 1922 (Ickow 2012). These buttons provide an example of a bespoke, alternative suffrage adornment that is far more modest in message than a suffrage pin badge. With a strong likeness to the ankh symbol, perhaps they could have been passed off as a fashionable homage to ancient Egypt rather than a feminist symbol, allowing them to perform a dual role depending on who asked about them and what the owner wanted to reveal. It is likely that other handmade materials were made and worn by women who wanted to represent the cause, but who also wanted their support to remain somewhat ambiguous in order to cater their conversations depending on the context of the setting or the individual who enquired. Material examinations such as this give more nuanced insights into ways women were (or were not) wearing their politics than textual sources alone can provide.

[9] While the ankh represents 'life' in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics and art, various other meanings have been attributed to the symbol, and are still debated (Neeteson 2021).





Figures 65 and 66. Glass beaded necklace in WSPU colours fastened with a metal clasp. Initials 'VFW' for 'Votes For Women' (c.1908-1918, there is a chance this piece could be a later replica as the origins of the piece are unknown), GWL.

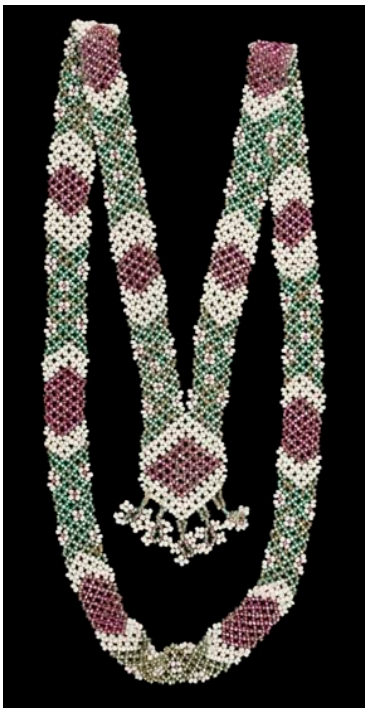


Figure 67. Glass beaded necklace in the WSPU colours, (c.1909). MoL:78.169/2.



Figure 68. Brooch with a violet flower embroidered onto canvas in purple, white and green silk threads, mounted in an oval silver metal frame under plastic. Metal pin on reverse. An inscription in Jill Craigies writing is on the original envelope containing the brooch. The piece possibly belonged to Grace Roe (c. 1909). LSE.



Figure 69. Handmade buttons in WSPU colours embroidered in satin stitch, with a blanket stitch around the edges. The reverse has a hand stitched loop (c.1913), LSE.

The most affordable adornments were ribbons or flowers in the colours which women could wear pinned to their clothing (figures 70-74) (Goring 2002, 86-89).





Figure 70. Cut piece of satin ribbon in the WSPU colours, and cut piece of woven ribbon in the NUWSS colours (c.1909-1918), LSE.
Figure 71. Printed woven ribbon in the WFL colours with WFL shield logo (c. 1907-1914). LSE:TWL.2005. 81.





Figure 72. Knitted ribbon/neckpiece in the WSPU colours, (c.1908-1918), LSE.



Figure 73. A length of ribbon in the WSPU colours with a gold tassel attached to each end, worn around the neck (as demonstrated by Christabel Pankhurst during her arrest by Inspector Jarvis - figure 74). This particular piece belonged to Miss Chapman (Crawford 2022) (c. 1908). Woman And Her Sphere / Elizabeth Crawford.

Figure 74. Photograph showing Christabel Pankhurst's arrest by Inspector Jarvis at Clements Inn on 13 October 1908. She is accompanied by her mother Emmeline Pankhurst and Flora Drummond, and can be seen wearing the same type of tasselled ribbon neckpiece as figure 73 (1908). LSE:7JCC/O/02/064.

5.4.1 Arts & Crafts

Goring (2002) mentions that popular use of the Arts & Crafts style in suffragette jewellery is unsurprising given the close links between suffragism and the Arts & Crafts movement: The Lady Artists' Clubs work with the Glasgow branch of the WSPU, the Artists' Suffrage League, The Glasgow School of Art, and Sylvia Pankhurst's artwork for the WSPU all reflected this style. Garrett and Thomas (2019) emphasised the importance women played in the Arts & Crafts movement, and in turn, its importance as a motivating factor for women's participation in suffrage, by encouraging women to become involved with social reform. Artist and writer Laurence Houseman founded the Suffrage Atelier alongside his sister Clemence. Before this Houseman studied alongside John Ruskin and other socialist figures involved in pioneering the Arts & Crafts movement, which was reactively anti-industrial, 'drenched in anti-capitalist sentiments' and emphasised handmade methods of creating decorative art above a reliance on machines (ibid, 70; Singh, 2021). Houseman's viewpoints aligned with their ideals and the philosophies behind the movement, which further enmeshed suffragism with Arts & Crafts styles through the work produced by the Atelier. The Suffrage Atelier was non-partisan, but closest to the WFL who held a close relationship to socialist and labour movements (Morton 2019, 72).

As campaigners began to question women's role in industry - the 'physical drudgery' and 'mental inertia' caused to women by their exploitation as workers under the current capitalist system - the Arts & Crafts movement was held as a 'potential vehicle for tackling women's industrial exploitation' (ibid). The Suffrage Atelier came closest to realising this vision, implementing measures to increase their accessibility to working women such as; a low annual subscription fee at one shilling and sixpence per annum, artists could send work by post to decrease travel time and expense, some classes were held in the evenings to allow working women to attend, and working women and trade unionist women were regularly chosen as speakers (ibid, 74-77). The postcards and other artworks produced by the Suffrage Atelier became some of the movement's most iconic designs, though the group was unable to create the 'alternative, feminist-centred craft economy' for all classes, as was first envisioned (ibid). The Atelier stayed in London without any regional branches to benefit women artists across the country, it struggled to stay afloat financially and ironically was described by one worker as 'the worst sweated labour' (ibid).

Scholars covering the connections between Arts & Crafts and suffrage have focused on the opportunities and benefits for women offered by the Arts & Crafts movement, and its usage by suffragists as a fashionable style. They have not touched on the potential conflicts and tensions of the Arts & Crafts aesthetic as it came to be used by a range of commercial companies to emulate the popular artistic style without the philosophical grounding. These ranged from fine jewellery manufacturers to companies who utilised new machinery to mass produce personal adornments. Gold pendants and brooches set with amethysts, emeralds and pearls were made by the prestigious brand Mappin & Webb[10], who issued catalogues of 'Suffragette Jewellery' in time for Christmas and heavily marketed their designs through large printed advertisements in *Votes For Women* (figure 75). This fine jewellery incorporated the naturalistic forms of the Arts & Crafts style, and pieces were priced from £2 - £6 per item (Goring 2002, 87). To put this cost into perspective, £6 in 1909 is equivalent in purchasing power to about £913.74 today, which gives an idea of the wealth of their clientele (officialdata.org 2023). Mappin & Webb opened their first store on Oxford Street in 1860. They expanded internationally in the 1890s, have held Royal Warrants to British monarchy since 1897 and continue to create pieces for royalty and high society (Mappin & Webb n.d). While the prices of Mappin & Webb's pieces were incredibly high, industrialisation aided in making some suffragette jewellery obtainable on a more moderate budget. The Wholesale Service Co. of Birmingham

[10] Stanley Mappin was a women's suffrage supporter who participated in the census boycott (Garrett 2019, 129).

advertised their ‘Elegant Enamelled Jewellery’ as an ideal Christmas present, ‘Delightful designs. Enamelled in the Colours, Purple, Green and White. Pendant, Chain and Brooch, on sterling silver, the suite complete, 12s 6d’ (The Wholesale Service Co. 1912, 140).

They took out a larger ad with an illustration to market their jewellery as ‘New Years Presents’ in both *The Suffragette* (3 Jan, 1913) and *Votes For Women* (10 Jan, 1913) (figure 76). Enamelling was far cheaper than the use of precious stones, as was the use of sterling silver. The company was able to create a necklace and pendant for 9/- and a matching brooch for 3/6 which made it a far lower cost option than those advertised by Mappin & Webb. Annie Steen of Birmingham was another jeweller who regularly advertised in *Votes For Women*. She likely used a combination of precious stones and enamel with options in gold and silver (figure 77). All of these businesses catered to the desires of the suffrage consumer, though the initial philosophies behind the Arts & Crafts movement became detached in many cases as the style was popularised. Despite this, suffrage campaigners' close association with creatives, typically wealthy educated people, aided the movement through commercialisation of suffragette colours into fine jewellery that bolstered the campaign image. This trickled down to other examples of suffragette jewellery that were made to suit different budgets.

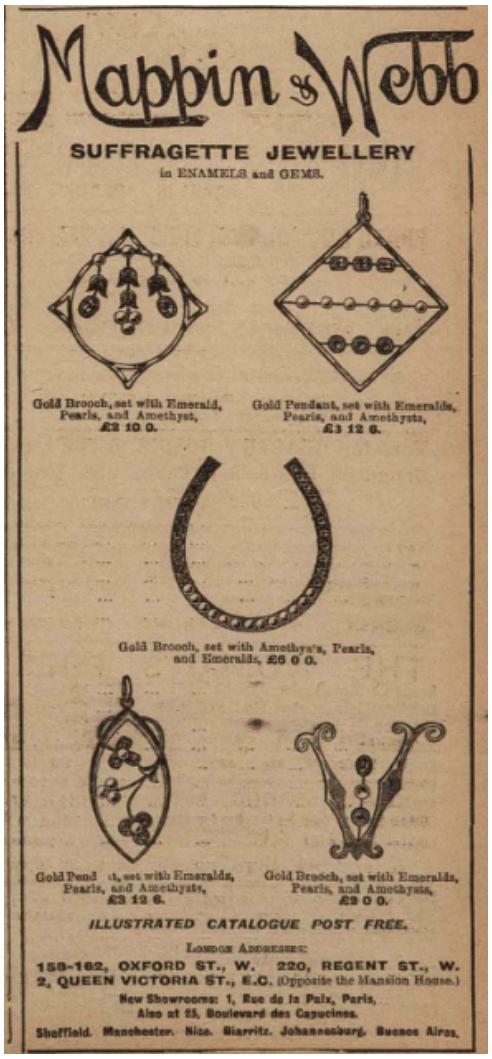






Figure 75 (left). Advertisement for Mappin & Webb jewellers. *Votes For Women,* (4 February 1910, 295).

Figure 76. The Wholesale Service Co. of Birmingham advertisement for their ‘Elegant Enamelled Jewellery’. *The Suffragette,* (3 Jan, 1913, 179).

Figure 77. Christmas advertisement for Annie Steen jewellers. *Votes For Women*, (01 October 1909, 16). Annie Steen was described as an art teacher in the 1901 census, she contributed jewellery to the ‘Midland Stall’ at the WSPU’s Women’s Exhibition in 1909s and volunteered the drawing room of her home for use by the WSPU (Crawford 2013b).

Suffragette jewellery was popularised by leading figures within the campaign. A portrait postcard produced by the WSPU in 1909 shows Christabel Pankhurst dressed fashionably in the Arts & Crafts style. She wears a silver pendant necklace designed for the movement by Ernestine Mills to commemorate the release of suffragette Louise Mary Eates from Holloway prison (figures 78 & 79) (MoL:95.167/1). The stones and enamel colours of the necklace are that of the organisation, and the pendant depicts an ‘angel of freedom’ playing a harp in front of the portcullis symbol of the Houses of Parliament. Below her necklace, Christabel wears a flower shaped brooch which appears to be a design by C.R. Ashbee (figure 80) (Goring 2002, 94). Charles Robert Ashbee was a defining figure in the Arts & Crafts movement, his ‘fresh and informal’ jewellery was typically made of silver rather than gold, and favoured colour and design above the overuse of precious and semi-precious stones which he felt was ‘vulgar’ (Smith 2019). For these reasons, his pieces were much more moderately priced than some jewellery. Ashbee’s work was influential at the time and became associated with the suffrage movement, as many members, including Emmeline Pankhurst, were known to wear jewellery of this style (ibid).



Figure 78. Photographic portrait of Christabel Pankhurst produced by the WSPU (c. 1908-1910). Elizabeth Crawford / Woman & Her Sphere.



Figure 79. Pendant by Ernestine Mills, specially commissioned by the WSPU and presented to Louise Eates (1909). MoL:95.167/1.



Figure 80. Brooch likely designed by C.R. Ashbee, (c. 1909). Geoffrey C. Munn.

It might be considered that the range and costs of suffrage jewellery actually reinforced class separation between members wearing different styles. Without strong evidence to suggest this tension was ever profoundly felt, this may have been countered by the nature of the pieces fitting within the Arts & Crafts style, which as mentioned, philosophically favoured the handmade and less extravagant designs more likely to be worn by the elite. That said, the Arts & Crafts movement has been extensively criticised for its hypocrisies and elitism. Leaders espoused progressive ideals with a focus on traditional crafts viewed as accessible, yet due to expensive production methods, companies such as William Morris's mostly catered to upper-class wealth (Krugh 2014, 287). Charles Robert Ashbee claimed that the British turned 'a great social movement [into] a narrow and tiresome little aristocracy [of designers] working with high skill for the very rich' (ibid). The range of manufacturing methods of suffrage jewellery enabled some wider accessibility (and thus better integration as propaganda), but evidently the philosophical underpinnings were frequently lost and obscured either by cost (caused by materials and/or high labour expenses) or by use of mass production methods that replicated the style only. Perhaps the most beneficial aspect of the movement's integration with Arts & Crafts was inspiring women to successfully replicate the fashionable styles themselves (see again figures 65-69). The handcrafting of adornments by women, most likely in their own homes, became not only a pleasurable leisure activity and honing of craft skills, but a form of creative resistance.

Jewellery and accessories made by women also fed money into the movement via their sale at bazaars and other events, as discussed later in this chapter. One example, a crocheted evening bag (c. 1913) belonged to suffragette Miss Chapman, and was likely made by her or another suffragette who sold it to fund the campaign (figure 81). Made with purple yarn and a cream silk lining, the design centres around a piece of WSPU printed ribbon, and is carried by a purple ribbon strap. The incorporation of the printed 'Votes for Women' ribbon utilises a mass produced material, but makes it into something new and unique. It is in keeping with the Arts & Crafts movement both in style and construction. The bag is an individual act of making, but one which formed a collective action by women who made fashionable accessories to match their political agenda, their budgets, and the fashion of the time.



Figure 81. Handmade evening bag with a WSPU printed ribbon centrepiece (c. 1913). Woman And Her Sphere / Elizabeth Crawford.

References to the upper-class portion of the movement go hand in hand with discussion of suffrage materiality. Despite this, the considerable weight of suffrage spending power, discussed later in this chapter, is often overlooked. Yet the movement's ability to commercialise itself, and be commercialised by businesses who took the opportunity to align themselves with a lucrative political cause, only served to bolster the suffrage movement through its visual identity as a legitimate cause for women. Visually, Arts & Crafts styles were rich with natural imagery of flowers, leaves and birds in intricate, detailed designs (Singh 2021). Religious motifs, angels and halos were also a recurring theme (ibid). Together this symbolism made for designs which were typically feminine, the delicate floral elements and filigrees of the Mappin & Webb pieces are an excellent example. Given that suffrage campaigners tread a fine line between appealing for their enfranchisement and remaining respectably 'feminine' in the eyes of Edwardian society, these styles assisted affluent campaigners in maintaining their image as 'womanly', elegant and refined.

5.4.2 Ceremony, Performance and Awarding

Suffragette jewellery encompassed homemade and commercial Arts & Crafts pieces, mass produced costume jewellery or fine quality pieces made of precious metals and stones. As the previous examples have shown, jewellery and other forms of personal adornment were a fashionable accessory, a wearable (yet sometimes ambiguous) political expression and a way of feeling in tune with an organisation and with other women. Unlike pin badges, they were more personal, often being handmade or custom designed, and as such they were more likely to be gifted. This personal significance is exemplified by commissioned pieces that were specially designed and awarded to leaders or notable members. These pieces also demonstrate that jewellery was part of a wider performative culture that existed within suffrage organisations. Items of jewellery were bestowed like honours, and this activity likely led toward the awarding of actual suffrage medals (covered from pg 259). Emmeline Pankhurst was presented with a necklace of amethysts, pearls and emeralds during a public meeting at the Queen's Hall on 14th January, 1909 (figure 82). The evening commenced when twenty WSPU members dressed in white and carrying purple, white and green flags assembled behind the speakers and the suffragette Marseillaise was sung (VFW 1909a, 276). Mrs Morden made a speech describing the 'mystic meanings' attributed to the precious stones of the necklace that corresponded with the Union's tricolour (ibid). The pearls were described as representing 'angel's tears' shed over the imprisonment of Pankhurst. Emeralds bestowed 'the gift of being impervious to the fury of the storm' and 'the gift of an eloquent tongue', gifts which, as Mrs Morden remarked to the cheers and laughter of the crowd, must have been bestowed in anticipation considering Mrs. Pankhurst's 'mighty contempt for the fury of Governmental storms and with an eloquent tongue wherewith to express the same' (ibid). Amethysts along with emeralds took on a holy meaning, signifying the foundation of justice the movement was building (ibid). The layering of symbolism and meaning by Morden in this speech was perhaps played up for the effect of the crowd, though, like so many other materials in the movement, it demonstrates suffrage campaigners actively reinforcing their political ideas through objects and continually imbuing them with meanings aligned to their cause.

The necklace was presented along with a book signed by all members who shared in 'the privilege' of bestowing the gift as an 'expression of the devotion of their hearts' for Emmeline's time spent in Holloway prison, and 'as small token of our gratitude and love' (ibid). Pankhurst conveyed her thanks, expressing that she would cherish them both and pass them down to her children. Other pendants gifted to Louise Eates, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence and one worn by Flora Drummond (which was likely a gift on behalf of the organisation) indicate that suffrage campaigners regularly used jewellery as a way to convey emotion, express sentiments and praise the struggles, sacrifices and achievements of specific members. This was not exclusive to the WSPU, a brooch/pendant was fundraised by NUWSS members for their leader Millicent Fawcett to demonstrate their immense

gratitude and affection. While most jewellery is in the WSPU colours, the brooch (figure 83) is made of gold with enamel and gemstones in the NUWSS red, white and green. It was commissioned especially for Millicent and presented to her at the National Union's annual council meeting held on the 27th and 28th of February 1913 as a gift in recognition of her 'steadfastness and courage'.



Figure 82. Emmeline Pankhurst is presented with a necklace and book on behalf of the WSPU (1909), MoL:50.82/1324.



Figure 83. Gold and enamel brooch bearing the arms of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and encrusted with red, white and green gems. The brooch was made specifically for Millicent Garrett Fawcett, who was President of the organisation until 1919. The reverse is inscribed in gold-lettering on blue enamel with the message 'Millicent Fawcett 1913 Steadfastness and Courage'. Millicent regularly wore the brooch, often as a pendant and it is included on the statue of her by the artist Gillian Wearing unveiled in Parliament Square in April 2018, (1913). LSE, (now on permanent display at MoL).

Following a ‘long and strenuous day of debate and strained attention’ the meeting (attended by 596 delegates representing 288 societies) led into the evening reception which included the pageantry and ceremony expected of a suffrage event,

> ‘As the delegates arrived, they were swept quickly through to the furthest room, where each was furnished with a white wand, tipped with a bunch of evergreens, and bearing the name of her district in red letters, and with her Society’s letter to the President neatly mounted on brown paper’ (TCC 1913, 818).

After the presentation of the brooch, the wands, described as ‘living emblems of growth and hope’, were held high as the procession of women passed their president Millicent Fawcett, and each handed her addresses of ‘loyalty and courage’. Millicent was ‘almost overcome with the tribute’ and as Pankhurst had expressed, she too vowed to hand the ‘most precious treasure’ down to her daughter (ibid, 818-819; VFW 1909, 277).

Just as the 1909 meeting at the Queen’s Hall where Pankhurst had received her necklace was attended by a large public gathering and incorporated singing and a procession of flag bearers, the presentation of Millicent Fawcett’s pendant was as, if not more, ceremonial and performative. The carrying of emblematic wands and handing of addresses gave the evening both a formal structure and a spectacle for the audience, and it also gave the event a prestigious quality. Women were not simply giving gifts, but were building their own traditions and ceremonial structure where no systems had previously been in place to acknowledge and commend their achievements.

These traditions were acted around objects that helped to facilitate them. Commissioning jewellery with political inscriptions and organisational colours, assigning meanings and intentions, recognising them as honours, and legitimising them through traditions and ceremonies gave grand significance. The recording of this through photographs and detailed accounts in organisational journals further marked the jewellery, and thus the wearers, as incredibly important. This created a legacy around the pieces, and these activities established women’s jewellery as not just frivolous decoration, but as objects capable of representing serious political intent and political accomplishment.

5.4.3 Tax Resistance

Items of jewellery often hold a great deal of sentimental value. The combination of personal, sentimental worth and monetary value - and perhaps also that they unambiguously belonged to women rather than men - made jewellery a prime target for confiscation by the government. Jewellery was commonly taken away from suffrage campaigners who refused to pay their taxes. The Women’s Tax Resistance League's (WTRL) motto was ‘No Vote No Tax’, and members refused payments in protest against their un-enfranchised status. A diamond ring belonging to Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, a member of the League, was seized by bailiffs in 1910 due to her refusal to pay. It was later bought at auction by a fellow sympathetic member of the WTRL and returned to her. A gold bracelet belonging to the militant suffragette Edith How-Martyn (another League member) was also seized on numerous occasions due to her refusal to pay tax. Like the diamond ring, the bracelet was bought back by another sympathetic League member, only to be taken again (MoL:50.82/1193). In 1914, a pearl necklace and a gold bangle studded with pearls and diamonds was also seized from Duleep Singh for her refusal to pay the government licence fees for a servant, a carriage and two dogs (VFW 1914a, 254). In cases like these, jewellery was in the middle of a material and financial power struggle between women and the government. Yet the role of jewellery in these interactions also enabled campaigners to stage further protests. Women used the auctions where jewellery and other confiscated goods were sold to stage demonstrations. On 2nd July 1913, Anna Martin, a writer and lecturer on the position of married women, had goods sold at Peckham for her non-payment of

Inhabited House Duty. A large number of working women attended the sale in protest, and a successful meeting was held thereafter (VFW 1913a, 610). Two days later, Mrs. Louise Fagan and Miss Manuelle had their goods sold on distraint at Harding's Auction Rooms, Victoria. *Votes For Women* reported that the open-air meeting which followed was 'attended by an enormous crowd of orderly and attentive citizens' (ibid). The crowd was so large that it obstructed traffic and had to be stopped - thus the sequence of events in this case also succeeded in causing public disruption - another tactic employed by the suffragettes.

Items of jewellery and other adornments within the sphere of women's suffrage ranged from relatively inexpensive homemade ribbons and buttons, to ornately designed pieces which reflect the style and fashion of the time. These were marketed to suffrage campaigners by companies, and some, like Pankhurst's necklace and Fawcett's brooch, were meticulously designed to serve as a trophy and expression of gratitude. The objects subsequently prompted ceremonial activities that allowed women to enact their own traditions and acknowledge their achievements while forging their own place as political leaders worthy of accolades. Jewellery and other personal adornments had a complex role in the movement as both an identifier of organisations (though more covertly than pin badges) and a material which was regularly seized and auctioned, prompting additional meetings and demonstrations in a unique type of conflict between women and the government.

5.5 Membership Cards

Klandermans (2014, 4-5) found that 'identification significantly influences processes of consensus mobilization'. Group identification 'has pervasive effects on what people feel, think, and do' and this influence 'directly impacts protest participation' (ibid, 5-6). In turn, participating in group action and activity strengthens group identity '...as a recurrent, self-reinforcing mechanism' (ibid, 11). Like pin badges, membership cards are another example of an object that helped maintain and reinforce suffrage group identity. The cards gave a sense of official structure to an organisation through functions acted around them. For example, handing cards out to new members (and their signing of them) helped solidify membership. The card's principal role was a physical representation of the owner's identification with an organisation, though as Klandermans suggests, they may also have been beneficial in influencing participation in action.

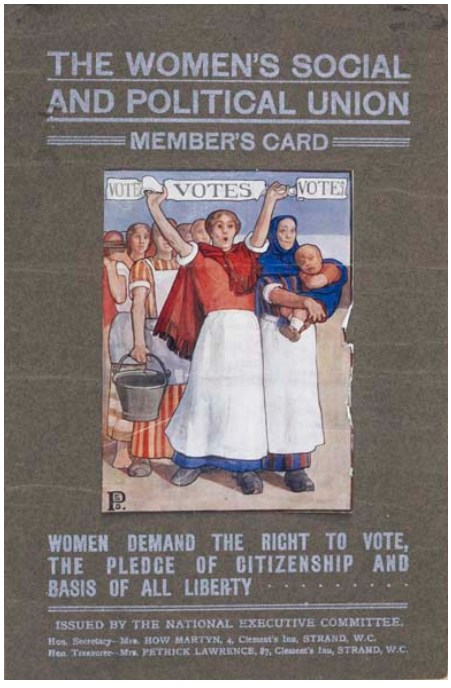


Figure 84. WSPU membership card (1906), MoL:50.82/1040).

Pro- and anti-suffrage campaign groups both used membership cards. They were collected during meetings and were a way of boosting membership, keeping track of numbers and ensuring member's were committed to their cause. Membership cards often included cover illustrations or were designed in the organisation's colours. An early WSPU membership card (figure 84) was issued for a short period from 1906 and depicts a group of working women (MoL:50.82/1040).

The bright yellow colour of a WFL membership card (figure 85) indicates it was made before the group had settled on their more well known colour scheme. The organisation's colours were yellow, green and white, though initially they trialled yellow and black - this card was likely issued when the group formed in 1907. The printing of these cards right

at the beginning of their formation demonstrates their importance as a tool for cementing and strengthening a group identity. It included details of the organisation leaders as well as space for the owner to fill out their name, address and their local branch. The non-militant Men's League for Women's Suffrage (MLWS) also issued membership cards the same year (figure 86). The League was founded by Herbert Jacobs in 1907, and aimed to support and promote the women's campaign.

It was not uncommon for individuals to belong to multiple suffrage organisations at once; supporter Maud Arncliffe-Sennet was simultaneously a member of multiple constitutionalist and militant groups (MoL:50.82/898). Some chose to be a member of several organisations if they identified with various perspectives. Dedicated suffrage campaigners, such as Maud, might also have opted to support several groups to ensure they stayed up to date with goings on across the movement. On the other hand, many women changed organisations as the campaign progressed and their allegiances shifted (for example when breakaway groups such as the WFL were formed).

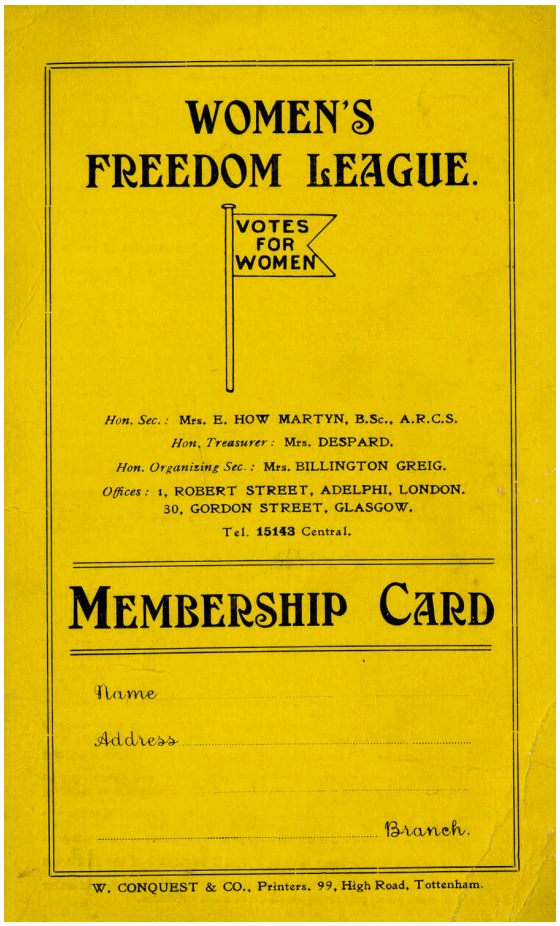
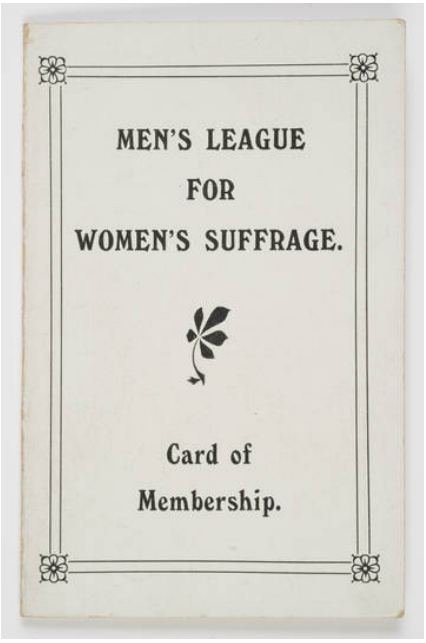


Figure 85 (left). Women's Freedom League membership card (1907). LSE:10/54.

Figure 86 (below). Men's League for Women's Suffrage membership card (c.1907-1914). MoL:Z6230.



Anti-suffrage group The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage printed their own cards between 1910-1912 (figure 87). These ‘associate cards’ offered members a chance to sign their name and additional details alongside the statement ‘I am not in favour of granting the parliamentary vote to women’. As well as being an organisational tool, membership cards were, as this example shows, a way for people to declare their stance on the issue of women’s enfranchisement and convey allegiance. The language on many membership and pledge cards, along with the requirement of an accompanying signature, is akin to the taking of an oath. It can also be considered an initiation or ritual process, whereby one comes to feel more a part of the movement, and of a particular organisation, because of the physical act of signing and the ownership of their own membership card.

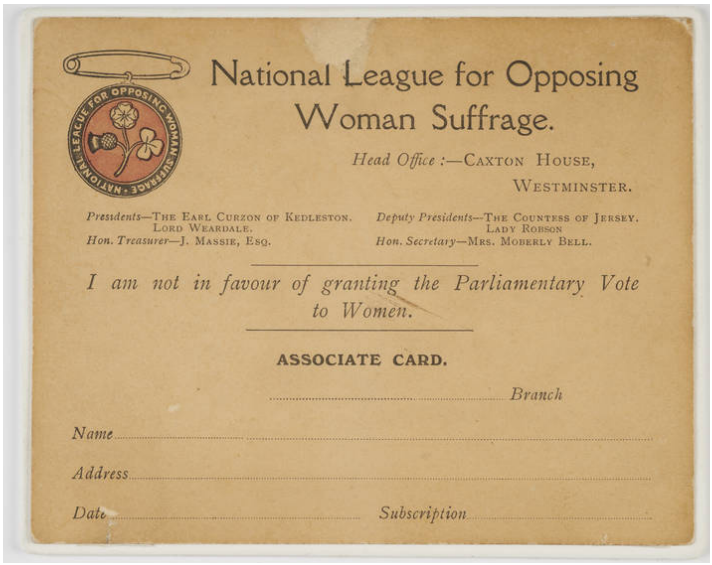


Figure 87. The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage ‘Associate Card’ (c.1910-1912), MoL:Z6229.

The WSPU also used membership pledges to reaffirm their position and members' loyalty to their leaders. Pledges printed by the WSPU were to be signed and returned to the organisation after its restructuring and the formation of the WFL in 1907, the pledges read ‘I endorse the objects and methods of the Women’s Social & Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary Elections until Women have obtained the Parliamentary vote’ (Ann Lewis Women's Suffrage Collection, n.d). Membership cards worked first as a personal pledge; an acknowledgement of responsibility and commitment which could be monitored by leaders. Secondly, the carrying of membership cards proved to be an effective recruiting tool:

> ‘Forty four Membership Cards were signed in Hyde Park at the close of the meeting last Sunday. So much that the policy was recommended last week, and faithfully carried out by members, the policy of always carrying a Membership Card and a pencil about with one, so that no opportunity of winning a new recruit may be lost’ (VFW 1913b, 620).

The membership cards referred to in this case belong to The Votes For Women Fellowship - a group for all suffrage supporters including militant and constitutional suffragists, various party and non-party supporters, men and women, and those who were members of various other suffrage societies. Their use of membership cards was referred to as a ‘policy’, which stresses their importance for building the organisation. This is reiterated again in another issue of *Votes for Women*, ‘Always wear a Fellowship badge to arouse attention and to invite conversation. Always have a membership card with you ready

for use' (VFW 1913c, 62). 'Ready for use' further exemplifies that the cards were to be actively brought out during conversations to increase membership. The WFL advised its members to 'take a membership card in your handbag, ask any sympathiser to become a member of the Women's Freedom League, as a duty towards her fellow women' (The Vote, 1916a, 964). Membership cards were also handed around in large public gatherings as a convenient way of recording new members; NUWSS organiser Marguerite Norma Smith referred to a meeting held in St. Bees, Cumbria after which membership cards were handed out and enough were signed to enable the organisation to start a new local society (TCC 1912a, 754).

Membership cards were not the only type of card used in the movement. The WSPU issued 'Self-Denial Week' collecting cards (figure 88) which were available to participating members who chose to forgo certain non-essential or luxury items for a week and put the saved money toward the women's cause. The cards would be used to make note of and tally up the savings. In 1908, the Union raised £6,800 during Self-Denial Week made up of 'comparatively small amounts' collected by eating only dry toast with water for breakfast for a week, doing without butter, meat, flowers, cocoa, milk, bus tickets, or a new summer outfit - which were some of the luxuries forgone and recorded on the cards (WSPU 1908, 3-4). Campaigners' relationship with consumption is discussed further later in this chapter, but it is worth pointing out here that the WSPU was both encouraging and denying consumption, and in doing so, attaching new meanings and emotions to objects with political and feminist motives (Green 2017, 50).



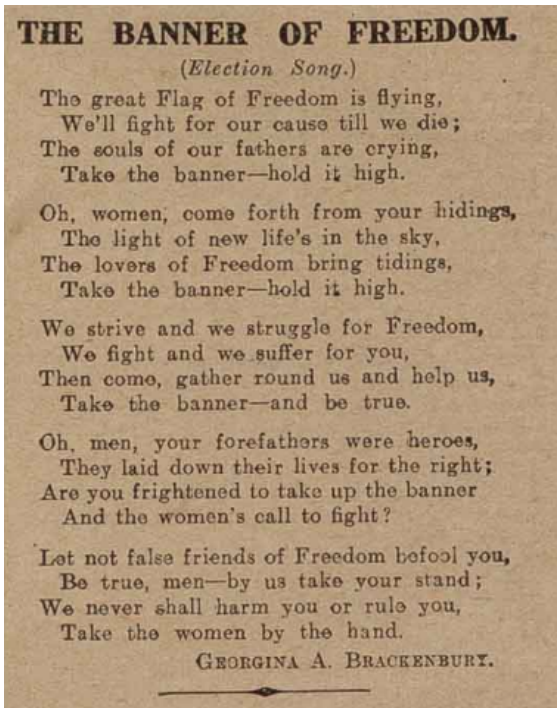
Figure 88. 'Special Collecting Cards' were printed by the WSPU for 'Self-Denial Week' in 1914, MoL:58.87/42.

As these examples show, membership cards helped strengthen group identity and were often one of the first materials made by a new suffrage group. They were useful for recording numbers and members, but were also a recruitment tool that was actively used and often referred to within group 'policy'. Accompanying statements on the cards acted as a reminder of an individual's pledge and allegiance toward their cause. As Klandermans (2014) suggested, this adds weight to the idea that group identification reinforces participation. In this case, suffrage campaigners were carrying cards which acted as symbols of their group identity and commitment, while also using them as an official material that helped legitimise and solidify their appeals to potential new members.

5.6 Banners

Badges and jewellery fulfilled numerous roles in the movement from identity building and recruiting new members, to awarding achievements or fighting back against government taxation of women. Membership cards also acted in various ways to reinforce, legitimise and record memberships. These world building materials helped groups to form, helped members to express their participation, articulate their ideas and incite activity. Banners held a different role, appearing within processions and displays. Banners take up space, and in doing so create zones of activism and 'places of possibility', both literally and metaphorically, where people can imagine new worlds, alternative identities and systems (Goessling 2017, 418). They are also a world building tool that was needed to articulate group identities and political ideas to the public, but unlike the previous examples, the act of their making would further help redefine what it meant to be a politically engaged woman.

Banners were used in rallies by the reformists from the 1860s. The first known women's suffrage banner was carried in November 1880 at the "Grand Demonstration", Bristol, although an earlier example may have been used at the London "Grand Demonstration" in May of the same year (Crawford 2001, 32). The 'Votes for Women' banner displayed by Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney at the Free Trade Hall on 13th October 1905 is one of the most famous uses, and use of banners across the movement continued and increased after this point. Banners became a key feature of suffrage demonstrations, such as the 13 June 1908 NUWSS procession, where there was said to have been as many as 800 banners. A poem by painter and militant suffragette Georgina Brackenbury (1910, 270) (figure 89), printed in *Votes For Women*, uses the banner as a metaphor for women's political freedom. To 'take the banner' and 'hold it high' was to come forward and take a stand in the name of the women's cause (figure 90).



THE BANNER OF FREEDOM.

(Election Song.)

The great Flag of Freedom is flying,
We'll fight for our cause till we die;
The souls of our fathers are crying,
Take the banner—hold it high.

Oh, women, come forth from your hidings,
The light of new life's in the sky,
The lovers of Freedom bring tidings,
Take the banner—hold it high.

We strive and we struggle for Freedom,
We fight and we suffer for you,
Then come, gather round us and help us,
Take the banner—and be true.

Oh, men, your forefathers were heroes,
They laid down their lives for the right;
Are you frightened to take up the banner
And the women's call to fight?

Let not false friends of Freedom befool you,
Be true, men—by us take your stand;
We never shall harm you or rule you,
Take the women by the hand.

GEORGINA A. BRACKENBURY.

Figure 89 (above). Poem by Georgina Brackenbury (Votes For Women, 21 January 1910, 270). LSE.



Figure 90 (left). 'V' shaped cream cotton banner with painted green lettering 'Votes for Women in 1912' and machine stitched pocket where a rod would presumably have been inserted. This banner was made for the 14 July 1912 demonstration organised by Sylvia Pankhurst in Hyde Park to mark Mrs Pankhurst's birthday. A label still attached reads 'Platform 2′ Votes for Women 1912' in reference to the Hyde Park Platform 2, chaired by Georgina Brackenbury at which the speakers were Mrs Cameron Swan, Mrs Massy and Miss Amy Hicks (Crawford 2019c). Crawford noted that: *Votes for Women*, 19 July 1912, p 686 detailed some of the women involved in banner making for the demonstration including Norah Smyth, who 'was responsible for 100 flags with painted mottoes' and Olive Hockin, who took over the task while Norah was absent. It is possible that either of these women could have been the maker (Crawford 2019c), (1912). Woman And Her Sphere / Elizabeth Crawford.

5.6.1 Symbolism and Origin

Votes for Women greatly amplified political spectacle, though it inherited much from earlier radical movements. Tickner (1987,62) commented that the Trade Union banners of the mid to late 1800s and early 1900s have drawn the most frequent comparison to suffrage banners. As Parker (1984/2020, 197) also writes, ‘the tradition of banner-carrying demonstrations had grown up with the Trades Union Movement from the 1830s’; these banners were ‘an obvious source of inspiration for the feminists’. However, there were several key differences, most notably in size, cost and production. Most Union banners can be traced back to George Tutill, who monopolised production of Trade Union banners from 1837 (Gabbott 2022). Trade Union banners were also considerably larger and more expensive, while suffrage banners were far more varied, typically emblematic rather than pictorial, and combined various crafts and mixed media from embroidery to paint and collage (ibid, 197-198; Tickner 1987, 62-66). While some methods changed, classical and allegorical imagery such as figures of justice, weighing scales, scrolls and sunrises (indicating a new dawn) incorporated in earlier banners remained ever present in suffrage designs (figures 91 - 93).

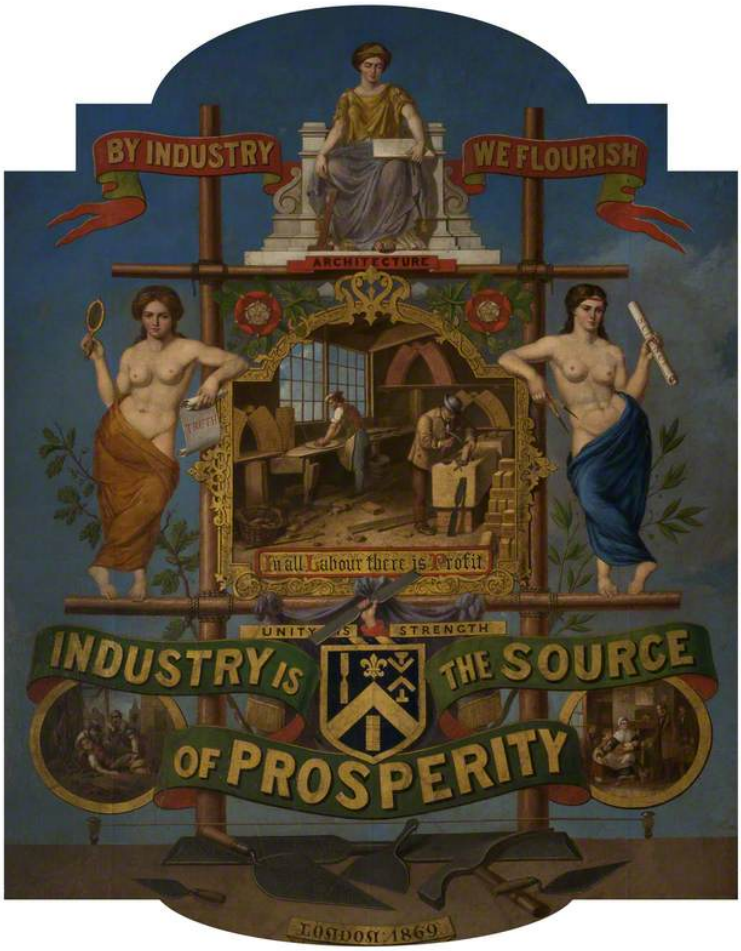


Figure 91. Operative Bricklayers Society banner (1869). This design by artist A. J. Waudby was made first as a large oil painting then was likely copied by professional banner makers. The centre image gives a glimpse at the hardworking bricklayers. Gabbott (2022) explains that ‘the coat of arms connects the group to medieval guilds – bodies which were thought to prefigure the hardworking, entrepreneurial values of Victorian England's respectable classes.’ Allegorical figures drawn from Greek and Roman mythology represent Truth, Science and Architecture who watch over the workers. The women’s suffrage movement was similarly filled with medieval imagery and references to a romanticised past as well as ancient and allegorical figures. PHM:NMLH.1993.773.



Figure 92. Liverpool Tinplate Workers' banner (1821). Made by William Dixon for the celebration of the coronation of George IV. It is recognised as the oldest surviving trade union banner (Gabbott, 2022). The all seeing eye (or eye of providence) and bundle of sticks are masonic, though the bundles also signify the pre-Roman symbol of strength and unity (ibid). The allegorical figure of justice is blindfolded to signify her unbiasedness, her scales indicate fairness and impartiality and the sword is symbolic of the power of justice. PHM:NMLH.1990.26.



Figure 93. A similar allegorical lady justice, blindfolded with scales and sword appears again in a banner made for the West Midlands Federation of the NUWSS, (1912). Both examples also include banner scrolls, a popular design element in this type of imagery. Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery:1981 F15.

Symbols indicating various trades, such as the hammer shown in a c.1900 banner produced by George Tutill for The Social Democratic Federation (figure 94), was another common design trope continued and furthered by suffrage campaigners. Many people (especially the working class) could not read at this point in time, so imagery of hands holding different tools and the large workplace illustrations typically used on Trade Union banners were essential for reaching large numbers of people in a way they could understand (Enckevort 2018). Women's suffrage banners representing different regional branches drew upon existing associated symbolism used to demonstrate local and craft pride. The hammer and horseshoe imagery of the WSPU's Hammersmith banner is one of numerous examples that used this type of imagery to represent a branch and its local heritage (figure 95). The crossing of the horseshoe and hammer is akin to masonic emblems, this likely also filtered through Trade Union sources who drew upon emblems of freemasonry and friendly societies.



Figure 94. Banner made for The Social Democratic Federation (1884 -1939) by George Tutill. The shape of this banner differs from his typical square style, though the large size is in keeping with others from the time. George Tutill banners were usually large and at about around three metres high this particular one would need at least four men to carry and control it in the wind. Oil paint on silk, (c. 1900) PHM.



Figure 95. Banner carried by the Hammersmith branch of the WSPU. The banner is reversible and has a rectangular central section with vertical side panels machine-stitched. It is formed from purple, green & cream satinette with cream cotton damask and purple velvet. The central panel has 3 hammers and horseshoes painted on material over card with 'Hammersmith' and the suffragette motto 'Deeds not words'. The side panels are embroidered with irises on one side and appliqued in velvet on the reverse, with hanging tassels (1908-1910), MoL:56.57/2.

'Symbols provide shortcuts to the group they represent, and symbolism is by nature referential, subjective and boundary-creating' (Elgenius 2011, 397). Mary Lowndes, founder of the Artists Suffrage League, devised a scheme of heraldic shield designs for the various NUWSS societies to be used on banners and other materials (figure 96). The designs made use of existing symbols associated with the town or region, or which highlighted a particular industry or local heritage, for example the white rose emblem for the Yorkshire Federations. Lowndes (1909, 6) stressed the value of the knowledge of heraldry, and encouraged suffrage campaigners to 'use the old symbols always when they will serve, but try and use them in a new way, for it is a new thing we are doing'. In this sense, rather than replicating existing imagery, campaigners were remaking their localities in their own image. Their work maintained a local patriotism, but was fundamentally different through feminist design. By distinguishing so many areas of the country, the banners helped facilitate an understanding that the procession was representative of the whole country, emphasising that women's suffrage was a national issue.



Figure 96. Shield designs for different regions from the design album of Mary Lowndes (c. 1910). LSE:0052.

In the same way that highlighting different regions was important to stress support for the cause around Britain, highlighting women's trades and professions was about demonstrating women's considerable and vital presence within the country's workforce, and displaying mass support for women's suffrage. The NUWSS organised a large-scale demonstration (13 June 1908) to appeal to new Liberal prime minister Asquith. Prior to the event Millicent Fawcett explained,

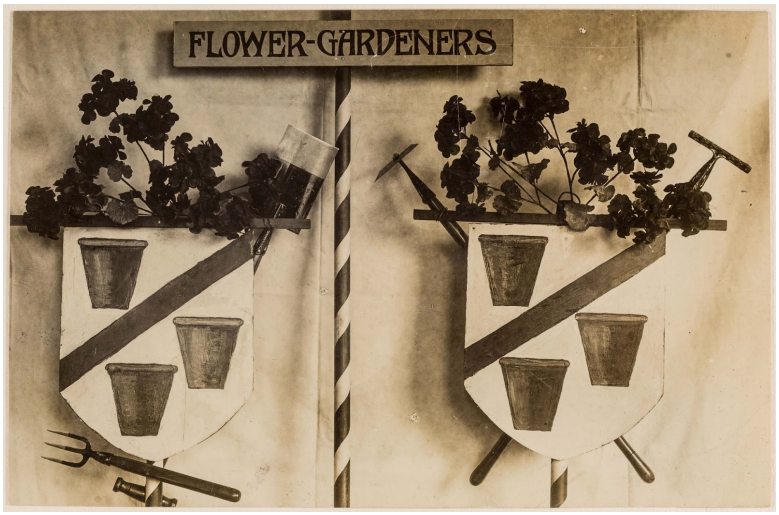
> 'Professional women, University women, women teachers, women artists, women musicians, women writers, women in business, nurses, members of political societies of all parties, women trades unionists, and co-operative women all have their own organisations and will be grouped in the procession under their own distinctive banners, which have been specially designed for the occasion by the Artists' League for Women's Suffrage' (Fawcett et al. 1908).

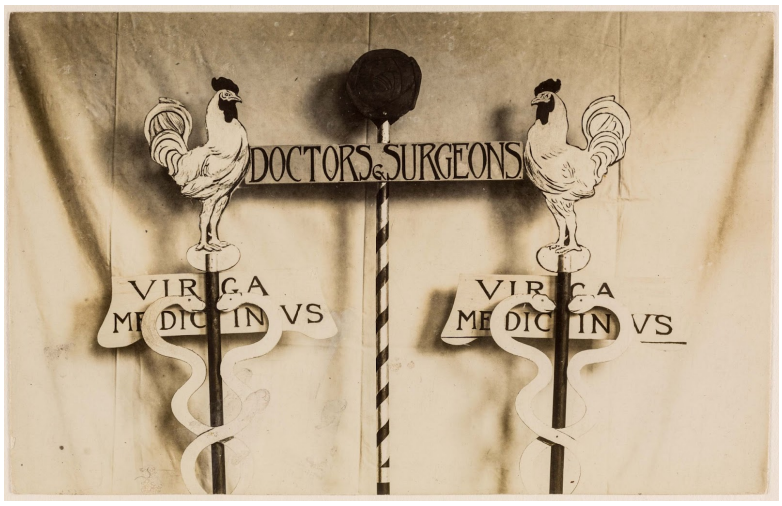
The division of women into trades and professions stressed the desire for enfranchisement among women from all backgrounds and industries, something which was further highlighted at the Women's Trades and Professions Procession the following year (figures 97-102). The procession was a great showcasing of women's immense contribution across a wide range of industries. Designs for place markers and photographs of some of the finished examples within Lowndes design album show a range of professions represented from fish wives to doctors and surgeons. The materials used in these processions were integral to the narrative building of the movement, giving it legitimacy and reinforcing a sense of widespread solidarity for the cause.



Figures 97, 98 & 99. Drawings for place markers from the design album of Mary Lowndes. Fish wives, tailoresses and barmaids are among many which represented different groups of workers within processions such as the The Pageant of Women's Trades and Professions held on 27 April 1909. LSE:0168/0171/0160.







Figures 100, 101 & 102. Photographs of place markers from the design album of Mary Lowndes. Cleaning supplies represented ‘charwomen’, flowers and pots for gardeners and the rooster and intertwined snakes make The Rod of Asclepius, symbolising the field of medicine for doctors and surgeons. LSE:0169/0162/0154.

These examples demonstrate that suffrage campaigners were adapting and combining heraldry from aristocracy with methods and symbolism from previous radical movements, as well as existing regional and trade related emblems to convey the extent of support for women's suffrage. Saunders (2019) also explains that the movement's 'language and iconography were steeped in Christian imagery'. Yet, of the various precedents set for suffrage banners, the influence of church banners is scarcely acknowledged, despite Lowndes (1909, 2) specifically referring to women's church banners as continuing 'to be seen and loved'. Suffrage banners were smaller and thus easier to carry than earlier Union banners, and many made use of T-bar styles, formerly seen in church parades, which could be conveniently carried by one person. As well as shapes and methods of carrying, the use of florals similar to ecclesiastical embroidery provides strong evidence that church banners were a source of decorative inspiration. A Manchester WSPU banner made by Thomas Brown and Sons (a well known maker of Church banners) incorporates embroidery motifs used in ecclesiastical design patterns (figures 103 & 104) and the lettering used is similar to lettering on Sunday School banners (PHM 2022).





Figures 103 & 104. Machine stitched banner with tassels commemorating the founding of the WSPU in Manchester in 1903, made by the Manchester-based Thomas Brown & Sons. The banner appeared on the platform alongside Emmeline Pankhurst on several occasions, including at the Heaton Park rally in Manchester (19 July 1908). It was taken to London in June 1908 for a mass suffrage rally, organised by the WSPU. The banner's message, 'First in the Fight', shows how important Manchester was to the struggle for the vote (1908), PHM.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage (CLWS) originated from the 'Great Watch', a vigil held outside Parliament organised by the WFL which ran from July to October 1909 (Saunders 2019, 1477). The name itself referenced the Easter Vigil, and participants spoke of a religious need within the long and arduous watch. Women endured cold and rain, and some gathered together in prayer (ibid). As expected, banner designs by the CLWS take clear inspiration from ecclesiastical design and feature religious motifs (figure 105), though this can also be noticed in other organisational banners. Perhaps because of the origins of the CLWS, it is not surprising that there would be some religious symbolism in WFL banners. A banner made in 1911 with the organisation's motto 'Dare To Be Free' uses a winged heart reminiscent of sacred heart designs, the wings evoke connections to angels and ascension to heaven (figure 106).





Figure 105 (left). Church League for Women's Suffrage banner, carried by the Hampstead branch. Designed by Laurence Housman and possibly made by his sister Clemence Housman. Yellow cotton sateen with beige silks and cotton and green, purple & yellow embroidery silk. The central design incorporates a cross entwined with interlacing grape vines. A foliate capital in metal thread in each corner reads 'CLWS The Glorious Liberty' (above), 'Of the Children of God' (below). On the reverse is painted 'Hampstead Church league for Women's Suffrage' (c. 1909-1910), MoL:81.113/42.

Figure 106 (right). Women's Freedom League banner designed by Miss Burton and embroidered by Miss Gosling (1911), LSE:F05F.

Suffrage banner making was often a collective effort which brought women together to sew, though women have wielded needle and thread in ways that have subverted expectations long before the women's suffrage movement. One example, again from earlier radicalism, is the liberty cap. Sources regarding the process of making the caps are scarce, but one letter addressed to Viscount Sidmouth illuminates women's involvement in their production:

> '...the women are going about from house to house begging for money in Middleton and the neighbourhood to make Caps of Liberty which they intend to carry to the Manchester meeting' (TNA:HO/42/190, 1819).

This method of appealing for funds to cover the costs of materials is also similar to the way some suffrage banners were funded. Instead of 'going about from house to house', women were now able to leverage their readership through appeals printed in their newspapers. Prior to the 13 June 1908 NUWSS procession, a letter was published in *The Times* signed by Millicent Fawcett and the other NUWSS leaders which appealed for funding to help cover the costs of making banners (Fawcett et al. 1908). It is reasonable to assume that (outside of groups such as the Artists Suffrage League and the Suffrage Atelier) the funding of other suffrage banners was a similarly collective and community oriented effort.

5.6.2 Redefining Protest

Gabbott (2022) explained that the often momentous size and overwhelming detail of trade union banners was used to assert power, and were occasionally so large they required specially designed mounts in order to be wheeled through a parade. Suffrage banners, on the other hand, focused on women's skillful needlework and other craft techniques, as well as imagery that celebrated women through iconography, inscriptions and the collective workmanship inherent in each one. Banners had an important role to play in the separation of different group identities, as well as the overall image of the movement. The importance of the visual look of a movement whose goal was political enfranchisement may seem an unnecessary preoccupation, but in many ways aesthetics was the *mediator* of the suffragist's message. Following the NUWSS procession (13th June 1908), newspapers described the aesthetic achievement of the League's banners with admiration. *The Daily Express* (in Sexton 2018, 26) wrote 'never have such banners been seen in the London streets. They were works of art'. *The Morning Leader* (Douglas 1908, 1-4) reported that the women 'have revived the pomp and glory of the procession' and 'recreated the beauty of blown silk and tossing embroidery'. 'The procession was like a medieval festival, vivid with simple grandeur, alive with an ancient dignity'. At the Albert Hall, the banners were 'piled in terraced ranks of raw and flaming colour' where they 'glowed like a beautiful piece of vivid coloured tapestry' (ibid). These reviews demonstrate the opportunity suffrage campaigners had to seize and build on their positive press attention in order to reframe their activism. Use of the words 'medieval festival' and 'ancient dignity' as well as comparisons to grand tapestries placed the banners in the context of old respected traditions. With this in mind, campaigners' messages could be carried via materials that celebrated women's artistic crafts skills, and processions that emanated a romanticised nostalgia for the past.

The largest suffrage march, the Women's Coronation Procession (17 June 1911), brought together the full range of suffrage organisations, and like the 1908 NUWSS procession, coverage of the event demonstrates the impact of the banners on its success. One onlooker described:

> 'The attitude of the men about me was very interesting. At first their jeers and hesitating praise showed the prejudice they had been taught by the Press to feel. An hour went by, banner after banner passed along; gorgeous banners, triumphs of modern interpretation of medieval spirit. A voice beneath me somewhere said "By George, Bill, they deserve a good deal of praise, after all's said and done" (...) The colour schemes, the long array of pennons, banners, trophies, garlands and badges, most resplendent in their gorgeous execution and workmanship' (Lawrence; Sirett 1911, 640).

Banners were also used to decorate meeting places during large gatherings (Tickner 1987, 62), and campaigners organised banner exhibitions which showcased the beauty and skill of their work across the country. One exhibition by The Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage at the Fine Art Institute ran for two days at the start of December 1908. The Society printed 200 pamphlets describing the banners, and visitors attending the exhibition could enjoy the accompaniments of tea, a small string band and a pianola while viewing the banners (Crawford 2001, 33; Crawford 2015). This activity further recontextualised protest banners as art, by removing them from the streets and situating them in a gallery setting with the refinements of music and refreshments. Perhaps this could be considered to diminish the banners impactfulness, yet these types of activities can be viewed as part of the broader navigation of women's public roles. It was another strategy, entirely separate from their performative use in suffrage processions, that targeted a different crowd. Many of the banners were very finely crafted and by focusing on this, women could

entice visitors to appreciate their beauty up close while simultaneously getting across their message (figures 107-114).



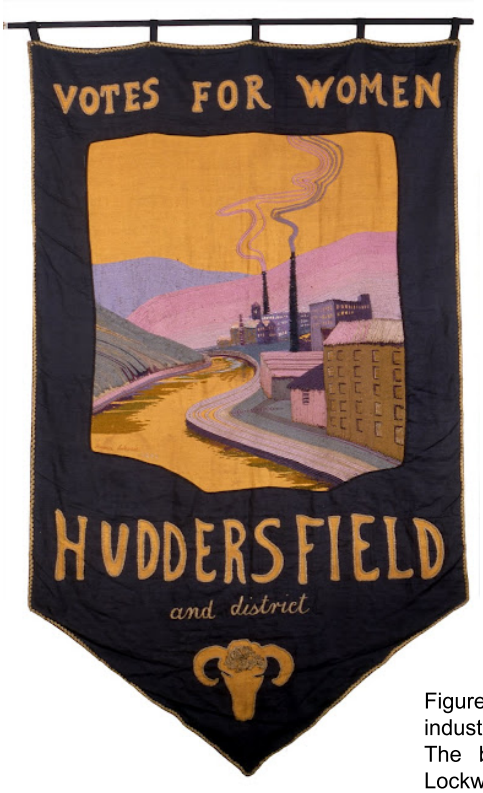
Figure 107. Banner representing The Commonwealth of Australia which was carried in the NUWSS procession to Albert Hall on 13 June 1908. Designed by Melbourne-born Dora Meeson Coates, the banner was painted rather than sewn and bore the message ‘Trust the Women Mother As I Have Done ‘, a reference to Australia’s earlier enfranchisement of women with the Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902. Meeson’s banner depicts ‘daughter’ Australia as Minerva, goddess of wisdom, carrying the first Commonwealth Coat of Arms. She is imploring ‘mother’ Britannia to accept her advice and guidance. The banner was donated by the Fawcett Library to the Australian government in 1998 and now hangs in Parliament House in Canberra (Crawford 2014d) (1908), Parliament of Australia.







Figures 108, 109 & 110. ‘Better is Wisdom than Weapons of War’ Cambridge University banner carried in the NUWSS procession of 13 June 1908 and in several suffrage processions between 1908 and 1913. The banner was designed by Mary Lowndes and carried by students from women's colleges Newnham and Girton, and showcases an impressive range of handcraft techniques. The message which was not in Mary Lowndes original drawing possibly refers to the students position on militancy (1908). Newnham College & LSE.





Figures 111 & 112. Huddersfield & District banner depicting local industry, also carried in the NUWSS procession on 13 June 1908. The banner was designed and made by suffragist Florence Lockwood. It appears like a painting but on close inspection is fully embroidered (1908), Kirklees Museums & Galleries.

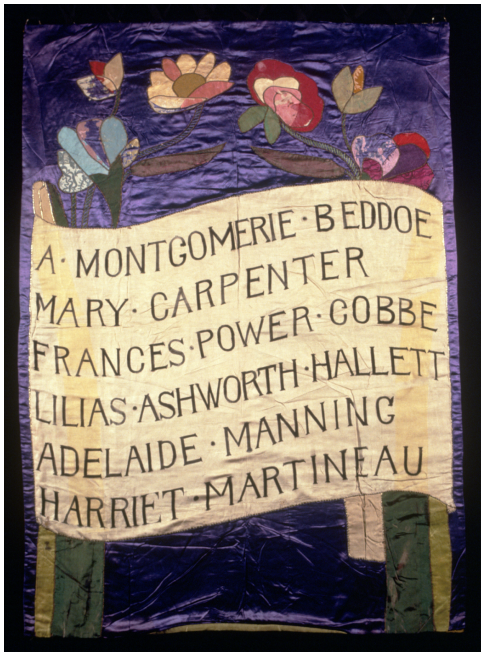




Figure 113 (left). Banner made of purple satin with appliqued Arts and Crafts stylised flowers and bearing the names of six women who were involved in the early suffrage campaign. Two golden ribbons attached at the top of the banner to flutter in the breeze as it was held in procession (Murphy 2016) (1908), LSE:F04F.

Figure 114 (above). WSPU banner made of purple cotton fabric with white applique lettering 'Ask with courage'. The 'Ask with' is a pun on the name Asquith, the British Prime Minister, who consistently opposed the introduction of a female suffrage bill (c.1908), MoL:81.113/28.

In her design album, Mary Lowndes (c.1908, 1), wrote that banners had ‘become associated with the appearance of women in public life’. It was necessary for campaigners to redefine their social boundaries as women, and beautiful displays with handcrafted elements seemed to mediate the discomfort many in society felt about women’s presence on streets, especially when it came to protesting. Campaigners continuously asserted their femininity by conforming to ‘womanly’ ideals - and going beyond this, with the fashionable suffragette look typically consisting of white dresses and flowers worn in the hair, on hats or at the waist (figure 115). In this way they associated their message with an image that was in direct contrast to the disparaging stereotypes perpetuated by anti-suffragists and mainstream media. The artistic crafting of banners, a task which utilised women’s domestic needlework skills, was another extension of this deflection from misogynist criticism. But beyond simply appeasing critics and appealing to a different audience, this helped women to renegotiate the image of a politically active woman, pioneer a new form of protest and challenge the way reform could be achieved. Lowndes expresses this sentiment exactly, describing how carefully handcrafted banners and badges bearing societies’ colours had the ability to transform the ‘dull and ugly streets’ of masculine public life; ‘now into public life comes trooping the feminine; and with the feminine creature come the banners of past time’ (ibid, 2).



Figure 115. One of two dress stalls at The Women’s Exhibition (1909). The first sold ‘summer dresses’ and the second was dedicated to ‘beautiful and artistic day and evening dresses and coats’ donated by Amy Kotze, which are those likely shown in this picture. Kotze was a highly skilled suffragette dressmaker and embroiderer who also worked for Liberty & Co. The construction of her pieces reflect the fashionable ‘artistic’ style worn by some suffragettes in the early twentieth century which focused on feminine Arts and Crafts embroidery, and simple flattering construction with a natural waist - in contrast with the Victorian mainstream ideals of corsets, hoop skirts and bustles (Tobin 2018). Photograph by Christina Broom. MoL:IN1284.

Just as the Pankhursts and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence stressed the importance of fashionable and feminine dress, Lowndes’ elaborate self-published guidelines for the do’s and don'ts of banner-making emphasised the importance of the visual effect of banners by careful selection of colour, fabric and shape. She was aware of the effect strong branding and design could have, and as a leading figure in the Arts & Crafts movement and founder of the Artists Suffrage League, Lowndes echoed the same ideologies as her contemporaries, championing handmade banners above the manufactured types. She chose to share her knowledge and empower women to create their own banners, explaining that

a woman who could make a pair of curtains could certainly make a banner (ibid, 6). She further contextualised and reinforced suffrage banner making as a revolutionary act; 'In all the ages it has been women's part to make the banners, if not to carry them… and now for the first time in history [they] illumme women's own adventure' (ibid, 1).

> 'A banner is not a literary affair, it is not a placard: leave such to boards and sandwichmen. A banner is a thing to float in the wind, to flicker in the breeze, to flirt its colours for your pleasure, to half show and half conceal a device you long to unravel: you do not want to read it, you want to worship it' (ibid, 3).

With heady, descriptive language, Lowndes romanticises the banner and gives it power. Its essential nature is presented as something enticing and superior. The placard or sandwich board are limited by design to simply state their message rigidly, but the banner expresses it through movement. It sells an image and an idea, not just a message written in bold. In this statement Lowndes ties the aesthetic importance of a protest object with its intention. Her use of the word 'worship' also indicates a devotion, a feeling beyond the reading and understanding of a message that could be incited by the very effect of the banner itself. This effect of the banner processions was described by suffragette schoolteacher Connie Lewcock, a member of the Newcastle WSPU branch. She explained that onlookers typically either came out to watch processions 'out of idle curiosity', others might have stood on the pavement laughing, but occasionally, women would step right out into the procession to join the march there and then - 'almost like a religious conversion' as Harrison (the interviewer) commented (Lewcock 1976). Lewcock went on to describe the women marching in their dignified processions, walking with their colours 'as if to the new Jerusalem' (ibid). What moved the women to join in these moments could be guessed at any number of things, but certainly the visual effect of a procession and all its elements from the dress of the women, to the meticulously crafted banners they held and the messages they harnessed contributed to the overall effect that provoked others to participate.

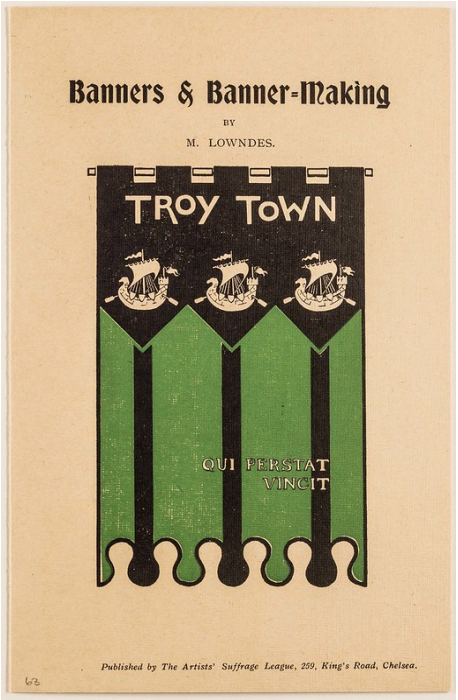


Figure 116. 'Troy Town' banner design front cover of Mary Lowndes pamphlet *Banners & Banner Making* (1909). The Latin, 'Qui Perstat Vincit' means 'He Who Perseveres Wins', LSE:0206.

Suffrage societies had given colour 'a fresh significance' and colours were to be used cautiously and thoughtfully (Lowndes 1909, 2). Lowndes recommended looking at flowers in nature to get a sense of colour palettes that worked and those that did not. 'Choose purple and gold for ambition, green for long-cherished hopes. If above all these glories of colour you write in great letters 'Troy Town' [11] that is not now a placard, it is a dedication' (figure 116) (ibid, 3). In this statement Lowndes again asserts the importance of intention, and the desire to find deeper meaning and justification in one's choices when making a protest banner. This is a stark contrast from later activism, where a statement painted on a piece of cardboard, a printed poster or a message on a bed sheet is typically deemed sufficient enough to deliver a point without the need for time spent designing, collecting fabrics, cutting, stitching and embroidering (figures 117-121). To many suffragists the effort and attention to detail they put into everything they did, including banner

[11] Lowndes uses the hypothetical 'Miss Blank, the active secretary of the newly formed Branch of Troy Town…' to make her point about banner design (Lowndes 1909, 2).

making, was their way of engaging the world with their arguments, proving their skill and getting men in power to listen. The time and dedication manifest in the banners also demonstrates (and is a fitting representation of) the longevity of their struggle. Women were not only able to create whole decorative schemes and spend hours and hours stitching their politics into works of art, but they wrote on the subject in enough detail that guides such as Lowndes' could be carried forward into future feminist movements.



Figures 117 & 118. NUWSS banner design and fabric swatches in the organisation's red and green colours. Mary Lowndes design album (c.1908-1910). LSE:0032/0034.







Figures 119 & 120 (above). Edinburgh banner design and fabric swatch from the design album of Mary Lowndes (1908). LSE:0115/0114.

Figure 121. Women of the Edinburgh contingent marching with their banner (1908). LSE:0175.

5.7 A New Feminist Consumer Culture

Material goods gave suffrage campaigners the ability to shape their image, construct and legitimise their organisations and wider campaign, attract members, provoke action and start new traditions - from processions of beautiful banners, to awards ceremonies and protests outside of jewellery auctions. The following discussion explains how expanding consumerism allowed campaigners to sell the image materials helped them to construct, and allowed them to finance their movement.

Handmade materials contributed to the 'world building' of Votes For Women, shaping not only the face of the movement but how it was perceived and understood. At the same time, huge shifts were happening in society. Aided by the industrial and manufacturing revolution of the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, the city space was changing to meet the demands of expanding consumerism. Prior to this women had begun to bring their handmade/'domestic' goods into the world of shopping and trading. Opportunities were extremely limited, but bazaars were 'a new and dramatic setting for shopping' that allowed traders to rent spaces for sale of their goods, and provided new opportunities for women to conduct business (Stobart 2008, 109). John Trotter opened 'the first true bazaar' on Soho Square in 1816 (ibid). It was believed that this mode of shopping 'would encourage female domestic industry and provide opportunities for women to maintain themselves safely and respectfully' (ibid). As Rappaport (2000, 6) describes, 'Perhaps nothing was more revolting than the spectacle of a middle-class woman immersed in the filthy, fraudulent, and dangerous world of the urban marketplace.' Women certainly seized their chance in this instance, with 198 of the 200 trading spaces being occupied by female stall-holders (Stobart 2008, 110). They endured misogynistic jibes and accusations (to be a working woman was to be a prostitute in the minds of many in society at this time), yet the bazaar was a success. It formed a blueprint for similar events which were copied across the country over the following decade, becoming a new established mode of shopping (ibid, 111).

Tea, coffee, chocolate and sugar reached Britain in the seventeenth century, but became much more widely available by the start of the eighteenth century. This hugely impacted social interaction, especially for women, and sparked demand for tea sets and other associated wares (ibid, 73). The impact of new technologies in the nineteenth century marked the next big step for women. Improving transport links (specifically railways and tramways) allowed out-of-town shoppers to visit areas with a density of shops, and the growing affordability of plate glass dramatically changed the appearance of shopfronts (ibid, 17-18; 82-83; 154). Larger windows meant displays became an important tool for attracting passers by; encouraging women to venture to the city to browse and buy, thus navigating and redefining social boundaries and conceptions about women and the city. Significant shifts in manufacturing led to an eruption of consumer goods with everything from furniture to clothing and collectables. Mass production made goods more affordable, and it was during this period that the working-classes began to fully participate in consumption (especially of homewares and furnishings), in ways previously reserved for the middle- and upper-classes (ibid, 129). One price systems which also emerged in the late nineteenth century largely replaced bartering, and has been viewed by some scholars as aiding women's integration into the retail space. Fixed prices were preferable to many women, as well as class and ethnic minorities, being fairer with no deviation due to bartering skill or the vendor (Mullins 2011, 87).

The emerging British highstreet expanded to sell an increasingly wide range of domestic items. As men were separated from domestic duties in the home, this naturally extended to the purchasing of such items in shops. In many ways women now became 'the family's consumer' tasked with choosing goods (ibid, 146-147; Rappaport 2000, 10; 49-52). This was facilitated by shop opening times which coincided with the available time of non-working wives who could shop while their husbands were at work (Rappaport 2000, 10; 49). As the buyer of general domestic goods and clothing, gendered ideas formed around the act of shopping, tying it to women and distancing it from men. Though married and

unmarried women were still oppressed by financial constraints both legally and within their own homes, they were empowered by managing some household expenditure for the first time, and this newfound agency was something both feminists and retailers had an interest in (ibid, 73).

Gendered ideas around shopping were cemented by retailers who clamoured for the attention of the new female shopper. Women-oriented clubs, restaurants and tea shops opened and lavatories were built to create separate spaces for women deemed more acceptable than 'the mass market', yet by creating these spaces it 'naturalised and expanded the conception of shopping as feminine activity' (ibid, 14). Going to the shops became not just a necessity, but a leisure activity where women could meet together for an afternoon to visit shops and tea rooms. The trade in such businesses grew dramatically; Joseph Lyon began opening tea shops in the 1880's-90s, and by 1909 boasted over 300,000 customers daily across his various establishments (ibid, 103). The taboo of women going into a public house previously meant it had been difficult for women to get food once out of the house, these new female oriented tea shops and cafes were 'an enormous step toward freedom' (Corbett-Ashby 1974). Feminised city spaces such as tea rooms also provided women with new places to convene or sit unaccompanied 'without the fear of being molested by men' (Zukin & Maguire 2004, 177). Shopping (and the pretence of it) gave women the freedom to wander unchaperoned, as well as a valid and socially acceptable reason to be out in urban spaces.

5.7.1 "Spenders in the Suffrage Movement, Unite"

While women enjoyed this new freedom and some agency as consumers, the consumer market and public retail space was (and still largely is) dominated and governed by men (Mullins 2011, 149). At different ends of the spectrum, women have been considered empowered through new consumerism which opened doors for them publicly and politically, while oppositionally, some scholars have focused on women as the victims of advertising and capitalist and patriarchal domination (Roberts 1998, 835). Mckendrick et al. (1984) viewed burgeoning consumption as a competitive display, with consumers caught up in desire to achieve higher status by emulating the spending habits of higher classes. As Plumb writes, 'Few desires will empty a pocket quicker than social aspiration' (ibid, 286-290). Others refocused this perspective on the agency of consumers as individual participants; Cook, et al. (1996, 52) view consumption as 'individual, intentional, communicative acts'. Mullins (2011, 104-108) also demonstrated a critical look at consumer empowerment through consumers' ability to accept or reject commodities, rather than a top down structure that views consumers as pawns caught up by advertising.

Mullins asserts that material consumption 'does indeed shape how consumers see themselves and others and has some politicising effect, but the social and political meanings of that consumption are utterly contested' (ibid, 108). Long before the effects of late capitalism, the moment discussed here is especially distinct being early on in new consumerism, which was used to the advantage of the women's movement in various ways. Reformer and 'National Consumers' League Officer', Florence Kelley (1899, 289-299) described this in relation to the US,

> 'Since the exodus of manufacture from the home, the one great industrial function of women has been that of purchaser. Not only all the foods used in private families, but a very large proportion of the furniture and books, as well as the clothing for men, women, and children, is prepared with the direct object in view of being sold to women'.

Analysis of suffrage newspapers and organisational minute books reveals that suffrage campaigners were not only incredibly aware of the politics of their consumption, but were regularly discussing this with their members and directing spending in accordance with their politics. All suffrage societies promoted businesses run by fellow campaigners and sympathisers, and advised their members to

shop at these places. They also actively urged women to vote with their money wherever possible; Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence (1910, 9) recognised consumerism as women's 'very great power'.

> 'Few women are rich enough to give largely to this cause. In many cases the money that they handle belongs to them to spend on behalf of their family, but does not belong to them to give away. This fact need not distress them. They can support this cause by spending as well as giving. Women have not yet realised the enormous power that they collectively possess as chancellors of the family exchequer' (ibid).

Pethick-Lawrence empowered women, entitling them 'the family exchequer', and recommended they uphold the motto "Who is for us, for him are we" by honouring those in support and taking their custom elsewhere to those who do not. In another issue she recommends readers use their festive purchasing to support businesses who pay to advertise in *Votes For Women* and to make the intentions behind their choice known,

> 'Large sums of money will be expended in Christmas fare, Christmas presents, Christmas parties. Most of this spending power is vested in the hands of women. See to it, Fellows, that all this trade, so far as you are concerned, goes into the hands of those who support the Women's Movement by advertising in the columns of *Votes For Women*…be sure you let the firms with who you deal understand why you are giving them your custom' (Pethick-Lawrence 1913, 90)

Votes For Women published shopping directories with this purpose in mind, lists of businesses were not only recommended based on the purple, white and green goods they sold, but were recommended as a direct source of revenue for the newspaper through the ads they had placed there. The WSPU was not alone in this type of recommendation, other campaigners proposed ideas which went even further. The 'unacknowledged and untapped power' of the female consumer was a defining theme of Teresa Billington-Greig's work[12] (Green 2017, 71). A minute book of the WFL's (1912a, 34) Special Conference held at Caxton Hall on the 27-28th April, 1912 is incredibly illuminating as to some women's thoughts on weaponising their consumerism in what they referred to as 'the boycott scheme'. The meeting gathered members from branches across the country; Scotland was well represented as well as Northern and Welsh counties. To summarise their discussion; a speaker for the Kensington branch proposed that women refuse to purchase goods from shops that trade within anti-suffrage constituencies. Essentially this would mean blacklisting whole towns and moving custom elsewhere to neighbouring towns with shops that were supportive of the movement. Comprehensive lists would advertise businesses to shop at, and those to actively avoid (ibid). As the speaker suggests, 'I should say that a town which has lost a lot of custom will not be frightfully anxious to have an Anti-Suffragist Member. Through the tradesman you can get to the Member, and through the Member to the Government' (ibid, 35).

Charlotte Despard, the meetings Chairman (and one of the founders of the WFL), commented that one lady had already 'boycotted' three shops owned by noted anti-suffragists, then explained that her idea would take this even further,

> 'I should like very much to have a Producers' and Consumers' League, such as exists in Paris now. I should like every true Suffragist woman to make a pledge that she would, whenever possible, get her produce from businesses managed by women, and take some trouble to find out those businesses' (ibid).

[12] In *The Consumer in Revolt* (Billington-Greig 1912) 'lobbied for an understanding of the rituals of daily life as deeply political and "urged a feminist liberation through the politics of consumption"' (Green 2017, 71).

Despard goes on to suggest women stop all financial subscriptions to churches (though she specifies not charities), and espouses the potential benefits of supporting women through spending, 'I do believe that if we started in this way, we should make ourselves an economic power such as we have not been before' (ibid). The Harrow branch commented 'I think the spending power in this country does rest with women', and went on to describe a situation whereby all women wrote letters to their grocers explaining their plans to no longer purchase commodities that did not support women farmers, and the weight this would carry from press attention (ibid, 38). The limitations of these various ideas were voiced alongside other practical discussion from the scattered Scottish branches, who explained that a boycott of non-suffrage supporting constituencies would not be possible for those living in remote areas, and the potential lengthy time some of the other strategies would take to prove fruitful was a concern for women who wanted the vote imminently. While others shared additional reservations, the 'Boycott Resolution' was carried forward to be passed as 'a recommendation' with 35 votes to 12, and the Kensington branch expressed they would begin supplying information on anti-suffrage shop owners for their members' use (ibid).

This type of strategy continued within the WFL, in the 4th Feb, 1916 issue of *The Vote*, writer 'H.N' refers to women who spend as having 'an immense economic weapon in their hands' and announces a proposed Suffrage Trading Scheme - modelled from established trading systems such as The London Teachers Association Scheme. Members of suffrage societies within the scheme would shop cooperatively with complying local tradesmen to receive a discount from their businesses. This discount would be calculated through receipts kept by the shoppers and collected quarterly by the secretary of the trading committee. The receipts would then be sorted and the discounts calculated with half of the total revenue going to *The Vote,* and the other half shared amongst the spenders in relation to their spending, with any unspent used to help branch funding. Subsequent papers don't appear to mention the scheme, so it is unclear whether this went ahead and to what success, but within the article the writer comments that 'a promising list' of interested business in London had already been drawn up. Having described the scheme, H.N. instructs readers,

> 'Remember the old watchword of Karl Marx: "Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains." We would paraphrase that by: "Spenders in the Suffrage movement, unite. You have nothing to lose but half the dividend that you don't now get at all. And *The Vote* wants that half - wants it desperately!"' (H.N. 1916, 913-914).

These examples are but a small selection of thinking from the time which demonstrate that women were not only spending to directly profit the movement and its associated outputs (such as their newspapers), but they were also actively spending (and not spending) to effect change among non-supporters. Despite being relatively new consumers, women quickly learned to vote through consumption, exploit accessible forms of goods to their own advantage and leverage this power en-mass to help achieve their political goals. These discussions and printed pieces make clear that shopping was both political and potentially transformative. The choice to support one business over another because of their stance on the Votes For Women question also demonstrates that women's agency, and thus their identity, beliefs and intentions, were at the centre of their domestic consumption. As such, this thesis further evidences that women and so-called 'domestic' items were operating in various ways beyond limited scholarly ideas pertaining to 'the domestic sphere'.

5.7.2 Selling Suffrage and Financing the Cause

Having briefly described the development of new consumerism, and provided new evidence of the ways that campaigners were shopping with political intent, the following sections demonstrate how

targeted consumerism was used by campaigners to directly benefit the movement, and by commercial businesses to exploit it.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, businesses came up with new methods of advertising, promotion, merchandising and packaging, which constructed the framework of modern consumer culture as we now know it. The female consumer was central to this, which is evident in adverts from the time that appealed to women's numerous domestic and social roles. Rappaport (2000, 111) explains that 'women's magazines were the product of and the showcase for the fruits of England's industrialising and free-trade economy. They were also sites of cultural production, generating class, gender and national identities while selling goods and fashionable lifestyles.' Advertising was further manipulated during the suffrage movement to target supporters. Within just one issue of *Votes for Women* are adverts for dresses, corsets, furs, cosmetics, hair products, soaps, disinfectants, detergent, brushes, brooms, hooks and eyes, furniture, writing ink, pens, bread, cakes, among many other commodities (VFW 1910a). While businesses such as dressmakers and milliners, bootmakers, wigmakers, dry cleaners and upholsterers, hairdressers, salons, dentists, florists, tea rooms and even singing teachers all paid to occupy space in the same issue (ibid). The fees contributed by businesses paying to feature in suffrage publications helped to resource propaganda efforts, and as previously discussed, suffrage organisations continuously prompted their supporters to buy goods from these businesses, which in turn fed money back into the campaign.

Advertising and social influences are pressures that construct and fuel particular ideologies and expectations (Mullins 2011). Suffrage newspapers facilitated these pressures, advertising 'support the suffrage movement' alongside commodities for sale. When purchasing power becomes conflated with political activism, and a display of wealth is deemed a clear act in support of a campaign, this can undermine the core values of a movement. Fundamentally this method of fundraising could be considered antithetical to the cause at hand, especially when a part of the goal of women's enfranchisement was about benefiting those currently oppressed by the intertwined oppressions of economic and gendered poverty. It's likely that this discouraged some supporters who couldn't afford to consume goods in the same way as others, and perpetuated a division, though with little evidence it is difficult to ascertain how strongly this was felt. Where this aspect of the movement excluded women of lower incomes, it certainly made use of those who had the money to spare. Securing funding from various sources was a vital activity, and Votes For Women required a great deal in order to sustain their movement and produce and maintain the types of activities they employed such as processions and events. Through consumerism they found an area where they could obtain this funding, and clearly a great deal of their supporters had money to spend, both through their access to the domestic budget, and through middle- and upper-class spending on non-essential or extravagant items.

Milo's (2017) analysis of *The Freewoman* (1911-1912) is particularly interesting when compared with the tactics of other suffrage periodicals advertising content and their differing successes. Dora Marsden left the WSPU to found the journal which aimed to promote radical and anarchist thinkers, and cover a broader range of issues beyond the vote. *The Freewoman* was also a space where Marsden shared her criticism of the Pankhursts and the WSPU, which she felt catered too much to middle-class women. The paper occupied an anti-capitalist stance, not believing that periodicals should let finance take precedence above their politics (ibid, 210). Unlike other suffrage papers, *The Freewoman* attempted to create its feminist identity without a reliance on material commodities. Its adverts mostly consisted of books, events such as jiu-jitsu classes and lectures, and some household products (ibid, 120-121). Novel items such as a bookshelf promoted as being buildable by women without need for additional help, as well as the ''Lady' Combined Knife and Scissors Sharpener' give an idea of the types of commodities that were prioritised above the fancy goods and fashions that made up the bulk of other suffrage paper advertisements (Marsden; November 23, 1911, 19; November 30, 1911, 34). However, *The Freewoman* received criticism when some advertisements, similar to the type commonly found in *Votes for Women*, began appearing in the paper,

> ‘What is happening to the Freewoman just now? … can’t we do without those two advertisements of female gew-gaws? [sic] How many Freewomen do Debenham & Freebody think likely to hanker after ‘neck-wear novelties’ as worn by the creature displayed with all that stifling rubbish tied round its neck. These advertisements make the paper look like ‘Forget-me-not’. I trust that my deep interest in the ‘Freewoman’ may be accepted as an apology for the violence of this protest’ (figure 122) (Anon to Marsden April 13, 1912. Box 3, folder 11, Dora Marsden Collection; Milo, 2017, 125).

Clearly the paper's increasing need for ad revenue was at odds with the ‘Freewoman’ identity it had carved for itself - at least when revenue came from sources deemed frivolous, as implied by this reader. Ultimately, *The Freewoman* struggled financially throughout its existence. It managed only a low circulation, their distributor W.H. Smith and Son’s eventually banned the paper from its shops[13] and its publisher withdrew support after only eleven months (Green 2012, para. 33).

What is clear from this example (and also evident in other feminist periodicals from the time) is that material goods help to define and shape political identities, but they can also hinder them if there is discordance between what a paper is saying and what it promotes. Objects are an incredibly powerful mechanism for articulating things about a person, or indeed a material output, as well as shaping the consumer's definitions of self. ‘At its heart consumption revolves around the acquisition of things to confirm, display, accent, mask, and imagine who we are and whom we wish to be’ (Mullins 2011, 2). In order to sustain themselves, successful organisations had to draw on advertisements across the spectrum, but needed to be attentive to the messages they sent through these partnerships. The world building of the suffrage movement was not limited to the aesthetics of organisational colours and orchestrated processions, it was an entire image shaped by a mass of materials specifically marketed toward women. The commercial and marketing opportunities for proprietors who wished to engage with the politics of women’s suffrage (or who simply exploited the opportunity to sell) were numerous. All manner of businesses created suffrage pieces and paid to advertise in the papers. *Votes For Women* (1909b, 483) described the abundant choice for suffrage consumers as an ‘*embarrass de richesses*’ before providing a rundown of different dressmakers and milliners with suffrage appropriate pieces. For example, ‘the new Suffragette coat’ by Mr Charles Lee of Wigmore Street was available in tweed with the purple and green ‘cunningly blended’. Blouses, hats and scarves in the colours were sold by William Owen, Westbourne Grove who also stocked a ‘washable tea cosy’ in purple white and green with ‘Votes For Women’ embroidery (ibid). Derry & Toms regularly advertised their hats and targeted demonstrators



Figure 122. Debenham & Freebody advertisement for ‘Neck-Wear Novelties’ (The Freewoman, 28 March, 1912, 365).

[13] The paper pioneered discussion of celibacy, free love, birth control, female sexuality and homosexuality for women readers. This content likely led to the boycott by W.H. Smith and Sons. Though editor Dora Marsden ‘insisted that it was *The Freewoman*’s anarchism and anti-capitalism, rather than its attitude toward sexuality, that was its greatest challenge to contemporary culture: “The animosity which we rouse is not roused on the subject of sex-discussion. It is aroused on the question of capitalism”’ (Green 2012, para. 33). *The Freewoman* was brought back in 1913 as *The New Freewoman*, and then again, in 1914, as *The Egoist* (ibid, para. 7).

before The Women's Coronation Procession (17th June 1911), declaring their hats 'could be made up in the Distinguishing Colours of any Organisation' (figure 123). Adverts ranged from independent businesses such as milliners and tailors creating goods in the colours and desirable styles, to household brands taking the opportunity to declare themselves as supporters - in the hopes of garnering the favour of women who now held a measure of spending power when it came to domestic products. Windolene took the opportunity to advertise their cleaning product within *Votes For Women* while simultaneously delivering a pro-suffrage message (figure 124), and stationary company Fords (1910, 890) instructed people to 'be true to your colours and buy Votes for Women blotters, available in purple, white and green'.

Sylvia Pankhurst (1910, 825) expressed concern over spending at the time; 'Many suffragists, Miss Pankhurst adds, spend more money on clothes than they can comfortably afford, rather than run the risk of being considered *outré*, and doing harm to the cause'. This statement evidences the pressure women felt to stay on trend with the fashionable identity created by the campaign. It speaks not only to the pressures existent within the movement from peers and advertisers, but the wider societal pressures women felt from their critics, who had constructed an environment where the appearance of feminists was intensely scrutinised.

Mercer (2009, 294) believes this aspect of the campaign helped to induct women into the movement, and 'extended women's opportunities for public engagement through a scheme of politicised consumption'. The commodification of suffrage certainly improved women's ability to shape their identities as feminist activists, and participate in society through additional opportunities to interact with various businesses. It should further be considered that the women's cause may have been more acceptable when it became just another commodity to purchase. Suffragettes' close regard to appearance not only made them more acceptable to the Edwardian public, but perhaps the commodification, and indeed exploitation, of the cause into innocuous objects made the whole movement more acceptable in the main. Firstly, the stocking of politicised colours/styles in shops made the movement more accessible, but this visible presence also legitimised it. Women's suffrage was not something obscure and dangerous, but something forefront, which could be bought at the same time as another commodity - especially as so many businesses clamoured for the attention of the suffrage consumer. Secondly, and perhaps most crucially, the purchasing power of women bolstered their argument for enfranchisement. Their role as drivers in the economy was made evident through the ongoing sale of suffrage commodities and their connection to the domestic budget (which suffrage also had a hand in through advertising). This ties back to one of the core justifications for women's enfranchisement; women not only work for a wage and pay taxes, but here we see they are an entire economic power who fully participate within the financial system and make financial decisions through the act of shopping. The role of material culture in the women's suffrage movement becomes evidently more important and significant when we consider that objects facilitated this consumerism, while simultaneously providing essential funding for the cause.



Figure 123. Derry & Toms advert, *Votes For Women* (9 June 1911, 604) LSE.

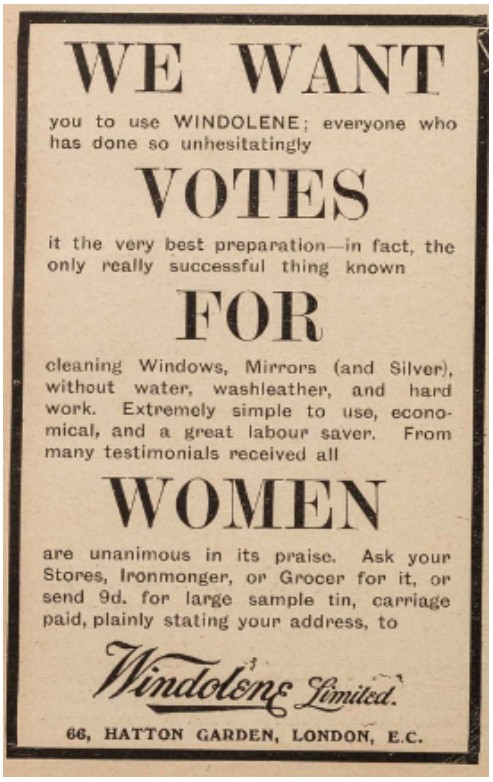


Figure 124. Windolene advertisement, *Votes For Women* (26 March 1909, 466), LSE.

5.7.3 Merging Politics and Domesticity

Selling objects to raise funds gave women the opportunity to demonstrate their business proficiency through activities such as running stalls and suffrage shops. These capabilities were emphasised in suffrage newspapers, which offered opportunities to furnish skills. The back pages often included adverts such as,

> 'Manage Your Own Money - Miss Noel Temple's lecture-classes in Business Knowledge for Women and Girls during autumn and winter now re-commenced. Special terms large classes, clubs; evening classes for workers…' (VFW 1911a, 48).

Other adverts for 'business advice' demonstrate that women were sharing knowledge to benefit their sex and attend to women's marginalisation by bridging gaps in their understanding. Access to information on legal advice and insurance had previously been limited by patriarchal control, and thus served the interests of men first. Within the same page another advert by Mrs Ethel Ayres Purdie offers advice on 'Investments, Income-tax Recovery, Partnerships, and all Financial or Commercial Matters', as well as the buying and selling of stocks and shares (ibid). As previously mentioned, Charlotte Despard encouraged WFL members to support women owned businesses wherever possible, and this sentiment can also be noticed in advertising. Women owned businesses such as corset makers I&L. Hammond (1911, 554) took out illustrated advertisements in numerous issues of *Votes For Women*:

> ‘SUPPORT WOMEN’S WORK by patronising a business owned and managed by women, and where women are employed to make, fit and sell Corsets’.

The campaign allowed women to platform each other, and centre themselves within the worlds of business and consumerism for the first time. The Woman’s Press and the WSPU, along with all other suffrage organisations and newspapers, provided an outlet which sidestepped the existing patriarchal domination of advertising and business ownership, allowing women to harness their own power.

The skills and specialties of everyone involved were used to profit for the cause. On a smaller level, Leeds based suffragette Leonora Cohen regularly made and sold marmalade, and knew a tailor who made toffee to sell at the factory where she was employed (Cohen 1974). It's likely her colleagues were not buying toffee simply for the want of toffee, but because of political intent. Buying homemade commodities sold by individual suffrage supporters allowed working women - who might not have spare time to campaign - the opportunity to support the campaign. Women with unsupportive husbands and families would also be able to support the cause quietly, through a donation masked by the purchase of an innocuous object, in this case toffee.

Individual selling was an ongoing method of fundraising for local suffrage branches. On a larger scale, campaigners regularly organised bazaars and bring-and-buy sales, some were small local affairs, and others, such as the 1909 Women’s Exhibition (figure 125), were immense, meticulously organised events. Like the name suggests, the Women’s Exhibition was as much an exhibition of women’s skills and abilities, as it was a fundraising opportunity. It was a chance for women to assert their public presence and perform their activism through the accepted practice of buying and selling. From the artistic decoration, entertainments and array of goods on sale, to the actual organisation and running of the event, it was a spectacle and achievement akin to any suffrage procession. The Exhibition was well advertised in *Votes For Women,* and readers were encouraged to send for promotional posters, leaflets and promise cards to distribute far and wide to ensure the event’s success. Over fifty stalls offered all manner of goods; clothing, millinery, jewellery, handcrafts ranging from needlework to metal and woodwork, art, pottery, children’s toys, books, furniture, china, ornaments and curios. There were also fresh cut flowers, houseplants, farm produce such as fruits, vegetables and honey, sweets and confectionery. An ‘International Stall’ sold ‘work from all parts of Europe, and from Japan, China, Siam, the East Indies, and West Indies’, while different regions of the UK were also represented; among those a ‘Yorkshire Stall’ sold parkin, cakes sweets and jams, a Glasgow stall sold Scotch cakes and a Newcastle stall sold dolls representing old nursery stories, scenes of modern life and suffragism (VFW 1909c, 550). Much like the regional banners, these stalls represented a desire for women’s suffrage across the country. Most items traded were made or procured by women, a further opportunity to evidence their capabilities across all areas. A majority of items were homemade, in keeping with the philosophies and styles of the Arts & Crafts movement and utilising women’s domestic skills (figures 126 & 127). Evelyn Sharp (1909, 688) wrote,

> ‘Never before, perhaps, have women stitched so hard in the cause of liberty. The stalls are piled with four months work… Every fine piece of embroidery, every baby garment, every absurd dip in the lucky tub represents the woman’s answer to the silent centuries in which she has been overworked and underpaid’.

The event was rich with symbolism, a glimpse of the murals designed by Sylvia Pankhurst can be spotted behind some of the stalls (see again figure 126). Each was painted with an arch of purple grapes and green ivy with alternating designs depicting either a pelican feeding its young, a flying dove with an olive branch in its mouth or the broad arrow surrounded by a wreath of laurels. At the back of the hall was a large canvas painted with three female figures, two of which represented 'The Sower' and 'The Reaper' (MoL:NN22552). Symbolism such as the broad arrow (representing imprisonment) is covered further on pg 273, but altogether Pankhurst’s imagery tells of the militant

suffragette's work to sow seeds for the future to bear the fruits of her labour, combined with the themes of motherhood, peace, hope, love and unity. The Women's Exhibition should be considered further than women simply making and selling what they were able - it was a bringing forth of domestic crafts that cleverly and deliberately muddled ideas of public, domestic and political, in a space which triumphantly celebrated the glories of women's work and her promise for the future.

Equally, The Exhibition was a promotional and marketing opportunity that brought women together under a common purpose and attracted new supporters. It also encouraged women to discuss politics publicly while shopping. Having overheard a conversation between women at the millinery stall, Sharp went on to remark, 'I suppose that nowhere outside the Women's Exhibition would hats be bought to the tune of complaints against the existing Government' (ibid). As Sharp recalled, the two women freely chatted about Asquith and an upcoming by-election with the saleswoman while trying hats. Sharp referred to this combination of female consumerism and political awareness as indicative of 'the woman of the future' (ibid; MoL:IN1282). Certainly, a future where women not only had increasing freedoms as consumers, but felt at liberty to freely discuss taboo topics such as politics in public spaces would have seemed an exciting advancement at the time.


The
National Women's Social
and Political Union,
4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND, W.C.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

AN
EXHIBITION OF THE COLOURS
AND
SALE OF WORK

WILL BE HELD AT
THE PRINCE'S SKATING RINK,
KNIGHTSBRIDGE, S.W.,
MAY 13th to 26th (inclusive),
2.30 to 10.30 p.m.

PRICES OF ADMISSION:
Opening Day, up to 6 p.m., 2/6; after 6 p.m., 1/-. Other Days, 1/-
Season Tickets: 5/-, including the Opening Day.

All applications for further information should be addressed to:
The Exhibition Secretary, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

Read "VOTES FOR WOMEN," Weekly, One Penny, from all Newsagents and Bookstalls.

Figure 125. Printed handbill promoting The Women's Exhibition held at the Prince's Skating Rink, Knightsbridge between 13-26 May 1909. Printed in the WSPU green and purple colour scheme with the trumpeting angel logo designed by Sylvia Pankhurst (1909), MoL: 50.82/687.



Figure 126. Postcard depicting a stall at the Women's Exhibition, May 1909. The exhibition comprised of over 50 stalls and many of the items were made or donated by WSPU members and supporters. Flora Drummond occupied an important role in organising and recruiting workers and stewards for the event, she can be seen on the left of this image. MoL: NN22552.



Figure 127. The Brighton and Hove stall sold 'plain and fancy needlework, artistic jewellery, books and hand-painted fancy goods' and Putney and Fulham sold household linen, baby clothes and miscellaneous articles' (1909). MoL: NN22552.

The Women's Exhibition was a 'rallying ground' for those interested in women's work and advancement (VFW 1909c, 550). Prominent women such as Elizabeth Garrett Anderson were chosen to open the event each day, and exhibits educated visitors on the movement with fully staged representations of prison life. Entertainments included music from women's bands and palm reading (ibid). Flags and banners from the June 1908 Hyde Park demonstration were reused to decorate the hall and newly designed crockery was used in the refreshment rooms. The design elements were excessively feminine, a fully realised demonstration of the persona the WSPU were trying to build and convey through their image as political yet 'womanly' (figure 128). Where men were viewed as worldly, rational and political - thus fitting for 'the public sphere', women were regarded as softer, emotional and homely. The decor of the Women's Exhibition emphasised these qualities as strengths not weaknesses, political women could bring feminine design into public spaces to the benefit of society. While muddling these worlds, as previously mentioned, perhaps this also highlighted the moral justifications for women's enfranchisement, which believed women were more compassionate and would make legislation fairer and more humane, with increased focus on areas like education. The Exhibition promoted an alternative mode of power to the current one. The visuals excelled as a dramatic proclamation of womanhood which offered an alternative reshaping of public space which was fresh, feminine and fashionable. Beyond decor, crucially it centred women as successful and capable artists, makers, consumers, entrepreneurs and politically engaged citizens.



Figure 128. The stalls themselves were also beautifully decorated. The Sweets Stall was styled with draped fabrics, bows and flowers with confectionery displayed in baskets, mirrored by the suffragettes own dresses, hats and accessories. The packaging of the sweets of importance, an appeal was made in the 11th February edition of *Votes For Women* for donations to the stall, '(1) Home-made sweets, which are the most acceptable of all, if well made and prettily packaged in boxes, and tied in the colours of the Union; (2) bought sweets, which must be sent in boxes all ready packed; (3) money, for purchasing sweets, boxes, ribbons, etc.'

All contributions were to be sent to WSPU Headquarters. Once the exhibition was open the sweets stall was boosted by a generous donation by the Cookery School, Brompton who provided all sweets for the day. Emmeline Pankhurst can be seen to the right of the image standing beside the suffragettes working on the stall (1909). Photograph by Christina Broom. MoL:IN116.

5.7.4 Tea

The social performance revolving around tea was something Women's Exhibition attendees could take part in. Tables were set with tablecloths banded in the WSPU colours to compliment the specially designed tea sets, and suffragettes volunteered to work as 'tea girls', smartly outfitted in green dresses and white muslin aprons with purple ribbon (figures 129-131). Tea began to be consumed in England from 1650, but did not become popular until the early eighteenth century (ibid, 64). From this point tea and the range of materials associated with it evidenced the owner as being from 'polite society', while the act of hosting tea parties demonstrated mastery and understanding of proper etiquette; 'Luxuries such as crockery became display props that functioned among other things to transfer ideas about the owner' (Mullins 2011, 59). By the Victorian era, drinking tea was well established in English homes across all classes, though the experiences were quite different. Wealthy consumers enjoyed special blends with a range of accompaniments; finely decorated porcelain tea cups and pots, caddies, bowls, saucers, milk jugs, silver tea urns and so on (Marks 2020).



Figure 129. This 22 piece tea service, decorated with Sylvia Pankhurst's 'trumpeting angel' in the WSPU purple, white and green tricolour, was commissioned for use in the Refreshment room at the Women's Exhibition. The 'trumpeting angel' motif incorporates a winged angel of freedom blowing her trumpet, the banner of 'Freedom' above her head. In the background are the WSPU initials set against prison bars surrounded by the thistle, shamrock, and rose and dangling chains. The sets were made by H.M. Williamson & Sons of Bridge Pottery, Longton, Staffordshire (1909). Aberdeen Archives, Gallery & Museums: ABDMS011444.

The design is very similar to teaware later made by the Women's Institute. A WI tea-set made during WW2 shares similar styles, green banding and green/round logos, and this can also be spotted in several other WI sets. The WI first formed in the UK in 1915 to 'revitalise rural communities and encourage women to become more involved in producing food during the First World War' (National Federation of Women's Institutes 2020). The organisation was founded and led by many women who were involved in the suffrage movement (ibid). It's likely that this WSPU service became a source of inspiration.



Figure 130. Photograph showing suffragettes at the Women's Exhibition drinking tea from the tea service designed by Sylvia Pankhurst. The tablecloth is made of irish linen and is decorated with the WSPU colours. A poster advertising Perrier (who donated mineral water for the event) can be seen on the wall behind. Photographs of the exhibition such as this one indicate the space was open with several tables (1909). MoL: IN1291.



Figure 131. Suffragette tea girls pose with the tea service designed by Sylvia Pankhurst for the event (1909). Photograph by Christina Broom. MoL: IN1376.

It seems likely that the setting of the refreshment areas, appearing to be viewable by those passing through, was well considered to show suffragettes' adversaries that they were not the 'shrieking sisterhood', but refined ladies who exchanged opinions over tea. The Women's Exhibition was a huge financial success, raising over £6000 for the WSPU which added to their 'War Chest' (general organisational funds). Refreshments contributed £600 to this amount, the largest sum taken by any individual stalls. Donations from companies Liptons, Perrier[14] and Idris as well as the loan of a machine for making ice-cream sodas helped toward this success, as did readers of *Votes For Women*, who donated additional food and drinks after the newspaper appealed to readers for help. Finally, additional funds were then raised by the selling of the tea services, as individual pieces or whole sets (MoL:IN1376), a breakfast set for two cost 11 shillings, while a whole set cost £2 (Blakey 2022).

The service designed by Sylvia Pankhurst was not the only WSPU teaware. There is a set with the Holloway Prison gates logo in the WSPU colours, and a white china service with hand painted purple and green Scottish thistle and the 'Trumpeting Angel' design is the third identifiable set of WSPU china (figure 132). This particular service was commissioned for use at the refreshment stall of the Scottish WSPU Exhibition held in Glasgow (April 1910). Combining the Scottish thistle within a suffragette design made it unique to the separate Scottish Exhibition, and likely made the pieces more covetable to Scottish suffragettes who could integrate their heritage and identity with their politics. Buyers of suffragette china could then show allegiance and integrate their political activism within their homes by displaying it as a collection or using it to entertain guests, therefore promoting the cause in a way that would be considered acceptable in polite society[15]. The WFL also had their own tea set with their colourway, shield emblem and organisational motto (figure 133). Unlike the WSPU sets, it is a heavier, sturdier and more practical style. While it's likely that some sets were collected and kept for decoration or occasional use, this set seems more suited for regular use at meetings and is less of a show-piece than the WSPU styles.

The Women's Exhibition successfully merged spending with suffragism and encouraged political discussion by providing a safe space for women. As well as facilitating the event and generating funds, objects were able to instil and transfer ideas about women who wanted the vote, through their sale and the tea set which allowed for a social performance. Murals, banners and other handmade materials that adorned the hall celebrated women's domestic craft skills and artistic abilities, and brought feminine design into the business arena, giving it new meaning. As well as being a financial success for the WSPU, the event provided the opportunity to publicly centre women in a professional and political capacity, and publicly merge domesticity and politics through materiality.

[14] Posters advertising Perrier can be spotted in the refreshment area and indicate this donation was likely made as a deal between the company and the WSPU. As with the advertisements in *Votes For Women*, the WSPU were able to form partnerships for mutual benefit.

[15] As mentioned early in this work, suffrage campaigners were not the first to combine politics with teaware. Demand for sugar rose in the eighteenth century as tea drinking increased in popularity. Boycotts of slave-produced sugar were led by abolitionists who made targeted appeals to middle-class women 'presumed to have greater compassion and sense of morality than men' (Williams 2022). Women could also utilise their position within the domestic sphere and as emerging consumers to make informed decisions about tea and related purchases. Teapots such as the 'Abolition Teapot' by Josiah Wedgwood & Sons, c. 1760 exists within a variety of ceramics made with anti-slavery messages between 1760 and 1865 - ranging from mass-produced to hand painted examples (Matthew 2018).





Figure 132 (left). WSPU Scottish tea set made by the Diamond China Co., (1910), National Museums Scotland: X.2021.4. The sale of the china was mentioned in *Votes for Women* (1910e, 538) 'a breakfast set for two, 11s; small tea set 15s , whole tea set £2, or pieces may be had singly'.

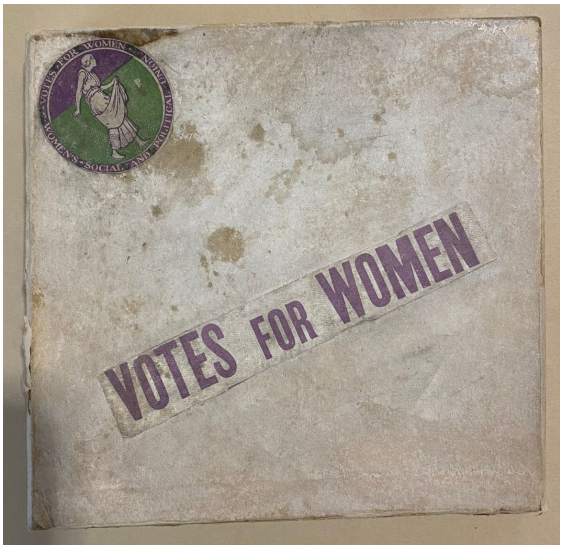
Figure 133 (right). WFL cup, part of a larger tea service made by J. Abrahams, Pembroke House, 133, Oxford St. London. This particular set belonged to Enid Hutchison's (c. 1911), LSE.

5.7.5 Other Consumables

In the years following the launch of the WSPU colour scheme (1908), more and more objects were made in the colours. Business minded campaigners also began to take products women were already buying and make their own 'suffrage' versions. Soap was one of the most popular products advertised in suffrage publications. Some issues of *Votes For Women* contain at least half a dozen advertisements for different brands and types of soap, and the WSPU seized the opportunity to begin making and selling their own. Company J. and A. Miller, Soap Works advertised 'The Suffragette Toilet Soap', "made and used by Suffragettes" which was sold in a box of three for one shilling and two pence (Florey 2013, 172). The Wimbledon WSPU branch produced an 'indelibly stamped' "Votes For Women" soap in two sizes (figure 134) (VFW 1912a, 241). They also produced a cardboard box of four soaps with Sylvia Pankhurst's logo design of a young woman sowing the seeds of women's suffrage (figures 135-137). Consumables such as chocolate, tea and cigarettes were other popular commodities which organisations branched into (figure 138). The WSPU used *Votes For Women* to advertise their wares, the words 'BUY OUR TEA' and 'BUY OUR SOAP' were regularly printed in bold along the bottom edge of some pages. The Kensington branch commented that soap and cigarettes 'added satisfactorily to the yearly income' (Mercer 2009). Other suffrage organisations sold similar commodities to raise money. A minute book belonging to the National Executive Committee of the Women's Freedom League (1912b, 154) detailed that the profit on tea in a particular month amounted to 10s.3d., chocolate sales amounted to 2s.6d and the profit from sales of the whole merchandise dept. that month amounted to £5.9.0.



Figure 134. Wimbledon WSPU branch glycerine soap (c. 1912). The metal tin is possibly a later addition. Image used with the permission of Dr. Kenneth Florey.







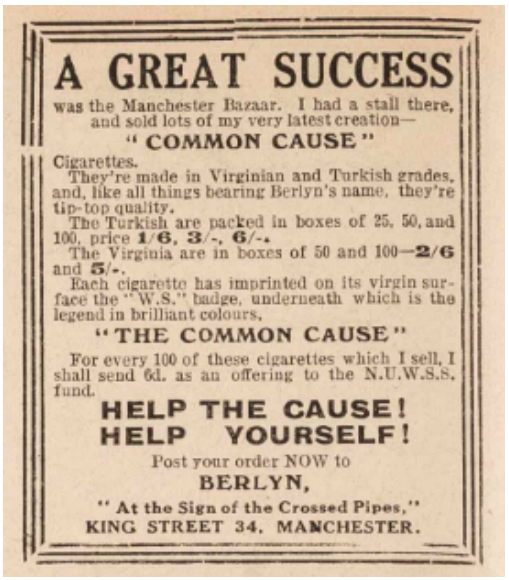
Figures 135, 136 & 137. Cardboard box of 'Votes For Women' soap with Sylvia Pankhurst's logo design of a young woman sowing the seeds of women's suffrage. The soap box is handmade with the printed 'Votes For Women' and logo roughly cut out of paper and pasted to the box. The box has a white lace lining inside and four soaps individually wrapped in paper. Each soap has 'VOTES FOR WOMEN' written on one side and 'COOK'S LONDON ALICIA BUTTERMILK' on the other. The writing appears to have been added by pricking dotted lines with a pin and possibly some colouring (c. 1912), LSE.



Figure 138. 'Justice Tea' paper tea bags. The bags are much larger than would fit in a cup and made of thicker paper, it is likely they held individual tea bags, or could have been part of a display (1910), LSE.

5.7.6 Cigarettes

Tobacco was first introduced in England in the 16th century, and cigarettes became popular after James Bonsack brought his newly invented cigarette making machine to Bristol tobacco manufacturer WD and HO Wills, thus instigating their mass market availability (Inskip, n.d). Early adverts for 'Votes For Women Cigarettes' first appeared in VFW in August 1910 (Florey 2013, 72). The NUWSS advertised 'Common Cause' cigarettes, sharing the same name as the organisation's newspaper, and printed with their emblem (figure 139). They worked with a Manchester based supplier who contributed to their funding for every one hundred sold. While some women smoked, there was stigma attached at this time so suffrage cigarettes were usually advertised as gifts for men. An advertisement in *The Suffragette* (1912, 151) explained, 'You can with confidence recommend our cigarettes to your gentlemen friends. They are trademarked "Votes for Women," but chosen for male smokers'.


A GREAT SUCCESS

was the Manchester Bazaar. I had a stall there, and sold lots of my very latest creation—

"COMMON CAUSE"

Cigarettes.

They're made in Virginian and Turkish grades, and, like all things bearing Berlyn's name, they're tip-top quality.

The Turkish are packed in boxes of 25, 50, and 100, price 1/6, 3/-, 6/-.

The Virginia are in boxes of 50 and 100—2/6 and 5/-.

Each cigarette has imprinted on its virgin surface the "W.S." badge, underneath which is the legend in brilliant colours,

"THE COMMON CAUSE"

For every 100 of these cigarettes which I sell, I shall send 6d. as an offering to the N.U.W.S.S. fund.

HELP THE CAUSE!
HELP YOURSELF!

Post your order NOW to

BERLYN,

"At the Sign of the Crossed Pipes,"

KING STREET 34, MANCHESTER.

Figure 139. Advertisement for 'Common Cause' cigarettes, *The Common Cause* (29 February 1912, 810). LSE.

The taboo of women smoking went beyond medical concern, but was tied to female morality and intersecting concerns for society (Elliot 2001, 109-122). It is difficult to ascertain the number of women smokers as the activity was typically kept private among women in their homes - indeed as a 'masculine habit' this complicates ideas on women's domestic space. Elliot (2001, 122-124) provided evidence of working-class women smokers, for example fisherwomen smoking pipes and factory workers using snuff and cigarettes, though the practice went largely unrecorded. In the 1889 article 'Women and Tobacco', Hunting (ibid, 108) revealed that it was not uncommon in country houses 'for the ladies to join the gentlemen in the smoking room and to mingle the fumes of their mild flavoured cigarettes with the more masculine cigar smoke'. The pretence in suffrage periodicals that women did not smoke was perhaps part of the movement's concern with appearing respectably feminine, yet Hunting (ibid, 111) suggested that cigarettes were a challenge and emancipatory symbol: 'women are becoming smokers because they no longer fear men's criticisms nor cherish their over fanciful ideas concerning them'. Suffrage material culture helps further evidence and complicate ideas on women smoking; a series of advertisements in *The Common Cause* (1912b, 872) offered readers 'an Ivory Cigarette Holder designed by a famous Futurist artist'. This artistic holder was very likely to be a feminine object, as cigarette holders for men were typically short and less ostentatious than those for women. Other promotions instruct readers to send stamps to try the cigarettes before purchasing a larger order.

Beyond selling to raise funds, the WFL came up with various strategies for distributing cigarettes as propaganda. Like the WSPU's, theirs were also printed with 'Votes for Women' and their organisation name. They were packaged in the League's colours with a suffrage leaflet placed in each box (figure 140). The WFL amped up their cigarette selling after the onset of the First World War. With decreased demand for suffrage literature, the Literature Department converted efforts toward cigarettes, and in October 1914 began the 'Cigarettes For Soldiers' scheme to get their branded cigarettes to men at the front (*The Vote* 1914a, 363). Supporters sent funds to the department to cover costs then parcels were sent by the WFL. In lieu of demand for campaign literature, cigarette boxes and the printed

cigarettes inside became a main source of propaganda, and crucially, each box also contained a propaganda leaflet. This activity allowed the organisation to spread their message, while simultaneously providing a service for men at war. It's unclear exactly how many cigarette packets the WFL sent to soldiers, however this was an ongoing and long running project. Over a year after the organisation first began sending cigarettes to troops *The Vote* (1915a, 814) reported one instance where 600 'Votes for Women' cigarettes were dispatched with best wishes to the London Scottish regiment. It's clear from this that regular ongoing distribution during wartime equated to thousands sent. The strategy proved 'excellent propaganda work' as evidenced by men who sent their thanks, one sailor wrote,

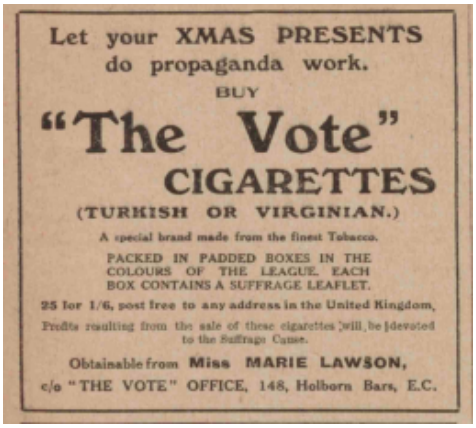


Figure 140. Advertisement for 'The Vote' cigarettes from the Women's Freedom League newspaper, *The Vote* (24 December 1910, ii), LSE.

> "The 'Votes for Women' cigarettes are a great treat, the best we've ever smoked, and I and my chums would like to thank the Women's Freedom League for sending them' (*The Vote* 1916b, 1091).

Some men also shared their support for women's suffrage, a prisoner of war wrote reflectively,

> 'Thanks for the excellent smokes; motto and all are thoroughly appreciated. We prisoners send greetings to the suffragettes and thanks for their kind thought. Some of us wish we had helped them when they were in prison, but a good day is coming for them and us. We send our salutations to the Women's Freedom League. Long may it prosper!' (ibid).

As well as their own branded cigarettes, the WFL began selling '*any of the ordinary makes* of cigarettes at the usual shop prices' and appealed to members to order cigarettes through the organisation instead of their usual source (*The Vote* 1915b, 543).[16] Switching their focus toward consumables such as tea, chocolate, soap and cigarettes during wartime allowed campaigners to continue their activism while utilising their operations to provide necessities during a time of need. The propaganda work of the WFL in particular kept up attention for the cause, and allowed them to restate their aims specifically to men.

5.7.7 Suffrage Shops

Building on the success of the Women's Exhibition and other temporary bazaars, campaigners next move was to occupy high-street retail space to exhibit and sell their materials on a more permanent basis. The first WSPU 'suffragette shops' began opening in 1909 (figures 141-145) (Crawford 2001, 632). The WSPU Annual Report from 1910 notes '31 different shops in different parts of the country and the Metropolis' (5). However, it is difficult to produce a definitive list of suffrage shops through existing documentation, as not all shop premises were intended to be permanent, the words 'office' and 'shop' were used interchangeably, and there are some discrepancies between shop mentions in annual reports (Mercer 2009, 297). Mercer explains that by 1912, 'seemingly permanent' shops were located in; Aberdeen, Bath, Bexhill–on–Sea, Birmingham, Bradford, Brighton, Bristol,

[16] The WFL was not the first to employ this tactic. The WSPU actually began urging their supporters to change their spending habits for regular consumables such as cigarettes before the onset of war. The Westminster branch appealed 'Will members please make a point of ordering cigarettes through shop [sic] and asking their friends to do so, as we wish to establish a good connexion for this' (*The Suffragette* 1913a, 550).

Clacton−on−Sea, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hastings, Ipswich, Leicester, Newcastle, Newport, Nottingham, Sheffield and Torquay, as well as in Chelsea, Hampstead, Hendon & Golders Green, Kensington, Kingston−on−Thames, Paddington, Streatham and Wimbledon. Three more East London based shops were added to that list by 1913 (ibid). Other regional branches also opened shops; for example the Scarborough branch held a location at 39 Huntriss Row from 1911 before moving to 33 St Nicholas Cliff in 1912 (figures 144 & 145).

The NUWSS opened their first shop in Bristol in 1909, and continued to convert some of their existing buildings into retail space in 1912-13, allowing regional branches to sell NUWSS goods across the country (Crawford 2001, 634). The WFL referred to their shops as ‘propaganda centres’ or ‘suffrage centres’ (WFL Annual Conference Report 1910). The first (and one of the most successful) WFL shops opened in Glasgow in 1909. Local branches fundraised the cost of its rent (‘£250, with taxes, light and cleaning’) through successful jumble and ‘cake and candy’ sales (ibid, 23). Other times the organisation was able to negate costs by the help of their supporters; the same report thanked Mrs. Harvey for her generosity which would allow a new Croydon shop to operate rent free (ibid, 15). The original premises for the International Suffrage Shop was lent to actress and suffrage campaigner Sime Seruya by Edith Craig in 1910, before the shop moved to 15 Adam Street, Strand, London. Advertised as “The Only Feminist Bookshop”, it offered a variety of feminist literature, international newspapers, as well as children's books, posters and badges belonging to all suffrage societies (Crawford 2001, 634).

Shops provided a base for selling suffrage commodities and raising vital funds, they also gave women their own consumer outlet to manage and stock goods they chose, and provided a permanent visible presence for their politics. Existing images of WSPU shops decked out with all manner of Votes For Women tricolour objects give a glimpse into the richness and variety of suffrage materiality, as does suffragette Rachel Ferguson’s description of the Kensington branch shop: ‘tiny, wedge-shaped, you sidled round purple, white and green posters of Mr Two-Faced Asquith, bassards, badges, buttons, scarves, pamphlets, hatpins made of stained fish-bones, portraits of the leaders of the W.S.P.U., and the current number of *Votes For Women*’ (Ferguson; Crawford 2001, 632).



Figure 141. The Woman's Press shop, 156 Charing Cross Road, London (1911). In July 1910 *Votes for Women* described the range on sale, 'The Woman's Press is showing some beautiful motor and other scarves in various shades of purple as well as white muslin summer blouses and among the almost unending variety of bags, belts etc are the noticeable 'Emmeline' and 'Christabel' bags and the 'Pethick' tobacco pouch. In addition to books, games, blotters, playing cards and indeed almost everything that can be produced in purple, white and green'. MoL:50.82/928m.



Figure 142. Photographic postcard showing an outside view of The Woman's Press shop at 156 Charing Cross road. Handwritten on the back is 'Mrs May' and 'Miss Marsden', presumably referring to the two women standing outside the shop. Dora Marsden was a WSPU organiser, (c.1910-1914). MoL: 50.82/1597.



Figure 143. Photographic postcard of a woman holding a baby outside of the Putney + Fulham WSPU shop (1910). Photograph by Christina Broom. MoL:IN1289.



Figure 144 (above). Photograph of WSPU shop at 33 St. Nicholas Cliff Scarborough (1913). MoL: 50.82/1598.

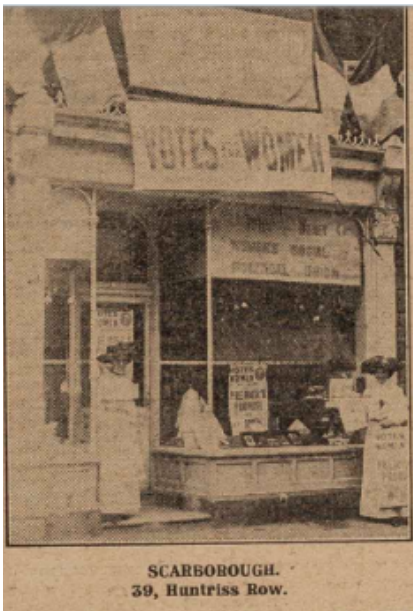


Figure 145 (right). Photograph in *Votes For Women* (6 October 1911, 7) of the WSPU Scarborough branch shop at 39 Huntriss Row. LSE.

Selling goods was only one of numerous roles WSPU shops held. Shop windows functioned as permanent displays of posters, flags, postcards, newspapers, banners and other merchandise. Any available upstairs or backroom space attached to the shops was also used as office/meeting space and practical storage room where banners and temporary platforms, etc. could be held while not in use (Crawford 2001, 632). Shops centralised activity as convenient places where activists could meet and rally, stages for discussion and talks (figures 146 & 147). The role of suffrage materiality helped facilitate all of these activities through its requirement for space, advertising and merchandising.



Figure 146. Photographic postcard of suffragettes gathering together outside of the Hastings branch of the WSPU shop at 8 Claremont Street. Their placards advertise a meeting where Mrs. Pankhurst and Edith Mansell-Moulin will speak (1912). MoL:NN22567.



Figure 147. Sylvia Pankhurst addresses a crowd of schoolboys outside the headquarters of the East London Federation of Suffragettes, Old Ford Road, Bow (1912). MoL: NN22843.

5.7.8 Political Expression

As well as occupying their own areas, the transforming high street was used to the advantage of suffragists who gathered together and held meetings in tea shops, restaurants and department stores, oftentimes further exploiting their urban knowledge for militant activity (Tickner 1987, 190). This intertwining of feminism, shopping and suffrage politics was further increased by the commercial opportunities taken advantage of by large scale retailers. Male department store moguls Lasenby Liberty and William Whitley claimed to be supporters of women's suffrage and aimed to please their best customer, though it was Harry Gordon Selfridge who cultivated the most clearly articulated feminist image as an outspoken supporter of Votes For Women (Rappaport, 167, 217). Selfridges opened on 15 March 1909, and extensive print advertising campaigns made the store a household name. The venue boasted an innovative layout with women's bathrooms allowing shoppers to spend longer inside. On the 1st May, 1914, a woman took the opportunity to make a speech at Selfridges' restaurant. *The Suffragette* (1914a, 90) reported that she 'was not interfered with in any way, and continued speaking for some time to a very interested and sympathetic audience, after which she was applauded, thanked and leaflets were distributed. This type of activity was not uncommon, in the same issue several other women were reported making speeches at other restaurants and theatres. The sympathetic reception to this activity is a direct contrast to many situations where suffragettes were quickly and forcibly removed for public speaking. This suggests that the woman was likely surrounded by like-minded folk, in this sense shops and restaurant spaces such as Selfridges were at the very least neutral if not actively pro-suffrage spaces, likely in part due to the materials sold there.

Harry Selfridge was well aware of the potential for using women's suffrage politics as a vehicle for commercial consumption, in 1909 he even flew a purple, white and green flag over his store (Rappaport 2000, 220). Suffrage campaigners took full advantage of businesses designing and

making goods for their use, and indeed took an active role in persuading businesses to continue representing them. Women regularly made recommendations to stores on what to stock,

> 'Members of the W.S.P.U., when shopping, instinctively look for articles in the purple, white, and green. When, therefore, our representative paid a visit to Selfridge's extensive premises in Oxford Street, it was with an eye to the colours of the Union. A scheme of window decoration in the purple, white, and green is, we believe, under consideration, while in the millinery department, also, our suggestions were well received' (VFW 1909d, 448).

Selfridges advertised their 'helps for the Suffrage Movement' in *Votes For Women*, and took orders by post so women across the country could purchase from the store (figures 148 & 149). Items for sale in the WSPU tricolour included stationary and accessories such as 'durable' wrist bags with a corded drawstring and tassel advertised as 'handy for shopping' (Selfridges 1909, 222). These types of drawstring 'Dorothy bags' were sometimes used by militant suffragettes for the concealment and easy access of hammers, etc, for window smashing campaigns.

In the case of Selfridges, it is apparent not only how commercial businesses profited from the campaign, but how the sale of items 'in the colours' could signal a supportive environment to women. This again demonstrates how the role of suffrage materials went further than commodity, but indeed how they aided women's public freedom and political expression.



Selfridge's

OXFORD ST.
LONDON, W.

Interesting Items from several sections— and some in the Movement Colours.

Handbags.

Suffrage Dorothy Bags of soft kid, draw-cords with White ground and Purple and Green leather stripes. Price - **3/6**

Crocodile Handbags with outside pocket, in Light Brown, Dark Brown, and Green Skin. Price - - - - **7/6**

Fitted Handbag of Beaver Calf in various colours. A most handy outdoor companion. - Price - - - **14/6**

Ribbons.

Strong Corded Ribbon in the Movement Tricolours
2 inch. - 1/- a yard.
1½ „ - 9d. „
Bébé - - 4½d. „

Letter orders pass through the hands of very competent assistants, making shopping by Post as easy as shopping in person. - - - - - -

Gloves.

Ladies' Kid Gloves, Trefousse make, with 2 or 3 dome fasteners. In Black, White, and several colours. Per pair - **3/-**

Ladies' Kid Gloves, Luxembourg make, Black or colours, with self-twist points. Exceptionally soft and durable. - - Per pair - - - **2/4**

Ladies' Chevrette Gloves, Trefousse make, with self new point. In Black, White, and several colours. One-dome fastener. Per pair - - - - **3/-**

Suffrage Stationery.

Smooth, Tough Paper, diamond shaped crest embossed on both Writing Paper and Envelopes. The design is a Purple diamond enclosed in a Green wreath, with the words "Votes for Women" inscribed in centre. Price 10½d. a box of 20 sheets and 20 envelopes.

Belts.

Self-coloured Belts, in sound Suède Leather.
Purple - - 1/11
Do. - - 2/6
Green - - 2/6

Don't forget a Camera

for the holiday this Easter. Write for our new Kodak List. It shows dependable Kodaks from 5/- up. All the Spring stock of films, plates, and printing papers fresh to hand. - - - -

ITEM: Radu P.O.P. Postcards, matte or glossy, per 100 - - - - 2/3

We pay carriage on all classes of merchandise throughout the United Kingdom. - - - - - -

SELFRIDGE & CO., LTD.

Figure 148. 'Interesting Items from several sections - and some in the Movement colours.' Advertisement for Selfridges, *Votes For Women* (18 March 1910, 398), LSE.



Shopping early on New Year Morning

is a good start for 1910. The last embers of the Yule log have become ashes, and the new year finds resolutions made—and meant to be kept—old methods renounced, and new plans formulated.

And the new order of things WILL succeed—will prosper—with judicious fostering, and so we present—for those who are interested—a short list of

Helps for the Suffrage Movement

20 Sheets Notepaper and 20 Envelopes, in box, each sheet and envelope stamped in diamond relief tri-colour - - 10½d. box

Desk with Engagement Diary and Blotting Pad, which is standard size so that it may be refilled with paper from any stationer. The whole is covered with art cloth, and can be had in various art shades - 2/8

Ladies' Heavy Kid Gloves, Pique Sewn, in Tans, Beaver, and White - - - - - - - 1/11 a pair

Wrist Bags, in the colours, made of a soft but durable kid, pull top, cords and tassel, most handy for shopping - 2/6 and 3/6

Engagement Tablet, covered in strong art cloth, with pencil, will stand and has detachable spaces for 365 days - - - - - 1/-

Ladies' Fine Kid Gloves, exceptional value, black, white, and all colours - - - - - - - 2/6 a pair

—and all these are Post Free in Britain.

Selfridge's
OXFORD ST., LONDON, W.
Selfridge and Co., Ltd.

Figure 149. New Year's advertisement for Selfridges, *Votes For Women* (31 December, 1909, 222), LSE.

5.8 Chapter Conclusion

The examples discussed in the first part of this chapter demonstrate how objects allowed suffrage organisations to build, translate, maintain and legitimise their politicised identities and their activism. Aesthetics played an important role in the communication of ideas through recognisable symbols, colours and styles which not only became identifiers of a particular group, but were a source of empowerment and a way for women to convey traits and ideas about themselves. For example, their femininity or their domestic skills which were wholly embodied in banners. Objects contributed to the world building of the suffrage movement in a myriad of ways as fundraising and marketing tools, ways to award members, or to keep track of and secure new memberships. Collectively suffrage campaigners' various uses of objects helped make Votes For Women one of, if not the most, powerfully constructed and marketed political campaigns of all time.

The second half of this chapter elaborated on the ways objects were put to use by campaigners to fundraise through buying and selling, as well as promotion of objects via partnerships with companies

in suffrage newspapers. Companies such as Selfridges exemplify the way that businesses participated in the selling of propaganda for their own benefit, which in turn benefitted women by creating additional spaces for women's activism. Consumerism and commodification of the cause made it more accessible, and allowed and encouraged women to merge their domestic crafts with their politics through activities such as the Women's Exhibition and implementation of shops throughout the country which not only made the cause more visible, but made women's work more visible. The campaign leveraged new consumerism and encouraged women to make conscious and intentional political decisions about their consumption of goods. The world building in this sense pioneered new ground for women's public participation, with objects the underlying facilitator for all of this activity.

Already this thesis has demonstrated that object focused analysis can reveal neglected complexities and contradictions; frequent pleas for supporters to wear their suffrage pins and indeed the creation of ambiguous suffrage adornments hint at the tensions likely felt by many women when it came to identifying themselves as suffrage supporters in different settings. Chosen symbols such as those on Irish badges indicate the specific groups campaigners were trying to target, which in turn reveals who was less engaged with the movement. The range of costs and methods of manufacture of Arts & Crafts style suffrage adornments reveals detachment from the philosophical underpinnings of Arts & Crafts upheld by its advocates. Yet, the ways it inspired women to make their own creative political responses in the style - which were often sold for financial benefit of the cause - demonstrates the power of individual and collective hand-making and feeds back into the philosophy in this way. When brought out into protest marches, galleries, markets and highstreet shops, women's crafts purposefully amalgamated the public and political with the domestic and feminine in ways which remedied restrictive notions. As well as uncovering these complexities, this thesis has also provided neglected insights into women's deliberate consumer practices, ways women forged their own ceremonial traditions through the awarding of objects, and the fact that propaganda efforts continued during wartime via consumables such as cigarettes.

The following chapter continues to determine the role of objects by examining the ways printed ephemera and other materials were used in novel ways to articulate specific points about the campaign, and the identity and representation of suffrage campaigners.

6. Speaking Out

Material culture has long been used by women in Britain to promote political agendas, push ideologies and make statements about social inequalities. Abolitionism and the Chartist movement set a precedent for suffragists, and built on other radical traditions. In 1819, around the events of Peterloo, female reformers used ‘a range of radical symbolism, signals and material culture to construct their feminine radical identities’ (Kitchener 2022, 87). Recognising the importance of integrating femininity and domesticity with their reform politics, women combined performative activism with handmade materials such as liberty caps (ibid). Suffrage campaigners continued this legacy, harnessing objects to articulate their cause, and continuing to challenge existing ideas about women. There are notable similarities and differences between the way female radicalism was performed and articulated by both the suffrage campaigners and earlier reformers. The suffrage movement coincided with rapid social and economic shifts, this presented different opportunities and challenges which women had to respond to in novel ways.

The industrial revolution began in Britain in the late 18th century and spurred dramatic increases in production as the manufacture of coal powered machinery led to one innovation after another. Advancements in print technology, increased literacy rates and the abolition of stamp duties by 1861 all contributed to a huge expansion of the press and advertising (Musson 1958, 411). In terms of photography, the albumen print invented in 1850 was the most common type until around 1890, carbon printing was introduced in 1864 and autochromes made colour printing achievable from 1904 (V&A n.d). These innovations in printing and photography, new consumer culture and expansion of the press allowed suffrage campaigners to fully leverage mass media and print material on a level that hadn’t been seen before. However, while they had the support of these new materials, activists now had to contend with a new national press on top of the government they were already up against. Suffrage campaigners, particularly the artists and makers across organisations, were not only tasked with encouraging interest in the cause and generating funds, but were also responsible for shaping its public image. Women had to counter the damaging ways they were represented by anti-suffragists, the media, and by an expanse of commercial ephemera that painted a less than flattering image of women who wanted the vote. This created a conflict of representation, which is traceable through propaganda. Artist groups such as the Suffrage Atelier and the Artists Suffrage League (ASL) played a critical role in directing attention away from anti-suffrage propaganda and countering the pervasive rhetoric that drew on harmful stereotypes of suffrage campaigners as ‘unwomanly,’ ‘masculine,’ and ‘unsexed.’ As Mitchell (2005, 20) describes, ‘a stereotype establishes the general set of beliefs about behaviours that are attributed to others’. Anti-suffrage propaganda leaned heavily on stereotypes about women and manipulated these ideas into caricature, exaggerating stereotypes to further ridicule suffragists in order to damage their image and undermine the movement. These women were typically cast as unlovable spinsters, or as unfit mothers, neglectful of their domestic duties.

This chapter focuses on identity and representation, and how suffrage campaigners used materials to convey their message and counter damaging stereotypes perpetuated by anti-suffragists, commercial publishers and manufacturers. Printed ephemera sources such as leaflets and postcards are used to analyse the active role of images within the movement through the ways they acted upon the viewer. Other forms of media suffrage campaigners used to ‘speak out’ and deliver a defiant message to authorities are also considered, as well as the general themes these types of propaganda fall into. It is important to point out that while analysis of suffrage imagery has been undertaken by Crawford (2001), Tickner (1987), Florey (2013) as previously discussed, this study further develops understanding of the imagery, not just as propaganda tools, but as active components made up of a range of symbols and ideas extending beyond the movement itself.

When confronted with a propaganda image we can determine the message it hopes to convey and perhaps notice its biases. By assessing its role as something which actively participates, it becomes possible to seek out and underpin the core motivations behind each medium. As Mitchell (2005, 9) describes, another way of reading images is by looking to see what an image *desires* rather than what it *means* or *does*. In the most reductive terms, pro-suffrage imagery clearly wants to persuade the viewer to be pro-suffrage, whereas anti-suffrage imagery aims to preserve the status quo. There are many different ways that an artefact used in the suffrage campaign may accomplish this. A thought-provoking image has the power to elicit feelings of sympathy or anger, and sway the viewer toward a desired stance by manipulating these emotions. For example, the image of a working class woman struggling to cope with the burdens of her daily tasks might prompt sympathy or solidarity in the viewer. The chance for voter representation could be seen as vital in helping toward a change in her circumstances. A poster illustrated by W.F. Winter and published by the ASL shows a weary woman at work on a sewing machine (figure 150). The gloomy image reveals several details about her poor working conditions: she works long hours into the night, a sheet draped across the window suggests a cold draughty room, and a cracked wall indicates that the workplace (likely her own home) is rundown and unsafe. In this case she is not demanding the vote herself, but the image plays on her hardship to prompt the viewer to act on her behalf; the chance to become the saviour of the working woman. The thoughts and desires of the artist and the ASL are manifest in this image. The poster then projects those desires onto the viewer imploring them to act in support of Votes For Women. This image and arguably all printed ephemera/propaganda objects within the movement are firstly an expression of desire by the artist/organisation on behalf of the movement as a whole, and secondly a tool for soliciting the response of the viewer. Understanding these intentions, it is then possible to discuss the agency an active propaganda object such as this poster ultimately has.

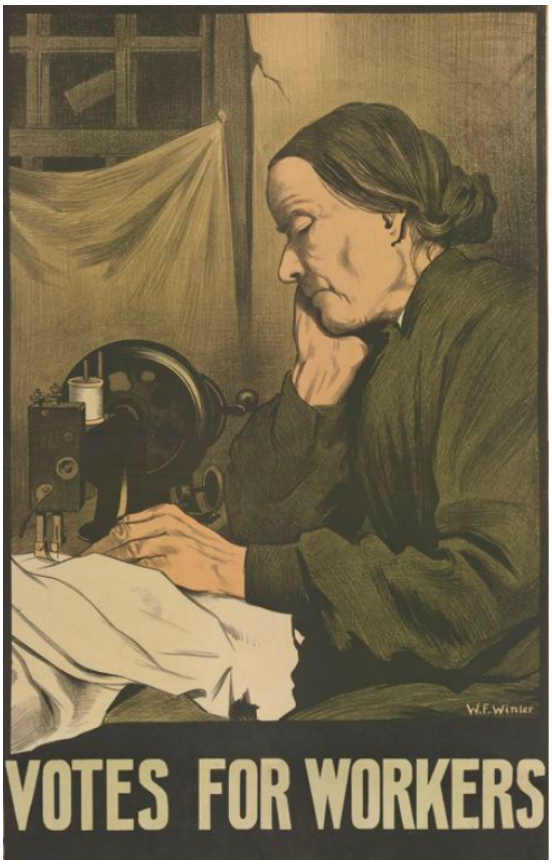


Figure 150. Poster by W.F. Winter produced for the Artists Suffrage League (1909). Cambridge University Library.

Suffragists understood the power of their material campaign and its potential to influence public opinion. Another suffrage poster within the Cambridge University Library collection boldly declares ‘OUR WEAPON IS PUBLIC OPINION’ (figure 151). Chris Burgess, exhibitions officer at the Library described the collection of posters as

> ‘...fantastic examples of the suffrage publicity machine of the early twentieth century…They were created to be plastered on walls, torn down by weather or political opponents, so it is highly unusual for this material to be safely stored for over a hundred years (in Lewsey 2018).

The triumphant existence of these, and other surviving materials, begs the question: what did not survive? Printed ephemera such as suffrage posters, pamphlets and flyers were made with only a short lifespan in mind. While hundreds of different examples exist within museum collections, it is

impossible to know the full extent, and thus the full impact these materials had within the campaign. This study understands that the objects analysed today are fragments from the movement which can be examined both collectively and individually, but it is important to point out that they exist as *parts*, not a whole. There would certainly be objects and images used which do not exist simply because they were not overtly political enough to remain attached to the movement's material history. As Halberstam describes, '...as much as the objects assemble, produce, create, gesture, represent and speak, they also collapse, fall silent, sit still, shatter, obliterate, randomize and disappear' (Halberstram; Flood & Grindon 2014, 133). Most of the lower and middle ranking suffragettes and suffragists are unlikely to have left a significant impression on materials, nor will the lesser known artists who contributed to imagery. A lot of materials were collected by the Suffragette Fellowship and other individuals and groups who exhibited biases in their collecting, and prioritised certain materials over others. As previously mentioned, the ephemeral nature of the sources covered in this chapter mean that there are also gaps in the whole picture of each type of material.

The archival silence most significant to the work conducted for this chapter are things which were never kept, included, or which did not survive, to return to the original point. Gaps can be bridged by bringing in information from suffrage organisation's minute books, recorded oral histories, suffrage newspapers and other newspapers published at the time sourced through the British Newspaper Archives. This provides a fuller picture of suffrage print materials as they were used within the movement.

To return to analysis of the materials, what is clear from existing examples is that suffrage campaigners understood the need to make their cause inescapable from public attention. This relatively new strategy harnessed the headlines of the new national press, while simultaneously using similar means to produce their own print materials. If public opinion was their weapon, then bombarding society with constant reminders of women's un-enfranchised position through a deluge of printed material was an excellent way to influence this opinion. Seeing the suffrage argument in print was often the first way people became aware of the cause, and learned how to join the movement. Well known suffragette Grace Roe recalled how she was shopping in London when she first saw the sign *Votes for Women* and suffragettes passing out handbills with the details of an upcoming meeting in Hyde Park (Roe 1974a). Evidently printed materials such as handbills helped to facilitate conversations with suffrage campaigners on the streets, and thus played a significant role in driving recruitment and building the identity of the movement.



Figure 151. 'Our Weapon is Public Opinion' pro-suffrage propaganda poster (c.1909). Cambridge University Library.

The first role of printed ephemera was to communicate a message, whether to highlight a particular issue or advertise the cause in a way which attracted positive attention or sought to correct negative assumptions. A secondary role was as a tool to generate funds, with the overarching aim to promote Votes For Women and increase supporters. By fulfilling these obligations, printed material can be considered both a comrade and a weapon, as Thoburn (2014, 79) suggested while building on Rodchenko's Constructivist conceptualisation which offered notions of a 'communist material culture' whereby materials were recognised as 'equals'. Pro-suffrage materials were used as weapons, in the sense that they fought against negative or anti-suffrage depictions, and against the political system which kept women un-enfranchised. They also acted as comrades, in the sense that they were enlisted by organisations to raise money through their sales, and as active components, they continued to work after being deployed. For example, the way that a poster confronts those who see it, provoking a thought and perhaps a response. Or how a postcard might become a desirable item, something added to an existing collection that further legitimises itself and the overall assemblage, becoming something which is treasured. As political weapons they also helped to further define the movement, making it identifiable at the time and thereafter. We can look back at this material history and see it as an interrelated collection of objects that have an immediately recognisable quality as 'suffrage materials.' They are also a record, which confirmed an event or the presence of an idea and prolonged it thereafter, outlasting the subject or idea it first represented.

Before considering different types of printed ephemera used in the movement, it's important to note that these materials were not always solitary actors, but were often layered and combined together in their uses. A photographic postcard shows suffragette Grace Chappelow with a copy of *Votes for Women* in one hand and a poster showing the 1903 'Read Our Paper' illustration by suffragette artist Hilda Dallas in the other (figure 152). This image was simultaneously a purchasable postcard, an advert for VFW newspaper and a depiction of the fashionable 'suffragette look.' It demonstrates the campaign's effective integration of traditional methods of political activity with merchandise and propaganda, as well as the ability to make full use out of anything and everything; a poster parade to get the message across on the street can also be photographed, used as propaganda and sold as a postcard thereafter (figure 153). This layering of materials and multi-faceted uses made pro-suffrage propaganda cohesive and inescapable to the public. With printed materials occupying multiple roles, campaigners also used a wide range of strategies for circulating them. As well as selling on the streets, on stalls, fairs, at community events, in shops and directly to their stockists and subscribers, campaigners would often go door to door selling their newspapers. A 1908 photograph shows Emma Spronson passing out flyers from a cart covered in propaganda posters (figure 154). Campaigners would also regularly enquire with newsagents as to whether they sold copies of suffrage papers in the hopes of increasing stockists. Within a WFL minute book from a meeting in 1913, Chairman Charlotte Despard (1913, 62) instructed members: 'no one who goes about the country should neglect to ask at the railway stations for it [*The Vote* newspaper]'. Members also shared numerous tactics for displaying posters. Within the same meeting a regional



Figure 152. Grace Chappelow photographic postcard (c. 1912). Mary Evans Picture Library.

representative described a situation where she bartered with a newsagent who agreed to put up a poster in his shop in exchange for the newspaper subscribers she had collected (ibid).



Figure 153. Photographic postcard of a poster parade organised by the WFL (1907). MoL:50.82/936b.



Figure 154. Suffragette Emma Sproson hands out flyers from a cart. Advertising carts covered in propaganda posters and banners such as this were often used by suffragettes to share information on meetings and promote their campaign (May 1908). MoL:50.82/1617.

Another notebook within the LSE Women's Library collection, written by a WFL member and entitled 'Ye Doomsday Book of Ye "Vote" Brigade' includes numbered points for distributing the organisation's newspapers (WFL 1913-14). The writer notes the places where 'a few intellectuals may be found' and suggests hotel lobbies, the waiting areas of large shops and railway stations. There are also notes on the best times of day and places to sell. For example; shopping centres in the afternoons, tea shops and theatre queues in the evenings and outside of public meetings. Selling within local neighbourhoods was also strongly advised, and those living in the country were instructed to sell on market days (ibid). Additional materials were also made to encourage members to sell newspapers. Mrs Findon of the WFL began selling branded 'Vote' bags, helping sellers carry around their papers while simultaneously advertising the newspaper and the organisation. The writer notes the bags are 'particularly practical and neat' (ibid). Special badges were also made for Vote sellers and 'Champions Badges' for those with the highest sales (ibid).

As well as layering types of print media and employing multiple strategies for circulation and distribution, images were also reused across materials. Artist Alfred Pearse illustrated for the WSPU's *The Suffragette* and the WFL's newspaper, *The Vote*, and was a founder of the Suffrage Atelier along with fellow artist Laurence Housman. One of his well known designs 'The People Not the Commons Must Decide the Taxes' promoted women's suffrage during the campaign for the 1910 General Election. It was first used on WSPU leaflet No. 60, as well as on posters and postcards, with some variation in messages (figures 156-158). Prior to these three uses, the design would have already been recognisable in Edwardian Britain as it appropriated a popular advertisement for Ripolin paint (Pearse signed the piece 'With Apologies to Ripolin Ltd') (figure 155). This continual reuse demonstrates the organisation's understanding of the role each type of printed material played within the movement, and thus the need for each. Newspapers would be routinely purchased by supporters or passers-by intrigued by a suffragette selling copies on the street. Posters are more confrontational, and could be used to attract a different, perhaps less engaged audience (figure 159). They were also regularly showcased in 'poster parades' which mobilised the artwork, removing it from a fixed space to reach a wider audience (figure 160). Postcards on the other hand, circulate by nature, taking their message with them - though existing blank examples from the movement indicate that many were collected for display or scrapbooking rather than posting (it is difficult to know which usage was more common due to their ephemerality). As for the visual correspondence between the Ripolin paint advertisement and Pearse's illustration, advertising led the way in early print developments and novel use of text and imagery. Ripolin developed their product in the 1890s and enjoyed immense success by the early 20th century as the first commercial enamel paint brand. Their recognisable advertisement of three French painters became a cultural image ripe for parody. The timing of the suffrage campaign meant Pearse was one of the first (if not the very first) to appropriate the popular cultural image in this way. He thereby gave his propaganda an authority and legitimacy superior to wholly original works that lack familiarity[17]. The effect of this continuity can be analysed in a similar way to Berger's (1972/1977, 135-140) discussion on the replication of the visual language of well known oil paintings in advertising. A pre-existing and recognisable image, such as a popular paint advert, has nostalgia, and its likeness evokes a vague, imprecise and meaningless memory, but one which is familiar enough to impact upon the observer. In this context, the image may be more likely to catch the viewers attention and thus increase its success. Mitchell (2005, 198) explains that, 'If images are life-forms, and objects are the bodies they animate, then media are the habitats or ecosystems in which pictures come alive.' The media or medium refers to the conjunction of the propaganda image with the object that supports its delivery. Various 'habitats' or mediums were used effectively to translate the same image in different ways, as Pearse's illustration demonstrates.

[17] Two years after Pearse's use, the Ripolin advertising format was used again as propaganda surrounding Ireland's struggle for independence and the 1911 National Insurance legislation.



Figure 155. Original Ripolin paint advertisement first designed for use in France by Eugene Vavasseur (c.1898). Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 156. Pro-suffrage postcard replicating the format of the Ripolin paint advert, designed by Alfred Pearse (1910). MoL: 50.82/848.



No. 60.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The Women's Social and Political Union.

Head Office: 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegraphic Address: "Waspe's, London."

Telephone No. 1794 Holborn Three Lines.

Founder and Hon. Secretary—Mrs. PANKHURST.
Joint Hon. Secretary—Mrs. TUKE.
Publishing Office—THE WOMAN'S PRESS.
Bankers—Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., Pleet Street, E.C.

Hon. Treasurer—Miss. PETRICE LAWRENCE.
Organizing Secretary—Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.
Newspaper—VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Colours—PURPLE, WHITE, & GREEN.

WOMEN'S DEMAND.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the **same terms** as they are possessed by men.

They are **not asking for the vote for every woman,** but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service or university franchise, possess the Parliamentary vote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that women who fulfil the same conditions shall also enjoy the franchise. **This means that those**

Figure 157. WSPU Leaflet No. 60 (1909). MoL: NN24238.



Figure 158. Rather than ‘The People Not the Commons Must Decide the Taxes’, this colourised poster version reads ‘We Bow to the Will of the People’ while expressing the view that Asquith’s suppression of the 1910 Conciliation Bill was against the will of British People. It appeals to men to protest against this by voting Liberal candidates out in the next election. Some visual differences between the versions can also be noted such as the hat and clothing of the woman (1910). V&A:E.59-1973.



Figure 159. A policeman removes a pro-suffrage poster attached to railings at the Palace of Westminster. The poster was printed with the words 'We do not support Howard's Bill' (in reference to the Adult Suffrage Bill introduced into the House of Commons by Liberal Geoffrey Howard), (1909). MoL:50.82/1573.



Figure 160. A ‘poster parade’ of suffragettes, London (June 1908). MoL:50.82/1558.

6.1 Leaflets and Handbills

Pamphlets and booklets typically consist of several sheets of paper, while handbills commonly refer to a single page handed out as a 'bill' (Fox 2020). Leaflets are typically made from one sheet of paper which may or may not be folded. What these mediums have in common is their long tradition of use as instruments of communication which have shaped the textual milieu of day-to-day life. News and propaganda, civil ordinances, playbills and other written proclamations have been shared in popular print forms since the early sixteenth century. Pamphlets, for example, were commonly sold by booksellers from around the 1580s onwards (Raymond 2003, 12). Bookseller George Thomason was the first known collector of English pamphlets, beginning his collection around 1640 in order to document the controversies of the time (ibid, 6). Just over twenty years later, Atkyns' (1663, 4) work on the history of English printing described increasing print freedoms as being responsible for 'so many contrary Opinions, that these Paper-pellets became as dangerous as Bullets' (Atkyns 1663-4 in Raymond 2003, 12). Indeed, print mediums such as pamphlets, leaflets and handbills have continually been mobilised to subvert authority, publicise a cause and shape public opinion - often from decentralised positions. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, half-sheets (and sometimes quarter-sheets) were commonly produced as smaller printforms which were easily distributed in public spaces (Fox 2020, 227).

Suffrage leaflets and handbills often announced the time and place of a meeting (figures 161 & 162), but the movement also continued their long history of use as another means of propaganda. Leaflets could communicate a lot of information about a particular topic in much shorter format than a whole newspaper (figure 163). The production cost was also less than the print of a full newspaper and existed without the usual constraints. Leaflets are fragmentary, they could target a specific demographic (figure 164 & 165), or focus on a particular issue that may not suit the style of a newspaper, and as occasional or one off materials, they were not typically bound by dates or times or a regular audience. As such, their production was driven more by their content than by external factors. They allowed organisations to deliver points of view on specific issues quickly, and could target the passer-by or the casual observer. Tompsett described the advantages of the physical form of a leaflet, noting 'It's not bulky, ideally you can put it in your pocket easily. It's not going to take you too long to read, but it's long enough to get somewhere…' (Tompsett in Thoburn 2014, 80). The Woman's Press placed regular advertisements in the weekly *Votes for Women* newspaper listing books, 'penny pamphlets' and all of the propaganda leaflets that were available (figures 166 & 167) (1909e, 1147; 1155; 1167). These leaflets were typically very informative, with dense text that focused on a particular issue in order to educate the public. They were mass produced and sold in large quantities to local branches for distribution. The cost for one hundred leaflets came to 9d, or 6 shillings for one thousand (MoL:NN24238). These adverts give an insight into the subjects being shared, as well as some of the main contributing authors. Unsurprisingly, many of the materials were written by leaders such as the Pankhursts and Pethick-Lawrences, or other high profile figures such as Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy. Within the MoL collection are more than sixty different leaflets from various organisations that give an idea of the types of printed arguments that were being circulated across different suffrage groups. A recruitment flyer issued by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage urges male voters to 'DO YOUR DUTY' and support women in their struggle (figure 168). There are also several examples from the WFL covering everything from the ways the vote could alleviate social problems experienced by women and children, to the injustice of women taxpayers contributing to MPs salaries (figure 169). While leaflets had stand alone topics, many produced by the WFL and The Woman's Press were numerically ordered so readers could keep track of the output.



Figure 161. Colour printed handbill announcing the Women's Coronation procession (1911). MoL:NN23735.



Figure 162. Colour printed WSPU handbill with Sylvia Pankhurst's woman seed sower logo announcing a series of public meetings. Like the previous handbill, this example also takes the opportunity to advertise the organisation's newspaper (c.1909-1911). MoL: 50.82/686.

LONDON MUSEUM
50. 82/532
B

No. 90.
Telegrams: "Womanda, London." Telephone: No. 2724 Holborn (3 lines).

THE WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

OFFICES - - - - 4, CLEMENTS INN, W.C.

"We demand the Vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men."

Founder and Hon. Secretary—Mrs. PANKHURST. *Hon. Treasurer*—Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
Joint Hon. Secretary—Mrs. TUKE. *Organising Secretary*—Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.
Bankers—Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., Fleet Street.
Newspaper—"VOTES FOR WOMEN."
Publishing Office—THE WOMAN'S PRESS, 156, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C. Tel.: City 3961.
Colours: Purple, White, and Green.

TORTURE IN AN ENGLISH PRISON.

We desire to place before you the case of a working man and a trade unionist who has been cruelly victimised by the Government **for making a political protest.**

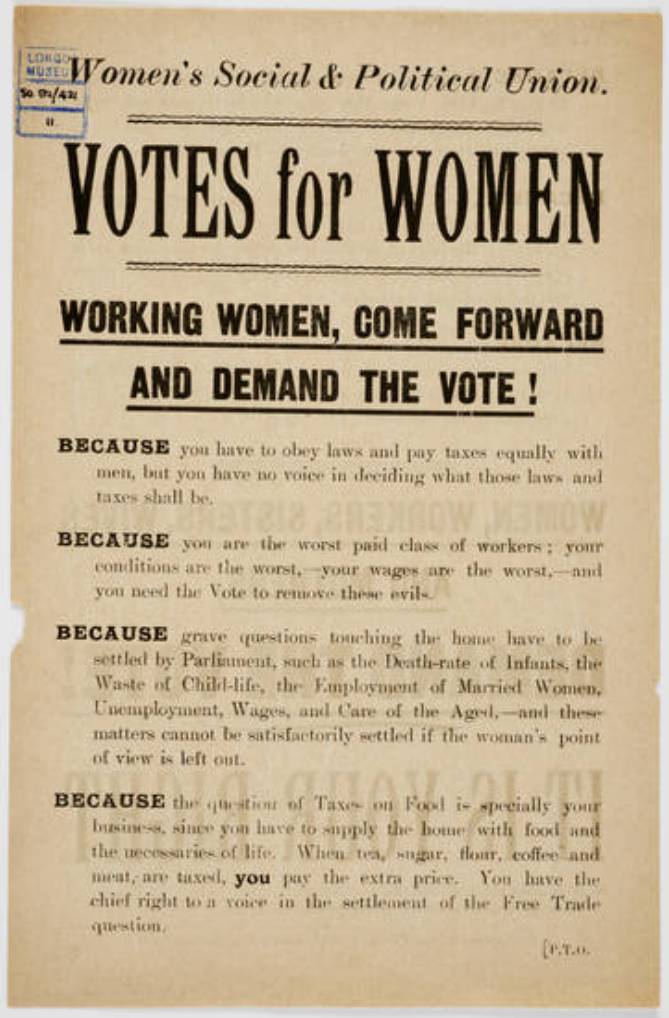
Mr. William Ball is a member of **the National Transport Workers' Federation.** On December 21st last he was arrested for breaking two panes of glass at the Home Office. In his defence at the police-court the following day he stated that he broke the windows as a protest against the unjust sentence passed on MacDougall (another Suffrage prisoner), and also as a protest against Manhood Suffrage, which would bar the passage of a measure for Votes for Women. He had two daughters and two sons, and he **wanted as much protection for his girls as he did for his boys.** If the vote were extended to more men and not given to women on the same terms it would be an insult to all right-thinking men.



Mr. WILLIAM BALL.

In spite of the fact that this was Mr. Ball's first offence, that he bore a thoroughly good character, that his action was done from a purely political motive, and that it could not be called serious damage, Mr. Ball was sentenced to **two months' hard labour.** Arrived at Pentonville Prison, Mr. Ball demanded to be treated as a **political offender,** and in particular to have the "ameliorations of prison conditions" specified by Mr. Winston Churchill in April, 1910, in the regulations framed specially with a view to Suffrage prisoners who had been convicted of offences not involving "dishonesty, cruelty, indecency, or serious violence." Two of the conditions

Figure 163. WSPU Leaflet No. 90. 'Torture in an English Prison' . This four page article details the case of William Ball, a militant suffrage supporter who was imprisoned and allegedly force fed and seriously mistreated, before being sent to a lunatic asylum (1912). MoL:50.82/532.



Women's Social & Political Union.

VOTES for WOMEN

WORKING WOMEN, COME FORWARD AND DEMAND THE VOTE!

BECAUSE you have to obey laws and pay taxes equally with men, but you have no voice in deciding what those laws and taxes shall be.

BECAUSE you are the worst paid class of workers; your conditions are the worst,—your wages are the worst,—and you need the Vote to remove these evils.

BECAUSE grave questions touching the home have to be settled by Parliament, such as the Death-rate of Infants, the Waste of Child-life, the Employment of Married Women, Unemployment, Wages, and Care of the Aged,—and these matters cannot be satisfactorily settled if the woman's point of view is left out.

BECAUSE the question of Taxes on Food is specially your business, since you have to supply the home with food and the necessaries of life. When tea, sugar, flour, coffee and meat are taxed, **you** pay the extra price. You have the chief right to a voice in the settlement of the Free Trade question.

[P.T.O.

Figure 164 (above). Early WSPU handbill targeting working women (1906). MoL:50.82/421.



VOTES FOR WOMEN

The Women's Social and Political Union,

HEAD OFFICE: 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

IRISHWOMEN!

Come and join your Countrywomen in the

MONSTER DEMONSTRATION

FROM

WESTMINSTER EMBANKMENT

TO

HYDE PARK

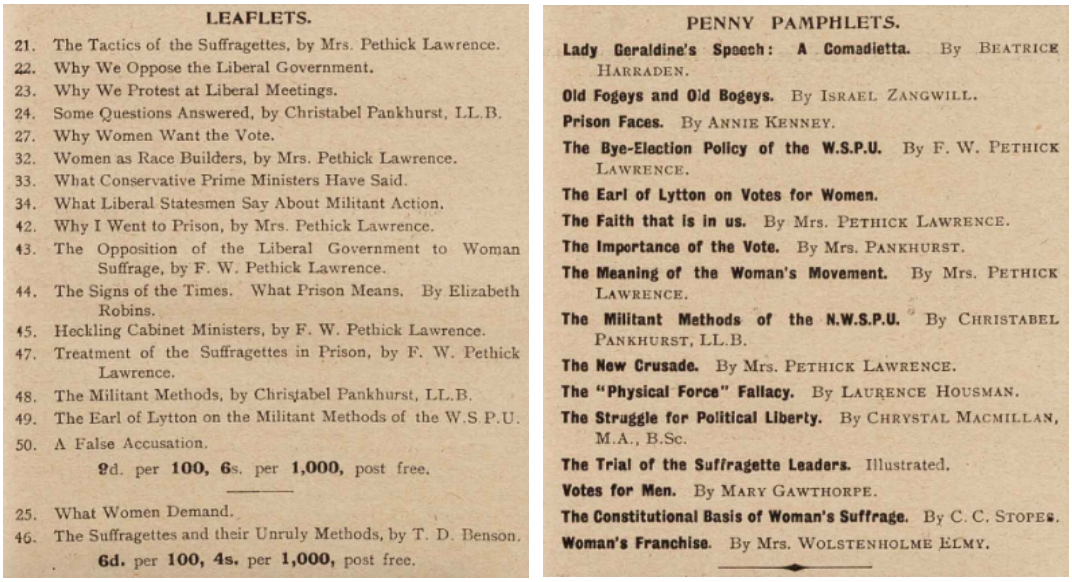
IN SUPPORT OF THE

Votes for Women Bill

SATURDAY, JULY 23rd, at 5.30.

Form up on the Embankment at Cleopatra's Needle at 3 p.m.
Start at 4 p.m.

Figure 165 (right). WSPU handbill appealing for Irish women to join a 'Monster Demonstration from Westminster Embankment to Hyde Park in support of the Votes for Women Bill' on 23rd July (1910). MoL:50.82/675.



LEAFLETS.

21. The Tactics of the Suffragettes, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
22. Why We Oppose the Liberal Government.
23. Why We Protest at Liberal Meetings.
24. Some Questions Answered, by Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.
27. Why Women Want the Vote.
32. Women as Race Builders, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
33. What Conservative Prime Ministers Have Said.
34. What Liberal Statesmen Say About Militant Action.
42. Why I Went to Prison, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
43. The Opposition of the Liberal Government to Woman Suffrage, by F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
44. The Signs of the Times. What Prison Means. By Elizabeth Robins.
45. Heckling Cabinet Ministers, by F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
47. Treatment of the Suffragettes in Prison, by F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
48. The Militant Methods, by Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.
49. The Earl of Lytton on the Militant Methods of the W.S.P.U.
50. A False Accusation.

2d. per **100, 6s.** per **1,000,** post free.

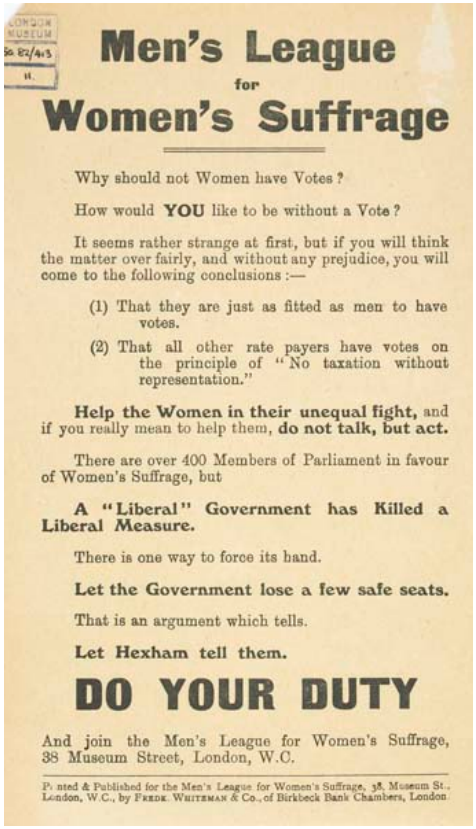
25. What Women Demand.
46. The Suffragettes and their Unruly Methods, by T. D. Benson.

6d. per **100, 4s.** per **1,000,** post free.

PENNY PAMPHLETS.

Lady Geraldine's Speech: A Comedietta. By BEATRICE HARRADEN.
Old Fogeys and Old Bogeys. By ISRAEL ZANGWILL.
Prison Faces. By ANNIE KENNEY.
The Bye-Election Policy of the W.S.P.U. By F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
The Earl of Lytton on Votes for Women.
The Faith that is in us. By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
The Importance of the Vote. By Mrs. PANKHURST.
The Meaning of the Woman's Movement. By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
The Militant Methods of the N.W.S.P.U. By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.
The New Crusade. By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
The "Physical Force" Fallacy. By LAURENCE HOUSMAN.
The Struggle for Political Liberty. By CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, M.A., B.Sc.
The Trial of the Suffragette Leaders. Illustrated.
Votes for Men. By MARY GAWTHORPE.
The Constitutional Basis of Woman's Suffrage. By C. C. STOPES.
Woman's Franchise. By Mrs. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

Figures 166 & 167. The Woman's Press advertisements for various leaflets and penny pamphlets in *Votes For Women* (10 September, 1909, 1155).



LONDON MUSEUM
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Men's League for Women's Suffrage

Why should not Women have Votes?

How would **YOU** like to be without a Vote?

It seems rather strange at first, but if you will think the matter over fairly, and without any prejudice, you will come to the following conclusions:—

(1) That they are just as fitted as men to have votes.

(2) That all other rate payers have votes on the principle of "No taxation without representation."

Help the Women in their unequal fight, and if you really mean to help them, **do not talk, but act.**

There are over 400 Members of Parliament in favour of Women's Suffrage, but

A "Liberal" Government has Killed a Liberal Measure.

There is one way to force its hand.

Let the Government lose a few safe seats.

That is an argument which tells.

Let Hexham tell them.

DO YOUR DUTY

And join the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, 38 Museum Street, London, W.C.

Printed & Published for the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, 38, Museum St., London, W.C., by FREDK. WHITEMAN & Co., of Birkbeck Bank Chambers, London.



Payment of Members of Parliament.

Who will have to contribute the Money?
Women and Men.

Who elect Members of Parliament?
Men only.

Who decide that Members of Parliament shall be paid?
The Members themselves.

How much is paid by Women in direct taxation?
£25,000,000 a Year.

What control have Women over Parliament and the spending of their money?
None whatever, until they have Votes.

Join the Women's Freedom League, and help to get Votes for Women.

President—**Mrs Despard**
Hon. Treasurer—**Miss C. V. Tite**
Hon. Head—Political and Militant Dept.—**Mrs. How Martyn, A.R.C.S., B.Sc.**
Secretary—**Miss F. A. Underwood**

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Printed by W. Conquest & Co., Trade Union, 99, High Road, Tottenham.

Figure 168 (left). Men's League for Women's Suffrage recruitment handbill urging men to join women in support of their campaign (c. 1907-1912). MoL:50.82/413.

Figure 169 (right). WFL leaflet highlighting the injustice of women taxpayers contributing to MP salaries (c.1911-1912). MoL:50.82/480.

Like newspapers, most leaflets were reactionary and predicated by current issues. Suffragette Cicely Hale worked as an assistant and later as the head of the WSPU Information Department until 1914. In her 1974 interview with Harrison, Hale remembers reading through all of the daily newspapers and cutting out anything pertaining to suffrage activity, as well as anything that might have a bearing on the movement. Important points were then sent to the leaders in a daily summary to keep them fully up to date with goings on, the cuttings were then stuck onto sheets or put in scrapbooks and filed (Hale 1974). Hale explained that 'everything had to be verified' - if Lloyd George said something they wanted to quote, then someone within the department would have to provide verification. She recalls that part of this duty involved taking research trips from the WSPU head office to the British Museum, on one occasion having to authenticate information for Christabel Pankhurst before it could be used (ibid). This daily cataloguing and verification of information demonstrates the efficiency and meticulousness of the WSPU's approach to informing the public, and an immense effort to keep up to date with anything that could affect their cause, or that could be used to bolster their arguments in speeches and propaganda materials. This work also demonstrates a clear and diligent concern around the veracity of their outputs. By harnessing the facts as they saw them (to propagandist effect) they could posit themselves as being a 'truthful' voice against the government and wider opposition who were routinely discredited as liars by the WSPU. An article entitled 'Posting the Truth' urged *Votes For Women* readers to purchase and display the organisation's posters "Penal Servitude or Votes", which condemned the Liberal Government and listed the numbers of women imprisoned for agitating for votes (VFW 1912b, 760). For the WSPU, 'the truth' was not only manifest in their daily cataloguing, fact checking and sharing information, but was a bigger philosophical and righteous mission which is prevalent in much of their written materials. They saw themselves as the moral truth-tellers against the governments 'official lying' (as they termed it), and recognised their work as being almost predestined to victory because of this (Pethick-Lawrence 1908c, 389; VFW 1912c, 646).

Minute books across all of the main suffrage societies further evidence the role of leaflets in the movement. 'Literature Committees' and 'Subcommittees' gave reports at meetings as to how well certain leaflets were doing, which ones needed additional prints, and which needed to be pulled or amended and sent for reprinting. They also conducted regular analysis of how well leaflet sales and distributions were doing both generally and at specific branches. This gave organisers an impression of their propagandist work overall, as well as an overview of each regional area the branch covered. This suggests that the role of leaflets (beyond their core function of delivering a message) was also a way for organisations to get a sense of how the campaign was being received across the country, and how leaflets could be modified to suit different areas. As well as being written and produced by the organisations and different branches themselves, new leaflets were often submitted to organisations by supporting members of the public. A minute book of recorded meetings which belonged to the NUWSS London Society for Women's Suffrage (1906-1907) includes a report which refers to different leaflet types. The Society responded to a request for consideration of a leaflet entitled 'To Women Who Are Well Off'. They declined to recommend that these particular leaflets incur the cost of printing, but proposed the leaflet 'What is Women's Suffrage' be reprinted with additional local information for distribution by the Darlington Society (ibid).

As well as individuals sending in leaflet drafts and ideas for leaflets, there is further evidence that some private publishers took it upon themselves to get involved with making pro-suffrage propaganda. Within the LSE Women's Library collection is a letter from Mrs Alice Kidd[18] (1912) of Private Publishing Bureau, Hampstead. The letter was sent with leaflets enclosed to at least one suffrage organisation (the envelope is missing and the letter is addressed only to 'madam'), but the wording suggests the writer may have also contacted others. She explains that they have printed

[18] Mrs Alice Kidd is referenced in Crawford (2001, 664) as the Honorary Secretary of the Suffragist Church Women's Protest Committee.

‘specimens’ of a leaflet ‘showing up the absurdity of the anti-suffrage arguments’ and suggests they might be valuable to the organisation for distribution outside of anti- meetings. Mrs Kidd goes on to say that they could not distribute many themselves due to the expense, but asked if the society would consider stocking the leaflets (ibid). As well as contributions by members of the public and private publishers, literature was also shared between organisations. The NUWSS held a stall at an ‘Industrial Exhibition’ in Leeds in 1913 where they sold nearly £8 worth of literature produced by the WFL (WFL 1913,19). Leaflet distribution by organisations was prolific, and there were reasonable profits to be made. The NUWSS London Society for Women’s Suffrage (1910) report described a record year for leaflet distribution, with 190,000 given during the General Election period alone. Sales of literature also showed a ‘remarkable advance’ rising from £151 5s. 11d. To £217 0s. 4d. during 1910 (ibid).

The production of leaflets and similar print material was a task that took on board a range of perspectives. Outside of the core aims of the leaflets, the process of their writing, designing and printing brought together individuals both inside and outside of suffrage organisations. The effect of this type of propaganda was not limited to Britain. Literature was routinely sent to different countries for use by various international organisations. Within a minute book which recorded a meeting held by the WFL in March 1913, a note on ‘Translations’ explains that The Danish Women’s Suffrage Society had asked and received permission to publish the organisation’s ‘Cameo Series’[19] in Danish (WFL 1913, 18). Materials were also sent out to a debate on women’s suffrage in Mexico, where ‘between twenty and thirty’ requests had been made for literature outlining the movement (ibid). As this shows, print materials, such as leaflets, went beyond the borders of the British movement, and should be recognised as being influential across numerous campaigns worldwide. Their role helped to bring individuals with shared aims together, started global conversations and helped to shape and instruct other organisations outside of the UK.

Anti-suffragists also published printed leaflets and flyers, though not in any volume close to that produced by the suffragists and suffragettes. These materials typically copied the style and form of the literature produced by suffrage organisations and were distributed in similar ways. An overview of examples within the MoL and LSE collections shows their primary aim was to fundraise and bring in new members. They also focused on arguments against women’s suffrage and strategies for dealing with militant suffragettes, while generally undermining and ridiculing the movement. Some examples point out the perceived absurdity of women’s franchise by bringing up the need for ‘child suffrage’ or ‘animal suffrage’, one advises ‘Parents to beware of the filthy literature now being circulated by the Suffragettes’ (Women’s National Anti-Suffrage League 1909; Furber n.d). Another produced by The National League For Opposing Woman Suffrage commands its members to ignore any possible suffragette interruptions (figure 170).

[19] The ‘Cameo Series’ refers to the ‘Cameo Life Sketches’ of famous women such as Josephine Butler, and Florence Nightingale, which was produced by the Women’s Freedom League. The series was ‘eagerly sought after’; at least 10 editions of Jospehine Butler (15,000 total) had been sold by March 1913. W.H.Smith and Son’s took 1,300 copies each of Elizabeth Fry and Lydia Becker and Mudies’ Library took 1,000 copies of Josephine Butler, 500 of which were exported (WFL 1913,19).

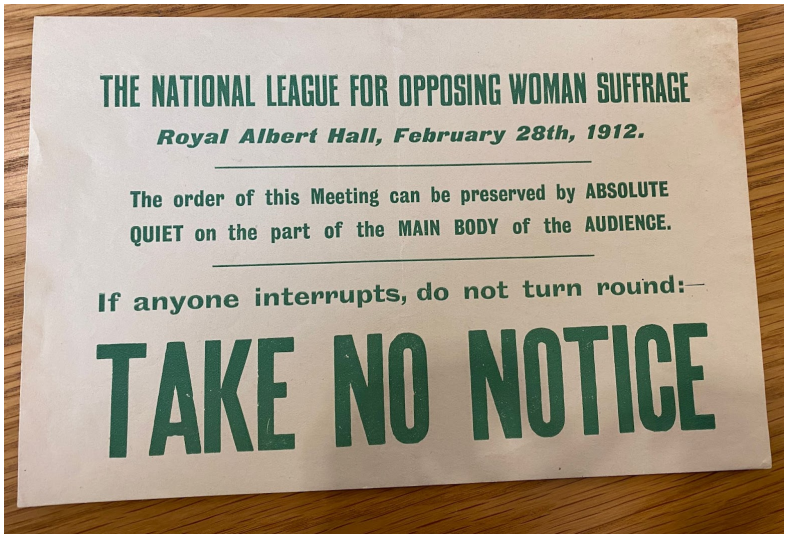


Figure 170. Handbill produced by The National League For Opposing Woman Suffrage (1912). LSE.

6.2 Postcards

Postcards printed during the height of suffrage activity encapsulate arguments for and against women's suffrage better than any other medium. The period between 1902 and 1915 can be considered the 'golden age of the postcard', they were simple to use, relatively inexpensive to send and arrived quickly (Florey 2013, 115). Beyond this, a burgeoning range of designs to suit every interest meant that collecting picture postcards became 'a major pastime in almost every household' (ibid). Advances in print technology in the late Victorian era meant that postcards progressed from black and white illustrations to allow for colour and the inclusion of photography. As Florey points out, many people did not own cameras and so the sale of postcards was an ideal souvenir to preserve the memory of a trip or an event (ibid). By 1913 more than 900 million postcards were mailed each year (Tickner 1987, 50). One publisher alone, Evelyn Wrench, produced a monthly output of around 3 million cards (ibid, 51). Enthusiasts formed card collecting clubs and subscribed to postcard journals to receive the latest designs, which were often collected in sets and displayed in albums. There was also a competitive incentive to collect designs, with medals awarded for prize winning collectors (ibid).

This period was aptly timed with the movement, and suffragists responded with thousands of designs both in England and internationally (Florey 2013, 115). Although political postcards had existed before the suffrage designs, postcards representing women's suffrage grew to eclipse all others.

> 'In the years between 1906 and 1914 hundred of images derived from the women's suffrage campaign were published on postcards, outnumbering those relating to other contemporary campaigns, such as tariff reform and home rule' (Crawford 2001, 562).

While exact numbers are not known, the Artists Suffrage League produced at least 24 different postcard designs and the Suffrage Atelier was responsible for at least 50 (Florey 2013, 142-144). Independent artists such as Ernestine Mills also produced postcards for the cause outside of affiliation with organisations. Within a WFL minute book from 1913, Charlotte Despard (1913, 20) comments that over 300 picture postcards were sold at the International Suffrage Fair at Chelsea Town Hall in November 1912. The NUWSS created a few postcards independently, but sought help from the Artists Suffrage League for most of their designs. The WSPU released far more, Alfred Pearse provided illustrations that were used on *Votes For Women* covers, postcards and other print materials.

The postcard was the most versatile, collectable and enduring means of propaganda. Both illustrated or photographic postcards were effective not only as a way of communicating, but in terms of the financial support they provided to the campaign. Supporters could purchase photographic postcards of their favourite leaders from suffrage shops and organisation headquarters, as well as from stalls at events and bazaars (Crawford 2001, 563; Florey 2013, 120). Independent photographers also seized the opportunity to make and sell postcards. Self-taught photographer Christina Broom[20] captured major suffrage events then sold postcards of her work independently and in WSPU shops. 'Real' photographic postcards, as they were referred to, are images taken from negatives and produced directly onto postcard-sized photographic paper. For this reason, 'real' photo cards were more expensive than other methods of production and were usually sold in limited runs by local photographers. The use of rotary press printing was introduced to the UK by The Rotary Photo Company and allowed for mass production of photographic images at a lower cost (Postcard Traders Association n.d). The WSPU and WFL both sold these types of photographic postcard, usually for a penny each (Florey 2013, 134). Crawford (2001, 563) describes a WSPU postcard purchased at the Queen's Hall meeting on 7 June 1908 upon which was written "The stewards pestered us as per usual to buy things, but these pcs [postcards] took fancy [sic] and were about my price…"

6.2.1 Photographic Postcards

Postcards were regularly advertised within suffrage newspapers, and on the back pages of pamphlets and other print materials. *Votes For Women* advertised: 'The Woman's Press supplies PICTURE POSTCARDS of the leaders of the W.S.P.U, and of many of the incidents in the Agitation' (The Woman's Press 1909, 70). Central figures such as the Pankhursts were obviously popular on photographic cards, and the most readily available, but their portraits were not the only ones available to purchase (figures 172-176). Other employed members were also photographed, perhaps to diversify the face of the movement. These popular photographic postcards demonstrate not only the clever commodification of the Votes For Women cause, but commodification of many of its leading figureheads. Some of the organisation's key members held a burgeoning 'celebrity' status. Many suffragettes were indeed so highly regarded and inspirational to young women that their collectable photographic postcards would be sold with autographed signatures (figure 174). Atkinson (2018a, 52-53; 88) commented on this, mentioning Mary Gawthorpe, 'Pretty and petite, Mary Gawthorpe's photograph was one of the most popular postcards sold by the suffragettes; only the Pankhursts and Annie Kenney were more celebrated'.


PICTURE POSTCARDS.
1d. each.
Mrs. Pankhurst.
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
Christabel Pankhurst.
"General" Drummond.
Mary E. Gawthorpe.
Adela Pankhurst.
Gladice Keevil.
Mrs. Baines.
Mrs. Leigh.
Mrs. Massy.
PHOTO POSTCARDS.
2d. each.
Mrs. Pankhurst,
Mrs. Pankhurst and Lady Constance Lytton,
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Christabel Pankhurst, and
Mrs. Drummond.

Figure 171. Advertisement for postcards of various WSPU members in *Votes For Women* (18 Feb, 1910, 329), LSE.

[20] Credited as the first woman press photographer, Broom took up photography aged 40 to support her family when her husband became unable to work (Atkinson 2017).



Figure 172. Imprisoned Suffragist Leaders photographic postcard (1912). PHM:NMLH.2003.21.3.





Figure 173 (left). Photographic postcard of militant suffragette Mary Eleanor Gawthorpe (1881-1973) wearing her Holloway prison badge. Gawthorpe was born in Leeds to a working-class family (her father was a leather worker), she became a full time salaried organiser for the WSPU in 1906 with a focus on Northern cities. She suffered prolonged ill health and had to give up her role in 1910, but remained politically active and served her final imprisonment in 1912 where she took part in a hunger and thirst strike for the cause (1909). MoL:NN22388.

Figure 174 (right). Photographic postcard of Mary Gawthorpe, signed by Mary on the front of the card and on the reverse is written 'For Mrs Mitchell's little son July '07' (possibly referring to suffragette Hannah Mitchell), (1909). MoL:53.140/56.

Devoted followers also wore badges and brooches with the face of Christabel Pankhurst and other leaders (figure 175). This notoriety and adoration coincides with interest in hero-worship, beginning in the Victorian period and increasing interest in the stories of ‘famous women’ (Vandrei 2009, 1-2). Cook (in Wheeler 2012, 10) noted that “almost a mass hysteria” was shared by devoted followers, perhaps best evidenced by the Young Hotbloods: a group of young WSPU members who were assigned special missions and ‘exhibited extreme loyalty beyond notions of politics.’ Other postcards made it possible for supporters to collect key moments from the campaign. For example, the respective arrests of Emmeline Pankhurst and Grace Roe made for particularly dramatic and inspiring collectable cards (figures 177 & 178). Recognising the craze for postcard collecting, and likely also the hero status reaffirmed and afforded to WSPU leadership by the collecting of the cards, the WSPU released a special postcard album designed by Sylvia Pankhurst which was sold at WSPU shops and presented within their window displays (Florey 2013, 134). Offering an album would have increased the desirability of their postcards and further encouraged sales, as their supporters had a place to keep and show off their collection.



Figure 175 (above). The WSPU sold various photographic celluloid badges of their leaders. This fancier example brooch contains a portrait of Emmeline Pankhurst suspended from a purple, white and green ribbon (c.1908). MoL:50.82/1140.



Figure 176 (right). The WFL also sold portrait postcards. This one depicts Edith How-Martyn (c. 1875-1954). How-Martyn worked as joint Honorary Secretary of the WSPU before moving to become co-founder and Honorary Secretary of the Women's Freedom League from 1907. She was one of the first suffragettes to be imprisoned in Holloway (c.1909). MoL:53.140/30.



Figure 177. On 13th February 1908, leader Emmeline Pankhurst was arrested while on deputation to the House of Commons, on the charge of obstructing a policeman. She was sentenced to six weeks in Holloway, which she served in full. The paper scroll she carries had on it the resolution of the meeting. Immense public interest in Pankhurst's arrest is demonstrated by this photographic postcard which was mass produced. This example is by Photochrom Co.Ltd (1908). MoL:NN22478.



Figure 178 (left). WSPU organiser and deputy-leader, Grace Roe, was arrested during a police raid of the Union's headquarters at Lincoln's Inn on 23rd May 1914. She was charged with conspiracy and imprisoned where she endured a hunger strike and force feeding before her release on 10 August under the government's amnesty. This postcard was produced by Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd (1914). MoL: 56.59/17.

As the most prominent working class suffragette, the WSPU constructed the image of Annie Kenney to suit their campaign. This is particularly evident in her portraits, in one postcard she is dressed simply in a practical style without the feminine embellishments of jewellery or embroidery seen in other WSPU portraits (figure 179). In another photograph, she poses in a plain dress and clogs with a shawl pulled high over her head (similar to Ford's representation of a factory girl), to better evidence her time as a mill-worker (figures 180 & 181). Jenkins' (2019, 483) work provided an in depth study of the use of Kenney's image and the 'enormous symbolic power' it had for the WSPU. As Jenkins describes, the organisation had a tendency toward using stereotyped images of working-class women to further their cause, and Kenney was not immune from exploiting her own class background in order to advance the WSPU's work (ibid, 484). Her attire in this image immediately identifies her as working-class, and thus attempts to demonstrate the inclusivity of the movement. It helped position the WSPU as being beneficial to the working woman, and further legitimised the organisation's appeal on their behalf. The appearance of a factory girl in printed WSPU materials might also have helped recruit additional working women who felt represented by Kenney.



Figure 179 (above). Signed photographic postcard of Annie Kenney. Lancashire born Annie Kenney (1879-1953) was a salaried organiser for the WSPU and one of its most prominent leading figures. She spent a short time working as a 'mill girl' but was raised in a 'highly cultured family home where she was exposed to a wide range of books and broad education.' (1908). MoL:NN23174.

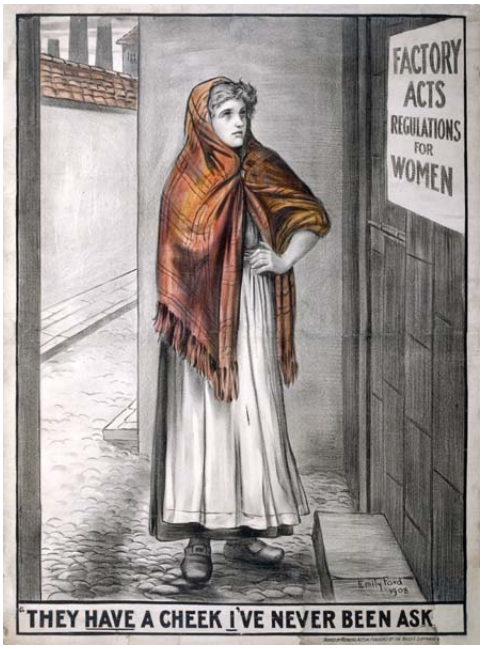




Figure 180 (left). Pro-suffrage poster designed by Emily Ford and published by the Artists' Suffrage League (1908). MoL:NN23757.

Figure 181 (right). Signed photograph of Annie Kenney in the dress of a working woman (c.1905-1914). MoL:50.82/1290.

A study by Hamilakis et al. (2009) demonstrated how a group became aware of the persuasive power of photography and used it to their own benefit,

> 'familiar with the power of the image, and the circulation of visual material in local, national, and global arenas. They are alert to the multiple regimes of value created by the circulation and exchange of images, and have developed multiple ways of interacting with, influencing, breaking and exploiting it.'

Photographs are often considered 'faithful, disembodied representations of reality', but they can be highly curated propaganda tools (ibid). Style, costume, environment and other elements chosen as symbolic devices function to deliver a message within an image, as is apparent in images of Annie Kenney. As well as portraits, the WSPU released a series of postcards which gave a glimpse into various departments of the organisation (figures 182-187) including The Woman's Press, Clement's Inn (the former headquarters) and Lincoln's Inn - which became the new headquarters after the Pethick-Lawrences were ousted from their leadership positions by the Pankhursts. It is apparent that the WSPU were adept at utilising photographic postcards to convey ideas about their organisation. By displaying a fleeting momentary glimpse of a person or space, they make the viewer feel they are getting an authentic 'fly on the wall' perspective. However, they should be examined as performative visual devices which were active in articulating specific ideas about the organisation for its benefit. This is not to say that the images were staged to convey something entirely different from what was happening in each of the spaces, clearly this was not the case. Though if we take the packing room of The Woman's Press as an example, it appears that the newspapers have been laid out in the direction of the photographer, to get a better shot of the papers and thus advertise them (figure 183). The same is the case with the 'READ OUR PAPER' poster in the centre of the Dispatch Department image (figure 184). These are only subtle changes, but they demonstrate creative intervention. The interior postcards reveal more about the extent and sophistication of the WSPU operation, just as they intended. Salaried and volunteer staff work together in offices that have the latest equipment and technology, such as duplicating machines, telephones and typewriters.



Figure 182. Typists Office, WSPU Headquarters, Clements Inn (1911). MoL:50.82/928l.



Figure 183. Women packing and dispatching *Votes for Women* copies at The Woman's Press, 156 Charing Cross Road (1911). MoL:50.82/928k.



Figure 184. Despatch Department, WSPU Headquarters, Clement's Inn. Weekly copies of *Votes for Women* were despatched from here throughout the country (1911). MoL:50.82/928n.



Figure 185. Duplicating Office, WSPU Headquarters, Clement's Inn. Propaganda handbills were duplicated here before being distributed by WSPU members (1911). MoL:50.82/928e.

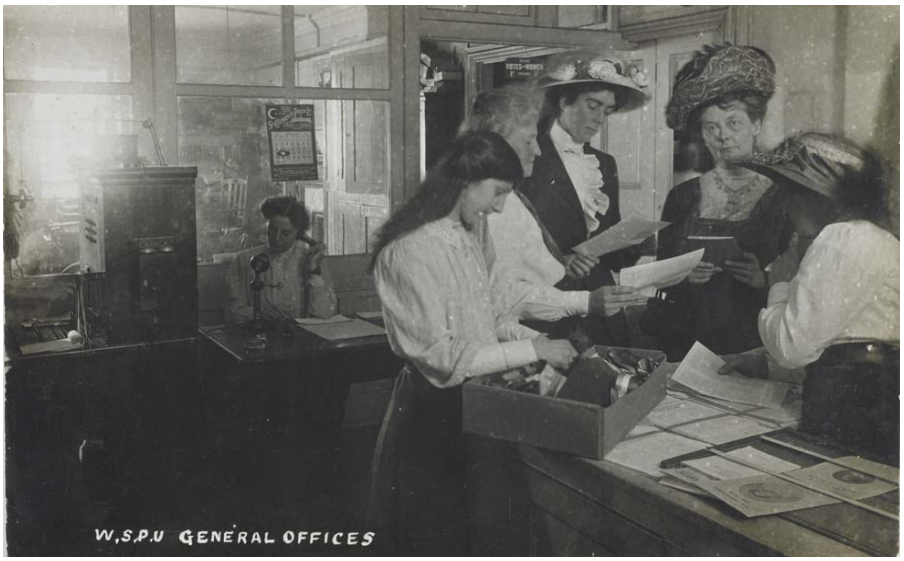


Figure 186. General Offices at the WSPU Headquarters, Clement's Inn. The space was also the visitor entrance, telephone exchange (one worker can be seen on the phone in the background) and a place where propaganda leaflets, badges and sashes in the colours were also sold. This postcard image managed to capture these activities (1911). MoL: 50.82/928f.



Figure 187. Advertising Department, WSPU Headquarters, Clement's Inn (1911). MoL:50.82/928c.

While offering an intriguing look into the inner workings of the WSPU, these postcards showcased women directly participating in the working world in various environments, using machines and technology and working alongside men and women colleagues, very much outside of 'her sphere'. There were other photographic postcards of women at their place of work produced around this time, though these were vastly different and mostly, if not exclusively, focused on working-class women whose depictions in various environments were sold commercially as novelties. Postcards of 'fishwives' gutting fish by the shore in regional dress, or 'pit brow lasses' became popular in the Victorian and early Edwardian era[21]. In Wigan, photographic postcards of pit brow women were produced by at least three different photographers in 1905, with one photographer publishing as many as 18 different studio images[22] (figures 188 & 189) (Davies 2006, 7, 30; Wigan Local History & Heritage Society 2022).

Through their photographic postcards, the WSPU continued the tendency to display women at work, but unlike images of pit brow women, their images were taken for the direct benefit of the WSPU, both financially through their sale, and in the ideas they were actively transmitting. These were not candid images, the WSPU had control of the creative process. From this perspective, the women pictured are active components rather than subjects, and the position of the observer also shifts. The postcards were less a novel glimpse into a workspace as much as a deliberate appeal to women. Employment opportunities for women were very limited at this time, many women lacked proper education and working-class women typically laboured long hours in factories or in domestic work roles, on top of

[21] In 1842, *The Mines and Collieries Act* banned all women and children under 10 from working below ground. Despite this new legislation, it took a while for this to cease completely, with many women wanting to continue underground work. Over time the pit brow lasses, as they came to be known, continued to perform hard labour in various roles on the surface of the mine, for example loading wagons, hauling tubs and sorting coal. Their unconventional job role and distinctive dress of 'breeches under rough skirts, thick boots and kerchiefs tied around their heads' made pit brow women 'a source of fascination to the middle-classes who fuelled the demand for souvenir postcards' (Moss 2018).

[22] In 1911, Annie Kenney travelled to Wigan on behalf of the WSPU to help pit brow women rally their opposition to a proposed amendment to the Mines Act, which would see all women excluded from work on the pit brow. The WSPU used their campaigning expertise to fully support the workers and strongly defended the women's rights to their work. Ultimately, after considerable debate the legislation was not changed and pit brow women were able to continue (Bartley 1999).

their duties at home. Working women became vital to the war effort as a replacement labour force, and in the post-war world where so many employment opportunities opened up, but these photographic postcards taken between 1908-1911 illustrate the emerging role of women in workplaces rarely seen pre-war. The photographs themselves are lively, rather than workers posed together in each department, they have been captured busy at work. The hustle and bustle of the duplicating office is tangible enough to situate oneself within the scene and imagine working there. These images of confident, capable women directly engaged in professional political work across various sectors[23], likely sparked ideas among women about their own agency, ambitions and propensity for contribution. Assuming this was the case even for a few women, then these photographic postcards not only had a pivotal role in shaping the identity of the movement and helping to recruit more women, but they contributed toward emerging ideas about the role of women more broadly.

The examples discussed here represent a small quantity of the wide variety of photographic postcards made during the campaign. The following analysis covers illustrated ‘picture postcards’, and furthers their understanding via the common tropes they picked up on and perpetuated. Tickner (1987) helped to define categories of women’s representation (e.g. ‘the militant woman’, the ‘womanly woman’, ‘the working woman’ etc) as they relate to all areas of material culture in the movement. By re-examining these materials as active participants, and conducting a thorough analysis of one type; in this case postcards, it is possible to better understand their role, as well as the wider impact they had on society at the time.





Figure 188 (left). Photographic postcard of Wigan pit brow women, photograph taken by H.Wragg (c. late 1800s).

Figure 189 (right). Collectable carte de viste of Wigan pit brow girls taken by photographer Cooper (c. late 1800s). Both images courtesy of Wiganworld.

[23] Suffragette Cicely Hale (1974) recalled that she had a poor education growing up, but was educated by the WSPU in her job role as a secretary. They gave her a sense of confidence, and after the WSPU printers office was raided and the printer arrested, she was able to learn additional skills to work as a compositor printer. This was a skilled occupation, as the printers worked in reverse so the text read the right way when printed.

6.2.2 Commercial / Anti-Suffrage Postcards

Beyond their own materials, suffrage campaigners were represented by a mass of vitriolic comic postcard designs issued by independent publishers who had no political stake in the women's cause. With a focus on what would sell, they concentrated on designs the British public would find humorous enough to purchase and send/collect. Their contributions to suffrage material culture can't be explicitly defined as 'propaganda' as the makers primary concern was to sell, not to persuade - though having infiltrated the mass-market, these materials certainly acted as such on both sides of the coin. By constructing ways of seeing the movement, commercial materials undoubtedly encouraged the public to conform their thinking with the arguments they were presented with. In turn, they helped shape dominant narratives about women and suffrage. There were publishers that skirted between representing women's suffrage in a neutral, unbiased manner, those that drew on the successes and interest in the women's movement enough to be considered 'pro,' as well as those that parodied it, often to exceptional cruelty at the expense of campaigners.

Postcards created by independent or commercial publishers hugely outnumber those made by the Suffrage Atelier, the Artists Suffrage League and other suffrage organisations. They convey public feelings about campaigners and the movement, which of course the activists would have experienced first hand. They capture, more strongly than any other material, the misogynist attitudes of Edwardian Britain, the anger and hostility directed at women, and the confusion, humour and ridicule about both the campaigners and the cause. With their primary role to sell, their other core role was to illustrate the public view of women's suffrage in a manner that was witty, striking or amusing, or that captured an attitude or sentiment that enough people agreed with in order to appeal to as broad an audience as possible. Existing political material is an unrivalled time capsule that shows us not only what was topical, but what was funny. Mainstream humour in the early 20th century was heavily dependent on stereotypes and gender tropes. Many of these postcards derive from a time where it was the norm to make fun of suffragists not necessarily because of their cause, but because their efforts made them an easy target for gender-based ridicule. While a large proportion of commercial imagery from the time may seem to have a clear anti-suffrage agenda, it should be more broadly recognised as being 'anti-woman'. Being 'anti-suffrage' is simply a natural consequence of this, though the actual cause and its issues were often given little attention. That being said, this understanding made little difference in terms of how this type of material operated within the movement. For this reason, suffrage postcards bear a unique witness to the time period in which they were created. Their existence today provides a window into historic perspectives about women and the vote and the deep-seated prejudices suffrage campaigners had to confront.

Having no political loyalty either way, publishing companies produced both 'pro' and 'anti' postcards simultaneously. The "This is the House That Man Built" series produced by major publishing house Birn Brothers Ltd (or 'B.B. London') is perhaps the best example of this (figures 190-193) (Petrulis 2022). A 'pro' card describes 'the Suffragettes of note, determined to fight for their right to vote' while an 'anti' design describes the 'sly Suffragette' who wants too much. The pro-suffrage postcard shows women dressed in fine hats and clothing with modest floor-length skirts and sleeves that neatly meet their white-gloved hands. Two women hold *Votes for Women* leaflets, while the others stand respectably poised, one with her umbrella tucked behind her on the floor and the other leaning forward slightly as if to engage in conversation. On the other hand, the card describing the 'sly Suffragette' depicts an entirely different set of women, and the derogatory class insinuations become more apparent. Interpreting these images, it becomes clear that a large issue was not *if* women should have the vote but if *certain* women (working women, or poor women) should have the vote. These women are dressed less elegantly and without the lavish hats of the first group of women. They wear more masculine styles for the era, the first in a white shirt and tie with a large belt buckle around her waist. Another suffragette wears a pork-pie hat, which at this time was a direct reference to

lesbianism, indicating that these women not only posed a threat to the existing structure of Parliament, but to heteronormative ideology more broadly. In contrast to the first image, these women are without gloves and have shorter skirts showing their ankles, one woman has her sleeve rolled up while another brandishes her umbrella in the air like a weapon, her mouth open as if shouting. The suffragette behind has her hand clasped into a fist. Analysing just these images in conjunction is clear evidence of the contrasting thoughts Edwardian Britain held on suffrage campaigners, and the challenges suffragists had in instructing and persuading people of the true nature of their cause. In the eyes of many, or at least in the eyes of this publisher, if there is a woman worthy of the vote *this* is how she should look; a calm, respectable (and preferably beautiful), upper-class lady. These depictions of womanhood and class were pitted against one another endlessly throughout the struggle for women's suffrage.



Figures 190 & 191. "This Is The House That Man Built" series of postcards covering both pro- and anti-suffrage arguments by publisher B.B. London (c.1908 - 1909). GWL-2019-52 & MoL:67.96/2.



Figures 192 & 193. As before. The pro-suffrage example depicts well dressed women sitting elegantly. The suffragette prisoner featured on the anti-suffrage postcard sits with legs uncrossed and spills food on herself. Again, it is clear the contrast between each depiction relies on class insinuations and ideas about femininity (or perceived lack of femininity), much more so than anything to do with the actual campaign for enfranchisement (1908 - 1909). MoL:50.82/855 & Dr. Joan Iversen's suffrage collection.

Feeding the anti-suffragist mentality, commercial postcards satirised suffragists as ugly and unwanted. One example sent to Christabel Pankhurst features a malicious illustration of a woman above the text 'We Want the Vote' (figure 194). On the reverse was written, 'Don't you think you had better sew a button on my shirt', signed 'Joe.' The same year *Votes For Women* recalls an encounter with a heckler at a meeting in Lewisham who called out that if suffragettes were 'better looking' they would be more likely to win the vote. At this, the suffragette speaker remarked 'If good looks are to be the basis of the franchise many of the gentlemen present would lose their vote, and most decidedly our friend' (MoL:50.82/856; Crawford 2001, 110). Considering suffrage materials as animate, one can see how this type perpetuated and contributed to damaging ideas about women. Their primary role may have simply been to make money on behalf of the publisher, but their content made them difficult to contain. As Mitchell (2005, 297) describes, '...it is the pictures - the stereotypes, the caricatures, the peremptory, prejudicial images that mediate between persons and social groups - that seem to take on a life of their own - and a deadly, dangerous life at that.' Stereotypes distort reality, setting out templates of persons or associated

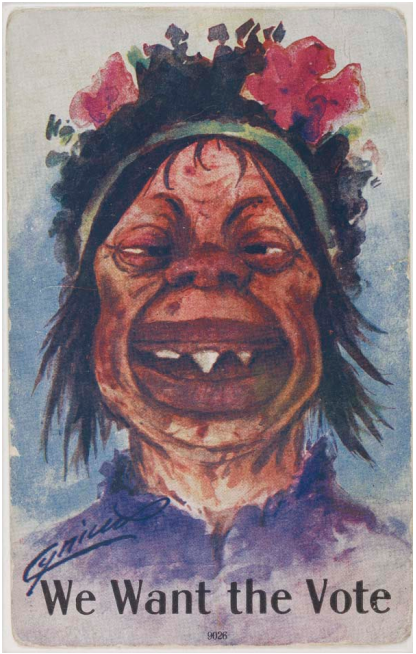


Figure 194. Satirical picture postcard by Cynicus Publishing Company (1909). MoL: 50.82/856.

groups and behaviours. Once mobilised and recreated enough in visual media, these stereotypes become resistant and incredibly difficult to manage or undo as they latch onto the person or group they are disparaging. With this in mind, it would be naive to consider suffrage postcards as static, 'unliving' objects.

Caricature travelled to England from Italy during the seventeenth century via young men returning from their Grand Tours (Taylor 2018, 24). George Townshend (later Marquis Townshend) was one of the first to bring the medium to political commentary from the mid-eighteenth century, followed by James Gillray, Thomas Rowlandson and George Cruikshank. Political cartoons went on to become a regular and established feature within newspapers and periodicals (ibid). The savagery of some suffrage postcards is an inheritance from this history of scathing political caricature. Beyond simply providing social and political commentary, caricatures have long held the ability to influence opinion and shape discussion. For example, the 'cruel satires' of the Georgian period used women's bodies to critique their fashion and consumption habits, and in doing so 'poured out their rage and scorn' (Donald 2002, 7;11). Such caricatures became the vehicle for moral warnings. McNeil (2018, 176) explained, in order to avoid the dress becoming desirable, or the image a figure of idolatry, depictions routinely presented fashionable modes as grotesque monstrosities. This foregrounded the moral consequence and allowed caricaturists to 'exert an authority over their objects' (ibid).

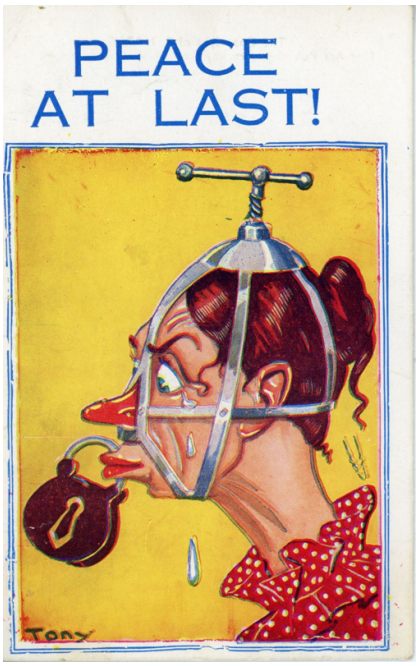
Glasgow Women's Library holds a collection of incredibly cruel, misogynistic postcards that are not all explicitly suffrage related, but were produced during the movement. Many depict women's mouths being closed with various contraptions, or their tongues being cut or nailed down with slogans such as 'Peace At Last' (figures 195 & 196). Berger (1972/1977) and Mulvey (1975) proposed the idea that the default position of images is 'feminine', formulated by the heteronormative male gaze. Images of women have long focused on the ideal desirable female body, built upon normative and authoritative definitions of female aesthetic beauty. In the anti-suffrage imagery of the early twentieth century, the physical feminine ideal still stands, but there is a greater emphasis on female behaviour. Women who did not conform to patriarchal norms were considered taboo, and this transgression led to their tortured and grotesque depictions. By going against the patriarchal status quo, and thus the ideals of womanhood, suffragists were represented as 'other' - sexually ambiguous or masculinised without the usual desirability and sexual objectification apparent in other images of womens bodies. With this in mind, imagery of tortured suffragists (or any woman who speaks out) contributes to their othering, ultimately leading to domination and humiliation. These postcards do not desire anything from the spectator, other than to be looked at and understood. The unruly woman has been mastered, displayed and scrutinised by the male gaze, his sense of control is reasserted in these images.

A postcard illustrated by political cartoonist Arthur Moreland is captioned 'Now Madam, Will you go quietly or shall I have to use force?' (figure 197). The suffragette dominates the image, indicating her presence takes up too much space. Commonly depicted wearing typically masculine attire for the time (figures 198-200), suffragettes' want of enfranchisement was viewed as a desire to take on male identities in every way. In these postcards the suffragettes wear blazers, ties and pork-pie hats. Constantly being portrayed as 'masculine' and 'unwomanly', suffrage campaigners were conscious of their image. As mentioned earlier in this work, they dressed overtly feminine, or in otherwise conventional 'quiet' styles to compliment existing patriarchal ideas, demonstrate worthiness and contradict these representations (Alexiou 2020, 1163). WSPU member Sybil Morrison (1975) expressed this;

> 'It's totally untrue what all of the things the cartoons made us out to be, one of the things we were told, we young people who joined, was that we were not to look like cranks, we were not to dress like men with collars and ties and tweed suits… it's really quite untrue and yet all the cartoons at the time made us look as if we were imitating the male sex.'

The suffragettes were not the first women to be attacked on the basis of gender. In 1819 female reformers ‘were criticised, ridiculed and satirised’ resulting in ‘the fragmentation of the women's identities’ (Kitchener 2022, 77). Viewed as ‘fat and excessive’, they were attacked for their radical and politicised femininity which was similarly equated with masculinity (ibid). With the political sphere dominated by men, the basis of these masculinised representations of suffrage campaigners stems from their attempts to enter this space and become enfranchised on the same terms. These depictions also reveal fears about enfranchised women. Suffragist Dame Margery Corbett-Ashby (1975) described this anxiety; ‘Men had been obsessed with the idea that there would be immediately a woman’s party, anti-man. Not realising that what we were asking, we were asking for the vote because we wanted to be treated as individuals with individual opinions.’







Figures 195-197 from left to right; Picture postcard showing a woman crying as her tongue is nailed to a table by a man with a wooden mallet (c. 1909). GWL-2015-6-4.

Picture postcard of a crying woman wearing a scold's bridle and a padlock through her lips with the same slogan ‘Peace at Last!, Fine Art Publishers (c.1908-1914). GWL-2017-6-1.

'Now Madam, Will you go quietly or shall I have to use force?' The suffragette stands forcefully with her hands on hips while heckling the predominantly male political meeting. Illustrated by Arthur Moreland. One of a series of postcards produced by Faulkner and Company (c.1908-1912). MoL:NN22631.





Figure 198. "The Suffragette Nails her Colours to the Mast" postcard produced by Raphael Tuck and Sons Limited. Like the previous, her attire is typically masculine for the time (c.1908-1914). MoL:50.82/854.

Figure 199. Picture Postcard. Men on public transport hide behind their papers to avoid giving a seat to a women's rights supporter dressed in a masculine style typical of anti-suffrage leaning commercial postcards (1907). Image used with the permission of Dr. Kenneth Florey.



Figure 200. Picture postcard. As well as masculine clothing styles and unattractive appearances, suffragettes were routinely depicted as larger than men and exhibiting stronger physical strength (c.1908-1914). LSE:twl/2004/1011/47.

Cruel depictions of suffragettes extended beyond print media to novelty items. A handbell dated 1909 depicts a suffragette grimacing under a bonnet (figure 201). Other objects mocked campaigners more indirectly, a clock in the shape of a pocket watch dated 1910 has the words ‘Vote for Women’ written backwards around the perimeter (figure 202). In the centre an unhappy man sits with two crying babies on his knee, their mother having left him with childcare duties. It seems the maker's intention was to subvert the phrase and state “Don’t Vote for Women”, or perhaps the backwards text is a reflection of their impression of domestic life being adversely affected by women’s suffrage. The National Museum of History in St. Fagans has two handmade anti-suffrage dolls, like the handbell, and the many commercial postcards, the dolls are frowning and appear old and unattractive. The first holds a Votes for Women flag and has a name tag ‘Miss Flora Copper’, a play on the words *floor a copper*, to attack a policeman (figure 203). The second, more sinister example, was sent anonymously to a woman in West Wales in the early 1900s (figure 204) (National Museum Wales n.d.). It seems an especially hateful depiction, perhaps crafted with malicious intent as its similarities with a voodoo doll would suggest, and further validated by its anonymous delivery.





Figure 201 (left). Satirical suffragette handbell (c. 1909). MoL: 69.55/2.

Figure 202 (right). Satirical novelty clock / paperweight shaped like a pocket watch with ‘Vote for Women’ written backwards around the perimeter of the face and image of a struggling father in the centre. The clock is large and very heavy which suggests it might have been used as a paperweight (1910). GWL-6-2-5.



Figure 203 (left). ‘Miss Flora Copper’ handmade satirical suffragette doll (c. 1908-1914). People’s Collection Wales:13.41.11.

Figure 204 (right). Handmade anti-suffrage doll which was posted through the letterbox of a woman anonymously. The head is made of a ping pong ball, her features and spectacles added with black paint. Her arms have been made from twisted wire and attached to the padded core. She wears a cotton dress and hat with pins stuck in and a Votes for Women banner pinned to the front as if holding it. Three additional steel-headed pins and one larger pin with a silver-coloured head pierce her chest suggesting she may have been used as a voodoo doll (c. 1908-1914). People’s Collection Wales: WA_SC 4.1.

Anti-suffrage leaning commercial postcards were a powerful vehicle for circulating stereotypes and hateful propaganda. One strategy for dealing with these representations was amended replication. Artists working for the cause often produced direct visual responses. Louise Jacobs' design for the Suffrage Atelier is a retort to the image Harold Bird created to announce an anti-suffrage meeting at the Royal Albert Hall organised by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage in February 1912 (figures 205 & 206) (Tickner 1987, 192). The postcard features a goddess-like woman wearing a long flowing dress with flowers in her hair holding a sign which reads 'No Votes Thank You', while in stark contrast a suffragette wielding a hammer and a 'Votes' sign races behind her. Jacobs' pro suffrage design shows a similar 'womanly' woman representing 'The Appeal of Womanhood' but this time her banner outlines the social reforms the suffragettes hoped to achieve if granted suffrage. Behind her stands a chainmaker, a mother, a laundress and a prostitute (MoL:50.82/850). The Suffrage Atelier specialised in hand-made wooden block prints, stencilling and etchings, typically with black ink only, this made their bold designs striking and easily identifiable. Their postcards and posters focused on the core issues for women's suffrage, highlighting sexist exploitation and inequalities such as taxation, sweated labour and the plight of working class women, while other designs directly challenged politicians.





Figure 205 (left). 'The Appeal of Womanhood' anti-suffrage postcard by Harold Bird, National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage (1912). MoL:50.82/851.

Figure 206 (right). Pro-suffrage postcard by Louise Jacobs, Suffrage Atelier (1912). MoL:50.82/850.

Whether presenting suffrage and campaigners from a pro- or anti-suffrage stance, independent postcard publishers brought more attention to the movement. This mass coverage helped influence a moral panic on both sides. The former perceived the threat of women not having the vote, and thus not making the much needed changes to society they felt only women's enfranchisement could achieve. The latter, that of the anti-suffrage side, perceived the negative effects women's influence could have politically, and most notably, the destabilisation of separate spheres, particularly the family home and 'feminine' conventions revolving around motherhood and domesticity. This particular worry led to a range of postcards that focused specifically on this subject.

6.2.3 Domesticity and the Role of Women

Commercial postcards drew from tropes about suffragettes being neglectful wives and mothers. Crying babies (figure 207) and men struggling with domestic duties were commonly depicted, reflecting male fears about the effect enfranchisement could have on homelife. Though rooted in genuine anxieties, these types were typically comical, especially those showing scenes of household disarray with men struggling to manage childcare and basic chores (figures 208 & 209). Others show husbands subjugated by overbearing wives (figures 210 & 211). While typically more comic in tone, this did not lessen their impact as tools which operated for the anti-suffrage side. There are various examples of anti-suffrage-leaning commercial postcards sent as hate mail to individuals and organisations. One example shows a man and woman engaged in a brutal fight amidst a home in disarray (figure 212). Under the sardonic printed text 'Home, sweet Home' the sender has annotated 'Striking example of a suffragettes "home" if they even have any homes.' The card was sent to the headquarters of the WSPU in Lincoln's Inn in 1909. The reverse is addressed to 'Miss Pankhurst and Her Crew', and reads: 'You set of sickening fools - if you have no homes - no husbands - no children - no relations - why don't you drown yourselves out of the way.' This message further demonstrates the pervasive mentality that suffragettes were spinsters who had rejected domesticity and family life (MoL:50.82/859). It also demonstrates that 'trolling', the act of deliberately sending abusive and offensive messages (especially toward women), has occurred for over 100 years (Cambridge English Dictionary n.d).

The WFL attempted to counter these stereotypes with their postcard series 'Suffragettes at Home', showing suffragettes Alison Neilans cleaning an oven, Edith How-Martyn making jam, Mrs Joseph Mcabe bathing a baby and Mrs Snow making pastry, among others (figures 213-216). Anti-suffrage representations built on the long tradition of political caricature, embellishing stereotypes to ridiculous proportions and provoking anxieties about enfranchised women at a time when concerns with femininity and purity were at a height (Tickner 1987, 161). Pro-suffrage imagery such as the WFL 'Suffragettes at Home' series met these representations in similar ways that maintained the sexual status quo. As Tickner (1987, 167) described, 'It is a discourse of opposition, but it is subject to the same historical determinations, and it contests and manipulates the same ingredients, as that to which it opposed. MacLeod (in Alexiou 2020, 1157) first termed this behaviour as 'accommodating protest', whereby women 'both struggle in a conscious and active way against their inequality, yet who also seem to accept, and even support their own subordination.' In order to contain and resolve their stereotypes, the suffragettes met caricature with caricature. Women performed and presented a heightened domesticity and femininity, in order to 'correct' stereotypes based on external ideas and assumptions about their gender.

An alternative, and less acknowledged, view is that while responding to criticism about their domestic abilities, women seized the opportunity to reframe political ideas through their contested identity. Women continued to perform their 'domestic roles' as usual, helping redefine the political landscape and demonstrate what a politically engaged woman might look like. That there is no change from their already established roles as mothers and homemakers only further emphasises that there is a place

for women to retain ‘femininity’ and ‘domesticity’ and yet be politically active. Kitchener (2022, 80) described how the use of ‘domestic language’ and ‘feminine material culture’ by female reformers was not necessarily in the interest of avoiding criticism from the observers who mocked them, but rather as an attempt to ‘construct a radicalism suitable for women’ and ‘connect their gender, families and domesticity to their politics’. In navigating their representations, suffragettes were also redefining the public and home space by diminishing the notion of a separation between the two.





Figure 207 (left). ‘Mummy's a Suffragette’ picture postcard. Correspondence on reverse reads: "Thanks for [poetry received?] & really one can quite understand you being so very decided about such matters, by glancing on this picture of your baby - hard on the other side - [signature illegible, possibly Mary]". Addressed to: Mr. Richard Emondson [?], Post Offices, Thakeham, Pulborough, Sussex. Postmarked Brighton, 6.30pm May 14 1909 (c. 1909). GWL:2010.56.

Figure 208 (right). ‘The Suffragette not [underlined] at home’ picture postcard. Illustration by political cartoonist Arthur Moreland, produced by C.W. Faulkner & Co. A man stays at home with two children. A sign on the wall reads 'WOMENS' SUFFRAGE LIST OF MEETINGS', and a handwritten note on the floor reads 'Dear Ted, afraid shall be late - important committee meeting - Alice'. (c.1908-1914). GWL:2010-63.





Figure 209 (left). “Just By Way of Change” picture postcard. London: Birn Brothers (c. 1909). Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive:081a.

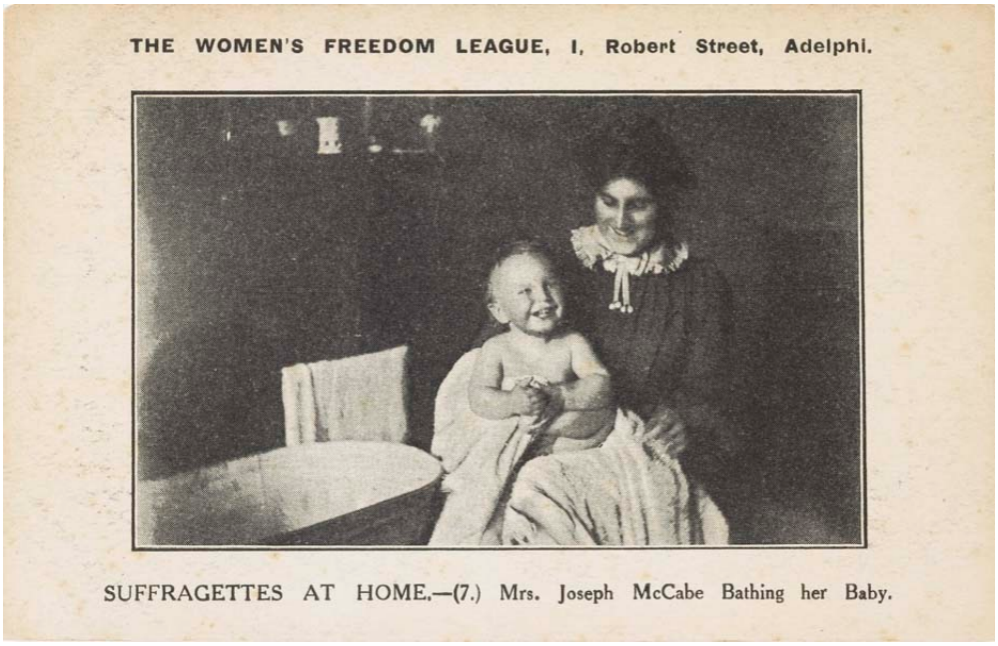
Figure 210 (right). "My wife's joined the Suffrage Movement (I've suffered ever since!)" picture postcard by Bamforth & Co., Holmfirth (1909). GWL:2010-49.





Figure 211 (left). Comic postcards satirising British suffragettes had an international reach and WSPU militancy made headlines around the world. This example was purchased in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and sent to Flora Drummond at the WSPU headquarters. It includes a newspaper clipping from an Argentinian newspaper describing the activities of British suffragettes (1909). MoL:50.82/860.

Figure 212 (above). Picture postcard produced by Davidson Brothers. This example was annotated with an anti-suffrage message and sent to the WSPU Headquarters as hate mail (1909). MoL:50.82/859.









Figures 213 - 216. ‘Suffragettes At Home’ series of photographic postcards showing suffragettes engaged in domestic duties. Produced by the WFL (1910). MoL:NN22419 / NN22429 / 50.82/880c / 50.82/889.

Perhaps where pro-suffrage imagery succeeded most was in legitimising new definitions of womanhood, ‘the working woman’, ‘the militant woman’ or ‘the modern woman’ for example (Tickner, 1987). Or where representation was cast aside in favour of a focus on the core issues that made the vote in women’s hands so necessary. The ‘working woman’ (demonstrated in the WSPU’s workplace photographic postcards) was a pro-suffrage propaganda trope that depicted women doctors, nurses, factory workers, magistrates and mothers to evidence women’s ‘worthiness’ of the vote by way of contributions to society (figure 217). This tactic was often extended to include depictions of men deemed to be the *unworthy* enfranchised, as demonstrated in an example which illustrates 'What a woman may be, and yet not have the vote. What a man may have been, & yet not lose the vote’ - a convict, or lunatic, for example (figure 218).

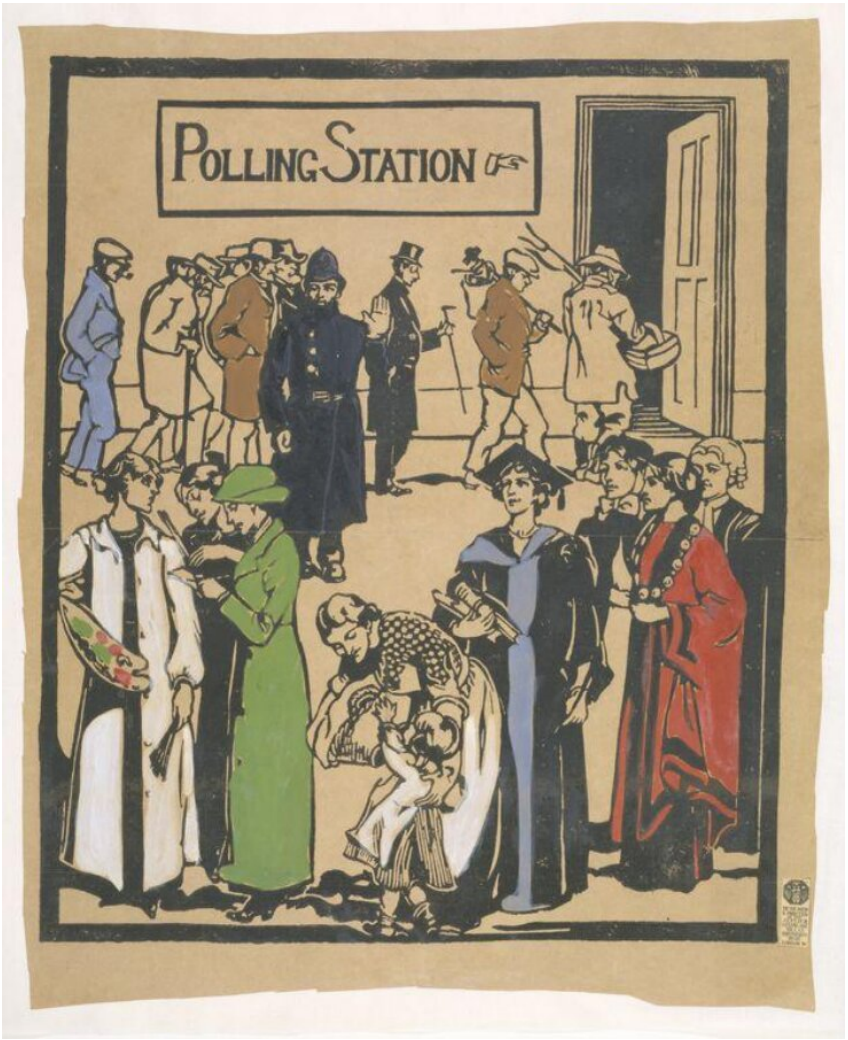


Figure 217. ‘Polling Station’ wood-cut poster by the Suffrage Atelier (1909). V&A:E.644-1972.



Figure 218. Pro-suffrage poster, 'What a woman may be, and yet not have the vote. What a man may have been, & yet not lose the vote' designed and published by the Suffrage Atelier (c.1912). MoL:50.82/1070.

6.2.4 Allegory, Walter Crane and Political Cartoons

Women's representation in postcards and other printed ephemera extended beyond professional roles and domestic duties to the allegorical. A Women Writers' Suffrage League postcard shows a woman on her knees before the female personification of 'Justice' being pulled away by 'prejudice' (figure 219). In another example among many, the Brighton and Hove Women's Franchise Society produced a poster depicting a cloaked figure standing beside a woman holding the sign 'Justice Demands the Vote' (figure 220). The suffragists were not the first to use allegorical imagery in their propaganda, this style was popular within earlier socialism and the Labour Movement (figure 221). In 1896, influential English illustrator Walter Crane created the book *Cartoons for the Cause: Designs and Verses for the Socialist and Labour Movement, 1886-1896.* He also illustrated for socialist periodicals; Clarion, Commonwealth, Justice and Labour Leader. Crane's work left a lasting impression on political cartooning, and had a huge impact on the women's suffrage campaign. The influence of his style is particularly apparent within the cover illustrations of suffrage newspapers, particularly *The Suffragette,* which reproduced pro-suffrage imagery from *Punch* magazine - often Crane style allegories (figures 222-227). *Punch* printed at least 168 different suffrage related cartoons (Punch, n.d). A study by Birch (2014, para. 3) found that while the overall tone was 'more often mocking than supportive', the depictions tended to 'occupy a middle ground' with 'few openly misogynistic or hostile representations' and some that clearly expressed support.





Figure 219 (left). Women Writers Suffrage League postcard. Illustration by William Henry Margetson (1909). LSE.

Figure 220 (right). 'Justice Demands the Vote' poster, produced by Brighton and Hove Women's Franchise Society and distributed through the NUWSS. The scales are tipped to indicate the gender imbalance, the Houses of Parliament are visible in the background to symbolise the vote, and a rope blocks the path forward. Below, a middle-class woman accompanies a poor woman carrying her child. Women from different class backgrounds campaigned together and middle-class women often advocated for the working classes, this is likely indicated by their representation here (1908). Harvard University, Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.



Figure 221 (above). Walter Crane's logo for the Socialist League (c.1885). The angel of Justice is flanked by two workers, oak leaves representing strength, and the League's motto: Agitate, Educate, Organise. Crane was actively involved in the new Arts and Crafts movement. He took inspiration from artist Edward Burne-Jones and medieval and classical art, as well as the work of William Morris who was active in the socialist movement at the same time (Cheltenham Museum n.d). Wikimedia Commons.

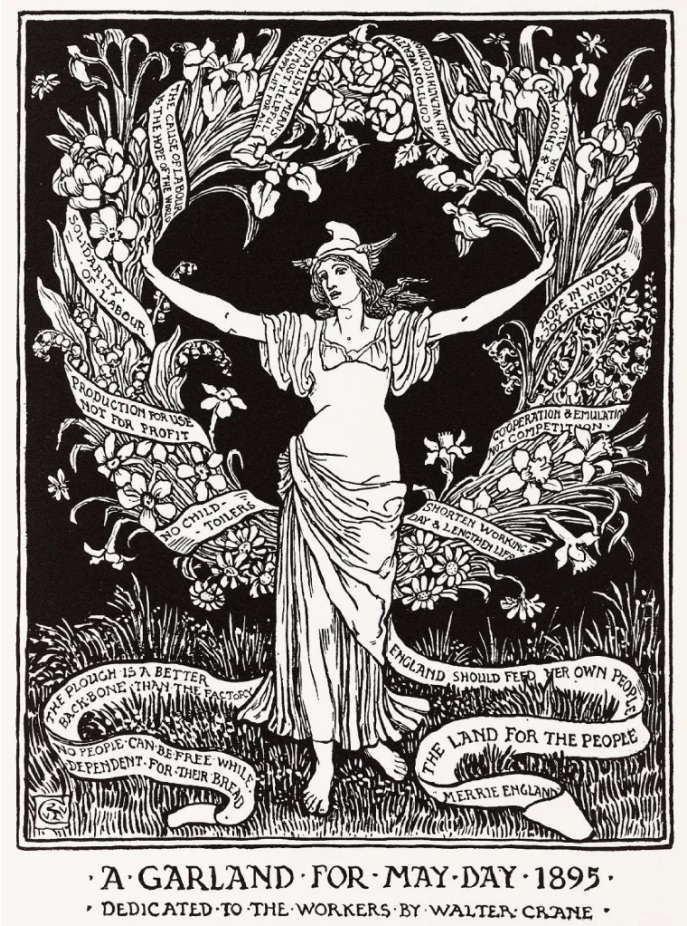


Figure 222. 'A Garland for May Day', Walter Crane (1895). Crane argued that the industrial revolution had 'enslaved humanity… and become an engine for the production of profits, an express train in the race for wealth…' To Crane, May Day represented a union between workers and nature. This is expressed through his illustration which featured on a front page of *The Clarion* (Hirsch 2022). Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 223. 'Socialism, Liberalism and Toryism' illustration by Walter Crane from *Cartoons for the Cause* (1886-1896) which was given as a souvenir at the International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress (c.1896). Alamy.

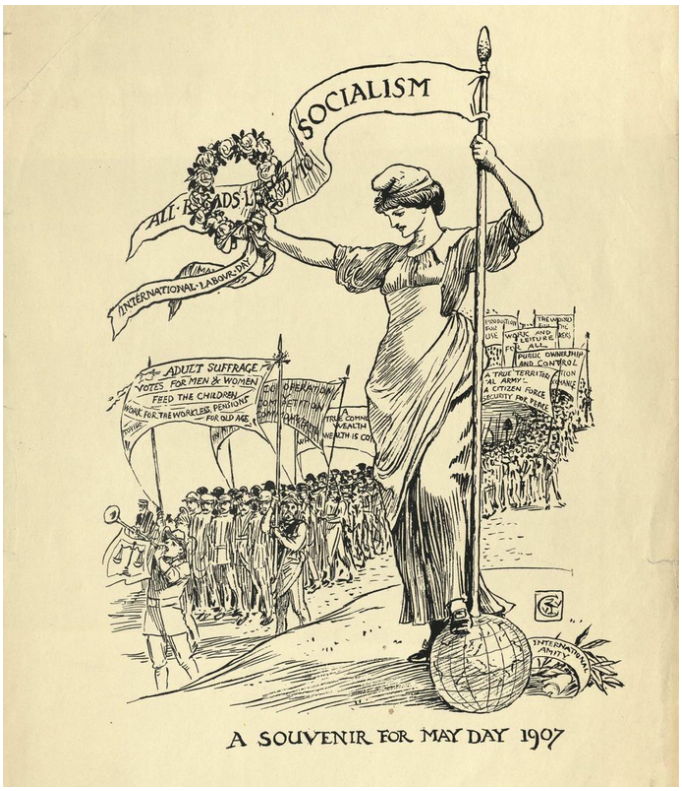


Figure 224. Walter Crane, ‘A Souvenir for May Day 1907’ (1907).

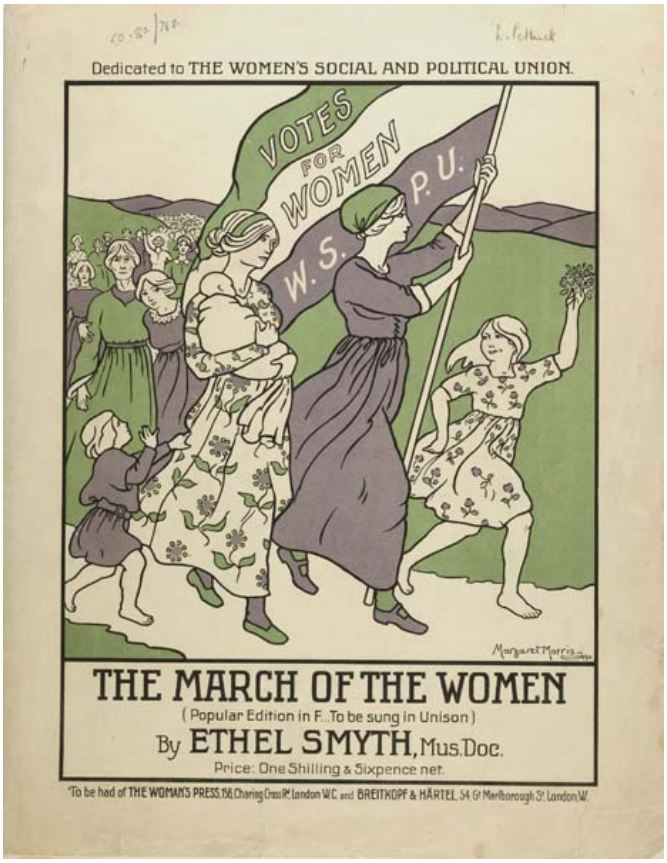


Figure 225. Music score and words for 'The March of the Women' (1911). Composed by Ethel Smyth with words by Cicely Hamilton. The printed cover illustration is by Margaret Morris, and is similar in theme and composition to Crane’s ‘A Souvenir for May Day 1907’. MoL:50.82/768a.



Figure 226. Cover illustration of *The Suffragette* (25 April, 1913). This example takes inspiration from Delacroix's Liberty Leading the People (1830). It is also one of a great many images made for the suffrage movement that were heavily influenced by Walter Crane's work. LSE.



Figure 227. '*The Majesty of the Law'.* A female allegory of Justice holds a Votes For Women banner and hunger strike sword. This illustration by Bernard Partridge was first published in *Punch* magazine, and was then reproduced with permission on the cover of *The Suffragette* (March 14, 1913). As with other illustrators of the time, Partridges' political cartooning had many similarities to Walter Crane's earlier work. National Archives:ASSI 52/212.

Artists built from the visual language and artistic style Crane provided, and reinvested it with new meaning for the suffrage movement. Justice and other allegories were no longer just female representations, but believing their enfranchisement would address a myriad of social issues, and believing it a fundamental moral issue, women were consciously depicting themselves. As they saw it, suffragettes/suffragists and all they stood for were women's, and Britain's, best chance for Justice, Hope and Freedom.

Lady Britannia was another representation commonly used. A comic design by the Suffrage Atelier depicts her in a Roman helmet with Union Jack emblazoned skirt (figure 228). Britannia's depiction circulates on coins as a symbol of British power, and her representation has long been used as a political tool. Britannia was not only a woman but a goddess embodying Great Britain. The choice to align the women's suffrage cause with Britannia was a clever tactic, having been depicted on coins, in paintings, statues and monuments, she was an immediately identifiable symbol, and one whose meanings were fairly set and obvious enough to be clear in quick comic-form illustrations. Rather than a shield or trident, here she holds a small handbag, bridging the gap between the allegorical and real life woman. The design is one of several by the Suffrage Atelier satirising the Anti-Suffrage Society and its acronym through representations of an 'ASS.' The depiction of 'Britannia Unsexed' mocks anti-suffrage stereotypes, while presenting the idea that anti-suffragists are unpatriotic to their country by depicting its primary image as hysterical, thus diminishing her power.



Figure 228. 'The Anti-Suffrage Society as Portrait- Painter' pro-suffrage picture postcard by the Suffrage Atelier (c. 1909-1914). MoL:50.82/789.

As well as artistic styles and allegorical figures, suffrage postcards and other printed ephemera drew from the long tradition of political cartoons. For as many glorious female personifications of Lady Britannia, there were the bumbling, overburdened images of John Bull, the male personification of England who first appeared within a series of pamphlets published in 1712 (Taylor 1992, 100). Britannia was typically used to symbolise the nation as a whole, and associated ideas such as patriotism, strength and independence. Bull, on the other hand, was more of a national character, one typically used by cartoonists and propagandists as a metaphor for expressing public thoughts on economic issues and the strengths and weaknesses of the British political system. Unlike Britannia, Bull also depicted class positions, typically 'the well-fed squire', and over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth century he became firmly attached to arguments surrounding the interconnected issues of consumption, taxation and representation (ibid, 104-106).

Depictions of John Bull did not change drastically over time, and suffrage imagery manipulated similar format and style as earlier political cartoons. Cruikshank's 1813 etching shows Bull being attacked by tiny figures representing England's engagements overseas (figure 229). Keppler's 1897 cartoon shows Bull 'not so happy as he might be' confronted by a swarm of mosquitoes representing foreign governments (figure 230). Both images show Bull struggling to manage and defend himself from an onslaught of anthropomorphised political issues. Suffragette artist Joan Harvey Drew's 1907 poster 'won't you let me help you John?' uses this same format (figure 231). Bull is surrounded by speakers blaring issues from 'infant death rate' to 'peace proposals' and 'factory legislation'. A key difference here is that there is a way out for Bull if he will take it. A suffragist, extends a hand and offers to help, in pink with frills and flowers in her bonnet she dispels anti-suffrage stereotypes. The words 'woman's suffrage' brand her, to make clear to the viewer what she represents. Another poster illustration by Drew again echoes the same format (figure 232). In this image John Bull is overwhelmed by government responsibilities represented as children and a bubbling 'free trade' pot. An exasperated John Bull asks "why won't they let the women help?". One perceived benefit of increasing women's political involvement was that the government could offload the burden of 'caring issues' such as health, social care and education. Both posters highlight Poor Law Reform, where women already held positions in Poor Law committees. In both images women's suffrage is the potential saviour. If John Bull is a representation of Britain then women's suffrage is the only hope for saving the country.



Figure 229. Coloured etching by George Cruikshank. John Bull is harassed by small figures representing Ireland, France, Sweden, West Indies, East Indies, and the USA (1813). Wellcome Collection:38411i.



Figure 230 (above). Cover illustration of *Puck* magazine (5th October, 1897) by Joseph Keppler. John Bull is swarmed by mosquitos representing Afridis, Transvaal Republic, Grecian Question, Russia, France, Sudan Troubles and Germany. Library of Congress:2012647619.



Figure 231 (left). 'Won't you let me help you John?' (1907) poster by Joan Harvey Drew. Drew was a London born suffragette and artist. She studied at Westminster School of Art and also worked as an embroiderer (Artist Biographies n.d.). Alamy.



Figure 232. “Why won’t they let the women help?” poster by Joan Harvey Drew, produced by the Artists Suffrage League (c. 1910). PHM:NMLH.1993.807.1.

These images were effective not only because they highlighted women as the saviour of John Bull, and thus the beacon of hope for Britain’s social issues, but they used Bull’s gender as a man. Where Lady Britannia was an ideal feminist figure, Bull could represent man’s greed, selfishness, and refusal to listen or move forward with the times. This is most apparent in suffrage propaganda that references ‘Jane Bull or Mrs Bull’ (figures 233-236). Another illustration by Drew, printed as a postcard by the ASL, shows Bull having accepted the women’s cause (figure 237). He addresses representatives of *The Times* and *The Spectator* newspapers (both known to take the anti- stance on women’s suffrage) as being ‘a little behind the times’ (ESP 2019). These examples exist among numerous depictions of Bull within suffrage propaganda, each were used to test existing ideas and reimagine others. Mitchell’s (2005, 105) discussion of the value of images is relevant here,

> ’For better and for worse, human beings establish their collective, historical identity by creating around them a second nature composed of images which do not merely reflect the values consciously intended by their makers, but radiate new values formed in the collective, political unconscious of their beholders’.

John Bull is a good example of this ‘second nature’ which suffrage artists were able to draw from and build upon because he is a caricature whose meanings are fairly apparent, and relies on the viewer's existing knowledge to interpret meaning from. These meanings ultimately differ depending on the political biases of the beholder, though both his embodiment of Britain and his gender as a man were those most prominently used to construct an argument around. As is clear in these examples, artists designing for the movement made use of pre-existing ingredients in terms of the format and style of earlier political cartoons. They also used established themes, tropes and icons such as John Bull and applied them to suffrage arguments. The aim of Drew’s work, and that of others, was to influence or to

reaffirm these innate biases and ideas in the viewer. As ‘active agents’ suffrage materials took on this task, while contributing to, and further shaping the existing ideas and background they built upon.

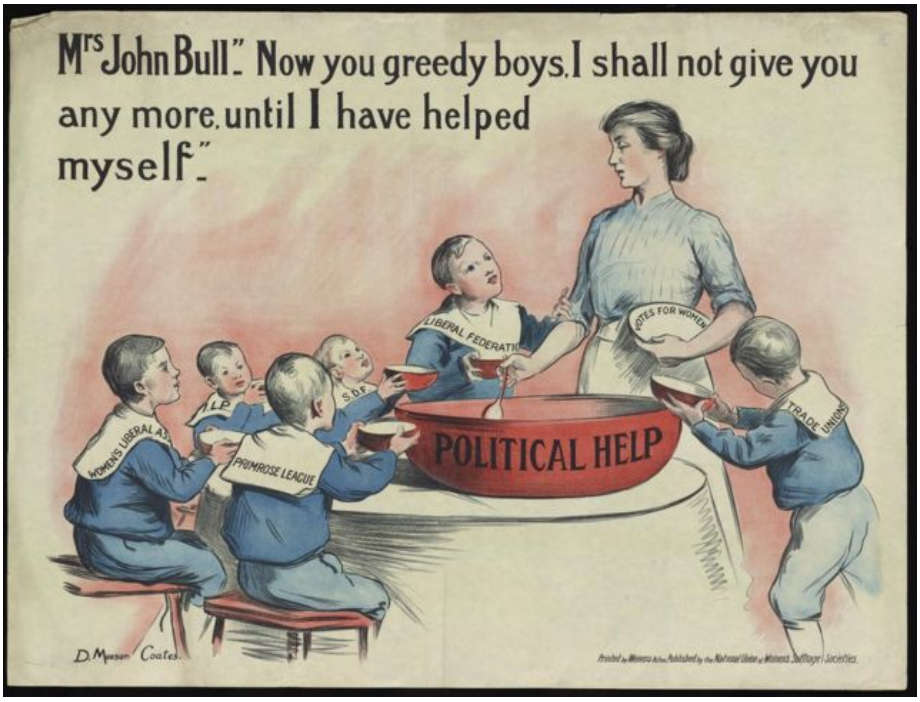


Figure 233. Mrs Bull reprimands the sons of John Bull (representative of political organisations) for their greed in taking her help without allowing any for her own cause. This pro-suffrage poster by Dora Meeson Coates (c 1870-1955) won a competition organised by the NUWSS and the Artists’ Suffrage League. It was then produced and distributed by both organisations (1907). Cambridge University Library.



Figure 234 (left). Pro-suffrage propaganda poster. Produced by the Suffrage Atelier. John Bull refuses to share his umbrella believing it protects his wife and daughter, This refers to the argument that men were able to sufficiently represent the interests of women by their own votes (1912). MoL.

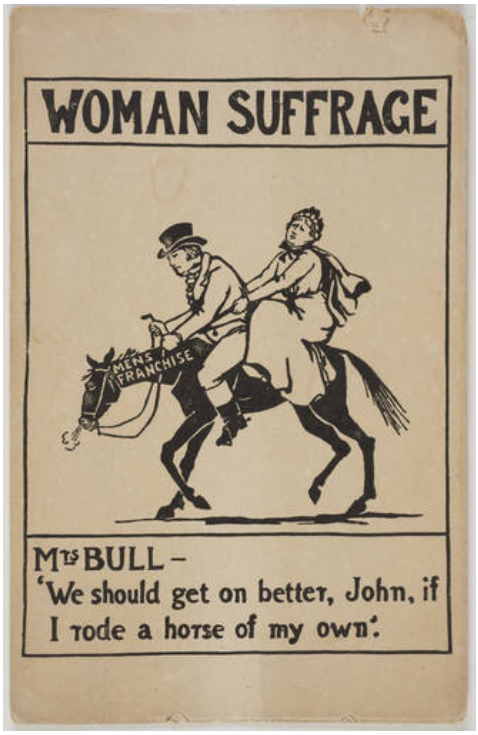




Figure 235 (left). Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard produced by the Suffrage Atelier. John Bull and his wife ride a tired and struggling 'Male Franchise' horse, in reference to the same argument that male franchise cannot carry both men and women (c. 1909-1914). MoL:50.82/793.

Figure 236 (right). Pro-suffrage poster by the Suffrage Atelier depicting John and Mrs Bull at 'Franchise Villa' (c. 1909-1912). MoL:50.82/1052.



Figure 237. Pro-suffrage postcard produced by the Artists' Suffrage League (c. 1908-1918). LSE:TWL.2000.59.

6.2.5 Suffragism as Visual Currency

So far this chapter has considered how the movement tackled issues of representation from the anti-suffrage and commercial sides, how they built upon existing visual history and past political propaganda to get their message across, and the ways organisations used printed ephemera to communicate ideas through mediums such as leaflets and postcards. Perhaps the most underestimated area of suffrage print media are the images which are harder to pin down, those that allude to the movement but neither clearly present an argument for or against. Typically commercial publishers picked up on one aspect; stereotypes about suffragettes, or men and women more broadly, as discussed. But what was the function of the 'excess' suffrage material? There is a wealth of independent suffrage postcards that perpetuated suffrage ideas and imagery as *visual currency* - an exploitation of a popular talking point used to catch public attention and drive sales. Picture postcards of animals or children with suffrage slogans are a good example of this, some seem to play up to one side more than the other in a satirical manner, but ultimately they do not explicitly *say* anything about the movement. The same could be said about many printed cartoons on the subject. From the commercial independent publishers standpoint, suffrage was highly marketable and drew a lot of interest, they simply fed off the popularity of the movement in order to sell merchandise. But beyond the maker's intentions, it is important to consider how these materials functioned as active components.

Cats feature heavily in these types of postcards, their association with suffrage is often assumed to be due to the 1913 Temporary Discharge For Ill Health Act or 'Cat & Mouse Act' (figure 238). The cat refers to the merciless government, or policeman, who hunted and toyed with its prey (in this case the suffragette mouse on temporary release from jail). Though this doesn't explain the persistence of cats in popular imagery, especially when most depictions do not stick to the suffragette as mouse and the policeman as cat, and many images of 'suffrage cats' actually predate the Act. A postcard produced in 1910 shows two cats, one stares into the distance while the second looks at the viewer with the words 'We don't care if we never have a vote' (figure 239). The artwork is charming and comical, it could be interpreted as nothing more than a joke about the ease of life of cats, or perhaps the comparison is intended to highlight the absurdity of women's potential enfranchisement by likening it to 'cat franchise'. Parallels between suffragettes and cats also extended beyond print media to a variety of figurines (figure 240). Many postcards show cats dressed as suffragettes, Photochrom Co. published a postcard with a cat wearing a hat and 'Votes For Women' sign (figure 241). Another shows a fluffy white cat in a flamboyant middle class hat and shawl in the WSPU colours fastened with a pin, one paw resting on a paper which states 'We Demand the Vote' (figure 242). Some of these commercial postcards leaned more toward anti-suffrage with snarling depictions (figure 243), while others showed suffragettes as confident and intending to win (figure 244).

Crawford (2001, 564) refers to these as the 'anthropomorphic subsection in the range of comic cards', and Florey (2013, 144-145) describes them as the 'gentler' postcards. Very little has been said about these designs, perhaps because of the somewhat ambiguous or irrelevant nature of them - without the bold statements and imagery of other propaganda materials they don't provoke the same analysis. Artist Louis Wain was hugely popular during the time these postcards were produced. His work focused on cats, which were typically large-eyed and anthropomorphised, often wearing clothes or engaging in human tasks. Many suffrage postcards seem to take inspiration from his work, particularly those with cats walking upright or with the same large-eyed expressions (figures 245-247). There is however, another self-evident connection between images of cats and women's suffrage, as there has long been gendered associations between women and cats. Connections between women and cats date back to Ancient Egypt and the Middle-Ages, while the 'crazy cat lady' trope stems from ideas about femininity and witchcraft (Arnold-Scerbo 2017). Cats are also traditionally referred to in the feminine pronoun, while dogs are the masculine. Though cats were much more common in suffrage

imagery, a postcard produced around 1911 shows a bulldog set against the Union Jack, in glasses with a pipe dangling from one side of its mouth (figure 248). The symbol of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League is marked to the left of the dog. The contrast between these images is that of the narratives around men and women. The dog appears more serious and commanding by comparison to the cats which are usually whining, or are silly, cute or frivolous. The statement is supposed to provoke humour in the dog postcard, whereas the dressed up cats themselves are often the butt of the joke. With the understanding that the cat most often represents the suffragette in these materials, one can further consider how ideas about cats might have responded to and further perpetuated ideas about women and the vote. In 1881, Biologist St. George Jackson Mivart (in Arnold-Scerbo 2017) theorised: ‘The cat also is favoured by that half of the human race which is the more concerned with domestic cares; for it is a home-loving animal and one exceptionally clean and orderly in its habits, and thus naturally commends itself to the good will of the thrifty housewife.’ In this sense, the use of the cat as suffragette within Victorian and Edwardian society could be viewed as adding to stereotypes about women and domesticity, or indeed building off of those ideas in a way which perpetuates narratives about women as being tied to the home sphere, as house cats are, thus inhibiting social or political change.

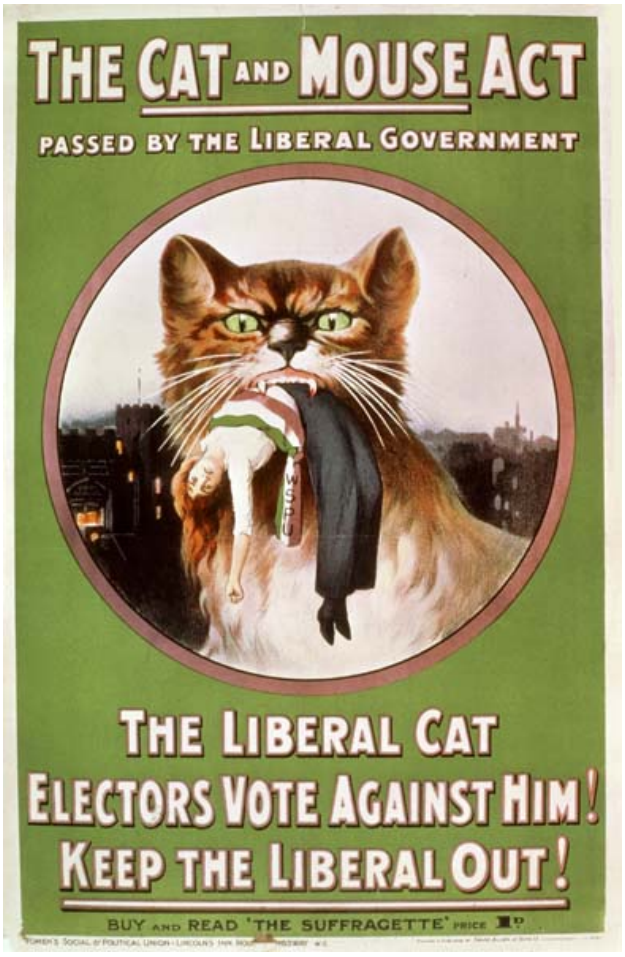


Figure 238. Pro-suffrage poster produced by the WSPU in reference to the Prisoners Temporary Discharge (for Ill Health) Act, also referred to as the 'The Cat and Mouse Act' (May 1914). MoL:50.82/1113a.



Figure 239. Picture postcard produced in London by Bim Brothers, two cats claim ‘We don’t care if we never have a vote.’ (1910). Palczewski Suffrage Postcard Archive.



Figure 240. Though sold on an American auction website, most if not all of these suffrage figures were likely made in Britain. From left to right: Ceramic black Cat figure with the words ‘I Want My Vote’, a cylindrical opening at the back suggests it was possibly for use as a small vase or container (c. 1908-1914).

Slender black cat bisque figure with one eye shut as if winking and the words ‘We’ve Won’ on the chest. Made to celebrate women’s enfranchisement (c. 1918 or more likely 1928).

Satirical large dog figure with hammer and ‘Votes For Women’ purse. The price of all of these figures range from around £1,000 to £1,250, though the dog is marked as a very rare example which has sold for over £3,150 (c. 1908-1914).

‘Votes for Women’ small cat vases in blue and grey (c. 1910). Like the first example, the cat appears to be mewing or screeching for the vote, trivialising women as silly or annoying cats. Various example of this cat figure are still in existence suggesting many were made at the time. National Museums Liverpool also has an example of the same figure in brown.

© Antique Associates at West Townsend.





Figure 241 (left). Photographic postcard produced by Photochrom Co. showing a cat wearing a hat and ‘Votes For Women’ sign (1908). Mary Evans Picture Library.

Figure 242 (right). ‘An Advokate for Women's Rights', postcard produced by A. and G. Taylor which satirises the Votes For Women campaign (c. 1909). MoL:50.82/1706.





Figure 243 (left). Picture postcard showing a suffragette represented as a snarling cat saying 'I want my Vote'. Its expression is contrasted with its small size and fluffy coat, suggesting it is vicious but incapable of doing much harm. This example was sent to Christabel Pankhurst on October 15th 1908, (1908). MoL:50.82/858.

Figure 244 (right). Unlike the previous example which trivialises women, this picture postcard (c. 1908) shows the suffragette as a feisty and self-assured cat who takes no notice of the police sign which bans political or other meetings and asserts ‘THE VOTE, I WILL HAVE IT!’. This anthropomorphic cat walking upright is similar in style to that of artist Louis Wain. Mary Evans Picture Library.



Figure 245. Picture postcard. This *Kitten's Christmas Party* illustration by Louis Wain was first published in the *Illustrated London News* (1886). MFABoston:2014.3308.



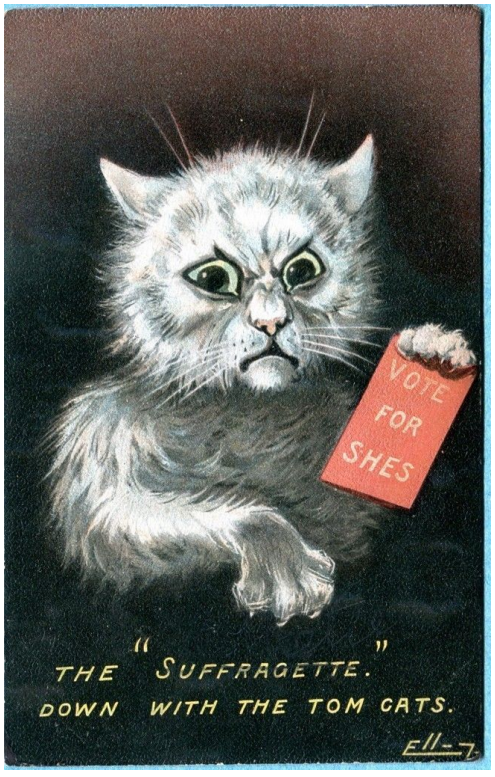


Figure 246 (left). Chinchilla Persian by Louis Wain (1905). National Archives:COPY 1/229A (187).

Figure 247 (right). Picture postcard produced by Regal Art Publishing (1907) satirising the Suffragette campaign. An angry cat holds a sign 'Vote for Shes', with the caption 'The Suffragette Down with the Tom Cats'. The large expressive eyes of the cat are similar to the work of Louis Wain. MoL:78.6/2.



Figure 248. Commercial/ anti-suffrage postcard of a bulldog with caption 'Who Said Votes for Women!!!' and anti-suffrage symbol to the left of the dog (c. 1908), Johns Hopkins University.

Rather than eschewing this comparison, suffrage campaigners made efforts toward reclaiming the cat for themselves and emphasised this connection in their own materials. The International Suffrage Shop sold lucky black cat postcards captioned 'Your Luck's In, Where's That Vote You Promised Me? (figure 249). American suffragists Alice Snitzer Burke and Nell Richardson went further; sponsored by the National American Woman Suffrage Association they embarked on a ten thousand mile road trip from New York with stops in various states all accompanied by their 'mascot' Saxon the black cat (figure 250).

As well as cats, photographic and illustrative images of babies and children were popular among postcard publishers and were used humorously. The 'Woman Suffrage Series' depicts studio portraits of a young girl. Two in the series show her with a copy of the notoriously anti-suffrage newspaper, *The Daily Mail*, with the captions 'Fellow Women Our Day Dawn's At Last' and 'What! You Think A Man Could Do It As Well' (figures 251 & 252). The images of the little girl could be captioned with an endless variety of statements, outside of women's suffrage, to the same comedic effect. The postcards, as with present day memes, are adaptable, able to capture the tone and expression of a casual remark made in conversation. It is impossible to ascertain the full role of these types of postcards within the movement, though the most significant part they likely played - and the same can be said for many suffrage postcard designs - is in their intended nature: to be a novel image transferred between people which quickly communicates an idea. This is what makes them so adept at reflecting the culture of the time they were made. Postcards which feature cats and babies may seem trivial compared with the many produced by the various suffrage organisations or artist groups that highlighted important issues. They are certainly not as provocative and inflammatory as the many explicitly misogynistic postcards. Instead, they are simply a passing comment on the movement, made more to make sales than to make a point, but in doing so they became part of the wider mass of suffrage print materials, adding to the saturation of Edwardian society with suffrage and keeping it in the public eye. Irrespective of the intentions behind their creation, by feeding from the movement, they contributed to it. They played a role as visual currency to be purchased and kept or sent on, again, akin to the digital movement of memes in contemporary society if we consider it this way. These postcards can be acknowledged today as cultural indicators, distilling a brief historical moment of thought or levity on a highly controversial topical issue.

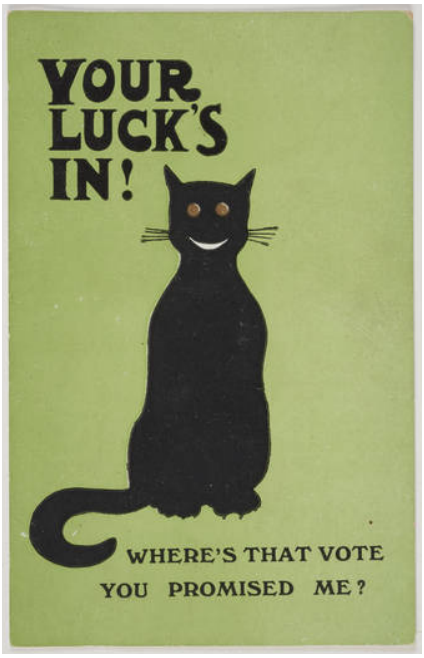




Figure 249 (left). Pro-suffrage 'lucky' black cat postcard. Published by E Mack for the International Suffrage Shop, 31 Bedford Street. The green background, white mouth and gold eyes of the cat might indicate that the card meant to represent the colours of the Women's Freedom League (c. 1910-1911). MoL:50.82/1697.

Figure 250 (right). Suffragists Alice Burke and Nell Richardson pose with Saxon the cat. Their road trip began on the 6th of April, 1916 and was completed 30th September, 1916. The women stopped at New Orleans, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit, and many other small towns along the way. Their accomplishment was especially great considering few women drove cars at this point in time (O'Gan, 2014). *The Sunday Oregonian* (July 9, 1916).





Figures 251 & 252. Postcards from the 'Woman Suffrage Series' (also known as the 'Dainty Series') produced in 1907 in Scarborough by E.T.W Dennis & Sons (c. 1907). GWL:2010-51 / GWL:2010-45.

6.3 Other Printed Ephemera

Beyond leaflets, posters and an immense variety of postcards, several other types of printed ephemera operated within the British women's suffrage movement. Organisations produced greetings cards, calendars and illustrated booklets (figures 253-256). The WSPU had an entire stall devoted to Christmas cards and calendars 'all specially designed' in the colours at their 1911 Christmas Fair (VFW 1911b, 820). These materials were sold to raise funds for the cause and had the added benefit of being displayable in the home - further inserting women's politics within the so-called domestic sphere. Table napkins/programmes were another type of purchasable print material released ahead of large events. Prior to an occasion, they raised awareness of the date and place, much like a leaflet would, though as a decorative and novel object they simultaneously functioned as collectable souvenirs to commemorate the day thereafter. Souvenir table napkins became popular in Britain after 1887 when John Dickinson Ltd began importing them from Japan, already printed with a floral border, and then overprinting the centre space for the British market (Smith 2017, para. 10). Early examples sold by street vendors announced and commemorated King Edward VII's coronation or visits by royals (figures 257 & 258). Use of these same materials for women's suffrage demonstrates the spectacular impact campaign events had, while the commemorative napkins further charged these occasions with the same stately, ceremonial importance previously afforded to royal occasions (figures 259-261).





Figure 253 (left). Christmas card produced by the WSPU optimistically anticipating women's enfranchisement in 1910 with the upcoming Conciliation Bill. The card depicts a young drummer girl from the organisation's junior band (1909). MoL:50.82/862.

Figure 254 (right). Christmas card designed by Hilda Dallas for the WSPU showing Santa Claus bringing 'Votes for Women' in the purple, white and green (1911). MoL:50.82/853.



Figure 255. Fold-up WSPU cardboard calendar (1913). Used with permission of Dr. Kenneth Florey.



Figure 256. 'Anti-Suffrage Alphabet' illustrated and hand-printed booklet by artist (and one of the founding members of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage) Laurence Housman, and edited by Leonora Tyson, organiser of Lambeth/Southwark WSPU. The book also includes illustrations by female artists Alice B. Woodward, Pamela C. Smith and Ada P. Ridley among others. It gives commentary on the unfairness of women's disenfranchised position and mocks anti-suffragists. It was made to specifically target the Christmas market as gifts for suffrage supporters to raise funds for the cause. It was advertised in *Votes for Women* for 10s 6d (1911). MoL:50.82/1591.



Figure 257. Paper napkin printed as an official programme and souvenir of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra's visit to the City and South London (October 25th, 1902). V&A:E.462-1980.



Figure 258. Souvenir paper napkin commemorating the state opening of Parliament, (1906). The napkin is printed with vignette portraits of the King and Queen, a programme of the processional route and timetable of events. As these napkins were cheaply produced and over-printed, with the decorative borders printed in Japan and the centre printed in London, the centre print was often wonky or overlapped with the border. London printers Burgess became one of the leading printers of these napkins which were sold by vendors on the streets for a penny (1d). Many napkins were collected, framed and used as decoration in working-class people's homes. MoL:31.132/40.



Figure 259. Souvenir paper napkin commemorating the Votes for Women Great Procession from the Embankment to Albert Hall, (18 June 1910). The napkin includes the WSPU leaders who organised the event. MoL:Z6233.



Figure 260. Souvenir paper napkin with programme of the Votes for Women demonstration held at Hyde Park on Mrs Pankhurst's birthday, (14 July 1912). The napkin lists the speakers, and like the previous example, it includes portraits of the WSPU leaders. The floral border is in the organisation's colours. MoL:63.104/40.



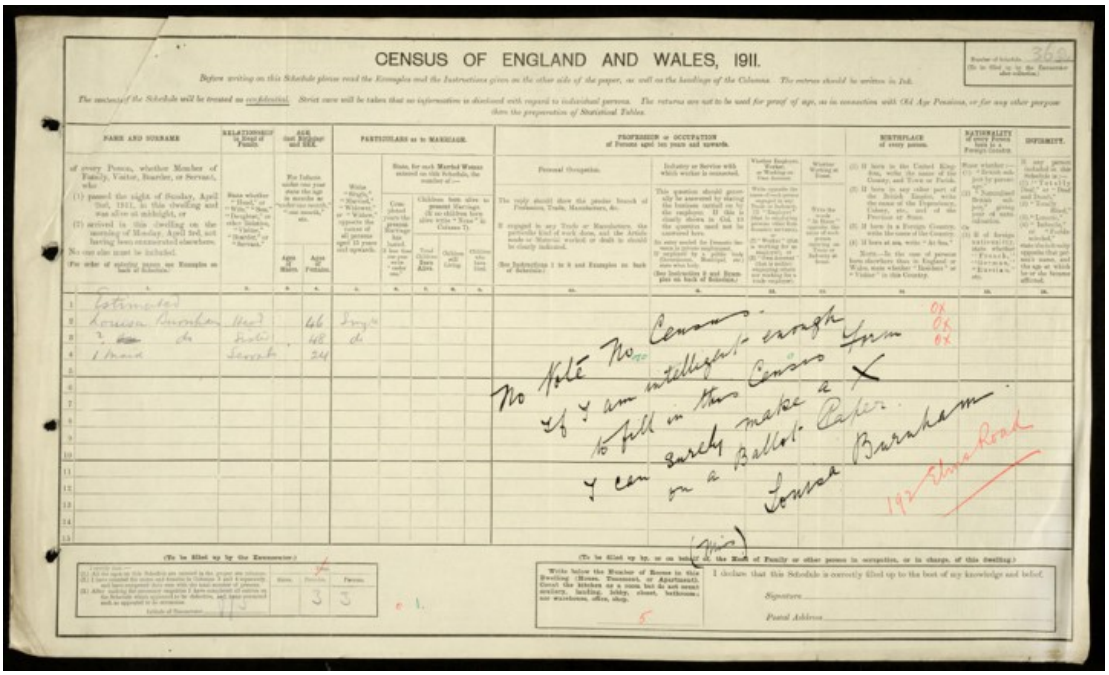
Figure 261. Souvenir paper napkin commemorating the NUWSS' Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage which included a demonstration in Hyde Park and a service at St Paul's Cathedral, London (26th and 27th July 1913). The napkin shows a programme of both days and includes which platforms speakers appear at and a list of assembly points. The printed information appears to have been taken from a newspaper printed shortly before the event. The decorative floral border is in the organisation's red and green colours. MoL: 63.104/52.

6.4 Census Resistance

This chapter has demonstrated how print materials acted to communicate ideas, represent suffragettes and obtain funds for the cause - some having operated in all of these ways. A final role of printed ephemera worthy of attention here, is its ability to defy, or become defiant. The defiance of these materials is inherent through their role in communicating propaganda messages, advertising activities and instructing behaviour, but they also played a role in direct action. Like a calling-card left at the scene of a crime, suffragettes would often leave printed propaganda at a window breaking or arson attack to identify the motives behind the actions. In 1913 a large quantity of suffrage literature was left behind at Horsforth Golf Club, Leeds after a fire had been deliberately started and the green damaged (Cohen 1913-1969). Printed materials were also sometimes thrown around in meetings to cause disruption.

Though not directly relevant to this work on material culture, public speaking and pavement chalking were other methods campaigners used to communicate their message defiantly in government managed spaces. Like pavement chalking which impacted a public space, the census boycott further demonstrated suffrage campaigners' use of state-made materials to deliver their message, defy authorities and cause disruption. This action can be considered particularly defiant because it directly attacked the government via their own printed materials.

The plan to disrupt the April 1911 census was formed by members of the WFL as a way of 'passive resistance' and non-violent action. It was also a direct appeal to the government who deemed women citizens for taxation purposes, but not when it came to the vote. The census was an ideal opportunity to speak out against the government, as Liddington and Crawford (2011) describe, 'We see in spring 1911 the two spheres of the traditional model used to depict Victorian society – the public, characterized by masculinity and politics, and the private, by the female and the home – in dramatic conflict.' Those joining in on the boycott withheld information about themselves and their households, thus spoiling the count and rendering the results ineffective and unreliable. Women went to various lengths to avoid being counted, the most famous being Emily Wilding Davison who managed to hide overnight in a broom cupboard within the House of Commons. Other women joined together forming census resistance parties. Cicely Hale (1974) explained that on census night she gathered together with at least ten other women at a house in Bloomsbury. As well as staying away from home on census night and not completing or destroying forms, many used the materials provided by the government to send a message back. There are numerous examples in museum and archive collections of spoilt census forms used to deliver protest statements (figure 262).


CENSUS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1911.

No Vote No Census. If I am intelligent enough to fill in this census form I can surely make an X on a Ballot paper.

Louisa Burnham

Figure 262. Suffragette Louisa Burnham census entry: '*No Vote No Census. If I am intelligent enough to fill in this census form I can surely make an X on a Ballot paper.'* (1911). National Archives:RG 14/2277/1.

For the tactic to be impactful it needed to be undertaken on a national level with thousands participating. Suffragette organisers started their own boycott campaigns and made propaganda. The Merchants' Portrait Company produced badges for the Tax Resistance League (figure 263) and the WSPU produced handbills urging women and men householders to boycott due to lack of women's constitutional representation. Liddington and Crawford (2011) studied the significance of the rebellion by attempting to map resisters, evaders and compilers. Their results indicated that the campaign may have been unsuccessful in making a major difference to the statistical impact of the data[24], but showed greater patterns of census resistance in cities which had a strong WFL and WSPU presence such as Manchester, Portsmouth, York and London. This indicates that the organisers' efforts seemed to work in these areas.



Figure 263. Census Resistance badge (1911), LSE.

The 1911 census forms were one of the best outlets for delivering a message of defiance, as they were made by and returned back to the system women were seeking recognition from. They also provide a unique indicator of individual perspectives, and a glimpse at the reasons women wanted to boycott. When analysing census forms today, one can ask the question, what did resistors most want to say, and how did they use their forms as an outlet to voice their opinion? Kate Gillie poignantly dedicated her form 'in loving memory of Mrs Clarke and Miss Henria Williams who lost their lives for the cause' [25]. Gillie further highlighted Churchill's refusal to investigate the police action on Black Friday, and finished by stating that 'If I am intelligent enough to fill in this census form I can surely make an X on a Ballot paper'. The exact same or very similar wording relating to intelligence and making 'an X on a ballot paper' was used on numerous forms. Isabella Leo's form was also among those with this same wording, as was Louisa Burnham's (figure 262). For this reason it seems likely that this phrase stems from a particular suffrage organisation, for example, a speech or propaganda material. 'No vote, no census, as women do not count, they refuse to be counted' was another popular message, written by Princess Sophia Duleep Singh and others, again suggesting that this was a phrase which caught on among activists (TNA:RG 14/3561).

Katherine Dreir used her form to declare her position, her message is short but defiant. She writes, 'I have joined the brave women of England in their distinguished protest against the systematic blocking by the government of the women's conciliation.' While many quickly scrawled similar messages, others used the opportunity to voice their dissatisfaction in detail. Crawford (2012a) mentions a spoilt form with a lengthy statement by a Mrs Marsden/Mdme Mantali who shared her frustration as the owner of a dressmaking business for over sixteen years who contributed to the government during this time through taxation. Another form spoiler combined suffrage materials to get their message across, writing 'No persons here only women!' across the form, and covering the other half with a census resistance flyer stuck on top. The box for use by the Enumerator and place for signature were also covered with stamps advertising a census resistance meeting (figure 264).

[24] Compliance with the census by sympathisers may have been swayed by factors such as Lloyd George's promise that the data could help to improve conditions for working-class families. People may have also been dissuaded by the prospect of a £5 fine. Yet the campaign had several achievements, including providing an opportunity to promote the cause as it related to the domestic and political sphere, and especially when it came to the injustices of taxation. It was also the first time that a significant number of women had been able to successfully defy the government in a refusal to be counted (Liddington & Crawford 2011).

[25] Henria Williams (1867–1911) lost her life two months after Black Friday, likely due to an underlying health condition which was aggravated by her violent treatment (University of East Anglia Archives, n.d,a). Mary Jane Clarke (1862–1910) collapsed and died on Christmas Day 1910, two days after being released from prison where she endured force-feeding (ibid,b).

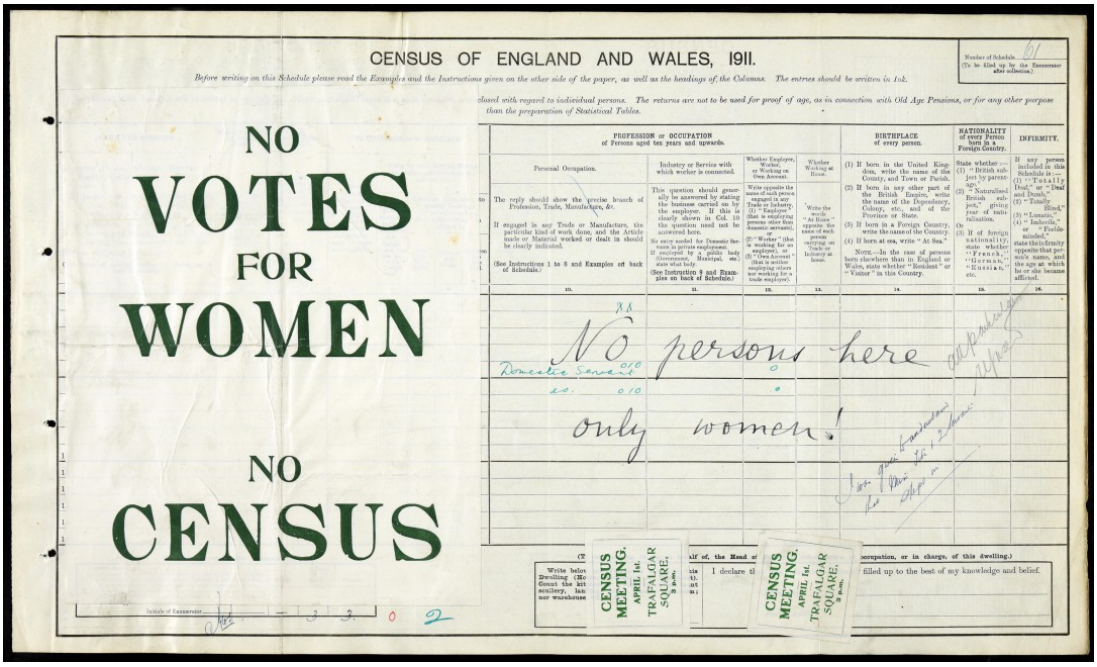


Figure 264. *'No persons here only women!'* Another example of a spoilt form with census resistance flyer and stamps detailing an upcoming meeting pasted on top (1911). National Archives:RG14-118.

There was evidence of disagreement between members of the same household in the completion of the forms. Liddington and Crawford (2011) mention Eleanora Maund's form which was amended by her husband who wrote,

> 'My wife unfortunately being a Suffragette put her pen through her name, but it must stand as correct. It being an equivocation to say she is away. She being always resident here and has only attempted by a silly subterfuge to defeat the object of the census to which as "Head" of the family I object. E. A. Maund'.

National Records Scotland also have several recorded examples of women evading the census. In West Kilbride, registrar William Gray wrote for advice on the matter of evader Mrs Inez Milwyn Jenkins,

> 'In reply to my queries as to where she had been & if she had been enumerated elsewhere she stated she had no responsibility for any other house than her own & would not give me further information. She produced to me a copy of the publication "Votes for Women" by the advice in which she said she was going. I shall be glad to have you instructions in the matter' (NRAS:GRO6/380/16).

Jenkins was not the only one who used suffrage materials by way of response to enumerators, another letter explains that ten women had evaded the census at the WSPU headquarters in Dundee. Detective D. Davison who had been monitoring the property on census night, writes that, 'The offices in Nethergate were lighted up to 3.50 A.M., and two flags of the suffragette colours were waving from the centre window, while the front was billed "No census, no votes" (NRAS:GRO6/380/16).

The choice to radically reappropriate census forms subverted the authority of the government and posed one of the most direct challenges of the movement. Unlike other materials, the spoiled census forms can be considered as being at the centre of the struggle. They encompass some of the purest

insights into campaigners thoughts on their un-enfranchisement, and unlike most of the materials covered in this chapter, they are not ‘propaganda’ made to sway opinion one way or the other. They were made for one audience - the government, as such they are not shaped by narrative or design, they do not utilise symbolism or seek to challenge representations or deliver a preconceived and intensely formulated message. Their arguments are not commodified and marketed, but exist as authentic insights into the mindset of the suffragettes who took part in the boycott, and who further used materials to demonstrate their protest.

6.5 Chapter Conclusion

Printed materials occupied the most crucial, central role by articulating the movement’s talking points. Leaflets delivered information on meeting times and specific issues, and were sold across organisations and circulated beyond Britain into other international campaigns. For the first time activists faced not only the government, but an expanded national press and a society which could mass produce materials. Postcards depict the struggles of representation better than any other medium, they capture the ridicule and hatred directed at campaigners as suffragettes, as mothers and as women, as well as the ways artists combatted stereotypes and used these new tools to speak out. This battle of representation created a mass of suffrage imagery, and commercial postcard manufacturers saturated society with a range of materials which operated as visual currency and kept the campaign in the public eye. As with the objects discussed in Chapter 5, postcards, greetings cards and calendars also generated funds for the cause, and evidence the movement's commodification into marketable items. This further merged the cause with home life, as collectable postcards, greetings cards and souvenir napkins would be kept and displayed. Signed photographic postcards not only became collectable commodities, but they helped raise the profile of suffragettes to a celebrity status. While those depicting the WSPU workspaces demonstrated the organisation’s sophistication, and contributed to emerging ideas about the capacity of women.

This chapter made apparent the movements' reuse of earlier radical imagery, artistic styles and political cartooning formats, which gave their printed propaganda an authority and legacy, shaping the way these materials acted and the lasting impression they left on the movement. The final part of this chapter showed that not all materials which ‘speak out’ are publicly consumable propaganda. Census resistors who spoiled forms were able to directly share their feelings with the government in acts of defiance that were both highly personal, targeted and directly challenging.

A material centred focus has provided the discussion just outlined. This focus uncovered these neglected points that build our understanding of the role of printed materials in the movement. The ephemeral objects used by campaigners were considerably more complex than has been acknowledged, often performing multiple roles simultaneously. For example, studying mentions of leaflets in organisational minute books revealed not only how topics were offered and considered for publication bringing in a variety of perspectives, but how leaflets could operate as a tool which gave organisations a sense of how the movement was being received across the country. Additionally, they helped shape other international campaigns. Analysis of photographic postcards provided insight into the considerations which allowed the images to act as propaganda, this deepens their complexity and increases our understanding of the WSPU’s efforts in constructing their own image and ideas on the capabilities of women. This work has made further contributions by showing how the movement weaved imagery and styles from existing political propaganda and cultural imagery, and the need for and impact of these materials. By covering a range of suffrage postcards, this thesis has highlighted what the anti-movement and commercial publishers were intending, the ways their materials actually functioned, their wider impacts, and campaigners responses. This thesis further presented the idea of suffrage ephemera acting as visual currency, leading to an inescapable saturation of suffrage imagery in Edwardian society which can be considered ultimately beneficial.

The following chapter analyses objects used directly in the act of making change, their effects in the disruption of power, and the ways campaigners performed their radicalism through use of specific types of objects, e.g. hammers. It covers the militant identity, the system of awarding militancy, the use of materials by imprisoned suffragettes as well as the imaginative and performative use of objects by militant campaigners.

7. Direct Action

The Suffragette Fellowship is largely responsible for the ways suffragette militancy is understood today. The group of former suffrage campaigners formed in 1926, and members spent decades diligently memorialising their movement through collection of objects and experiences. Yet, their archive has a bias which centres a specific type of 'militancy' to the detriment of others. As Mayhall (1999) explained, the question "when were you imprisoned?" asked as part of their survey both 'documented and defined suffragette militancy', '... the brand of militancy that Emmeline Pankhurst had called 'the argument of the broken pane', or suffragette attacks upon property, became the only kind of militancy considered authentic' (ibid, 3-4).

Prior to enfranchisement, even the act of speaking out on Votes For Women in public could be considered a militant act. Civil disobedience, census and tax resistance were also 'militant', though did not fall under the scope of the Suffragette Fellowship. That said, the objects used in militant direct action described and collected by the Suffragette Fellowship have still not been analysed to the same depth as other artefacts. They typically differ from those discussed in the previous chapters which are usually immediately identifiable as 'suffrage items' through their colours, design or slogans. 'Militant objects' are often only notable to the movement because of their part in direct action, for example, a glove or hammer involved in window breaking. These items are also typically one-offs, unlike commercial mass-produced materials. This chapter focuses on how these objects were used, and how they influenced action. The wide sample analysed helps determine the role of materials within militant activity, and how they helped legitimise and further direct action. Before this, it is important to understand the identity of the militant woman as it was produced both by the movement and wider society who regarded her as 'unnatural', a threat, a menace, and an object of ridicule and fascination.

7.1 Religious Militancy

Suffragists and suffragettes looked for inspiration from historical women to inform and reinforce their work. It's easy to trace the influence of significant female figures within suffrage pageants and processions as women often dressed in costume, carrying the names of their predecessors (figure 265). On Women's Sunday (21st June 1908), members of the Artists Suffrage League marched with banners showcasing notable women such as German astronomer Caroline Herschel, physicist Marie Curie, scientist and early women's suffrage leader Lydia Becker and former Queen Elizabeth I. Lowndes' design album (discussed in Chapter 5) also includes banners designed for the NUWSS procession (13 June 1908) and the Pageant of Women's Trades and Professions (27 April 1909) which celebrated prominent women. Among those glorified on banners were reformer Elizabeth Fry who created the Association for the Improvement of Female Prisoners (1817), American women's rights activist and suffragist Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, the first British woman to qualify as a doctor. There was also a banner for St. Catherine of Siena, a mystic who lived in Italy in the 1300s, and whose inclusion may be attributed to her wider political work and influence in the church.



Figure 265. Women march in the 'Famous Women' Pageant of the Women's Coronation Procession (17 June 1911). The procession was organised by the WSPU and held one week before the coronation of George V, in the hopes that the event would garner the support of the new King and help pass the 1911 Conciliation Bill through Parliament. Suffragettes can be spotted dressed as heroines Grace Darling who bravely rescued survivors from the shipwrecked Forfarshire off the Farne Islands, soprano opera singer Jenny Lind, reformer and founder of modern nursing Florence Nightingale and Mrs Somerville a Scottish science writer and advocate of higher education for women, among other famous women. MoL:50.82/1325.

With paternalistic history overshadowing women's contributions, it was perhaps difficult for campaigners to find representative heroes, especially as their own work was so pioneering. Instead they championed women from various backgrounds and professions (real life and allegorical), and some seemingly obscure religious figures were chosen. Though religious iconography and language was prevalent, particularly among militant suffragettes (figure 266). Imprisoned women were often referred to as 'saints' by fellow suffragettes, and after her death Emily Davison became the suffragette 'martyr'. Saunders' (2019 1493) explains;

> '...the language of 'militancy' had been part of the churches' vocabulary long before its co-option by the Pankhursts. For most of the nineteenth century, references to 'militant' activity connoted either the organisation of the army or the 'Church Militant', with the religious usage much the more common'.



Figure 266. 'Spiritual Militancy' banner design from Mary Lowndes design album (c. 1908), LSE:0196.

This more muscular/militant rhetoric stemming from the evangelical church provides context for women's own sanctified militancy. Reporting on the suffragette anthem 'March of the

Women', *Votes for Women* (1911c, 254) described 'The fiery spirit of revolution united with religious solemnity, the all-conquering union of faith and rebellion which makes the strength of the militant movement, is expressed in Smyth's Marching Song. It is at once a hymn and a call to battle.'[26] Although there is no strong evidence to suggest a connection between an individual's actual religious beliefs and their militancy, there are some correlations. While The Church League for Women's Suffrage took no formal position on militancy, a large proportion of officials were members of the militant WSPU or WFL as opposed to the constitutionalist NUWSS. The League actually renamed themselves 'The League of the Church Militant' in 1919 after partial franchise had been achieved (Saunders 2019, 1499).

The Pankhursts and the wider movement drew from the iconography of both religious and military traditions[27], evident not only in language and material culture, but in the structure of their operations and chosen symbols. The WSPU modelled their practices on the Salvation Army[28], and 'created a military command structure, struck medals and urged volunteers to 'come as soldiers ready to march onwards in battle array'' (ibid, 1494). Recognising the need to justify their actions to the public, they then expanded their terminology to describe activists as 'soldiers of light' and 'saints and warriors' in the 'Knighthood of the Holy Ghost' (ibid). This helped to rebrand suffragettes as spiritual, political martyrs, while the choice to hail Joan of Arc their patron saint solidified the suffragettes as the warrior-saints of their own era.

7.2 The Militant Identity

Purvis (2003, 127) explained that while 'womanliness' was emphasised, Emmeline Pankhurst '...employed a traditionally male, military language to describe the WSPU and its membership - the Union was a 'suffrage army', and its members 'soldiers' who fought in 'wars' or 'battles'.' The most prevalent criticisms of Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst was that of their autocratic leadership. The structure of the WSPU was a product of the experiences of the leaders, whose class positions and understanding of both military and charity work helped form an organisation led from the top down, compared to an egalitarian structure which might have empowered more women. Though the Pankhursts certainly inspired a level of adoration and devotion which, combined with their righteous cause, made for many willing followers. Women had long fought, and began to identify with the idea of 'female warriors.' In a speech to members of the WFL leader Mrs Despard (1910, 291) explained,

> 'Men object that women do not fight. We have been warrior women. I have been a fighter for a good many years of my life. We cannot get any good things without fighting for them… there would have been no place for warrior women had it not been for warrior women who fought years ago for education.'

Identification with the female warrior extended to fashion and pro-suffrage propaganda. Johnson (2014, 8) describes the amalgamation of feminine dress with militant action as 'an outward display of insurgency via their clothing and jewellery'. As public perceptions of suffragettes were so heavily shaped by a media who viewed them as 'masculine' (and militancy had long been thought of as being

[26] Composed by Ethel Smyth and written by Cicely Hamilton, the song was first played in 1911 to welcome those imprisoned after Black Friday. It became the WSPU's official anthem which was sung at protest rallies. Many suffragettes recall joining in on a chorus of the song from their prison cells to boost morale among their comrades (Cohen 1976).

[27] Militarisation through awarding is covered later in this chapter, see pg 259 onwards.

[28] Born out of the Muscular Christianity movement, The Salvation Army chose its name in the 1870s (Winston:NPR 2009). Mirroring the work of the SA was another way for suffragettes to elevate their cause and members into a militaristic/religious crusade, further connecting them to Joan of Arc.

‘for men’ only) campaigners used clothing to shift these expectations. This careful consideration and choosing of attire has been likened to a ‘ritual’ or ‘ceremonial’ process’ (ibid). Suffragette literature and other propaganda upheld this romantic ideal, often pushing it further. While it was recommended that militant suffragettes dress demurely in feminine styles, printed materials showed images of powerful and beautiful goddess-like women either in full armour or long flowing dresses with swords and shields or other weapons (figure 267). Suffrage newspapers perpetuated the feminine warrior on numerous covers, often incorporating the fantastical. A striking cover of *The Suffragette* shows a woman in a long gown standing before an open cell where a dragon lays on the ground (figure 268). Packed with symbolism, her sword is engraved with the word ‘Love’, and a dove representing peace flies towards the woman with shackles close to her feet.



Figure 267. Pro-suffrage postcard. A triumphant armoured woman (perhaps Joan of Arc) holds high a sword and 'Women's Suffrage' shield. She has defeated 'Prejudice' before the Houses of Parliament in the background. Behind her a new dawn with 'The Vote' is represented in the sun. The postcard is captioned 'Then put your shields before your hearts, and fight with hearts more proof than shields.' The illustrated is signed Poyntz Wright which is likely a pseudonym for an artist who regularly designed propaganda for the Suffrage Atelier (c.1909-1914). MoL:50.82/807.



Figure 268. Cover of *The Suffragette* (21 March, 1913). LSE.

Even the constitutionalists used romanticised warrior woman imagery. The ‘Bugler Girl’ or ‘Clarion Girl’ designed by Caroline Watts first debuted on a NUWSS pamphlet to advertise the 13th June 1908 procession (figure 269) (Crawford 2014a). Though the NUWSS stated that any use of her sword would be for metaphorical cutting only:

> ‘Our Bugler Girl carries her bugle and her banner; her sword is sheathed by her side; it is there, but not drawn, and if it were drawn, it would not be the sword of the flesh, but of the spirit. For ours is not a warfare against men, but against evil...’ (NUWSS governing-council member in Crawford 2014a).



Figure 269. The ‘Bugler Girl’ or ‘Clarion Girl’ design by artist Caroline Watts was first used on a pamphlet published by the NUWSS to advertise the 13th June 1908 procession. It was reused on various other materials by the organisation (in black and white and in colour) and was also appropriated by the US suffrage movement and recoloured for their campaign (1908). Wikimedia Commons.

References toward ‘warfare’ and ‘evil’ again liken women’s suffrage to a militaristic and religious crusade, one that sees women’s unenfranchised position as the most extreme moral and ungodly wrong to be abolished by the female warrior. As well as religious and military traditions, campaigners placed considerable emphasis on history, which reflected a longing for the past notable within Edwardian culture. As Seale (2020, para. 10) writes, ‘Many British people embraced a romantic nationalism which was expressed through a nostalgic longing for the Middle Ages - or maybe better put, a fantastical version of the Middle Ages which never really existed.’ Johnson (2014, 3) also points out ‘pageant protests illustrate women’s appropriation of ritual in their use of the invented traditions that characterised Edwardian culture with its liking for ‘imperialist nostalgia’ in the form of parades and celebrations incorporating images of a sentimentalised past.’ This of course extended to the idolisation of specific individuals from the past, as previously mentioned.

Women already featured often as icons in imagery of the Arts & Crafts movement, which held a close relationship to women’s suffrage. It seems likely this relationship worked both ways, as artistically women were easily appropriated for an increasingly militant cause. The ‘militant woman’ was demonstrated by heroines from history and mythology; Athena, Boudicca (figure 270) and Joan of Arc as well as personified virtues and Britannia, the embodiment of the United Kingdom in female form. The appeal of Boudicca was perhaps due to the discourse surrounding suffragettes as mothers. Warrior Queen of the British Iceni tribe and the leader of an uprising against Rome, Boudicca led her army in a series of battles against invaders in CE 60-61. Tacitus (CE 56-117) attributes her violent and bloodthirsty uprising to her flogging and the rape of her daughters by Roman soldiers (ibid). The Victorian and Edwardian public were familiar with this legacy, having survived through historical accounts, drama, poetry and art. To suffragists and suffragettes, Boudicca seemed to represent the ‘womanly’ attributes campaigners were keen to stress in order to negate their ‘masculinised’ depictions in anti-suffrage materials and wider media. At the same time, she subverted the traditional limiting expectations of her gender as a powerful leader and avenger against injustice. A pamphlet from the NUWSS Brighton Society (January 1909) refers to her as a ‘heroic figure of a woman, mother, and ruler … [who] represents a type of the “eternal feminine” – the guardian of the hearth, the avenger of its wrongs upon the defacer and the despoiler’ (Johnson 2014, 2). Boudicca redefined the possibilities of womanhood, making her the ideal role model for the Votes For Women campaign, while her identification as a protective mother was crucial in mediating public views of suffragettes as bad or neglectful mothers. In 1906, prints of an illustration by Theodore Blake Wingman were presented to formerly imprisoned WSPU members by constitutional leader Milicent Garrett Fawcett (figure 271). Perhaps more than any other piece, Wingman's work reflects Boudicca’s maternal power. Modelled on Thomas Thornycroft’s statue in Westminster[29], a powerful and victorious Boudicca rides a horse drawn chariot with a Votes for Women banner held high in one hand and the scales of justice in the other, while an angel presents her with a laurel wreath. Flanked by her daughters either side, the border also shows two cameos each of a mother and child, making clear that nurturing motherhood and the fight for justice are not mutually exclusive (ibid).

[29] Boudicca was likely in the public eye at this time due to Thorycroft’s statue which was erected in 1902. Its location and powerful depiction also makes it an apt choice for replication by suffrage campaigners as the statue almost appears to show Boudicca leading an assault on the Houses of Parliament. It was commissioned by Prince Albert, and has been said to share a likeness to the young Queen Victoria, who, perhaps due to her views on women’s enfranchisement, was not a leading figure for campaigners (see pp. 267-268).



Figure 270. An unknown suffragette campaigner proudly displays a handmade placard from her wheelchair. Merging Edwardian politics with the early Medieval period, the maker has used the figure of a noble warrior woman (very likely Boudicca in her Iceni Queen helmet and with a sword) in front of the Houses of Parliament to urge passers by to 'Join the Next Deputation' (c.1908-1912). MoL:NN22873.

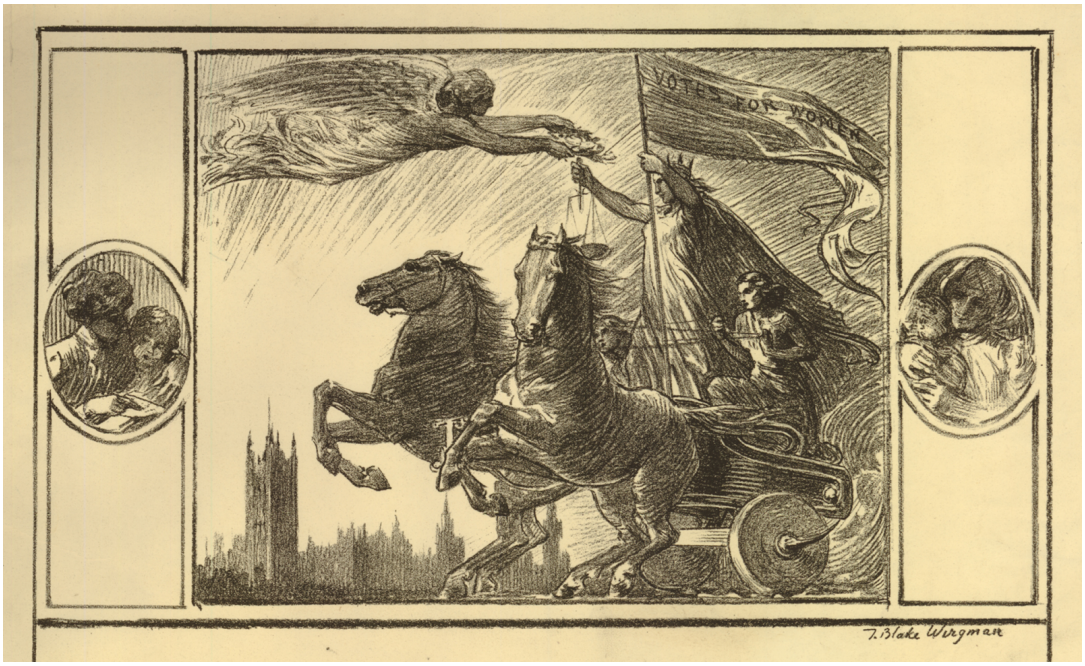


Figure 271. Illustration by Theodore Blake Wingman. The central image depicts a chariot drawn by two horses and driven before the Houses of Parliament. Boudicca represents 'Justice', she is flanked by two young women (her daughters) and holds a 'Votes for Women' flag in one hand and scales in the other. She is crowned by an angel flying from the left. A woman teaching a child to read is shown in the left of the triptych, and a woman holds a baby on the right. Lithograph prints of this image were presented to formerly imprisoned WSPU members by constitutional leader Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1906). British Museum:1921,0819.5.

7.2.1 Joan of Arc

For all of the historic women upheld by suffrage campaigners, the militant figure of Joan of Arc was the most favoured among suffragettes. Despite having fought against English troops, Joan's combination of 'Christian idealism' and 'effective militancy' transcended nationalist thought, and she became the foremost symbol of the British movement (Seale 2020, para. 11). Christabel Pankhurst (1913a, 501) described Joan of Arc as 'the militant woman's ideal. They feel the closest kinship with her, and in every word and every act of hers they recognise the same spirit as that which strengthens them to risk their liberty and endure torture for the sake of freedom.'

Joan of Arc is a prime figure for symbolic replication, as Adams writes 'Joan has been a blank slate on which thousands have written their obsessions, their fears, and their hopes' (Adams; Pernoud & Clin 1998). 'She is a potent, vibrant, and teasing source of image making from her own time to ours' [30] (ibid, 219). Pernoud attests that while words like 'myth,' 'legend' and 'folklore' surround writings on Joan 'she is amply evident in public and private letters, and on the pages of the register of the Parlement of Paris' as well as in texts of the trials she underwent; the first during her life and the second 'nullification trial' decades after her death (ibid, XII). Despite verifiable records, the attachments of words such as 'myth' which question the existence of Joan and her story can be attributed to the longevity of the interest in her life around the world which continued since her death to the present day. It is this fame, the gaps and mysteries about her, and the mixture of history and myth that created a fantasy character out of Joan of Arc.

The elements of her story which have endured, and which led the WSPU to make her their patron saint, are those which make her story so fascinating. First, she was a young woman and also a peasant. Despite her marginalised gender and status, she led an army without prior military training at the age of seventeen. She was imprisoned then burned alive two years later in 1431 while still a teenager. She was also likely illiterate, 'yet held a massed battery of the male professional intelligentsia at bay for four months' (Adams in Pernoud & Clin 1998, XV). Joan was willing to fight and die for her beliefs, to the suffragettes her devotion, courage and importantly her subversion of traditional female roles made her the pinnacle of militant womanhood and a true representative of the 'Deeds Not Words' mindset. These details marked her as an obvious idol for the Pankhurst's militant ideologies and their supporters who appropriated her identity.

As there were no accurate drawings or surviving portraits of Joan made while living, artists harness full creative control over her depiction. In images, Joan transgresses gender roles in armour and traditionally masculine clothes, yet she usually has long or shoulder length hair worn down (indicative of maidenhood), and the angelic quality of a saint. Typically her portraits also conform to feminine beauty ideals at the times of each artist's impression. Pioneering artist Annie Swynnerton was a passionate suffrage campaigner who painted constitutionalist leader Millicent Garrett Fawcett and suffragette Louisa Garrett Anderson. Her well known painting, Joan of Arc (originally titled 'Faith') captures suffragettes' feelings toward their idol (figure 272). Swynnerton's ethereal Joan has both the 'womanliness' prized by the suffragettes, and the military strength of chainmail and armour. Her hands held in a heart shape around her sword likely symbolises her strength, love and courage. The incline

[30] In 2022, a play entitled 'I, Joan' staged at Shakespeare's Globe Theatre used Joan of Arc's story to deal conceptually with non-binary gender identity. The theatre emphasised that the production was not an attempt to revise history, but a fictional exploration of Joan, whose gender identity has been speculated on (Shakespeare's Globe 2022). The play was met with some controversy, but made history as the first UK production to approach the subject, and have been both written by a non-binary playwright and feature a non-binary lead (Lukowski 2022). The play evidences that Joan of Arc is still a template for sharing various stories and ideas. Collette (2008, 226) writes, 'the idea of Joan of Arc offered a conveniently indefinite semiotic site on which to construct a cultural icon that could be invoked for a variety of causes and a variety of purposes.'

of her head suggests the heavens, she is saintly. While a rainbow in the distance indicates the worst has passed with the promise of brighter times ahead.



Figure 272. ‘Joan of Arc’ (‘Faith’) painting by Annie Swynnerton (c.1904). Sotheby’s.

Swynnerton’s Joan is one impression among many, though the artist's personal connections to suffrage make it relevant here. Throughout history, images of Joan have centred around three paradigms, the ‘visionary,’ the ‘warrior,’ and the ‘martyr’ (Pernoud & Clin 1998, 242). This type of language was also used to refer to militant women by the suffragettes themselves and their supporters. During times of increased militancy public opinion of the suffragettes was incredibly poor, and militant women were seen as unnatural, violent and neglectful. For this reason, the strategy to align themselves with Joan of Arc was of great symbolic and political importance. Joan of Arc had an identity, indeed three key identities as Pernoud and Clin describe, which could be used as a rebranding tactic. By defining themselves in similar company, this prompted the public to see the suffragettes through the lens of Joan. That she also had God on her side strengthened her symbolic position, and the attachment helped to further legitimise the movement. By presenting a shining example to the public of a woman who was strong and saintly, and indeed a leader of men, Joan helped inspire and motivate women and provided evidence of capabilities thought to be limited only to men. Like Boudicca, whose vengeful story made her another idol, crucially, Joan helped justify militant action. Johnson (2014, 4) describes, ‘feminists strive to acknowledge and champion aspects of womanhood that include emotions and actions, such as anger and violence, believed to be the prerogative of men. The militants, particularly, had recourse to do the same.’ Their anger, their damage to property and other militant actions (the ‘Suffragette Outrages’ as the media referred to them) were in this sense not only a legitimate and necessary mode of rebellion, but were the favoured

path taken by women upheld as warriors. Christabel Pankhurst articulated this point in a piece entitled ‘Militancy a Virtue’, a retort to one of the law-abiding suffragist societies who stated, ‘It is a woman’s function to preserve, to nourish, to succour, to give life and not to take it. And, therefore, in descending to the crude methods of physical violence a woman is violating the essential law of her own nature.’ Pankhurst (1913b, 186) wrote in response:

> ‘The woman who in this twentieth century fights for the vote by militant methods does not descend morally, any more than did Joan of Arc when she fought to liberate France. Women are human beings before they are women. It is therefore right to possess all human virtues. It is right for them to be fierce as well as mild, to be strong as well as gentle.’

For many women, Joan of Arc became more than a symbol used to reframe ideas around gender and militancy. She was a beacon of hope campaigners carried with them, spurring them forward. In a letter to Kitty Marion, suffragette Mary Richardson (known for slashing Velázquez's Rokeby Venus as protest against the arrest of Emmeline Pankhurst) wrote, ‘...been thinking of Joan of Arc to-day—How marvellous she was all alone, with vile men night and day so tormented’ (Seale 2020, para. 16).

Allusions to Joan increased in line with increasing militancy. By 1912, WSPU leadership had split, caused by a rift over militant tactics. By this point Joan of Arc was well established as the suffragettes’ patron saint (figures 273-275), and the WSPU had begun selling pin brooches based on a poster design by artist Hilda Dallas. It’s fair to assume that the choice to wear the brooch goes beyond its basic function as a decorative accessory. For supporters such as Richardson who identified with, and felt great empathy for the symbolic Joan, purchasing and wearing the brooch reinforced ideas about the militant campaign and militant duties. Or, it may have acted as a reminder of their struggles as women, and a signifier and expression of support for the WSPU.

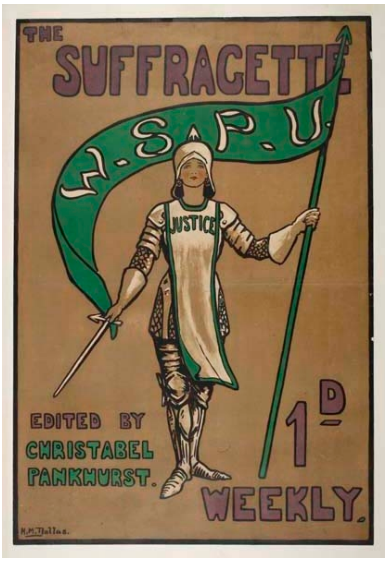




Figure 273 (left). Hilda Dallas’s poster advertising *The Suffragette* newspaper was similar in style to her previous *Votes For Women* publicity posters designed in 1903 and 1909, though rather than women in dresses holding their papers we have the figure of Joan of Arc in full armour with a sword in one hand and a pennant banner in the other bearing the letters ‘WSPU’. Joan also wears a tabard with ‘Justice’ across the front, and interestingly the cross-guard of the sword and detail on the top of the helmet are reminiscent of convict arrows or ‘broad arrows’, which suffragettes often appropriated to give further weight to their militant identity as women who suffered in prison in their fight for political rights (1912). MoL:NN23761.

Figure 274 (right). Joan of Arc silver and purple/green enamel brooch (c. 1912). With Hilda Dallas’ poster design first announced in *The Suffragette* in November 1912, it is possible that these pin badges which followed may have been sold at the WSPU Christmas market which ran from 5th-21st December. This particular brooch was owned by Mary Augusta Page (1861-1943), an Islington based suffragette who evaded the census as part of the boycott in 1911. Bristol Museums:TD189.

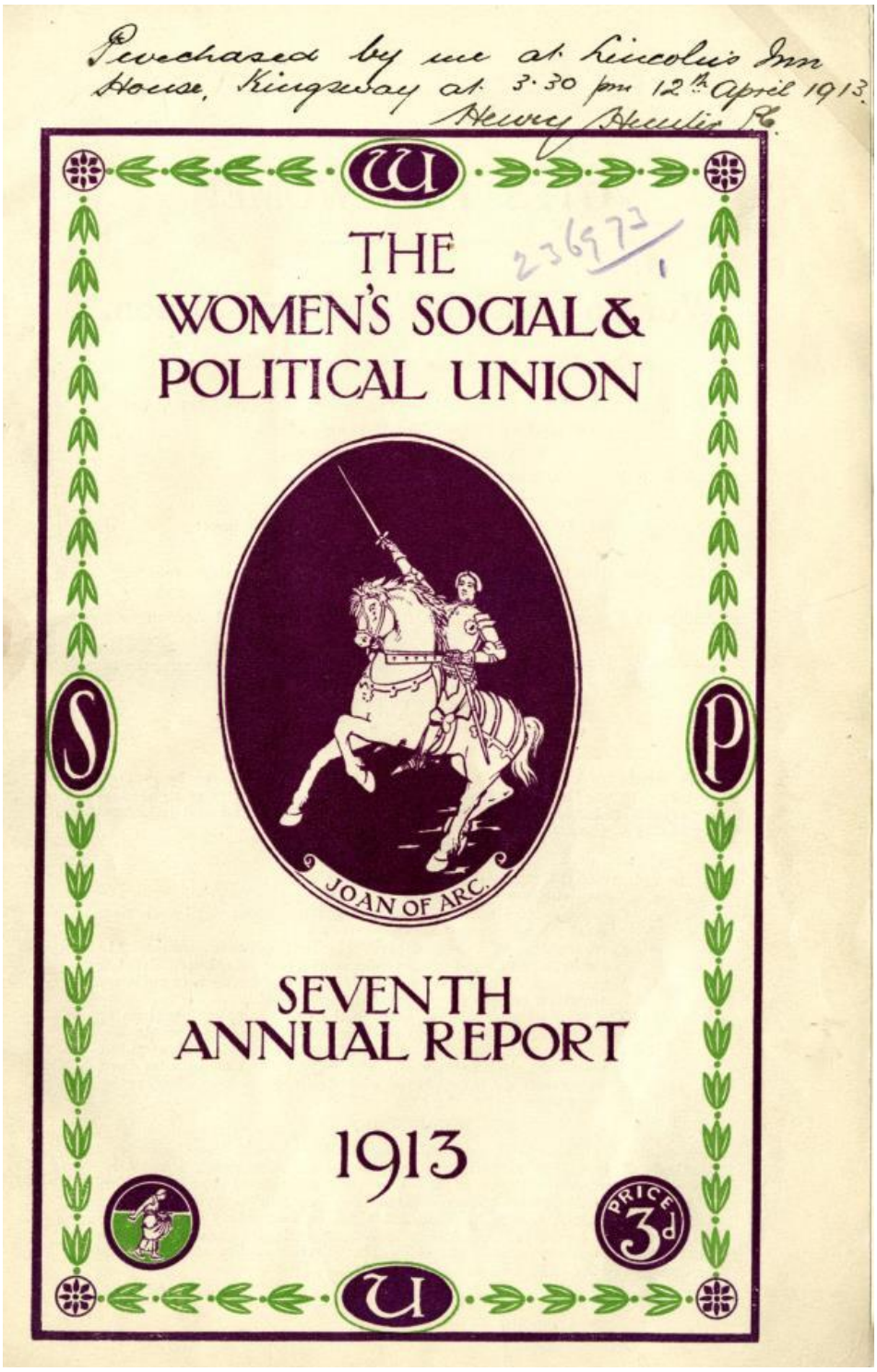


Figure 275. As the organisation's patron saint Joan of Arc was illustrated on the cover of the WSPU's Seventh Annual Report (1913). Price 3d. This copy was purchased by police from the WSPU headquarters at Lincoln's Inn House. The National Archives:HO:45/10700/236973.

In February 1914, Leeds suffragette Leonora Cohen attended the Leeds Art Club Ball wearing Dallas' Joan of Arc image appliqued onto a handmade dress (figure 276). The central image looks to have been directly cut out of one of these posters, further demonstrating the concurrent reuse and repurposing of suffrage print materials discussed previously. The shields which adorn the hem, the cuffs, and which have been placed in the style of a sash across the neckline (figure 277), are a simplified version of Dallas' design, while the medallions around the arms feature Sylvia Pankhurst's 'Angels of Freedom' emerging from prison gates. Cohen also wore a headpiece made to look like a prison grille, a Votes For Women scarf, and a prison warder doll was also part of the outfit (figure 278). The costume succeeded in expressing various facets and visual cues of the movement; the use of the WSPU colours and Votes For Women scarf immediatley identifies the cause, the prison grille headdress and 'Angels of Freedom' stepping through prison gates indicates the incarceration of militant suffragettes, the doll makes a joke of authorities, and the choice to cover the dress in imagery of Joan of Arc is an expression of patriotism to the WSPU's patron saint. The shape and cut of the dress also seems well considered; by choosing a simple straight tunic shape and forgoing a fitted waist (as was the style at the time), Cohen waived fashion for protest, and ensured the shape of the garment did not obscure the image in any way. The dress is as close to wearing a placard as possible. With this outfit Leonora transformed her body into a political site, where she could identify with her activism non-verbally without additional action.

The context of the event determines the overall impact of the costume, and Leeds Art Club was an incredibly progressive place which attracted like-minded people (Steele 2009), though Cohen's opportunistic use of a fancy dress ball to declare her political stance, communicate a message, and effectively use her body as a political medium should still be recognised as an incredibly bold decision. Leonora's choice of attire also picked up on the history of using sanctioned events as an opportunity for personal and political expression[31]. As a fancy dress item, Cohen's dress was worn infrequently, then put aside with care until she donated it to Leeds Museums & Galleries. Throughout the expansive British suffrage collection are hundreds of examples of objects kept pristinely and later donated. As previously mentioned, groups such as The Suffragette Fellowship made great efforts to record their experiences and collect and donate their materials. Evidently there was a keen knowingness of the importance of their actions and material evidence at the time, but how much was this attention to posterity felt while women were actively campaigning and making materials? When Leonora made her dress for the ball was she perhaps conscious of it being viewed by future audiences, and did she take extra care to preserve it for this reason? At what point did attention to object preservation for posterity begin, and if it overlapped with the active movement, then did this ever change action at the time? Indeed, might a performance for the future as well as the present

[31] In the eighteenth century, the upper-classes used their power and influence to exert control over popular leisure activities, and in doing so, attempted to confine public expression within certain civic or patriotic events (Navickas 2010, 553-554). Navickas described how the Coronation of George III in September 1761 was celebrated nationally with fancy dress, and in Manchester this included a procession of trades (similar to those later organised by suffrage campaigners) where each profession exhibited 'exaggerated emblems of their identities' (ibid). As opposed to achieving a comradeship between classes, these activities often culminated in conflicts, as groups asserted their individual and collective identities through clothing which made them recognisable and distinct from each other and signalled their lives, income and skill set among other factors - emphasising differences and inequalities. Activities such as Whit Monday processions were attended by workers who used the mass spectacle to employ their collective identities defiantly against authorities during times of tension (ibid).

The Leeds Art Club Fancy Dress Ball was not the only time Leonora used fancy dress to stray from convention, there are photographs of her and her mother taken the same year at a Suffragette Fancy Dress Ball held at the Savoy Cafe in Leeds. Leonora wore the costume of knights templar and her mother Jane dressed as an academic don, both of which were historically male (Leeds City Museum 2022). Leonora (1974) explained that she used to organise balls such as this one to help raise money for the WSPU, with proceeds going towards printing and the costs of meetings, etc.

have spurred women further? It is rare to find a political movement whereby preservation is so coordinated and effective that these questions might be asked, but campaigners were very clearly thinking of posterity, and material culture is able to flag up questions like these in ways that textual sources are not. In a speech delivered to campaigners at the Queen's Hall, writer John Masefield (1910, 319) postulated on 'the verdict of posterity'; what future generations might make of the injustices of the time. He shared his belief that the future would be dismayed to find that 'when they had Joan of Arc among them they lacked the living eyes to see her. They thrust her into prison with the rest as an unsexed, shrieking sister' (ibid). Masefield's comparison, already well articulated by the movement, follows the same idea that future generations would also draw a connection between the suffragettes and Joan of Arc. With this in mind, imagery of Joan may have acted beyond a symbol in the active campaign, but might have served as a way for women to clearly label themselves and their actions as important to those looking back - a bookmark of historical importance campaigners used to help subsequent generations navigate and appreciate their challenges and accomplishments.



Figure 276. Cohen's dress is made of green rayon fabric. It has a v-neckline and fastens at the back with metal press studs. The cut and shape of the dress with short sleeves and length are unconventional for the period, and suggest Cohen was challenging patriarchal norms. The details of the dress consist of paper appliques pasted onto the fabric. These pieces have received light damage over the years which has affected their colour, but there are some extra pieces within Leonora's collection that were not used on the dress that show the colours more accurately to the time they were printed, for example the purple, white and green of the paper shields (1914). Leeds Museums & Galleries: LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0080.A.

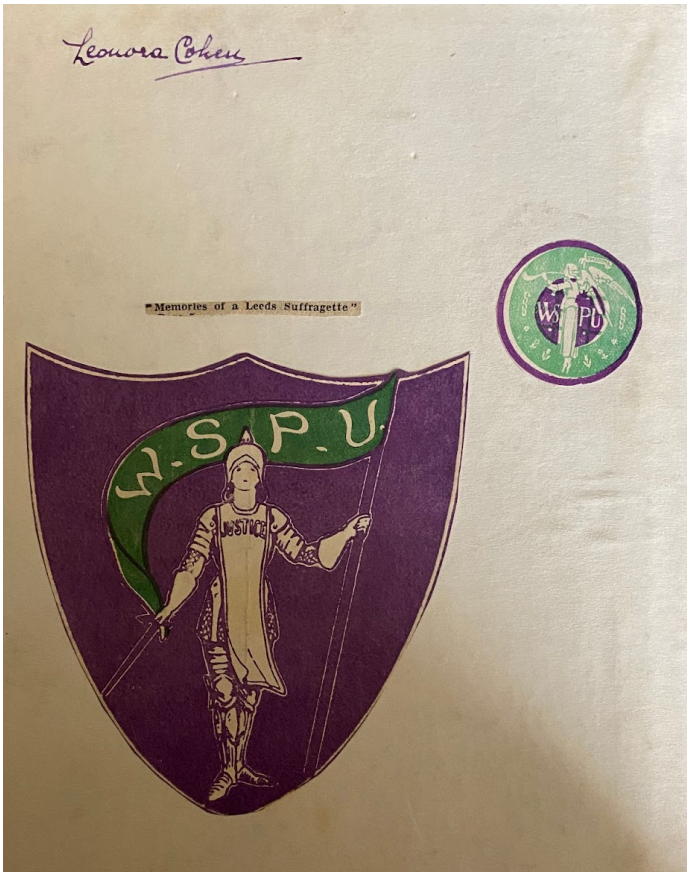


Figure 277 (above). It's clear that Leonora proudly identified with the WSPU and her identity as a militant suffragette. On the inside cover of her scrapbook of newspaper cuttings (which now resides with her collection at Abbey House Museum, Leeds) is a Joan of Arc shield and three of the bugler girl/ 'Angel of Freedom' logos, both of which were used on her dress. The book is also titled with the typed words "Memories of a Leeds Suffragette" (c.1914), (scrapbook made c.1913-1969). Leeds Museums & Galleries:LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0077.



Figure 278 (right). Prison warder doll, worn pinned to the shoulder of Leonora Cohen's Joan of Arc dress (c. 1914 / likely manufactured earlier). Leeds Museums & Galleries:LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0080.B.

Joan of Arc was not only a key figure within the militant movement. Millicent Garrett Fawcett wrote a short essay on her for a NUWSS pamphlet, and as a saint and a martyr, Joan was upheld by Catholic suffragists. Though a non-partisan and non-militant group, The Catholic Women's Suffrage Society (CWSS) refused to denounce militancy and condemned the treatment of suffragettes in prison, particularly forcible feeding. On 7th June 1914, a Sunday service at a Catholic church was disrupted when a woman began chanting "Oh God, save Emmeline Pankhurst and all our noble prisoners. Be with them in the hour of pain. Oh rouse this church and its priests to put an end to torture in the name of the Blessed Joan of Arc" (Catholic Herald 1914; Clark 2004, 656). In 1923, the CWSS renamed themselves St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance and produced badges for their members which featured the organisation name in their colours with a fleur-de-lis[32] in the centre (figure 279). A photograph of a banner believed to be that designed by Edith Craig for the CWSS shows Joan on horseback surrounded by fleur-de-lis (figure 280) (Crawford, 2019b). Another Joan of Arc banner designed by Mary Lowndes for the NUWSS bears a crown above crossed swords, fleur-de-lis and the French phrase 'sans peur et sans reproche' ('fearless and above reproach') (figure 281).



Figure 279. St. Joan's Social & Political Alliance pin badge (1923). LSE.



Figure 280. Although the banner itself has not been found, a photograph of a banner believed to be that designed by Edith Craig for the CWSS shows Joan of Arc on horseback in the centre of the banner surrounded by fleur-de-lis and the words 'Iesus' and 'Marie' at either side with the name of the society across the bottom (Crawford 2019b). Elizabeth Crawford / Woman & Her Sphere.

[32] The French royal emblem of the fleur-de-lis marked the banner Joan of Arc carried, and has since become tied to her.



Figure 281. Banner in blue wool felt with cream cotton border and 'JOAN OF ARC' painted in blue with four appliquéd fleur-de-lis and crossed swords motifs and fringe of blue and cream banded silk along bottom edge. The banner was used in the June 1908 NUWSS procession (1908). LSE:F03A.

As well as carrying Joan on banners and brooches and dressing in her likeness (figures 282 & 283), suffragettes paid homage to her memory. It is a regularly told element of Emily Wilding Davison's tragic story that in June 1913 she laid a wreath before a statue of Joan of Arc on display at a WSPU bazaar at the Empress Rooms in Kensington, just one day before she stopped the King's horse at the Derby. A postcard produced after Davison's funeral depicts this statue (figure 284). An inscription on the statue reads the words attributed to Joan - 'Fight on, and God will give the Victory'. The same line was rumoured to have been Davison's final words in her hospital bed, although she never fully regained consciousness and died days after the Derby (Collette 2008, 228). Joan's words (now also attributed to Emily) were embroidered onto purple silk banners (figure 285) and carried by the Newcastle WSPU branch at her funeral in Morpeth where she was buried, and by the London funeral cortege at her ceremonial funeral. The procession was as much of a spectacle as any suffrage event; over six thousand women marched from Buckingham Palace Road to St George's Church, Bloomsbury. Brass bands played and the coffin was escorted by Elsie Howey, again on a white horse and dressed as Joan of Arc (Atkinson 2018a).

As Joan of Arc was viewed as the pinnacle of female militancy, having burned at the stake she was also a symbol of its persecution. Like Joan, Emily had embodied the same intrepid spirit and absolute devotion which ultimately made her a martyr, just like her idol. Emily Wilding Davison's own flags which were found on her body, now reside in the Women's Library archive at LSE, having been kept for posterity and donated by fellow suffragette Rose Lamartine-Yates. They consist of three roughly stitched sections of fabric which make the WSPU tricolour. Torn and stained, they remain a material reminder of the tragic legacy of the organisation's most militant woman.



Figure 282. Elsie Howey dressed as Joan of Arc as part of the 'welcome procession' which greeted the Suffragette leader Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence on her release from Holloway Prison on 17th April 1909. MoL:NN22819.



Figure 283. Marjorie Annan Bryce dressed as Joan of Arc at the Women's Coronation Procession, London (1911). MoL:50.82/1377.



Figure 284 (left). Photographic postcard produced by Searjeant, H. showing a statue of Joan of Arc with a laurel wreath and the dedication 'In Honour and in Loving and Revered Memory of Emily Wilding Davison, She Died For Women' (1913).

The statue was displayed at the WSPU Summer Fair and Fete at the Empress Rooms, Kensington (3-13 June 1913). In her book *The Suffrage Movement* Sylvia Pankhurst wrote that Davison had laid a wreath on this statue the day before she died. MoL:50.82/923c.



Figure 285. Photograph from the funeral of Emily Wilding Davison (14 June 1913). The purple fabric banner which read 'Fight on & God will give the Victory' was carried at the front of the procession, leading the way for members of the WSPU. The same words were attributed to Joan of Arc, and were rumoured to have been Davison's final words. Just ahead of the banner suffragettes carried laurel wreaths. MoL:50.82/1462.

After The Representation Act allowed for a partial measure of franchise to women, artist Bernard Partridge produced an illustration for *Punch* simply entitled 'AT LAST' (figure 286). Finally the suffragettes' patron saint had come full circle. Joan of Arc stands victorious with fists clenched. As her banner suggests, women's franchise had been fought for and was finally awarded.

The pliable character of Joan of Arc gave the militant movement a tangible visual representation of the militant woman. Most importantly, an inspiring, heroic and virtuous one, reshaping the idea of what it could mean to be a militant woman, and in turn, dismantling and discrediting the female hysteric perpetuated by mainstream media. The link between Joan and the campaign was reinforced through the use of her image on print materials, the invoking of her name and likeness on banners and through costume, as well as on merchandise such as postcards and pin badges. The role of artefacts in this case helped to firmly attach Joan to the movement, shaping not only a part of its visual identity but a symbolic one. Beyond the Pankhursts, suffragettes now had a historical icon to look up to and fight under the name of, which increased morale and belief in the cause. Emily Wilding Davison came closer than anyone to emulating the tragic heroine. It is impossible to determine to what extent the allegory of Joan of Arc impacted the wider public, especially at a time when suffragettes were generally unpopular due to their militancy, or indeed, what impact this had on the success of the campaign. What is abundantly clear however, is that Joan of Arc contributed substantially to the promotion of the militant campaign, influencing the convictions and ideologies of many women who became involved with the movement.



Figure 286. 'Women's Franchise' 'At Last!' image depicting Joan of Arc. The illustration by Bernard Partridge was first produced for *Punch* magazine after women's partial enfranchisement in 1918. It was then published by the NUWSS as a postcard (1918). PUNCH.

7.3 Militant Identity Through Objects

The symbol of Joan of Arc helped to construct and reinforce militant ideologies by acting as an external identity. Joan was not the only symbolic or allegorical figure used in the movement, nor the only element which shaped the identity of 'the militant woman'. Direct action and symbols associated with imprisonment also fed into this identity, and can be traced through materials as their own distinct thread within the culture of the movement. As mentioned earlier, the term 'militancy' encompasses a wide range of actions, however, this analysis focuses specifically on the objects which helped to shape the image of the militant woman or 'suffragette', and their role as active components within the militant acts classified as 'direct action'. This discussion also considers ways the suffragettes used objects associated with their actions to create a language of representational symbols, which was furthered and manipulated in different ways by mainstream media and publishing.

7.3.1 The Padlock and Chain

Suffragettes bound themselves with padlocks and chains, and the idea of the suffragette became tied to the object in popular imagination. Securing oneself to railings in protest was one of the earliest methods of direct action used by the suffragettes. *Votes for Women* referred to this tactic as it was used at a Downing Street protest; 'The use of chains and padlocks to prevent the speedy removal of the demonstrators by the police excited the greatest interest' (1908a, 70). With most arrests related to suffragette militancy logged as 'disturbances' without additional specific detail, it is impossible to obtain exact numbers on the usages of certain tactics via HO records. Newspapers and oral histories indicate that use of chains was not as common as window smashing for example, but it still became a popular trope tied to the image of the suffragettes. This was likely due to the infamous 'grille incident', where in an act of nonviolent resistance, WFL members Muriel Matters and Helen Fox chained themselves to the grille covering the Ladies' Gallery window in the Houses of Parliament on 28 October 1908 and unfurled their banner stating their 'proclamation' for 'Votes for Women this session' (figure 287) (UK Parliament n.d.,e). The grille which divided women from the House of Commons and kept them boxed in their own gallery was both a physical and symbolic agent of women's exclusion from politics. The actions of Matters and Fox not only disrupted the meeting, but managed to tear down this physical barrier. Their use of locks and chains forced the authorities to remove portions of the grille, along with the women, in order to get them out and into another room where the metal had to be filed (How-Martyn 1909, 118). Unfortunately the removal was only fleeting as the barrier was replaced thereafter, but was fully removed in 1917 (UK Parliament n.d.,f). The legacy of the suffragettes actions in this instance went beyond their protest. Shortly after the 'grille incident' a large pair of bolt clippers were obtained and kept close at hand by a

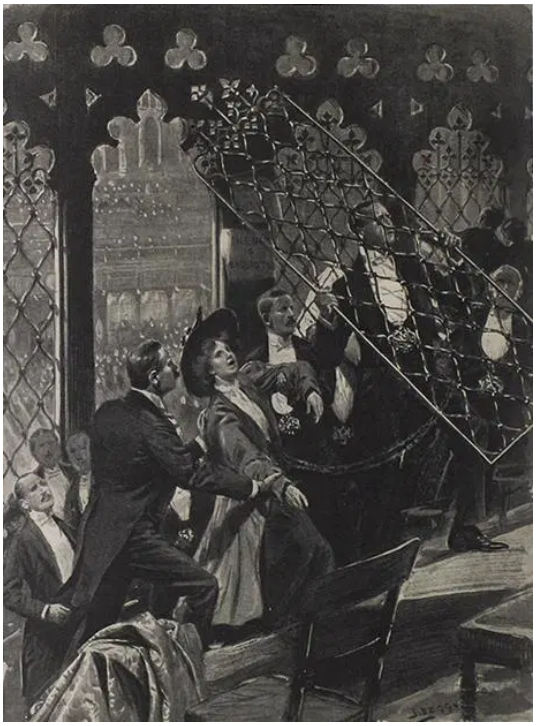


Figure 287. Illustration of Helen Fox and Muriel Matters who chained themselves to the grille in the Ladies Gallery, House of Commons on 28 October 1908. Published in *The Illustrated London News* (7 November, 1908). House of Commons Library.

messenger in the Ladies Gallery to allow for a speedy removal of suffragettes in case of a repeat incident. The clippers were used again only five months later when five suffragettes secured themselves and a banner to statues in St Stephens Hall using thick metal chains and handcuffs (Noble 2017; Fell 2017). A following police report by Chief Inspector Scantlebury describes, 'I beg to add that the clippers turned out most valuable in this case as it was only the work of about 7 or 8 minutes from the commencement to the end of the whole proceedings' (Fell 2017, para. 8). The use of padlocks and chains caused disruption, especially in the aforementioned uses, but the act of chaining to a railing or infrastructure in a public place also slowed down the time for an arrest to take place. They could be used to buy time, allowing suffragettes to make longer speeches before being arrested and dragged away (MoL:50.82/1207).

There are various recorded incidents of suffragettes using padlocks and chains in this way, and there is also evidence of men employing the tactic in support. The chancellor was heckled by gentlemen at a meeting in Queen's Hall on 31st Dec 1909 (VFW 1910b, 229). The men were removed, but later on in the meeting another man in the dress circle stood up and threw a feeding tube (the type used in force-feeding) into the hands of Lloyd George while proclaiming: 'That is for you, Lloyd George. Look at it and think of the women who are being frog-marched and tortured by the government' (figure 288) (ibid). Stewards tried to remove the interrupter, but he was 'securely chained, padlocked and handcuffed to the seat' and subsequently had to be taken away with the cushioned arm of the seat still attached. This caused damage to the seats which were 'smashed to pieces' in efforts to remove the man who was flanked by additional supporters[33] (ibid). A similar incident happened earlier that year when a gentleman interrupted Winston Churchill who was speaking at The Palace Theatre, Leicester. Having called out to question Churchill on the imprisonment of women in the second and third divisions, Mrs Despard's case and Churchill's refusal to meet with a deputation, the man who had chained himself to the stalls describes, 'the Philistines were upon me, and the whole audience was in an uproar. But my ejection was not so easy as the stewards thought it would be. The padlocks held well, but at last the chains were smashed…' (Anon 1909, 1159).



Figure 288. Feeding tube and funnel used to force feed suffragettes on hunger strike (1909-1914). Leeds Museums and Galleries:LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0081.

Other accounts show that women used chains to barricade doorways or chain themselves together - what they referred to as 'Obstruction Protests' (Boyle 1914, 224). In July 1914, members of the WFL chained together the doors leading to a courtroom at a police court on Francis Street, Tottenham Court Road, as part of a protest against the repeated ill-treatment of their members by the police (*The Vote* 1914b, 207). The aim was to obstruct the court's business and waste their time and money. The five women also chained themselves together, when arrested they gave the fake names: Anne Smith, Louisa Smith, Lillian Smith, Annunziata Smith and Edythe Smythe (two of the women were Nina Boyle and Edith Watson) (ibid). Nina Boyle reported in a subsequent issue of *The Vote* that their Obstruction Protest 'was successful beyond our wildest dreams' (Boyle 1914, 224).

[33] The meeting resumed though continued to be interrupted throughout. Another man in the gallery threw a bundle of WSPU leaflets - as mentioned in Chapter 6, print materials were often used to create a disruption in this way.

Museum of London has at least two examples of chains used by suffragettes. The first is a basic metal padlock and chain (figure 289), the second consists of a leather restraining belt with chains attached which could be fastened around the waist and then secured to railings, etc (figure 290). Some accounts show the harm campaigners underwent through use of this method. A woman chained herself by the waist to a pillar within a meeting where Prime Minister Asquith was speaking at the City Temple in 1911. When stewards could not manage to file through her metal chains they tried to forcibly remove her, a witness described;

> 'The stewards appeared to think that if they pulled at her enough perhaps the chain would snap. It is not difficult to imagine what this young woman must have suffered! A chain was round her waist, and she was cruelly pulled about, while stewards put their hands over her mouth to stifle her voice… In the end the stewards stuffed her veil into her mouth and tied her handkerchief round her face…she was there until Mr Asquith left, when she produced a key herself and unlocked the padlock' (VFW 1911d, 156).



Figure 289 (left). Padlock and chain used by suffragettes (c. 1907-1913). MoL:50.82/1207.
Figure 290 (right). Leather belt with chains used by suffragettes, (produced c. 1840, used by suffragettes c. 1907-1913). MoL:61.186.

These accounts show the various ways campaigners were using padlocks and chains, as well as their effect as 'disobedient' objects which had great propensity to cause disruption, damage furniture/infrastructure, as well as delaying arrest and removal and aiding campaigners by keeping them bound to an area where they could speak for longer. Padlocks and chains were critical for these types of protests, and their effectiveness as protest tools is evidenced by their continued use in activism today. Use of this tactic has actually risen in recent years, especially by climate activists who have made use of various lock-on devices, as well as other methods of fixing themselves together or to a place, such as glue, cement and pipe lock-ons which use pvc piping and handcuffs to obstruct removal (Home Office 2021). By "locking on", protestors put their bodies in a vulnerable position, through this action they appeal to the humanity of others to treat them with care (Ricketts 2019). For suffragettes who regularly faced abuse by police and others, the decision to lock themselves in place may have felt like taking back power from authorities by obstructing their arrests and removal.

As well as their physical function, locks and chains acted symbolically within the suffrage movement. Following on from her actions in Parliament, Helen Fox demonstrated the use of chains in a photograph (figure 291). Crawford (2017) surmised the picture (which appears staged) was likely taken as an example of the tactic of chaining, as a way of 'immortalising' Helen's actions in the House of Commons, and for use within the WFL's propaganda campaign. As discussed in the previous chapter, suffrage campaigners used photography as a means of propaganda, and made deliberate interventions and choices in the creation of their images. What is perhaps most compelling, is the choice to solidify this association between suffragette and chain in a photograph, as well as Helen's pose in the image. With her eyes closed solemnly, and hands clasped behind her back, it's easy to see a connection to the myriad of images of Joan of Arc tied to the stake in the same pose - with eyes

closed and head inclined slightly, a paragon of virtue and bravery in the face of injustice. Another photograph shows Helen with hands in her pockets smiling while chained, and additional images show Helen posing with the chain for the *Daily Mirror* while showing her bruises (figures 292 & 293). The contrast proves that the poses were staged for the photographs. It's possible that Helen Fox and the person taking the picture were trying to capture the feeling of Joan of Arc in the first picture. In doing so, the image might evoke the same spirit of strength and self sacrifice which was such a big part of the militant identity. Perhaps the photograph was also taken for posterity, not only to record the action, but to make tangible the link between suffragette actions and Joan - thus flagging their importance (as previously mentioned in relation to Leonora Cohen's Joan of Arc dress). It seems clear that the WFL were also building off the publicity of the 'grille incident' to push their agenda and appeal to women. The image of a woman in chains provides a visual representation of the patriarchal domination of women, as well as a demonstration of the lengths women will go to by physically chaining their own bodies to fight it. The chain becomes a part of woman's identity, tied to both her gender and then subverted by her militant action.



Figure 291. Helen Fox of the WFL poses for a picture while chained to railings. The lack of crowds or police presence indicates the image was staged (c. 1908). LSE.



Figure 292 (above). Helen Fox smiles for the picture while chained to railings (c. 1908). LSE.
Figure 293 (below). Helen Fox again poses with her chains for the *Daily Mirror* (30 October 1908,9) while showing the bruises she obtained during the grille incident. The article documents three different bruises. Obtained via the BNA.



The photograph shows Helen as a martyr, her chains are both a symbol of her militant resolve and her oppression. It's clear that suffragettes were actively making these connections between their actions and their chosen objects. An article within *Votes for Women* espoused a strong view on chaining,

> '"But, how silly," people say, "of the women to chain themselves to railings in Downing-street. What good can that do?" It tells the whole world that women are not prepared to submit tamely and without protest to political tyranny… It is the announcement of a mental and moral revolt against oppression. It arrests attention and arouses thought and quickens perception of a wrong hitherto ignored or slothfully accepted' (Pethick-Lawrence 1908d, 81).

Pethick-Lawrence's attribution of chaining as a *mental and moral revolt* against women's oppression indicates that the act of chaining was a necessary, revolutionary and even a virtuous act. Chains and the removal of them of course also signify freedom. A great deal of feminist rhetoric from the time refers to women 'casting off their chains'. In 1910, WFL leader Mrs Despard (qtd by Russell 1910, 221) explained that women of the Freedom League were 'out for freedom and true democracy' but must first cast off the 'three chains' which bound them; 'the chain of convention, the chain of prejudice, and the chain of fear'. A contributor to the WFL's newspaper, *The Vote* who signs off as Aurora (1913, 308) remarks how 'we women have been accused of hugging our chains'. This is a reference to Wollstonecraft's (1792) work which describes how some women seem satisfied with their position despite living under obvious oppression (Berges 2011). Within another issue, the editor mentions the government's refusal to acknowledge that 'the greater half of the population is in chains' (*The Vote* 1910, 289). Other suffrage campaigners referred to women's metaphorical chains being tied to specific instruments of their oppression such as those which relate to domesticity. For example, Ford (1914, 211) describes 'the old idea that women must, of necessity, be chained to the hearth'. The repeated use of this language indicates that women were thinking of their symbolic restraints while choosing to chain themselves as an act of protest.

This dialogue was also part of a whole body of language which referred to women's position under the conditions of slavery. This brings to mind the line Emmeline Pankhurst famously spoke in a speech in 1913; 'I'd rather be a rebel than a slave', but the movement was filled with analogies such as this, and Pankhurst was not the first feminist to make this connection. While demonstrating her arguments, Wollstonecraft (1792) made more than 80 references to slavery, which subsequent feminists continued (Stevenson 2018). Mill's work *The Subjection of Women* (1869) also described women's oppression in terms of slavery, 'No slave is a slave to the same lengths, and in so full a sense of the word, as a wife is.' The problems with comparisons between women's oppression and enslavement are clear today. While we could dismiss this terminology as being simply 'of its time', it is important to consider how this dialogue highlights the exclusionary nature of early feminist speech. Talk of 'women in chains' and 'casting off the chains of oppression' exploited the experience of actual slaves by using their suffering to make allusions about the position of (almost exclusively white) women in order to further their cause. As Davis (1981/2019, 29) described,

> 'The early feminists may well have described marriage as 'slavery' of the same sort Black people suffered primarily for the shock value of the comparison - fearing that the seriousness of their protest might otherwise be missed. They seem to have ignored, however, the fact that their identification of the two institutions also implied that slavery was really no worse than marriage. But even so, the most important implication of this comparison was that white middle-class women felt a certain affinity with Black women and men, for whom slavery meant whips and chains.'

In her autobiography, Emmeline Pankhurst (1914/2016, 15) explained that from a young age 'I knew perfectly well the meaning of the words slavery and emancipation.' Stevenson (2018, para. 22) used

this quote to point out that suffrage campaigners ‘clearly understood the imaginative and emotional associations that could be fostered through such words as ‘slavery’, ‘bonds’ and ‘shackles’. The terminology was a pervasive component of first-wave feminism, even years later when she published her history of the WSPU, Christabel Pankhurst’s (1959) book was entitled, *Unshackled: The Story of How We Won the Vote* (ibid).

Fortunately, as Stevenson (2018, para. 28) writes, ‘The kinds of language our foremothers used to describe women’s oppression and disenfranchisement have undergone criticism to such an extent that certain modes and words are neither commonplace nor tolerated today. As more and more feminists have come to realise, using slavery as an analogy is not acceptable; it demeans the history of chattel slavery and the racism that people of African descent continue to experience.’

The chains they used, as with the metaphorical chains they spoke of, were part of the performative way suffragettes presented themselves in order to gain sympathy, provoke a response and bring attention to their cause. The ‘suffragette in chains’ became a trope which was represented in different ways. Pro-suffrage propaganda such as a pamphlet by Cicely Hamilton, uses the image of a bound woman chained to her cell window and wrapped in convict’s arrows (figure 294). While a commercial postcard shows a suffragette chained to railings outside of Asquith’s home, as a policeman with a large set of keys ponders over how to free her (figure 295). The contrast between the appearance of the women in both depictions demonstrates the agenda of each image, and the ‘meaning’ of the chains in each. Another postcard illustrates the suffragettes raid on Downing Street, despite referring to the act as ‘the wrong argument’ it captures the scene more neutrally (figure 296).



Figure 294. ‘Beware! A Warning to Suffragists’ pamphlet by Cicely Hamilton. The pamphlet included rhymes and illustrations by Mary Lowndes, Dora Meeson Coates and C. Hedley Charlton and was published by the Artists’ Suffrage League (1908). LSE.



Figure 295. Commercial postcard captioned ‘Now Move On’ satirising the Votes For Women campaign. A suffragette has chained herself to railings outside the home of Mr Asquith, while a policeman with a large set of keys ponders over how to free her (c.1908). Mary Evans Picture Library.



Figure 296. Commercial postcard depicting police officers removing Edith New and Olivia Smith from the railings of 10 Downing Street. The women had chained themselves and shouted their protest in order to create a distraction, while fellow suffragettes Flora Drummond and Mary Macarthur attempted to enter the cabinet meeting taking place at the time (1908). Mary Evans Picture Library.

The convention of referring to chains in early feminist discourse established the connection between chains and women. Suffrage campaigners then pioneered and made famous use of the actual object in their protest, using chains to effectively prolong a speech and cause disruption by obstructing their removal/arrest. It's clear that chains also became symbolic within the movement, standing for women's oppression, imprisonment and domestic confinement. Though simultaneously, when used, they allowed women to act bravely and defiantly by facilitating use of the suffragettes' own bodies as a weapon of protest. Representation of chains in propaganda varies in sources produced by both campaigners and commercially, but ultimately furthered the connection between suffragettes and chains. For all of these various roles, it is clear to see how this object became tied to the legacy of Votes For Women.

7.3.2 The Whip

Like the padlock and chain, the whip is another object which left its impression on the militant movement. Many suffragettes sought instruction on self-defence in order to protect themselves, and each other, especially after the events of Black Friday (see Appendix 2). Kitty Marshall was part of Emmeline Pankhurst's 'bodyguard' (also named the Young Hot Bloods) who were tasked with hiding and protecting their leader. She was also one of several suffragettes trained in jiu-jitsu by Edith Garrud (Atkinson 2018a, 459). The martial art became popular among suffrage campaigners: On 5 March 1914, Miss Francess Weste and her pupils held a 'Grand JuJitsu Display' at St. Andrew's Hall, Oxford Street. The event was advertised in *Votes For Women* (1914b) where it was stated that suffragists would be permitted half-price entry. A postcard illustration by Arthur Wallis Mills depicts frightened policemen standing at a distance or else fleeing over railings to escape 'the suffragette that knew jiu-jitsu' (figure 297).



Figure 297. Postcard depicting 'The Suffragette that Knew Jiu-Jitsu' in reference to the arrest of Edith Garrud. Garrud taught Jiu-Jitsu classes to women campaigners for their protection. The illustration by Arthur Wallis Mills was first published in *Punch* magazine (1910). Wikimedia Commons.

Within the image, a whip can be spotted lying at the skilful suffragette's feet. Whips were seldom used by suffragettes, but a few high profile incidents meant they became tied to the idea of militant suffrage. Use of whips by suffragettes can be broadly grouped into three main categories; symbolic use, self defence, and as a weapon intended to cause harm. It's clear that accounts featuring whips were some of the most sensationalised by the media. On 5 December 1908, a meeting organised by the Women's Liberal Federation and attended by Lloyd George was held at the Royal Albert Hall. Following an incident at the meeting, both national and international press had a field day retelling the tale of '*The Woman With The Whip',* with *The New York Times* referring to the *'Suffragettes Riot'* (Keyte 2015). *The London Illustrated News* produced a dramatic picture of the scene, and referred to the whip as the militant suffragettes 'new weapon' (figure 298).


THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

REGISTERED AT THE GENERAL POST OFFICE AS A NEWSPAPER.

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THE WOMAN WITH THE WHIP: THE MILITANT SUFFRAGETTES' NEW WEAPON IN USE AT THE ALBERT HALL.

DRAWN BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST, S. BEGG.

On Saturday last, the Chancellor of the Exchequer addressed a crowded meeting held at the Albert Hall under the auspices of the Women's Liberal Federation. Though Mr. Lloyd George had come with an official message of hope to all who are in favour of votes for women, he was continually interrupted by the more militant Suffragettes. Miss Ogston, the woman with the whip, who was in a third-tier box, first flourished her weapon soon after the Chancellor had begun his speech. She interrupted, and stewards moved towards her. The whip provided her with means of resistance, but she was conquered, and removed.

Figure 298. *The Illustrated London News* depicted suffragette Helen Ogston with whip held high before the men who grappled to stop her at the Royal Albert Hall (5 December 1908). Royal Albert Hall.

The Times shared a rather different account of the incident than many of the sensationalist papers, describing how Helen 'flicked at [the stewards] delicately with a new dog-whip, which they took from her with a little difficulty' (Keyte 2015, para. 10). The use of the words 'flicked', 'delicately' and description of the stewards removing the whip with 'little difficulty' paints a feeble attempt at self-defence and suggests no serious intent to harm. The language used also emphasises a 'ladylike' quality about Ogston's conduct in the incident - a stark contrast to the masculinised descriptions usually attributed to militant suffragettes. In the following issue, the newspaper continued to stand in defence of the suffragette, printing several letters complaining about the actions of the stewards, including one by a Mr Hentschel who described,

> 'Women incensed by the absence of a straightforward statement, and the shilly-shallying of Mr Lloyd George, were handled with a brutality which was a disgrace to our sex, and to any civilized country. To witness a few burly men hurl themselves on some slight and delicate woman, smother her mouth with their coarse hands, carry her bodily and with violence out of the hall, within a few feet of a Cabinet Minister, who views the scene with equanimity, was regrettable and scandalous' (ibid, para. 11).

In their defence of Helen, the newspaper continued to use heavily gendered words to emphasise the differences between men and women; 'burly men', 'hurl' and 'coarse hands' juxtapose the 'slight and delicate woman'. While the words help to evidence the brutality and unnecessary force of the men at the meeting, they could also be seen to diminish her. The 'slight and delicate' Helen proved to be a brave and tenacious opponent as she shared her intent to make a stand against the violent assault of women. She shared her side of the story with *Votes For Women* readers and clarified her intentions behind bringing the whip:

> 'It has been stated freely in the Press that I used a dog-whip on Saturday last to prevent my eviction from Mr. Lloyd George's meeting. This statement is entirely incorrect. I used a dog-whip, not to prevent eviction, but as a protest against violent assault. On one or two previous occasions when I have been present to heckle Cabinet Ministers I have been subjected to very serious violence, and both I and other women have been disgracefully mauled by the stewards. I determined accordingly, on Saturday to take steps to prevent a recurrence of such treatment, and to make a protest against it. I therefore took a dog-whip with me' (Ogston 1908, 179).

Ogston goes on to describe how, having made her interruption to the meeting, she was set upon by stewards and that 'in the course of the melee I struck with my whip at one of the men who was behaving brutally.' Helen further shared her 'repugnance for violence' but asserts she felt it her duty 'to make a protest against the sort of treatment to which no woman ought to submit' (ibid). *Votes For Women'*s coverage of the incident echoed Ogston's sentiment that taking the whip into the meeting was an act of protest against women's treatment. The front page stated that 'On this occasion this brutality was witnessed by so many spectators that there is now no attempt at denial. Women were seized, flung down, carried out, or dragged out, and pommelled during their exit at a time when they were perfectly powerless to resist' (VFW 1908b, 177). Other accounts explain that 25 year old Helen was attacked by two men, one burnt her wrist with his cigar and the other punched her in the breast. As she tried to escape she continued to be assaulted by multiple men (Raw 2018, para. 9).

These articles, along with the written complaints published after the meeting, evidence that suffragettes used objects not just to help with their protests, but as both weapons of self defence and symbolic protests in and of themselves. Helen felt she needed to carry a whip in order to protect herself, but also to make a stand against the violent handling of women protestors. The brandishing of the whip signalled her defiance against those who would silence her, and the Liberal stewards who were routinely aggressive. Teresa Billington Greig was also known as 'the woman with the whip' for

her tactic of interrupting Liberal Party meetings while whirling her whip around to keep men at a distance (MoL:57.57/38).

Self Defence

While use of whips became part of the militant identity, they can be considered here an extension of women's need for self defence; an indicator of the abuses they had received by the police, stewards and members of the public. American suffragette Zellie Emerson came to London to campaign, and was badly injured while trying to protect Sylvia Pankhurst from arrest. When her lawyer asked her "Are you in the habit of carrying a knotted rope?" she responded "Yes – since my skull was fractured in Hyde Park by a police truncheon I have" (Raw 2018, para. 1). The choice to arm themselves was a necessary one, as physical and sexual assaults were commonplace. Suffragettes out in public used everything available to them for their protection; they improvised weapons such as hat pins and fans, and even their own bodies (evidenced by surging interest in jiu-jitsu). The brutality suffragettes faced provoked them to become fighters. Indeed, campaigners even readied themselves for deputations by wearing improvised body armour. Grace Roe (1968) recalled that ahead of one particular deputation, Clements Inn warned that women were expected to be 'knocked about' and advised suffragettes to make reinforced corsets out of cardboard, '...we were told that it might be a good idea to make waistcoats - a sort of a corset of cardboard… I rigged up one of these things. I put it in the bathtub and I fitted it to my figure and I put cotton wool in to protect my breasts…' Suffragette Leonora Cohen (1974) also described wearing 'corrugated cardboard' around her arms on her first deputation to 'protect from pinching'. The armour consisted of two pieces of cardboard secured with elastic bands and string and wrapped either side of each elbow (so that mobility was not affected), it was then hidden underneath her coat (Cohen 1913-1969). Leonora described it as 'a good thing'; as on that deputation she was knocked down by a mounted police horse and trampled, her clothing was torn and she was arrested along with 200 others (ibid; Cohen 1974).

Weapons helped level disparities between suffragettes' physical strength and that of their opponents, but as Helen Ogston shows, they also had symbolic meaning when used in protest. Whips have historically been used to strike and inflict pain in order to dominate and gain compliance (Dickman 2015). Through repeated use, even the sight of a whip can make a person or animal act in a desired way, as they begin to associate the weapon with pain and want to avoid this - in this way the whip facilitates their subjugation. Well known examples are the whipping of slaves for control, torture and punishment and use against animals for these same reasons (ibid). There are accounts of suffragettes using or carrying batons or truncheons, but whips appear more common, at least in the higher profile cases. Whips were likely some suffragettes weapon of choice as they were readily available at the time through equestrianism, agricultural and animal uses - that Helen's whip was commonly referred to as a 'dog-whip' evidences this. They were also fairly easy to conceal, and could cause bodily harm without wounding fatally[34]. Yet this preference above other weapons might further reveal the intentions behind the action; whips had long been used as a means of punishment which shamed and humiliated the victim[35]. The choice is apt, as suffragettes were themselves routinely

[34] In terms of the legalities of other weapons at the time, small handguns such as the Colt. 32 were marketed in Britain as 'The Traveller's Friend' (in case of ambush while out cycling or walking) and gained popularity, with 'thousands' of the pocket revolver selling to men and women between 1893 and 1901 (Evans 2022). Sales began to decrease from December 1901 when (after dealing with two gun related murder cases) Judge Grantham warned of long sentences of Penal Servitude for any using the small handguns while on their travels. In 1903, The Pistols Act became the UK's first gun control measure, though it was not considered very effective, and following World War One The Firearms Act of 1920 introduced stronger legislation (ibid).

[35] In Britain, whipping as punishment was typically enacted publically to shame offenders and deter others. This practice began to decline from the 1770s. The public whipping of women was formally abolished in 1817, and for men in 1862 - though it had mostly ceased in the 1830s (Emsley et al. 2018). Men, and some women, were still flogged in prison (often with press attendance), this was not abolished until 1948 (ibid).

humiliated and shamed publicly by the press and government, under a society that dominated them. Suffragettes' choice to carry whips can be further understood by analysing the circumstances of their individual uses in the movement.

Attacks

There are relatively few accounts of suffragettes using whips to physically attack their adversaries, beyond their use in symbolic protest or as self defence. These incidents are outliers, and were likely some of the most controversial in an already divided movement. Theresa Garnett (who also went by Annie O'Sullivan), became well known for her confrontation with Winston Churchill at Temple Meads Station, Bristol. Garnett reportedly accosted and whipped the future Prime Minister while screaming "Take that in the name of the insulted women of England" (VFW 1909f, 116). The London evening papers made the most of the headline; '*Winston Churchill flogged in Bristol',* and the story circulated far and wide (figure 299). The *New York Herald* published an article entitled *Mr Winston S Churchill Lashed by Suffragettes* (Bristol Museums n.d). Despite newspaper reports, and even suffrage papers such as *Votes For Women* reporting that she had struck Churchill and 'had determined to take vigorous action, and to humiliate [Churchill]', Garnett remained adamant that she had not touched him and Churchill's own report seems to corroborate this (VFW 1909f, 116). She was arrested for assault but charged only with disturbing the peace, and sentenced to one month's imprisonment which she served in Horfield Gaol, Bristol (Bristol Museums n.d).



Figure 299. Illustration of suffragette Theresa Garnett attacking Winston Churchill with a whip. Published in the *Manchester Evening News* (1909). Bridgeman Images.

Men's Political Union member Hugh Franklin was sentenced to six weeks imprisonment in December 1910 for attempting to assault the Home Secretary with a whip (VFW 1911e, 238). In 1913, *Votes For Women* (1913d, 36) reported that Dr. Forward, the Holloway Prison doctor, was 'thrashed' upon leaving his house. Three women emerged and one had with her 'a South African sjambok or whip' which she used to beat the doctor while reportedly saying "You forcibly fed me for five weeks. You should be forcibly fed yourself instead of being thrashed" (ibid). The whip 'was used to such good purpose' that it allegedly broke into pieces, the doctor then went to work and the women explained themselves to a group of street sweepers who had gathered around to watch the incident but did not intervene (ibid). The women's actions on this day can be understood as a premeditated act of revenge and punishment. The type of whip used is also important to consider; a sjambok is carved whole, as opposed to other types that are plaited from strips of leather, such as one found in the possession of suffragette Maud Arncliffe Sennett (figure 300). As a rod style whip, it is swung like a stick rather than cracked like the non-rigid styles, as such it requires less skill to wield effectively (Southern Swords n.d). The women likely placed some consideration toward their choice, and went for a type that was easier to manage. This attack on a prison doctor was not an isolated incident, Holloway medical officer, Dr. Pearson was also attacked with an 'ivory handled riding crop' by suffragettes outside of the prison in August 1913, after he reportedly threatened to make suffragette inmate Miss Richardson 'a mental and physical wreck' (*The Suffragette* 1913b, 764). The weapon of choice, a fancy riding implement, reveals it likely belonged to an upper-class woman who thought to make use of it for the attack[36]. The doctor was 'given a dozen cuts' but no arrests were made, possibly due to the authorities wanting to limit publicity about the scene (ibid).



Figure 300. Braided leather dog-whip found in the possession of suffragette Maud Arncliffe Sennett when she was arrested in 1911 for breaking a window at the office of the *Daily Mail* (c. 1909). MoL:50.82/1205.

[36] Direct action by suffragettes was already far more commonly enacted by middle- and upper-class women who had comparatively less to lose by risk of imprisonment than working-women. It also seems likely that these women would have had greater access to whips through activities such as equestrianism.

Another highly publicised attack took place when Miss Mary Lindsay (recognised as a suffragette by the WSPU badge she wore) attacked Lord Weardale with a horse-whip on a platform at Euston Station. Lord Weardale was an obvious target, as he was joint president of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage alongside Lord Curzon - yet Lindsay's solicitor claimed that she mistook Lord Weardale for Mr Asquith, who was her intended target. Following her charge, she was granted bail after serving under a month and hunger striking (VFW 1914c, 337). A month later, in March 1914, a woman was arrested and sentenced to 6 weeks imprisonment for entering the House of Commons dressed as a man and carrying 'a concealed dog-whip' (VFW 1914d, 374) The next day prison commissioner Dr. Devon, was also attacked by a woman with a whip in Glasgow. After this attack, and other militant actions, *Votes For Women* stated that the government were entirely responsible for this 'ugly' state of affairs for having ignored women's constitutional methods, and for inflicting harsh punishments and 'barbarous and medieval methods' for dealing with women's 'mildest' acts of militancy, which left them with no choice but to escalate (ibid).

As a weapon which forces obedience and submission, the afforementioned suffragettes chose the whip as a symbolic tool to exert and establish power over their oppressors. For example, power over the government, by way of Churchill or Asquith - if we believe that Mary Lindsay was mistaken - or over the troublesome anti-side, if we consider that she did indeed recognise Lord Weardale. The attacks on Dr. Pearson, Dr. Devon and Dr. Forward reveal intent to inflict harm via a weapon that would enact a similar level of power and dominance as that of the force-feedings the suffragettes endured. An article on 'Forcible Feeding' in *Votes For Women* (1913e, 32) actually makes this comparison, explaining that trying to get the government to find a workable alternative to force-feeding is like trying to get a slave owner to give up his whip - both are 'instruments of torture' which need to be 'put away' in order to move forward and 'destroy injustice'. The attack on the doctor by the force-fed suffragettes directly reversed their victim and abuser roles. With the significance of the whips in mind, these attacks were not just acts of revenge, but part of the suffragettes struggle against the systems which dominated their rights and bodies.

The use of whips, while infrequent, clearly garnered enough coverage in the media that they left an impression on the public's perceptions of the suffragettes. Their appearance in existing materials from the time suggests they became recognised as one of the core objects within the militant suffragettes' arsenal, along with hammers, chains and stones. A 1912 comic illustration by D.A. Young shows a young girl walking into an office, likely that of the WSPU, where she is met with all manner of materials (figure 301). The objects depicted give an insight into the artist's (and likely the public's) thoughts on the types of things commonly associated with militant suffrage. A book on 'how to make and break' laws and another on 'martyrs' responds to the women's actions and identities as militant women. While a torn poster with the words 'mother and child' reflects the anti-suffrage stigma that suffragettes were neglectful mothers or 'spinsters' with no interest in family life. Within the scene there is a pile of bricks, two hammers and a drawer filled with stones for window smashing, a filled up ticket stub likely

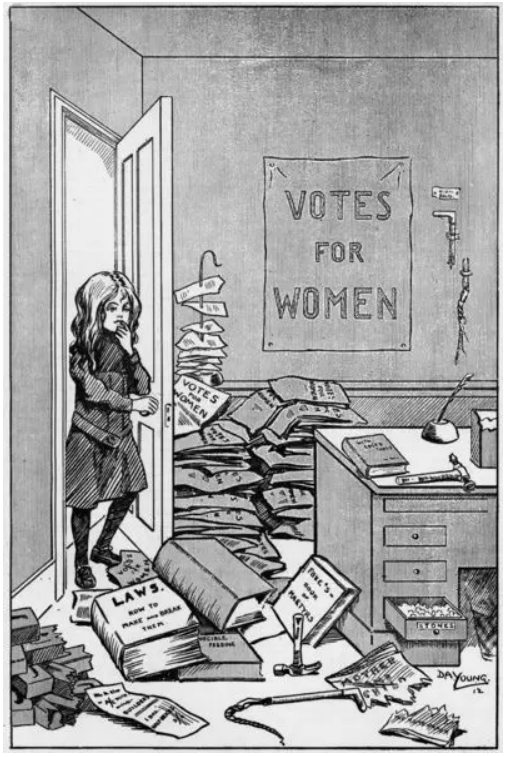


Figure 301. Illustration (presumably printed as postcards) of a young girl sneaking into the WSPU offices (1912). Mary Evans Picture Library.

indicates the various women's meetings, and there are two whips, one on the floor and another broken one which has been secured to the wall.

Surviving records of the actual items seized by police during WSPU office raids give a more accurate depiction of the things suffragettes had on hand (figure 302). The objects likely no longer survive, or being mundane, their connections are not known, however the list provides clear evidence of arson or bombing. Like other forms of militancy, for the most part these acts 'came in waves' between February 1913 and August 1914 (Bearman 2005, 371).

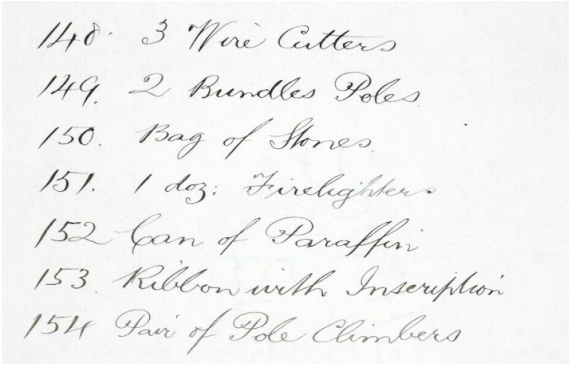

148. 3 Wire Cutters
149. 2 Bundles Poles
150. Bag of Stones
151. 1 doz: Firelighters
152 Can of Paraffin
153. Ribbon with Inscription
154 Pair of Pole Climbers

Figure 302. List of evidence seized by police during a raid on the WSPU offices (c. 1913). The National Archives:Ref: DPP 1/19 (56).

The wearing of protection and carrying of weapons such as whips, combined with martial-arts training, plainly demonstrate that militant suffragettes were routinely readying themselves for battle. Outside of physical self defence, the deliberate whip attacks can be viewed as a spiritual or emotional defence against the selected targets, be it the prison doctors or politicians who had harmed women through their actions. As Helen Ogston described, her carrying of the whip was also a symbolic act of protest and a revolt against women's treatment. This clearly shows that objects used in the movement were not just tools to convey propaganda and facilitate protest, but could be considered a protest in and of themselves. Unlike chains which were used to directly aid suffragettes in their protest, but which also bound campaigners helpless, whips signified a breaking of this oppression, a symbol against women's harsh treatment, a weapon of self defence and one of subverted punishment. It appears that like some other militant methods, the attitude toward using whips in this way was a last resort. An article on 'Mr Lloyd George's attack of the Conciliation Bill' refers to the calculated response of the Chancellor of the Exchequer being that which would 'drive them to dog-whips or despair' (The Globe 1910, 768).

Having considered the use of whips, the following section covers another weapon in the suffragettes' arsenal which left an even greater impression on the movement than these aforementioned examples.

7.3.3 The Hammer

The militant identity of the suffragettes was the accumulation of lots of small, meticulously planned deeds by individuals acting in groups (or sometimes alone) while united under their common cause. In November 1911, window-smashing became an official policy of the WSPU. The tactic aimed to show that the government cared more about damage to property than it did about women. It was a means to get the attention of a government who had first refused to acknowledge women as citizens deserving of voting rights, and specifically a retaliation against the government's proposed introduction of a Manhood Suffrage Bill (Crawford 2001, 183). It was also a method chosen to cause harm to properties, rather than the bodies of women who, after the brutality of Black Friday, sought to find other ways to help the cause that did not put themselves in direct danger of violence. The statement 'Better broken windows than broken promises' was quoted regularly after the WSPU implemented the strategy. Addressing members of the WSPU, Mrs Pankhurst stated 'The argument of the broken pane of glass is the most valuable argument in modern politics' (Iglikowski-Broad et al. 2018).

When considering direct action as a tool for political change, Graeber (2014, 69) defined property destruction as a way to 'break the spell'. As a window is smashed so is the 'the thin veneer of legitimacy that surrounds private property rights' (ibid). Rather than an attack on private property rights, suffragettes demonstrated their resistance and collective power to break windows and thus 'break the spell' of legitimacy around government authority. This was an attack on the government via destructive action which grabbed attention, disrupted everyday order and created a state of unease[37]. But if the window was a symbol of the government, and the suffragette was the voteless woman who acted upon it, then what of the hammer? The objects used in militant acts took on new meaning within the movement, their mundane purposes permanently altered by their involvement in protest action. The hammer 'reveals itself by its handiness; this handiness, in turn, is discovered in the act of hammering' (Domanska 2006, 339). Through direct action, the hammer further revealed itself as a handy accomplice to suffragettes, and through this it became redefined as a weapon by the police and government.

Toffee hammers were commonly used for window breaking as they were readily available and small enough to conceal easily. Women came up with various ways of hiding weapons; inside bags and fur muffs or concealed in a coat sleeve (figure 303). Sylvia Pankhurst (1977, 359) described in vivid detail the window smashing of shop fronts across central London on 1 March 1912, in which over 100 women were arrested, and around 100 more arrests were made as smashing continued into the following week (VFW 1912d, 352). Glorifying the hammer as the weapon of choice for the window breaking suffragette, she explained,

> 'Well dressed women suddenly produced strong hammers from innocent-looking bags and parcels, and fell to smashing the shop windows. There is nothing like a hammer for smashing plate glass; stones, even flints, are apt to glance off harmlessly. The hammers did terrible execution. Shop assistants rushed out; traffic was stopped. Policemen blew their whistles and called the public to aid them. Damage amounting to thousands of pounds was effected in a few moments.' [38]



Figure 303. An extract from *The Illustrated London News* (24 May 1913), shows a photograph of a suffragette hammer concealed inside a 'dorothy bag', a type of handbag which gathers in a drawstring at the top and can be hung from the wrist (1913). The National Archives: Ref:ZPER 34/142 13.

Pankhurst's dramatic retelling of the event relishes in the details and contrasts of the 'well dressed women' carrying 'innocent-looking' bags vs the hammers and the damage and disruption they were capable of producing. The spectacle described is not out of place with scenes of situationist disruption. Established in 1957, Situationist International drew from Marxist thought and avante-garde artistic agitation (Plant 1992, 1). Situationists believed in liberating people from the spectacle of capitalist society, commodity fetishisation, social alienation and other 'misery' by constructing situations or 'revolutionary moments', designed to reawaken those to authenticity through play,

[37] The choice to attack shop windows was questioned by some suffragettes, including Leonora Cohen who chose instead to attack the Tower of London as a more direct link to the government.

[38] There was so much glass broken in these window smashing demonstrations that some of it was collected and reclaimed. An excerpt from Duchess Evelyn Cavendish's handbook explains, 'There was some difficulty in getting old plate glass (…) Luckily for us the suffragettes broke some old windows in Bond Street. Mr. Romaine Walker bought them up and the glass, when bevelled, matched perfectly' (c. 1924) (Brownson 2020).

creativity, adventure and other forms of liberation (ibid, 71, 72). Suffragette Evelyn Sharp described the feeling of liberation later defined by the situationists and other radical and anarchist political groups; “It gives me great joy to get a stone through a window. Those who walked down Whitehall on Wednesday morning last discovered that women could throw and that they were extremely fine shots” (TNA:DPP 1/23). The ‘great joy’ Sharp describes, much like Pankhurst’s description, demonstrates a catharsis upon the act of window breaking. The emotional release of physical resistance is evident in these descriptions as women began to channel their frustration at the government into property destruction.

The actions of militant suffragettes created a climate of suspicion around women, and fears of the potential damage that could be inflicted at any moment. The militant’s aim was to ‘make London absolutely unbearable for the average citizen’ until they gave in and joined the suffragettes' plea for votes, if only to stop the chaos women were causing (TNA:HO 45/10695/231366). On 3 March 1912 (two days after the window smashing campaign began) police issued a warning to museums recommending they close their doors to the public as the risk of damage to artefacts was so high. Under constant fear of attacks, museums and other public institutions put strict measures in place; women had their bags searched upon entry and muffs, umbrellas and parcels had to be handed to staff before entering (Lotzof n.d). Lists of especially rare and irreplaceable items were made by museums, many objects were taken off display, and security measures increased to give further protection to items on show. Institutions including the Natural History Museum (British Museum) closed several departments to the public for a period of 20 days, and for a time only students were permitted entry to specific departments with admission tickets (ibid). In January 1913, Annie Kenney gave a speech which heightened fears again when she incited,

> ‘... every woman ought never to go out without a hammer in her pocket… we want to see what is going to happen at The National Art Gallery and museums. Let us make it like a siege’ (TNA:HO 45/10695/231366).

Museums enforced even stricter regulations for women following Kenney’s speech. The British Museum made ‘good-behaviour cards’ a requirement for women’s attendance, which needed to be signed by a man ‘prepared to be responsible for her behaviour’ (figure 304) (Lotzof n.d). The British Newspaper Archives reveals more on the impact of the window smashing campaign. A search of the keywords ‘suffragette’ and ‘hammer’ in their database shows a dramatic increase in articles from this time period. 1,098 articles were printed with the combination of these words in 1912, rising from only 177 the year before. By 1913, there were 1,426 articles which mentioned ‘suffragette’ and ‘hammer’ (BNA 2023).

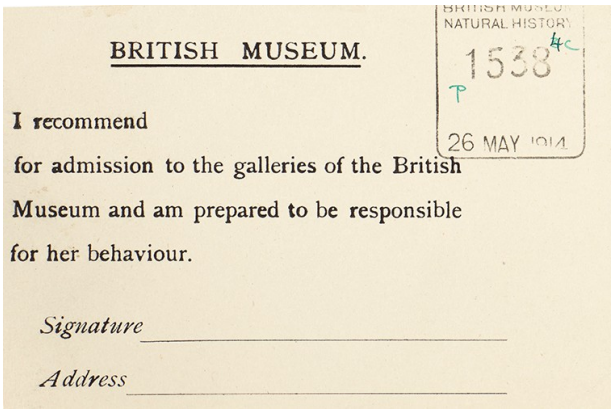
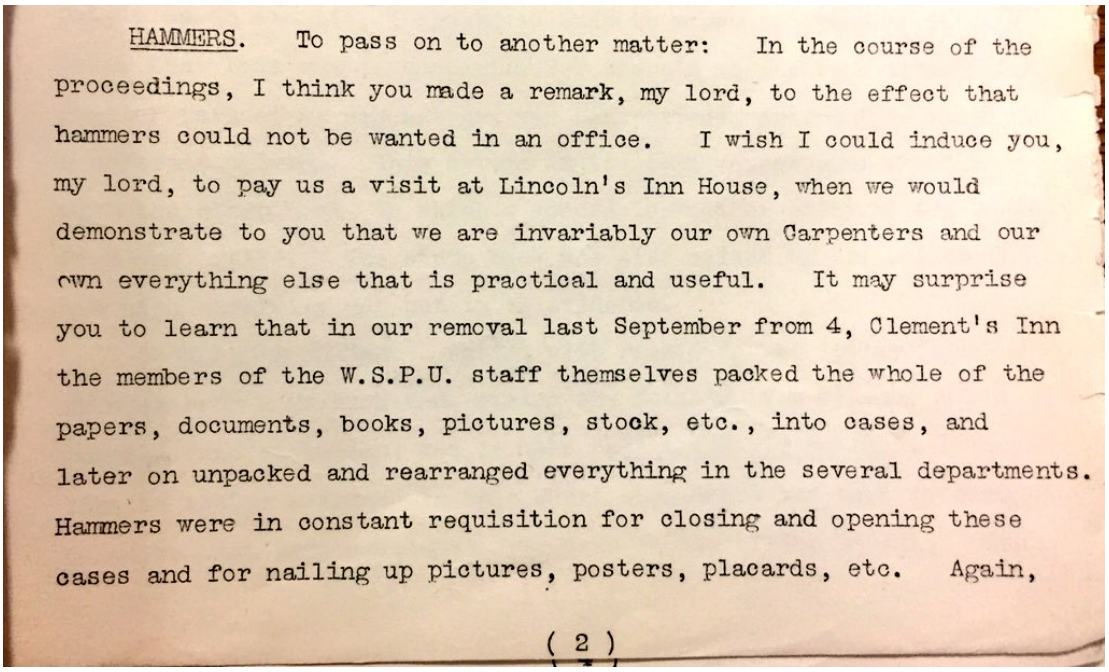


Figure 304. ‘Good behaviour card’ (1914). Natural History Museum, London (formerly ‘British Museum (Natural History, South Kensington)’: DF ADM/1000/99.

The mundanity of the hammer was also part of its usefulness. It was not a gun or even a whip, its main function gave it a claim of innocence, as Harriet Kerr demonstrated in her excellent defence of hammers found in the WSPU offices (figure 305). Though ultimately having changed in status from household tool to political weapon, the hammer then became a representational image and a recognisable symbol. An 'eye-witness' of the 1 March window smashing campaign gave a glorious account of the event in *Votes for Women* (1912d, 352). They describe the sight of one hammer which had become stuck in the glass of a shop window, 'From the middle of one plate-glass expanse hung a symbolic hammer. By its sharper end driven cleanly through the transparent surface and tightly wedged there, it hung.'



HAMMERS. To pass on to another matter: In the course of the proceedings, I think you made a remark, my lord, to the effect that hammers could not be wanted in an office. I wish I could induce you, my lord, to pay us a visit at Lincoln's Inn House, when we would demonstrate to you that we are invariably our own Carpenters and our own everything else that is practical and useful. It may surprise you to learn that in our removal last September from 4, Clement's Inn the members of the W.S.P.U. staff themselves packed the whole of the papers, documents, books, pictures, stock, etc., into cases, and later on unpacked and rearranged everything in the several departments. Hammers were in constant requisition for closing and opening these cases and for nailing up pictures, posters, placards, etc. Again,

(2)

Figure 305. Transcript of Harriet Kerr's defence of hammers found in the WSPU offices, Lincoln's Inn (1913). The National Archives:HO 144/1275/239581.

The WSPU produced toffee hammer brooches inscribed with 'Votes For Women' which were worn by suffragettes who had broken windows (figure 306). To wear a hammer was now a sign of achievement and defiance, signifying the specific militant act the wearer had taken part in.



Figure 306. Silver brooch in the shape of a toffee hammer with the inscription 'Votes for Women' (1912). Such brooches were worn by suffragettes who had taken part in window smashing campaigns. This example was owned by Agnes Kelly who participated in the mass window smashing campaign on 1 March 1912. Kelly was awarded the brooch on the day of her release from Holloway Gaol. MoL:50.82/1188a.

Documentation from the window smashing period reveals more about how suffragettes used, hid and modified hammers. In 1913, a hammer-head and iron pin labelled with the words "No votes, No peace" was found at the Northumberland County Council offices in Newcastle, the windows having

been broken (Pall Mall Gazette 1913, 9). Working class suffragette Lilian Ball also refers to a modified hammer within her statement which was taken as evidence in the trial against Emmeline Pankhurst for conspiracy in March 1912;

> 'I did not bring any implement with me. The young lady asked me if I had brought my own implements, or whatever it might be. I said No. She gave me a hammer: there were words on it "Better broken windows than broken promises". There was only one paper on my hammer. The hammer produced Ex. 94 is like the one I had, only it had not the words on which now appear on it. The young lady advised me to put the hammer up my sleeve' (TNA:HO144/1194/220196).

The act of attaching a statement further transformed the hammer's significance to a readable cultural and political artefact. This not only directly aligned it with the cause and the action, but ensured that the hammer continued to transfer information thereafter. Its role in this case remains active after the incident, as its message is continually recieved by those who encounter it, if lost or confiscated. There is additional evidence of women inscribing or attaching paper with written statements to hammers and other weapons before an act; suffragette Leonora Cohen made certain that her weapon conveyed a written message, as did other suffragettes (see Appendix 3). Considering the hammer within the historic tradition of weapon engraving for battle and other ceremonial purposes offers further opportunities for analysis. Ott (2019, 275-277) discusses the engraving of medieval weaponry;

> 'The form and function of inscriptions are very much shaped by cultural concepts, by notions of heroism, for example, and by concepts of identity…Inscriptions on actual weapons can also provide a devotional link to the transcendent sphere and, consequently, can be a magical enhancement.'

In the same way that the personalisation of an engraved piece of jewellery imbues it with deeper sentimental meaning from the giver to the receiver, the physical attachment of the powerful statement "Better broken windows than broken promises" or "No Votes, No peace" changes the quality and intrinsic meaning of the hammer. While a weapon may be engraved with the name of its owner to help with identification or authentication in its most basic function, as Ott suggests, there may also be a symbolic or magical motivation to the altering of an object. From a rational perspective, the practical use of a weapon does not alter based on whether it has been engraved or not, but from a perspective which employs magical thinking, the inscription could be believed to enhance the physical potential of a weapon (ibid, 277). Historically, weapons used in battle have often included religious symbolism for protection, for example the cross symbolising the Christian faith, or apotropaic symbols or inscriptions to bring good luck and ward off evil (ibid). The power of the written word might also be perceived to translate to the artefact itself, not necessarily by invoking a deity or higher power through symbolism, but through the specific intention of the person acting upon it. In this case the suffragette imbues the hammer with her motivations, frustrations and intentions during the process of physically engraving, writing or painting each letter of each word.

The power of the written word has various implications beyond the initial intention behind writing it. As well as the ways just considered, inscribing or otherwise altering an object marks a definitive moment between the object and the person who amended it. This action forms an attachment, not only between the object and the person, but between the object and the movement. The transformation of mundane items into political assets is not only demonstrated in tools like hammers, but can be noted in objects that were perhaps modified not to be seen and understood by anyone but the maker - a discreet act of personal meaning that ties it to the movement. For example a bookstand found in the home of lesser known suffragette Caprina Fahey had been modified with the words 'Votes For Women' (figure 307). If used typically, when books are placed on the stand the wording would be

obscured, their existence known only to the maker. Or perhaps the shelf might have been used to store other suffrage artefacts, and thus it was decided by Caprina that it should become one itself.



Figure 307. Bookstand belonging to suffragette Caprina Fahey. Caprina was born Charlotte Emily Caprina Gilbert in Capri, Italy. During her time as a militant she was imprisoned in Holloway on more than one occasion and was awarded the WSPU Hunger Strike Medal in 1914. Norfolk Museums Service.

Ott (2019, 279) suggests that identifying marks such as inscriptions are 'part of an accumulation and entanglement of things and animate beings'. Maus and Hodder have also described the idea of entanglement;

> 'So then, what is the magic, the enchantment that transforms a material entity into a thing owned? Why and how do contiguity and association allow the transfer of identity and presence from humans to objects? Mauss (1950) argued that things merge with people, they come to have personalities…The magic that transforms a material entity into a thing owned is a dual process of adding humans and things to each other' (in Hodder 2012, 26).

While carving this path, suffragettes (intentionally and unintentionally) bound themselves to their chosen objects. This was furthered and interpreted in various ways by those on the outside. The hammer became synonymous with suffragettes in media representations and on commercial postcards. The window-smashing campaign merged the identity of the militant woman not only with the militant act itself, but with the object most commonly used. A mass of postcards show women brandishing hammers or in the act of window breaking, one postcard even goes as far as to combine a woman with the shape of a hammer (figures 308-313)[39]. Yet this was an alliance between women and object which the suffragettes themselves played upon, referring to themselves as 'hammerers'.

[39] Two of the postcards also show women with oversized hat pins - emphasised for the purpose of the image. As an object which women usually had on hand, they were excellent for self-defence. Stories about suffragettes using their hat pins as weapons circulated in the UK, though the pins were a bigger concern in the US, dubbed the 'Hat Pin Panic' or 'Hat Pin Peril' (Abbott 2014). In 1910, following accounts of women using their hat pins as weapons, Chicago's city council debated an ordinance to ban pins longer than nine inches. Despite an address by women's club representative Nan Davis who explained "If the men of Chicago want to take the hatpins away from us, let them make the streets safe. No man has a right to tell me how I shall dress and what I shall wear", the law did pass (ibid). Hat pins were banned in other cities too, including Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Baltimore and New Orleans; any woman caught in violation of the new law would face arrest and a $50 fine. The panic died down during wartime and ended thereafter as the style of bobbed hair and cloche hats replaced the need for pins altogether (ibid).





Figure 308 (left). 'Mary Had a Little Hammer' commercial postcard satirising the movement (c. 1912). Mary Evans Picture Library.

Figure 309 (right). 'One of the Striking Features of Kew Gardens' commercial postcard likely referencing the destruction of the Tea Pavilion at Kew Gardens in March 1913, by suffragettes Olive Wharry and Lilian Lenton (c. 1913). Mary Evans Picture Library.





Figure 310 (left). 'ALL FOR THE CAUSE / GOING SHOPPING' commercial postcard satirising the movement, produced for the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage by John Hassall (1912). Mary Evans Picture Library.

Figure 311 (right). A suffragette with smoking bomb and hammer threatens men, declaring 'Men are not all angels, but some soon will be!'. This commercial postcard imagines the suffragette to have malicious, murderous intent. Her shadow appears sinister and warped. Suffragettes were never responsible for any deaths during their destructions on property, and were the only ones who lost their lives due to the campaign (c. 1913). Mary Evans Picture Library.





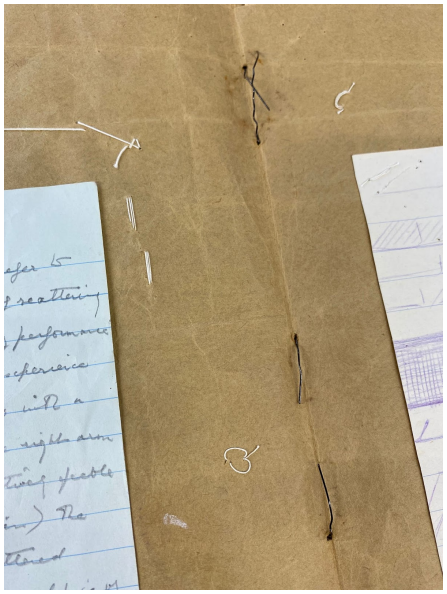
Figure 312 (left). Picture postcard depicting a young girl holding an oversized hammer with the caption "Now! Where's my vote?" Illustrated by Mabel Lucie Attwell and published by The Carlton Publishing Co., London (c. 1913). Ann Lewis Women's Suffrage Collection.

Figure 313 (right). Commercial picture postcard satirising the suffragettes use of hammers (c. 1913). Mary Evans Picture Library.

The Hammerer's Magazine

After the window smashing campaign in 1912, many suffragettes were sent to Winson Green Gaol in Birmingham as Holloway was too full to accommodate them. Prisoners of Winson Green formed *The Hammerer's Magazine*; two issues from May 1912 are preserved in the MoL archives (figures 314-316). The magazines were entirely handwritten and illustrated by suffragette inmates in pencil and coloured pencil on scraps of brown paper (from packages), envelopes and even pieces of toilet paper. Hand sewn with the materials women had access to, the pages are bound together with white thread, and the spines secured with metal hair pins or hat pins (figure 315). The covers of both issues use the hammer as a symbol. The cover artwork of each issue was submitted by inmates and a winning design chosen. The first May 1912 issue shows a hand holding a hammer having just cracked a window, with another row of hammers underneath (figure 314). The cover of the second issue was designed 'by Bridget' and also includes hammers, this time in an intricate art nouveau style (figure 316). The illustration is packed with symbolism, the hammers at the bottom of the page lead into the convicts broad arrows and then into lilies perhaps symbolising peace, purity or transformation. It indicates the full journey of the suffragette from window smashing, to imprisonment, to the potential progress they perceived for women as a result of their actions.







Figures 314-316 (from left to right). Issues of *The Hammerer's Magazine*, May 1912, and a close up of the binding of one of the issues. MoL:50.82/1220 & MoL:2019.6/1.

The issues were kept for private circulation, likely passed between inmates and shown to certain individuals on the outside. One segment mentions that ‘at present our contributors outnumber the readers’ which suggests that writing for the magazines was a pastime for many suffragettes in Winson Green (ibid). Numerous different handwritings throughout the issues also evidence this. Individual pages were written and drawn by contributors, then passed to the editor to compile before a deadline instructed in the previous issue. The magazines provide incredible insights into life in prison as a suffragette, from the uncomfortable ‘planks’ women had to sleep on to the disgusting ‘poison cheese’ and the difficulties of washing (figure 317) (MoL:50.82/1220).



Figure 317. Comic illustration showing the difficulties of washing in Winson Green, by a suffragette inmate, *The Hammerer’s Magazine* (May 1912). MoL:2019.6/1.

The hardships of prison life are evident, but most remarkable is the sense of humour which comes through in almost every page. The two editions kept within the MoL archives include witty and amusing poetry and prose, sketches and snippets of life in prison, as well as segments which would be found in regular print magazines (though typically with the hammerers spin). For example a page of made up advertisements on the back of one of the editions includes;

> ‘The Hammerers Clothing Co. …We have the latest fashions. Suffragettes make their own designs - Visit our modest factory, all our employees are boarded and lodged on the premises, work three hours daily! Break a window and come and see!’
>
> —
>
> ‘Try our hammers - warranted to break anything - a child can use them - Send for a sample and we can assure you that if you use it next time you go on a shopping expedition, you will use no other for a considerable time! Ladies find them invaluable’
>
> —

> ‘Miss Bertha Ryland[40] - glazier and engineer - Panes extracted painlessly by the most up to date methods. Testimonials from the matron of Winson Green Prison.’
>
> —

The suffragettes identity as hammerers is played upon for comic relief throughout; within the same issue is an agony aunt segment entitled ‘Aunt Smashabell’s Page’ (MoL:50.82/1220). The second May 1912 issue has a fashion segment entitled ‘Summer Fashions for Wardresses, Suffragettes and Others’ by Maria Black which covers ‘the latest fashion for officers’ and inmates;

> ‘The Hammerers have, of course introduced their own fashions entirely up to date, like everything belonging to them. The favourite colours worn are naturally purple, white and green. They belong to the hatless brigade and are always trying new modes of hairdressing (not from conceit, oh dear no but to pass the time). The Hammerers look their best on Monday at 6.30am when you may behold them in procession each carrying a pail of water’ (MoL:2019.6/1).

The Winson Green suffragettes identity as ‘Hammerers’ was part of their process of incorporation and reinvention of mundane objects into political icons and symbols of resistance. The act which sent them to prison was built upon and furthered through the magazines. Within one copy is an annotated sketch of a spoon (figure 318), it reads;

> ‘Facsimile of [a] spoon introduced at Winson Green May 18 1912 - These beautiful spoons, copied from an antique design (probably ancient Greek, found in the recent excavations) mark the period when Art was first introduced in Winson Green. Unfortunately they fell into the hands of Philistines who were quite unable to appreciate their beauty - & rejected them as unsuitable for ordinary use. I suggested their being used for plate glass window smashing’ (ibid.

The spoons clearly made quite the impression, and brought some levity to prison life that day as the following page includes additional sketches and a verse from another suffragette prisoner on ‘a beautiful new spoon!!’. In this first page the writer describes their appreciation of the aesthetic of the spoon then postulates its use for breaking windows. Like much of the magazine's content, the tone of the writing is subversively humorous, yet it encapsulates a sentiment shared by many of the suffragettes, which is the aesthetic importance of the tools they use in protest, as well as their creative radicalism which allowed them to see opportunities for the appropriation and transformation of everyday mundane items into protest objects. At times the women almost seem to parody their experience in prison with their identity as widow smashers - perhaps for their own amusement and that of those around them. This type of discussion and the application of subversive meaning to everyday objects such as the spoons likely also garnered a sense of unity and solidarity between the inmates, and helped them to feel connected to ongoing militant action on the outside.

[40] Bertha Ryland was sentenced to 6 months (served 4 months) in Winson Green for taking part in the window-smashing campaign on Bond Street, London in March 1912. She was arrested again in June 1914 for slashing a painting by George Romney in Birmingham Art Gallery with a meat cleaver she had concealed in her jacket. She left a note: 'I attack this work of art deliberately as a protest against the Government's criminal injustice in denying women the vote, and also against the government's brutal injustice in imprisonings, forcibly feeding, and drugging suffragist militants, while allowing Ulster militants to go free..' (Ryland 1914, 164;165). In *The Suffragette* (1914b, 219), Ryland described the serious health issues she suffered after her brutal force-feedings in Winson Green including chronic kidney pain.

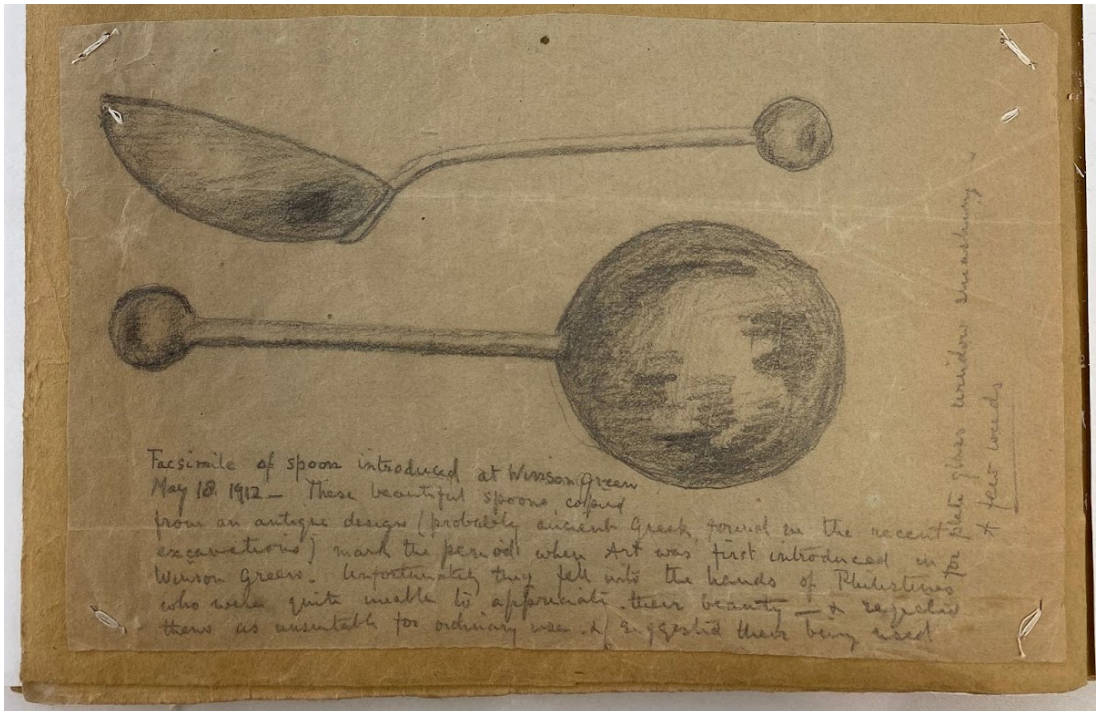


Figure 318. Annotated illustration of ‘the new spoons’, by a suffragette inmate of Winson Green, *The Hammerer’s Magazine* (May 1912). MoL:2019.6/1.

7.4. Alice Farmer

So far this chapter has demonstrated how the suffragettes’ militant identity was formed, both by the suffragettes themselves through role models such as Joan of Arc, and how their use of objects in direct action became enmeshed with their activist identity. Having considered the suffragettes use of hammers in the WSPU window smashing campaign, the ways the hammer became synonymous with the suffragette in print materials, and how the identity of the ‘hammerer’ was formed in Winson Green, it is worth examining a particular assemblage which belonged to lesser known suffragette (and ‘hammerer’) Alice Farmer. Suffragettes accumulated and kept various objects during their time as militants, from the weapons and implements they used to the awards they were bestowed by their organisations (though it should be noted that no suffrage assemblage represents a complete picture, nor are any two sets of associated objects likely to be identical). This section gives a brief background on Farmer’s militant activity, then her objects are further used to illustrate the following discussions on hunger striking and awarding.

Alice Farmer was sentenced to 4 months imprisonment in Winson Green for causing £18 worth of damage to windows in Piccadilly. During this time she contributed to *The Hammerer’s Magazine* and won the ‘Competition Corner’ segment for her limerick about an illustration from the previous issue (figure 319).



Figure 319. ‘Monday Morning in Winson Green’ illustration by a suffragette inmate, *The Hammerer’s Magazine* (May 1912). The illustration prompted Alice Farmer to write her competition winning limerick which reads, 'On contemplating a picture in a recent number of the Hammerers Magazine: a middle aged spinster, I'm told, of character saucey and bold, cleaned her cell in her shirt and a much pinned up skirt and her legs - well they must have been cold'. MoL:50.82/1220.

A hammer and leather glove which belonged to Alice Farmer and were used for window breaking were acquired by MoL in 2018 (figures 320 & 321). They were kept by Alice along with other items from her time as a suffragette and preserved by her family after she died, before being donated to the Museum. The glove and hammer are no more remarkable than any other, in this instance the hammer was not engraved and the glove does not feature purple white and green or any hidden stitched messages. As ‘mundane’ objects, they could have easily been lost, and the significance they gained through their involvement in the movement never fully recognised. Yet the choice to keep the glove and hammer and preserve them by her descendants until they were donated shows their importance as everyday objects which became meaningful through their involvement with Alice Farmer and their use in militant activity.



Figures 320 & 321 (from left to right). Leather glove and hammer which belonged to suffragette Alice Farmer and were used by her in direct action (c.1912 - items themselves likely date earlier). MoL:2019.6/6 & 2019.6/5.

While in Winson Green, Alice began a hunger-strike on 22nd June 1912. After a 36 hour fast she was force fed via nasal tube, but suffered serious complications on the following day when a second attempt at force-feeding was made which went wrong. Correspondence from Alice to the Suffragette Fellowship in 1931 reveal more about this experience. Her description suggests the tube went into her lungs rather than her stomach, 'When the tube was withdrawn I was violently sick, and for a long time afterwards coughed uncontrollably at intervale, making a very extraordinary whistling, screaming, crowing sort of sound and bringing back quantities of the fluid with which I had been fed' (MoL:58.87/61). She was released from prison one day later after an examination by the medical officer, but was made to sign a statement that she would be travelling 'at her own risk' (ibid). When she returned to her mother's home in Wales a doctor was called and Alice was found to have a high temperature and to be suffering from pneumonia and pleurisy (ibid). Her condition after release was shared in *Votes For Women* (1912e, 648) in an article entitled 'FORCIBLE FEEDING - A DANGER AND AN OUTRAGE' which gave additional accounts of the horrors many women underwent while imprisoned.

7.4.1 Hunger Striking

Farmer received a hunger strike medal from the WSPU for her efforts. Before seeking to understand the role of these medals, it is first necessary to consider the effect of hunger striking. Scholarship on hunger strikes have typically focused on issues of gender politics surrounding the act. Pedersen (2018) detailed how suffragettes' descriptions use the same language as that of sexual violation, and the extreme brutality of the practice evidences the patriarchal violence of the political system. Others have viewed the act of women's hunger striking as both a rejection of women's maternal role and, contrarily, as the ultimate maternal sacrifice made on behalf of all women in Britain (Grant 2011). The suffragette's use of hunger striking has also been analysed outside of gendered frameworks, and situated within the broad history of political and cultural fasting. Grant (2011) traced the tactic back to Russian revolutionaries who may have influenced the first suffragette hunger striker, Marion Wallace-Dunlop. Lennon (2007) examined the influence of the suffragettes on subsequent hunger strikes and the practice as it relates to cultural traditions. One aspect which has not been examined in the same depth, is the related material culture and its impact on the effectiveness of the strategy. Suffragettes used testimonies, speeches, print material (figures 322-323) and medals to make the public explicitly aware that women were suffering and for what cause - essentially leveraging the suffering of their members. A *Votes For Women* (1910c, 306) advert describes,

> 'A coloured poster representing the forcible feeding of Suffragettes in prison, a black-and-white drawing of which appeared in *Votes for Women* of January 29, is now ready. It is printed in four colours, and is a very graphic means of bringing home to the public the terrible ordeal through which nearly forty women had gone in the cause of political freedom.'

Below this, the advert provides details on how to order the poster and the sizes best suited for different purposes. WSPU representations of forced feeding were effective in their powerful emotive appeal to the public, though as Tickner (1987, 38) writes, 'there was a sado-masochistic element in WSPU posters which was intended to heighten a sense of outrage at women's suffering, but which might equally invite a covert pleasure in its spectacle.' Many also felt that emphasising women as man's victim in this imagery would undermine 'their active and rational role in the conduct of the campaign', while Tickner also notes that suffragists (and some suffragettes) felt uneasy about the WSPU's double-sided nature of representing women as helpless in some imagery while undertaking in militant activity (ibid). Though it has also been argued that the tactic did help sway public sympathies by articulating the universal physical experience and understanding of hunger, combined with the horrific testimonies and images of force-feeding produced by the suffragettes. The practice of force-feeding as it was employed by the government was also widely criticised by doctors and

members of the public (Lenon 2017). WSPU leaders regarded the tactic as their strongest weapon against the government. When May Billinghurst was advised to end her hunger strike she described 'how impossible that would be to me to throw away the only weapon left to me to fight for freedom' (Billinghurst n.d).

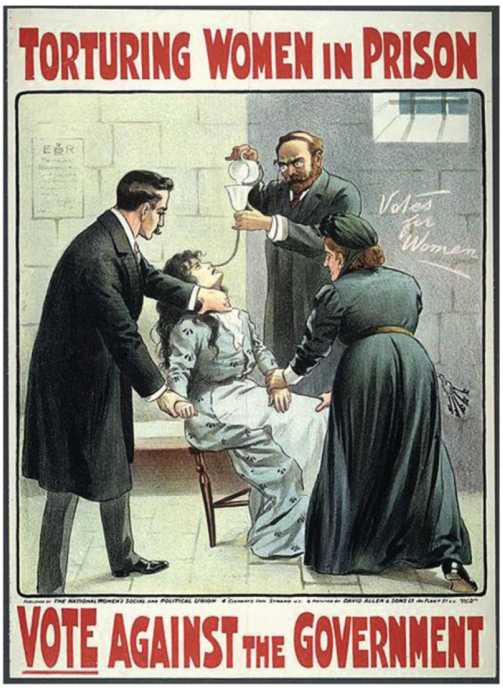




Figure 322 (left). This election poster first appeared in *Votes For Women* (29 Oct, 1909) in black and white. It denounced the government's treatment of suffragette prisoners by showing a suffragette being nasally force fed. The poster was colourised and distributed by the WSPU and other organisations. This example was produced by London publishers David Allen & Sons in 1913. Smith Collection.

Figure 323 (right). Election poster by Alfred Pearse issued by the WSPU, again denouncing the government's treatment of suffragette prisoners with an illustration of violent force feeding (1910). MoL:50.82/1115.

7.4.2 Medals

With this in mind, hunger strike medals clearly represented more than the hunger strike, but were symbolic of the power women were able to harness when they centralised the fight for the vote within their own bodies, and then mobilised the torture they endured to influence public opinion. They took charge of the surrounding narrative by telling their own stories and sharing the torturous experience of force-feeding in print and other materials. The hunger strike and resulting force-feeding distilled the movement in all of its complexities into the single overarching struggle - that of women against a violent patriarchy. The graphic images and descriptions produced by the movement gave women a platform to voice the injustice of the government's oppression that saw them held down from political equity.

As mentioned, Alice Farmer was awarded a 'Hunger Strike' medal by the WSPU for her suffering (figure 324), as were all members who endured a hunger strike in the name of the cause. Hunger strike medals (or 'For Valour medals' as they were often referred) were first presented to suffragettes

in August 1909, replacing the earlier ‘Honour of Imprisonment’ medals, of which only three are known (Florey 2013, 52). The medals were made of purple, white and green ribbon with the words ‘For Valour’ engraved on a silver brooch fastening bar at the top - an imitation of the wording on the Victoria Cross. The circular medallion has ‘Hunger Strike’ engraved on one side and the recipient's name on the back. Alice’s medal has one enamelled bar which has been engraved 'Fed by force 1.3.12' on the reverse. The medal is hallmarked with the Birmingham silversmith's mark Joseph Moore, a die-engraver and medallist company who specialised in crosses and medals. The silver is also stamped with the maker's name Toye & Company, London (now ‘Toye, Kenning & Spencer’)[41], makers and suppliers of insignia, badges and medals for civil and military markets. Each medal cost the WSPU £1 to make (Crawford 2012b).



Figure 324. Each medal came in a rectangular presentation box where the medal laid on a green velvet interior. The inner lid of the boxes was lined with cream satin with the name of the suffragette and an inscription in gold lettering. This example awarded to Alice Farmer reads, 'presented to Alice Farmer by the Women's Social & Political Union in recognition of a gallant action whereby through endurance to the last extremity of hunger and hardship a great principle of political justice was vindicated.’ (1912). MoL:2019.6/2b.

There are small differences between medals which provide more information about each hunger striker. Silver bars represent dates of imprisonment and periods of hunger strike, while purple, white and green enamel bars indicate force-feedings (Cook 2018). There is no comprehensive list of the exact number of women who received these medals, but an estimate based on lists of suffragettes where the location of medals are known, or where there is recorded information on the suffragette which indicates a medal, shows that at least 91 women are known to have received medals and there are at least 70 more likely recipients (Wikipedia 2022). Examples in museums make it possible to compare similarities and differences. Abbey House Museum has Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence’s medal, and MoL has several examples including Emmeline Pankhurst’s. LSE Women’s Library also has several examples including Grace Roe’s and Elsie Duval’s which has two purple, white and green enamel bars representative of multiple hunger strikes. The medal belonging to Mary Richardson has four enamel bars and five silver bars, which is believed to be the greatest number awarded by the WSPU (Florey 2013, 53).

Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence introduced the medals in a speech at St. James Hall, ‘...she announced that a commemorative medal had been struck, and would be presented to each of the hunger-strikers in recognition of what they had suffered for the cause’ (VFW 1909g, 1043). As more women took part in hunger strikes, the awarding of medals continued, and were usually given to released prisoners by Mrs Pankhurst in a ceremonial presentation at the Royal Albert Hall. *Votes for Women* (1910d, 401) mentions, ‘A touching moment in the meeting was when the medals were presented to those who have been through the hunger strike and forcible feeding during the past few months.’ The giving and receiving of medals became a poignant tradition within the organisation. They were an

[41] Toye & Co made additional pieces for the campaign; they placed adverts in at least five issues of *The Suffragette* in 1914 offering ‘BANNERS, MEDALS, CELLULOID BUTTONS, REGALIA, ROSETTES, ENAMELLED BADGES, for every society’ (*The Suffragette* 1914c, 231).

acknowledgement of the commitment and loyalty of those suffragettes who had sacrificed their health for the cause. Medals commemorated and recognised the suffragettes efforts, and, as beautiful, ornamental pieces, they adorned the clothing of the wearer and made a visible statement about their bravery and endurance, possibly inspiring other WSPU members to follow the same path.

Of course not all were in favour, and the awards were met with some derision and criticism in the press. A 'representative' of the newspaper *Mainly About People* or 'M.A.P' (which ran from 1898-1911) wrote an article entitled 'What Becomes of Suffragette Funds' which shared the writer's views on the organisation's 'ill-spent money',

> 'Prisoners medals and addresses cost £140, which can only be described as deliberate and disgraceful waste. If the recipients had their cause at heart, they would be just as satisfied with a plain decoration costing, at most, a penny or so, as is the hero who, on the battlefield, wins the Victoria Cross… No! This business of decoration is plain, unadulterated humbug, it reflects no credit on donor or recipient, and savours the self-glorification- for which, of course, the members of the N.W.S.P.U. have, to use slang expression "no use." (MAP 1910).

The writer goes on to state his opinion that the WSPU 'frivols its money away in any direction but the right one' and suggests how the organisation should spend its own fund-raised money (ibid). Clearly the suffragettes' use of medals and other awards went beyond the 'business of decoration' as this person suggests, but this does provoke questions on the function and wider role of awards within the movement. The Women's Freedom League (WFL) was the first suffrage organisation to award its members with specific brooches and badges for their achievements. In 1907, suffragette Margaret Clayton was given the first type of Holloway brooch by the WFL (shown on pg 273). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the WFL also made special badges for sellers of their newspaper *The Vote* including editions for those who sold the most; 'Two champion badges will be presented to the best sellers in large towns, and in small centres, where the facilities for selling are not so great' (WFL 1913-14, 12). It was also noted that members were asked to submit design ideas for the badges so that 'the work should be entirely that of women' (ibid).

The WFL's use of badges to push sales of their newspapers by their members provides clear evidence that awards were used as incentives by suffrage organisations. Frey (2006, 377) explains that, 'the demand for awards relies on an individual's desire for distinction, and the supply of awards is governed by the desire to motivate'. It goes without saying that most people would not endure the horrific ordeal of imprisonment and force-feeding for a small material reward, but it is worth considering the impact of awarding on the relationship between the WSPU and the recipient, as well as the wider impact on other WSPU members. An organisation can't necessarily make it's members do something, but a system which offers awards sets up a relationship whereby recipients might feel motivated to integrate further with the organisation and it's activities - in this case it could help to ensure continued participation and increase militant activity. It also further validates the recipient's identity as being a part of the organisation and part of a collective of individuals who have a shared experience. These feelings are cemented through the physical award, and there is a knock on effect as other members recognise this invisible bond and, on a conscious or subconscious level, may be influenced to undertake an action for the same result. As Conke (2022) describes, the use of awards to influence and promote an ideal extends beyond potential recipients, but can be used to increase publicity and spread awareness in the best interests of the organisation.

There is evidence that WSPU awards functioned in this way. As well as the hunger striker medal, the Holloway brooch (which was also often referred to as "the Victoria Cross" of the movement) was awarded to all members of the WSPU who served time in prison, including those who did not hunger

strike (figure 325). The brooches were first referenced in *Votes for Women* (1909h, 529), in an article which discussed the upcoming Albert Hall meeting:

> ‘The meeting has a very special significance - it is to be a great, triumphant exposition of the militant methods, explained by the speakers and personified on the platform by all the members of the W.S.P.U. who have been to prison, and who will be presented with the Victoria Cross of the Union, the Holloway brooch, and with the illuminated address that commemorates their bravery and self-sacrifice. It is also more than this - it is an occasion for all who have not been able to take part in militant action to do honour to courageous women who have suffered gladly in this way, and it is to be a great show of the strength of our movement in order that the international delegates from foreign suffrage societies who have received a special invitation to be present, may carry back with them a true idea of what the militant movement is and what it has done…’



Figure 325. The Holloway brooch was designed by Sylvia Pankhurst, and incorporates the portcullis design of the House of Commons, though it is also often described as a prison gate. Two chains hang from each side, and on top of the portcullis is an enamel prisoner's broad arrow symbol in the WSPU colours. This particular example belonged to Alice Farmer (1909). MoL:2019.6/3.

The event honoured the former prisoners, as the writer described, ‘No one who has not suffered imprisonment can realise what it means, but that we love and honour our prisoners for their nobility and unselfishness’ (ibid). Yet the event was equally designed to showcase the organisation's militant methods and the strength of the movement, not only to other WSPU members who had not been to prison, but also to the invited international delegates. It is clear that the role of the awards went beyond their first purpose of acknowledging the strength and bravery of the suffragettes. They also framed militant action as being worthy of awarding, and helped spread the WSPU’s core message beyond the organisation itself.

As well as hunger strike medals and the Holloway brooch, other types of medals were made by the WSPU which included additional details. In the same way that military medals are typically inscribed with the recipient’s personal service number, rank, name and branch of service or regiment, some suffrage medals included the dates of the activity which led to the imprisonment, specific cell numbers and dates of time spent in jail, alongside the suffragette’s name, year and organisation (figures 326-328).



Figures 326, 327 & 328 (from left

Medal awarded to Helen Tyson by the Streatham branch of the WSPU on her release from Holloway in 1909. It is inscribed 'to Mrs Helen Tyson in remembrance of Feb 24th to March 24th 1909 a token of affection from the new union'. The 'Dx2 7' refers to the number of the prison wing and cell in which Helen was held during her month in Holloway (1909). MoL:NN22906. Helen Tyson became a member of the WSPU along with her two daughters Diana and Leonora in 1908.

Medallion awarded to Leonora Tyson. It is inscribed ‘LEONORA TYSON/IN REMEMBRANCE OF MARCH 9TH TO MAY 8TH 1912. A TOKEN OF APPRECIATION FROM THE STREATHAM WSPU.’ The reverse is marked: 'DX2 32', which corresponds to the number of the prison wing and cell occupied by Leonora during her 2 month imprisonment in Holloway for window smashing in March 1912. MoL:NN22904.

Medal awarded to Kate Lilley upon her release from prison after she served two months of hard labour for breaking a window in the War Office. It has her Holloway wing number 'Dx3' and cell number '5'. The reverse is engraved 'K Lilley March 9th to April 29th 1912 HL'.The 'HL' on the medal stands for 'hard labour’. MoL:2005.145/2.

7.5 Militarisation

Part of the value of the hunger strike award is the exceptional circumstances which produced it. The rarity of the medals speaks to the self sacrifice and dedication of only a select number of individuals. This is similar to the tradition of bestowing military honours. It’s well established that the WSPU used militaristic organisation, tactics and language. From march formation akin to military drill, to the use of the term ‘War Chest’ in reference to campaign funds. Presenting suffragettes with medals like a soldier returning from war furthered the idea that a militant suffragette going to prison was a noble act of *duty* or *service*. As did the engraving of their actions and cell numbers.

Victorian society was transformed by the effects of war, which influenced ideas around militarism prior to the formation of the WSPU. ‘The nineteenth century opened with the Napoleonic wars and closed with the war against the Boers in South Africa - in between there was scarcely a month when the British army was not engaged somewhere in the world’ (Clarke 2008, 29). During this time the lives of many British citizens were shaped by their personal experience of fighting, or having loved ones away on duty. This undoubtedly created a new militaristic mentality, and influenced the suffragettes’ tactics. The Crimean War (1854-1856) in particular has been considered a transformative movement which redefined the relationship between the army and wider society. As the first war which was widely reported to British citizens back home, it aided in the ‘‘rehabilitation’ of British soldiers from Wellington’s “scum of the earth” to Kipling’s “Tommy Atkins”’ (ibid, 40). The great number of casualties meant that many people lost husbands, sons and fathers. The national grief of these losses combined

with coverage of the war, which detailed the appalling conditions men suffered, turned 'the rank and file soldier into an object of sympathy' (ibid, 41). Crucially, this period also embraced a female lead, Florence Nightingale, who would be upheld by the suffrage movement (figures 329 & 330).





Figure 329 (left). 'Florence Nightingale / Crimea' banner designs and swatches from Mary Lowndes design album (1908). LSE:0059/0060.

Figure 330 (right). Finished banner made in orange velvet and purple sateen with red and gold appliqué and silk tassel fringing. Used in the NUWSS Procession (1908). LSE:F04C.

As thoughts about the military began to shift and transform around this time, so did ways of expressing gratitude. In the early nineteenth century the regiment as opposed to the battle became the focus of commemoration, and the bestowing of honours further glorified the soldier. Clarke describes the 'Victorian obsession with commemoration' reflected in the number of memorials to the Boer war (1899-1902), which stands at approximately 1,588 (ibid, 10-11). The Boer War was the first fought by civilians, and this shift further redefined public perceptions of the army. Rather than regarded as 'a militaristic threat to individual liberties' or an 'authoritarian anachronism' it came to be understood as 'voluntary acceptance of a common purpose' (Hanham in Clarke 2008, 37).

Just as these wars primed society to step into their expected duties in World War One, the experience and acts of commemoration thereafter primed the suffragettes to step up to their own cause with militaristic intent, and honour their comrades accordingly. The connection between suffrage medals and military honours was made explicit with the decision to engrave the hunger striker medals with 'For Valour'. This same wording is used on the most prestigious award of the British Honours system, the Victoria Cross, which is reserved for exceptional military service in most instances. Since its founding in 1856, there have only been 1,358 Victoria Crosses awarded, most bestowed to soldiers during the First World War and the Second World War (National Army Museum n.d.). The suffragettes would have been familiar with the VC as it was first given to 62 Crimean war veterans in 1857, and to the British troops of 'Q' Battery Royal Horse Artillery who were ambushed on their march to Bloemfontein by Boer commandos in 1900, among other recipients (ibid). The National Army Museum describes the Victoria Cross as achieving 'almost mythical status with recipients often revered as heroes' (ibid). Like the VC, hunger strike medals aimed to show that recipients had displayed unrivalled and exceptional bravery in the face of the enemy - in this case the government. Language

used around the act of hunger striking was also equivalent to that of war. Pethick-Lawrence (1909, 181) described the former prisoners receiving their hunger strike medals; ‘They might be bent by brute force, the body might be killed and broken, but force had no power to bond or break the spirit.’

Use of this language combined with ceremonial presentation of the medals added to the identity of the hunger strikers as heroes and martyrs who, like Joan of Arc, endured for the sake of a greater good. The effect of this was to make the public aware of the women’s struggle in order to gain their sympathy and understanding and provoke support, while simultaneously shaming the government for its treatment of women. The suffragette hunger strikes became one of the most significant and defining legacies of the movement. Their medals acknowledge this fight, and today they sell for thousands of pounds; Elsie Wolff Van Sandau’s sold at auction to a private buyer for £12,500 in 2019, and that same year another which was awarded to Anna Lewis was sold in a lot together with two Holloway brooches and some photographs for £27,250 (Hansons Auctioneers 2019; Lawrences Auctioneers 2019).

7.6 Illuminated Addresses

Returning to the militant suffragette’s assemblage, as well as her hunger strike medal and Holloway brooch, the WSPU also presented Alice Farmer with an illuminated address (figure 331 - see figure 332 for a clearer example). The scrolls were designed by Sylvia Pankhurst and awarded to formerly imprisoned suffragettes from 1908 (Crawford 2014b).



Figure 331. Illuminated address presented to Alice Farmer after her release from prison (1912). Each address incorporated the WSPU colours of purple, white and green within a decorative border of flowers and berries and the trumpeting ‘angel of freedom’ design which is recognisable across various WSPU pieces. They were printed by the company Weiners, the borders were then hand coloured and each was hand signed by Emmeline Pankhurst (Cooke, perscom, 2022). MoL:2019.6/4.



Figure 332. Illuminated address presented to Elsa Gye after her imprisonment (c. 1908-1909). Elsa was one of fifty women arrested in February 1908 for trying to enter the House of Commons during the Women's Parliament. She received 6 weeks imprisonment in the second division, and was arrested again in February 1909 with 28 fellow suffragettes for the attempted 'rush' on the House of Commons. She received another 6 weeks sentence, which was two weeks longer than most of the others arrested due to her previous imprisonment the year before. MoL:50.82/1497.

It's not surprising that suffragettes chose this form to honour their members. The Middle Ages provided the richest collection of illuminated work and, as previously discussed, the suffragettes shared in a romantic nostalgia for the time period, a fascination which was prevalent in the Victorian and Edwardian eras (Seale 2020). The art of illumination is commonly regarded as medieval, though the practice dates back as early as the 4th century CE (Nordenfalk 1988, 7). Illuminated manuscripts have long been one of the greatest resources of historical information (O'Hogan n.d). As both a visual and textual object, they preserve a unique record of the time they were made. In literary examples, the border illustrations functioned as 'guide marks', which were useful for the reader in navigating dense blocks of text (Nordenfalk 1988, 7). They also aided those who could not read, allowing them to understand a passage by viewing the pictures (ibid, 19). Illuminated addresses became popular again in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Wilson 2021, 6). They took the form of scrolls or certificates, and typically honoured individuals for their achievements. Each one was unique, and showcased a highly decorative artform which included illustration, calligraphy and sometimes embellishments such as gold leaf.

Guest's (2011) study draws on work by critical theorists Deleuze and Guattari to examine the ways medieval illuminated manuscripts created meaning for their viewers, and how the combination of person, image and text formed 'machines' that produced desire and formed new subjectivities (ibid). This goes hand in hand with the existing body of work which acknowledges objects and imagery as active components (ibid, 142; Mitchell 2005; Miller 2005). Like other print materials, illuminated works embody the desires and ideologies of the maker, the themes of the text and the overarching intentions and circumstances by which they were created. These 'residual traces of past desires' are encoded within the object and are 'activated by readers whose own subjectivities are transformed in the reading process' (Guest 2011, 143; 168). Though unlike other print materials, they function similar to medals when awarded to an individual.

The WSPU were not the first suffrage organisation to bestow an illuminated address. The NUWSS gifted one to Queen Victoria[42] on her Diamond Jubilee (1887), signed by Millicent Garrett Fawcett on behalf of the organisation (figure 333). The piece was illustrated by Evelyn Lucas and backed onto silk which unfurls as a scroll, with two sets of cream satin ribbons to secure it. The intricate and detailed border illustrations of the address are rich with the symbolism of pro-suffrage ideas. The Queen is depicted as Britannia, and various scenes show women engaged in all manner of work from the arts and sciences, to charity, industry and domestic work (Chernock 2019, 178). The top right corner shows Queen Victoria as the mother of all women, who ascend up a tree and ladder from 'darkness' to knowledge and academic achievement. The design is an early example of the suffragist's use of allegorical imagery, and it emphasises women occupying both domestic and public roles. This is highlighted again in the text which references the Queen not only as the Sovereign, but as the 'Mother of her People', and praises the 'exalted example of Your Majesty in harmonizing the claims of the public weal with the claims of home affections'. Analysing the writing and design choices of the address through the lens of desire, it is clear that the object seeks (on behalf of Fawcett and the NUWSS) to demonstrate women's capacity through the roles demonstrated, and further evidence this capacity with a feminist depiction of the queen herself. The refined and elegant design of the address is a fitting gift for its recipient and the occasion.

[42] The suffragists' decision to acknowledge the Queen with such an extravagant gift might seem strange given that Queen Victoria is known to have opposed women's right to vote. Most well known is her declaration that women's rights were a "mad, wicked folly", though as Chernock (2019, i) explains, these words were not circulated publicly until after her death in 1901. As she never publicly commented on the movement during her reign, suffrage campaigners were still able to use her to assert their own desires for voting rights. Her very existence and position as both a woman, a public figure and a leader of the highest authority, rendered many anti-suffrage arguments redundant, and highlighted the incongruity of women's voteless position. As such feminists were able to reimagine Queen Victoria in ways which suited their agenda.



Figure 333. Illuminated address signed by Millicent Garrett Fawcett, ‘on behalf of the Combined Committee of the National Society for Women’s Suffrage’ (a predecessor of the NUWSS). It was given to Queen Victoria on her Diamond Jubilee (1897). The National Archives: PP 1/349/2.

Returning to the WSPU illuminated addresses, the design choices, iconography and style represent the recipients as important figures within the history of the movement. The text is the same on each address (other than the illuminated names) and conveys a ‘deep sense of admiration’ and thanks on behalf of all women whose lives will be impacted by the actions of the suffragette. The WSPU recognises the ‘humiliation’ they suffered, their ‘courage’ in imprisonment, and their selflessness and readiness to obey the call of duty as WSPU members. Guest (2011, 168-169) referred to the use of artistic styles as ‘bearers of meaning’. WSPU addresses are rich in detail and symbolism which further elevate the actions of the recipients. An elaborate illuminated border and decorative flourishes indicate the recipient should be regarded with importance, they are worthy of a prestigious document, akin the earlier example given to Queen Victoria. The berries and small budding flowers perhaps indicate new beginnings, just as the portcullis symbol in front of a rising sun represents a new dawn for women’s suffrage. On the opposite side, the broad arrow symbol in front of lilies of the valley (associated with purity, transformation, devotion and the Virgin Mary in Christianity) glorifies the suffragettes' imprisonment as a pure and perhaps even holy act. The roundel by Sylvia Pankhurst shows two trumpeting angels with a centre angel holding a banner marked ‘Freedom’. They herald a new dawn and new age of freedom for women. This initial ‘angel of freedom design’ was further adapted, and became a key element of the organisation's branding on flyers and banners, jewellery, badges and one of the WSPU tea sets (figures 334-338).





Figure 334. ‘Angel of Freedom’ or ‘Trumpeting Angel’ design by Sylvia Pankhurst for the WSPU, shown on a flyer advertising The Women’s Exhibition (1909). LSE:UDC Box 344.

Figure 335. Votes for Women ‘Angel of Freedom’ embossed medallion, likely commissioned from a jeweller (c. 1909-1914). The style is reminiscent of a medal, the back has no pin and the bar seems designed to be fed through a button hole. It sold at auction for $4,024.66 in 2022 (Hake’s Auctions 2022).



Figure 336. Banner made by the West Ham branch of the WSPU. The ‘Angel of Freedom’ in the centre was adapted from Sylvia Pankhurst's design by branch members Misses M A and E Brice (presumably sisters) (c. 1910). MoL:50.82/1237.





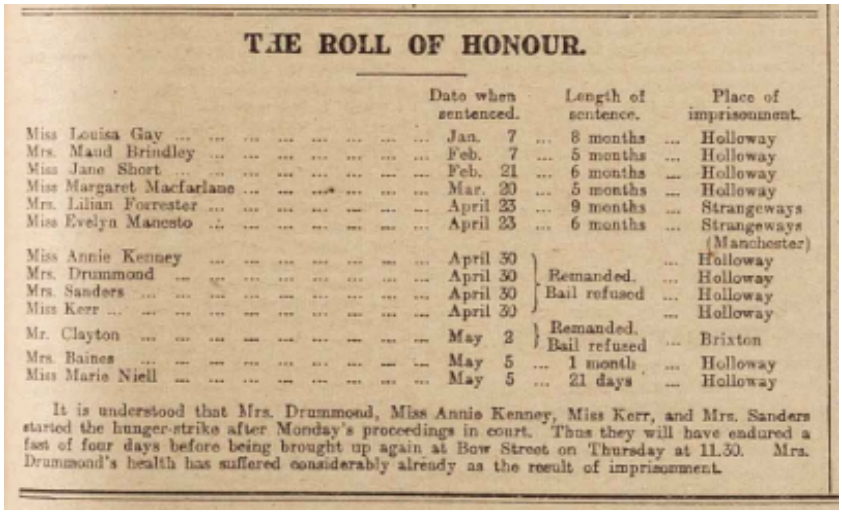
Figure 337 (left). Metal and enamel badge in the WSPU colours depicting Sylvia Pankhurst’s ‘Angel of Freedom’ (1910). Used with the permission of Dr. Kenneth Florey.

Figure 338 (right). White china teapot decorated with Sylvia Pankhurst's ‘Angel of Freedom’, part of the 22 piece tea service commissioned for the Women’s Exhibition (1909). MoL:81.113/8.

Illuminated addresses and other awards suffrage campaigners created for their members functioned beyond acknowledging achievement. They documented actions and thanked recipients for their courage, dedication and what they endured for the cause, but they also worked to reframe the militant movement and militant actions as great sacrifices and achievements worthy of the same level of recognition as a military honour, or an award fit for nobility. By mirroring military honours they enhanced suffragette militancy, increased and cemented the bond between WSPU members and the organisation, and helped form a legacy around direct actions. The ceremonies where awards were presented helped spread the WSPU's core message to invited guests nationally and internationally, while inspiring and instructing other members to follow suit. They changed the narrative around imprisonment, and harnessed force-feeding as a way to gain public sympathy and understanding. They also added to the body of suffrage material that was richly symbolic, and fed into other narratives around medieval sacrifice and spiritual martyrdom, female gender roles and the capabilities of women.

7.7 Prison Objects

A final key piece of the suffragette's militant identity, manifest in its materials, is the culture which evolved around imprisonment. Holloway has been described as 'the graduating university for militancy' (Davies 2018, para. 23). This was further cemented by awarding medals after a sentence. The importance of imprisonment to the militant identity has also been discussed by Mayhall (1995, 330), who wrote that 'inclusion in the community of militant suffragettes rested upon the defining act of imprisonment'. Militant newspapers published 'Roll of Honour' lists which were updated each issue to include up-to-date details of who was serving time and where (figure 339). Roll of Honour booklets were also printed and sold by independent publishers (figures 340 & 341). As the first list shows, Holloway was the main prison where suffragettes served their time. As such, Holloway became a focal point within the movement, and a symbol of the suffragette struggle. Militant activity was by no means confined to London, but it was a hub of action where suffragettes from across the country would travel to. This meant that up to 200 suffragettes could be taken into Holloway on a single day (Davies 2018).

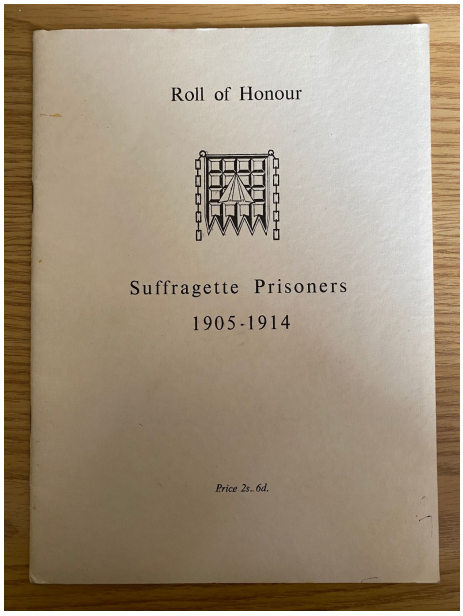


THE ROLL OF HONOUR.

	Date when sentenced.	Length of sentence.	Place of imprisonment.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 7	8 months	Holloway
Mrs. Maud Brindley	Feb. 7	5 months	Holloway
Miss Jane Short	Feb. 21	6 months	Holloway
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 months	Holloway
Mrs. Lilian Forrester	April 23	9 months	Strangeways
Miss Evelyn Mancsto	April 23	6 months	Strangeways (Manchester)
Miss Annie Kenney	April 30	Remanded. Bail refused	Holloway
Mrs. Drummond	April 30		Holloway
Mrs. Sanders	April 30		Holloway
Miss Kerr	April 30		Holloway
Mr. Clayton	May 2	Remanded. Bail refused	Brixton
Mrs. Baines	May 5	1 month	Holloway
Miss Marie Niell	May 5	21 days	Holloway

It is understood that Mrs. Drummond, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Kerr, and Mrs. Sanders started the hunger-strike after Monday's proceedings in court. Thus they will have endured a fast of four days before being brought up again at Bow Street on Thursday at 11.30. Mrs. Drummond's health has suffered considerably already as the result of imprisonment.

Figure 339. 'The Roll of Honour' list of suffragette prisoners, (*The Suffragette*, 9 May 1913). LSE.



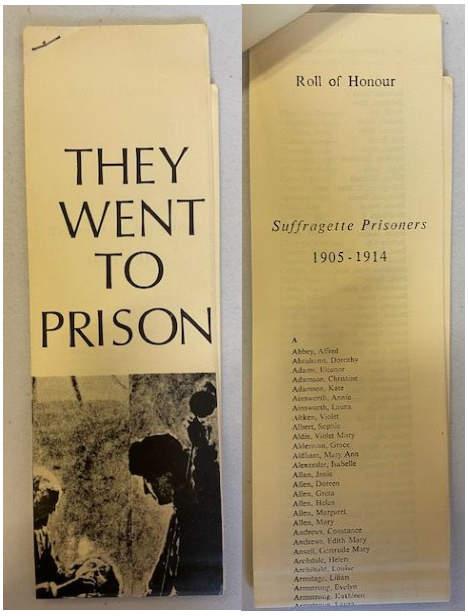


Figure 340 (left). 'Roll of Honour: Suffragette Prisoners 1905-1914' booklet, produced by John Wadsworth Ltd, The Rydale Press, Keighley (1914). Leeds Museums and Galleries: LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0025 .A.

Figure 341 (right). 'THEY WENT TO PRISON' booklet (c.1914). Glasgow Women's Library.

Some of the most prominent names served time in Holloway, enduring hunger strikes and force-feeding. Emmeline Pankhurst (in S. Pankhurst 1977, 251-252) described, 'Holloway became a place of horror and torment. Sickening scenes of violence took place almost every hour of the day, as the doctors went from cell to cell performing their hideous office.' Despite the horrors of Holloway, women reclaimed it as a feminist site. Suffragettes on the outside held noisy protests in front of the prison, and rented a property close by on Dalmeny Avenue which was used as a safehouse and headquarters (figure 342). Women communicated with Holloway inmates from the rooftop of the house and used its close proximity to launch bombs at the prison from the garden in 1913 (Historic England n.d; Davies 2018). Released prisoners were greeted by fellow suffragettes who would gather outside, often in elaborate processions where awards would be presented at the prison gates as another act of defiance against authorities.



Figure 342. Christabel Pankhurst waves to suffragette prisoners from a house overlooking Holloway Prison (likely the one rented by suffragettes on Dalmeny Avenue) (1909). Historica Graphica Collection / Getty Images.

In 1907, the WFL became the first organisation to award its members for their time served in prison (MoL:53.140/7). They presented former prisoners with silver 'Holloway' brooches (different to the Holloway portcullis brooches later awarded by the WSPU) showing a stylised depiction of the front entrance of the prison, and the reverse engraved with the prisoners' details (figure 343). A banner designed for the Chelsea WSPU branch centralises the prison in another stylised depiction (figure 344). The painted design shows two policemen guarding the entrance to Holloway, which is reimagined more like a medieval fortress or castle, with pink painted turrets and green rolling hills behind. Despite being imprisoned, the suffragette waves a

banner, while the two policemen stand apathetically. When considering the role of objects in the movement, we can see that some seemed to have functioned to reclaim and recontextualise difficult sites and spaces. It might seem unusual that suffrage campaigners would want to wear a brooch depicting the place where they and their fellow suffragettes were imprisoned, and suffered the routine tortures of force-feeding. Yet, by choosing to make and award suffragettes with a brooch depicting the prison, the WFL challenged what Holloway represented, and imprisonment more generally. They also took power away from the government who imprisoned women as a punishment, and served to state suffragettes' desire for imprisonment, thus undermining the action. Holloway became a badge of honour and a mark of achievement, and this legacy was continued by the WSPU awards.





Figure 343 (left). Holloway prison brooch presented to formerly imprisoned WFL members from 1907. This example was awarded to Muriel Matters and is engraved 'MM'. An inscription on the back reads 'WFL/Margaret S Clayton/Holloway/March 20th/April 13th 1907' (1908). MoL:50.82/1142.

Figure 344 (right). Banner designed for the Chelsea branch of the WSPU by Herman Ross. It was first used at the Queen's Hall on 17 June 1908 ahead of Women's Sunday (21 June). In 1911, the Chelsea branch opened a shop at 308 King's Road for the sale of WSPU merchandise. Behind the scenes, the shop's basement was used as a workspace for artists to design and produce campaign banners such as this one (1908). MoL:78.154.

Other adornments such as the WSPU's convict arrow pin brooch (figure 345) were marketed to formerly imprisoned suffragettes, and worked to subvert the prison symbol. Suffragette Mary Howey (1909, 918) explained, 'this so-called broad arrow is really a crown, and therefore is anything but a badge of shame. True it is a somewhat thorny crown, but this does not dim its brightness nor our joy that we are accounted worthy so to serve our great cause.' As these objects and Mary's statement evidence, the suffragettes managed to successfully recontextualise the prison space, at the very least within their own organisations. The convict's arrow was no longer a mark of shame and punishment, but something a former suffragette prisoner would buy and wear with pride.



Figure 345. The use of the convict's arrow (or broad arrow) symbol was incorporated into silver plated pin brooches which were advertised in *Votes for Women* and sold for ⅛ each from 1909 (VFW 1909i, 383). MoL:50.82/1150.

Other objects demonstrate women's feminist reclamation of the prison space while in gaol. An umbrella stand was reputedly painted in the WSPU colours by suffragettes imprisoned in Duke Street, Glasgow (figure 346).



Figure 346. When Duke Street prison was demolished in 1958, a social worker who knew the history of the umbrella stand salvaged it from the rubble, and it was later donated to Glasgow Women's Library. It looks to have been painted in the WSPU colours, with the pink substituting for purple (unless the colour has faded over the years). It is understood that the umbrella stand might have been kept in the office of the prison governor who was a suffragette sympathiser, which is how it came to be painted by the suffragettes (Stewart 2014). The stand dates back to 1872, the repainting would have likely taken place c. 1908-1914. GWL:2015-33.

Additional materials evidence women's defiant creation and repurposing of prison materials. Kitty Marshall made a set of playing cards during her first imprisonment in Holloway (figure 347). The deck was made from four postcards found in a library book, and the sides of a Thermogene box (MoL:50.82/1214). In her unpublished memoir *Suffragette Escapes & Adventures,* she explains she acquired her ink by writing to the Home Secretary, and made the red colour used on some of the cards from a red book she found in the prison library,

> 'With a little water and an old stick I found in the prison yard, I made the hearts and diamonds. I used as a table, my slate, which I had in my nightdress case, so that when I heard the key being turned in the prison door, I could draw the flap of the nightdress case over the cards. I usually had my prayer book open so that I could escape detection. I also used toilet paper, with the help of a little milk, to cover the peephole in the door, where the wardresses looked through' (ibid).



Figure 347. Pack of patience playing cards, handmade by Kitty Marshall in 1910 while in Holloway Gaol. She was imprisoned for throwing a potato at the fanlight window over the front door of the Home Secretary, Winston Churchill (1910). MoL:50.82/1214.

While women on the outside worked to challenge the narrative around imprisonment, imprisoned suffragettes worked to preserve and record their experiences for further ammunition against the government. As Davies (2018, para. 12) described about the Holloway prisoners;

> ‘They were clearly documenting what was going on, they hoarded their arrest warrants, smuggled out letters, kept secret diaries… Sometimes they would give interviews to journalists on the day of their release. They didn’t just promote the cause of suffrage, but also wanted to make things better for the women imprisoned in Holloway.’

In every sense, suffrage campaigners were the curators of their own history, they recognised the importance of their stories and used objects to get their message across. As with the contributors of *The Hammerer’s Magazine,* who banded together in Winson Green and documented their experience using salvaged materials, suffragettes in other prisons also communicated and recorded their time via limited or stolen resources. Florence Hull made a sketchbook out of toilet paper entitled ‘Drawings of life in Holloway gaol’ (figure 348). Kitty Marion also sent a toilet paper letter to another imprisoned suffragette with a lock of her hair attached, explaining that it had been falling out ever since it had been pulled by a mob opposed to her heckling of Lloyd George (MoL:2003.46/5). Undoubtedly countless other similar writings will have been made by suffragettes which have not survived. Winefride Mary Rix used a paper tag to pencil out a calendar and count down her sentence (figure 349). Around the title ‘Holloway Calendar’, she drew convict arrow symbols, and wrote out the details of her imprisonment: 'broke window at war office Mon 4th Mar 12 remanded till Sat 9th, remanded again til 12th sentenced to 2 months hard labour Votes for women' along with the words ‘VOTES FOR WOMEN!!’. The choice to include her crime and her cause indicates that the luggage tag (turned calendar) was not just for her own use, but included additional details in the event someone else were to read it. She was making a record of her time that could be understood by others.

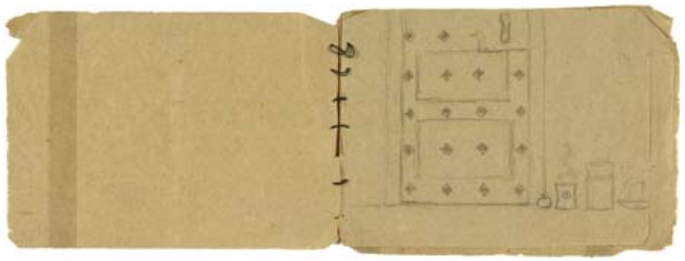


Figure 348. 'Drawings of life in Holloway gaol', pencil on toilet paper, bound with needle and thread. Made by suffragette prisoner Florence Hull while imprisoned in Holloway. She was sentenced to two weeks for smashing a window in the Colonial Office (1913). MoL:50.82/1233.



Figure 349. Winefride Mary Rix was sentenced to two months hard labour in Holloway for smashing a window in the War Office in March 1912. While serving her time, she made use of a luggage tag which was attached to a box of apples sent to her by her husband (unusually, she chose not to partake in a hunger strike). The front of the label is printed with the details of the fruit shop and includes the handwritten address 'Mrs Winefride Rix, c/o the Governor HM Prison, Holloway, London N1' along with a 5d stamp and postmark. On the reverse, Winefride has drawn out a calendar and crossed off days to count down the duration of her sentence (1912). MoL:2013.86/7.

Time in prison was gruelling; ‘The sentences inflicted on women for simply demanding their rights were equal to those of men who committed horrible crimes. In prison to-day women were living under such conditions as must make every woman who had knowledge of them resolve that she would never cease her efforts until women had a voice in making the laws they had to obey’ (VFW 1909j, 810). As discussed earlier in this work, within the MoL collection is a loaf of bread, taken from Holloway by a suffragette prisoner. The collection also includes an egg cup (figure 350), a knife, a metal dinner plate and a library card, among other items which were all removed from the prison. Some of these more mundane objects may well have been kept as ‘souvenirs’ of prison life, as their museum documentation states, being that prison was typically a rare experience for wealthy upper-class women. Yet to regard them as only ‘souvenirs’ for this purpose misses the opportunity to understand these objects as efforts by suffragettes to preserve and translate their experience to others. Especially considering the lengths some women went to by sewing objects into their clothing; Grace Roe smuggled a prison cup and knife out of Holloway in the hem of her skirt (Hunter & Konter 1976). These objects helped suffragettes to illuminate their day to day life in prison, and being smuggled out, they also demonstrated women’s ability to continually defy and outsmart authorities.



Figure 350. Earthenware egg cup with convict’s arrow, smuggled from Holloway Gaol by a suffragette prisoner (c. 1905-1914). MoL:50.82/1230.

Suffragettes also used costume and performance to reconstruct prison life for the outside world. Formerly imprisoned suffragettes dressed in prison garb at fundraising events and processions, and reenacted their experience. A ‘Prison Life’ exhibit was held in 1909 at the Women's Exhibition. Women dressed in replica prison clothing; dresses, aprons and bonnets with the convict’s arrow motif and replica prison badges (figures 351 & 352). Within the exhibit was a mock prison cell where suffragettes demonstrated the types of activities they undertook (MoL:50.82/1338). A postcard produced by the WSPU shows two images of Edith How-Martyn, the second image of her in prison garb contrasting with the first of her in a graduate's cap and gown (figure 353). The image juxtaposes her academic achievements with her time as a suffragette inmate, the contrast redefines the possibilities of womanhood and shows that militant women can be highly intelligent and successful.





Figure 351 (left). Bonnet with black painted convict arrows worn as part of a replica prison costume for demonstrations and fundraising events (1909-1914). MoL:96.103/3.

Figure 352 (right). Replica prison badge which also formed part of suffragettes replica prison costume (c. 1909). MoL:50.82/1224a.



Figure 353. Photographic postcard produced by the WSPU and signed by Edith How Martyn. Edith was a lecturer in mathematics and went on to become the first woman associate of the Royal College of Science before becoming active in the campaign for birth-control. She was also one of the first suffragettes to be arrested in 1906, and was given a two months sentence for trying to give a speech within the House of Commons. Though initially a recruit of the WSPU, she founded the WFL along with Charlotte Despard and Teresa Billington-Greig (c.1906-1907). MoL:NN23172.

In the postcard Edith can be seen sewing. Parker's (1984/2020) work was a breakthrough in the study and overdue acknowledgement of embroidery as an art form - which was never fully recognised due to its connections to femininity and domesticity. Parker analysed the role women's needlework has long held in both perpetuating, reinforcing and also challenging dominant gendered ideologies. The marginalisation of women's 'crafts' is both what held the skill back from recognition, but also what allowed it to harness potential hidden agendas. Needlework has historically been regarded as a harmless and trivial pursuit of women, it implied women's subservience and as such it existed as 'an instrument of oppression' (Parker 1984/2020, xii). Yet, it was also a useful skill which could be developed, honed and applied both practically and decoratively. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, women used their needlework skills to create some of the most impressive and accomplished banners. It was an important creative outlet and source of satisfaction and achievement, and crucially, sewing circles brought women together - even in prison. Recent scholarship (Wheeler 2012; Sexton 2018; Jones 2020; 2022) on the role of needlework within the women's suffrage movement has built onto Parker's work, through analysis of the number of surviving prison embroideries which contrast the delicate skill of domestic needwork with the realities of the political struggle women were fighting against. This work is extensive, and provides further evidence that women were recording their time and continuing their work through stitched petitions and other prison embroideries (figure 354).

Prisoners were forbidden from writing with pen and paper, the 'traditionally masculine implements of communication', but needlework was actively encouraged (Hughes 2020, para. 5). Women were required to work during their sentences, this included tasks that used their domestic skills, such as knitting socks (figure 355). Imprisoned suffragettes used this to their advantage. Women were known to have hidden secret messages in their stitching, such as 'Votes For Women', or other words with similar intent. Suffragette Gladys Roberts explained that, 'we all sat in the body of the hall and were allowed to do needlework or knitting-convict's clothing. We used to put embroidery on the convict's knickers!' (Roberts: Raeburn 1973, 172 in Jones 2020, 139). This demonstrates another of the myriad of ways women were using materials to share their propaganda and defy authorities even while imprisoned.



Figure 354. ‘The Suffragette Handkerchief’ is embroidered with sixty-six signatures and two sets of initials, mostly of women imprisoned in Holloway Gaol for their part in the WSPU window smashing demonstrations of March 1912, (1912). The piece gives an insight into the women who were serving time together, some are known militants, but others are the ‘rank-and-file’ suffragettes of which little to no information is known (Priest House n.d). The Priest House Museum of New Zealand. Creative Commons.



Figure 355. This pair of socks was handmade between 1907-1908 by imprisoned suffragette Edith New, and presumably smuggled out upon her release. Edith was first imprisoned and sentenced to two weeks in March 1907 for participating in a raid on the House of Commons. In January 1908, she served another three weeks for chaining herself to the railings outside of 10 Downing Street.The red banding on the socks indicate they were intended for a boys juvenile facility such as Borstal (c.1907-1908). MoL:50.82/1217.

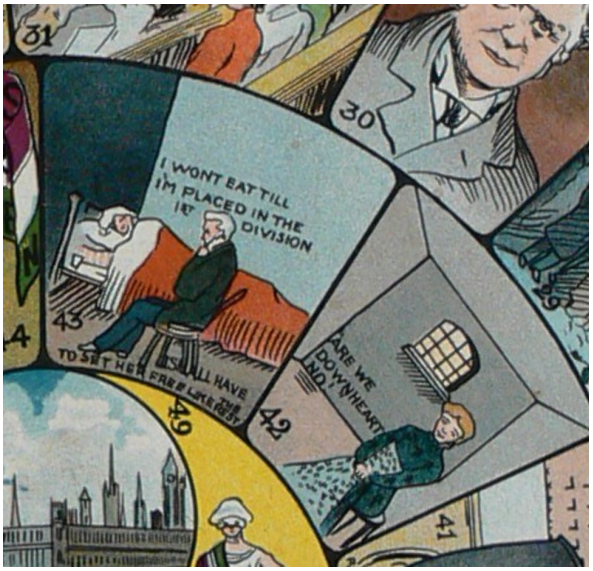
For suffragette prisoners, making objects provided refuge from the intensities of prison, and allowed them to work together. Prison objects also substantiated suffragettes experiences, allowing them to relay or reenact stories. Drawings and notes made on toilet paper, embroidered fabrics, hand-made cards/calendars and stolen everyday objects all helped to build a picture of their struggle in a way which would not be possible from verbal storytelling alone.

Though not made while in prison, a final object worth considering in this chapter demonstrates another way militant suffragettes communicated their story. The board game 'Pank-a-Squith', released by the WSPU in 1909 (figures 356-360) depicted the suffragettes ongoing struggle with Asquith and the Liberal government. Like many of their materials, the game exploited new consumerism of the early twentieth century to promote the cause while raising funds through sales of the game. It attempted to popularise and parody suffragette action and imprisonment via a format which the WSPU described as 'genuinely amusing' and 'even uproariously funny' (figure 361). Like the 'Hammerers' of Winson Green, the suffragettes were able to infuse humour and moments of levity into their story while documenting it. The game evidences their ingenious marketing methods, and ability to commodify and monetise their movement in completely new ways; one place on the board prompts players landing on the spot to 'send a penny to the Suffragette Funds'.



Figure 356. The Pank-a-Squith board game was first mentioned in *Votes for Women* on 8 October 1909. The game title is a combination of Emmeline Pankhurst's and Prime Minister Asquith's names (1909). MoL:50.82/1511.



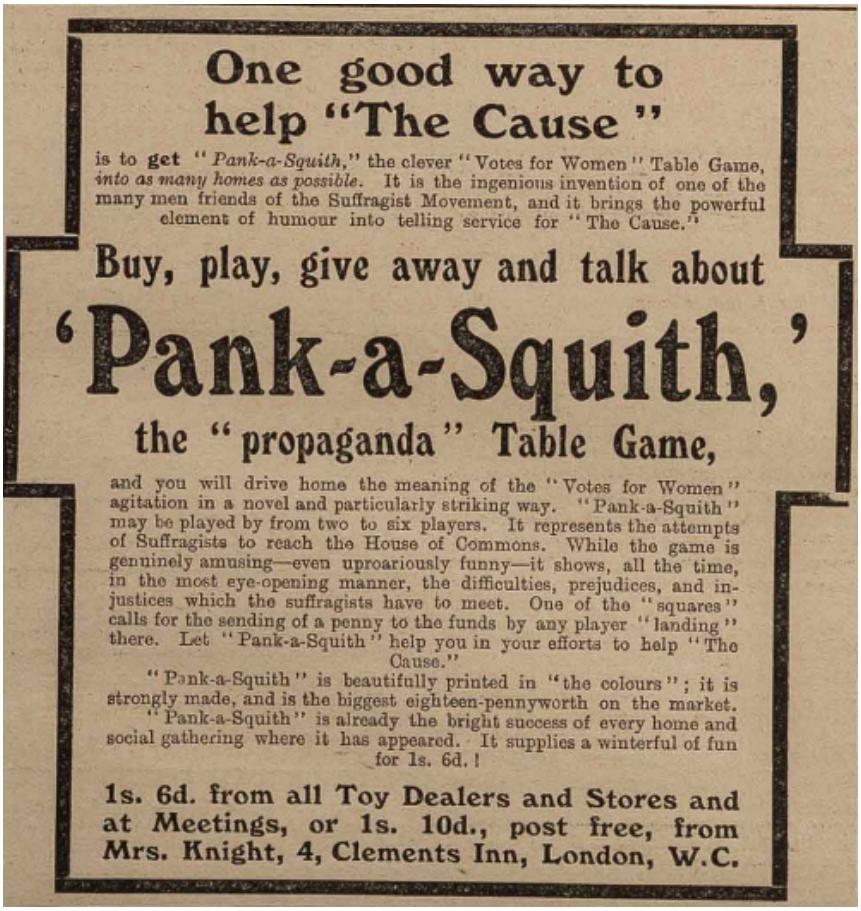




Figures 357, 358 & 359 (from left to right). The game is playable by up to 6 people with lead suffragette figures in different coloured outfits. It takes the player from a home scene with a baby, to meeting together with other women and engaging in various activities with setbacks along the way. On one of the spaces the suffragettes in their finest purple, white and green can be seen championing imprisoned women outside of Holloway Gaol (1909). Princeton University, Special Collections, Graphic Arts Collection & Museum of Australian Democracy.



Figure 360. A serene scene of Parliament sits in the centre of the board, as the winning suffragette players final destination. Just before this is a figure of 'justice' with sword and scales and wearing a purple, white and green sash (1909). Princeton University, Special Collections, Graphic Arts Collection.



One good way to help "The Cause"

is to get "*Pank-a-Squith*," the clever "Votes for Women" Table Game, *into as many homes as possible*. It is the ingenious invention of one of the many men friends of the Suffragist Movement, and it brings the powerful element of humour into telling service for "The Cause."

Buy, play, give away and talk about

'Pank-a-Squith,'

the "propaganda" Table Game,

and you will drive home the meaning of the "Votes for Women" agitation in a novel and particularly striking way. "Pank-a-Squith" may be played by from two to six players. It represents the attempts of Suffragists to reach the House of Commons. While the game is genuinely amusing—even uproariously funny—it shows, all the time, in the most eye-opening manner, the difficulties, prejudices, and injustices which the suffragists have to meet. One of the "squares" calls for the sending of a penny to the funds by any player "landing" there. Let "Pank-a-Squith" help you in your efforts to help "The Cause."

"Pank-a-Squith" is beautifully printed in "the colours"; it is strongly made, and is the biggest eighteen-pennyworth on the market. "Pank-a-Squith" is already the bright success of every home and social gathering where it has appeared. It supplies a winterful of fun for 1s. 6d.!

1s. 6d. from all Toy Dealers and Stores and at Meetings, or 1s. 10d., post free, from Mrs. Knight, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.

Figure 361. Advert for the 'Pank-a-Squith' board game, produced in time for Christmas sales (VFW, 26 November 1909).

'Pank-a-Squith' demonstrates suffragettes' reclamation of their story, told by the militants themselves. It commercialised their difficult struggle into a novelty, made fun of the government, police and politicians, while making numerous points about the cause, emphasising the persistent setbacks to women's suffrage as well as the resolve and determination of the suffragettes.

7.8 Chapter Conclusion

To the suffragettes, 'the militant woman' was an ideology born out of the heroic and inspiring acts of previous 'warrior women' and allegorical figures. Most notably, Joan of Arc, who became a historical (and somewhat mythical) figurehead separate from the Pankhursts who legitimised the movement and escalated it to a religious and moral crusade, prompting and increasing direct action. Costumes, fancy dress and objects which bore the image of Joan made this connection tangible, and helped shape the militant movement's visual identity while also acting symbolically. To the public and authorities, 'the militant women' became irrevocably enmeshed with the materials of her actions. She was the hysteric who chose to bind herself with chains, or she was 'the woman with the whip'. The hammer and the suffragette became so closely associated that depicting a woman with a hammer in printed materials would indicate 'suffragette' without further description.

These relationships were founded by suffragettes, but furthered by the media and commercial publishers. This chapter has made considerable contribution to understanding of the materiality of the militant movement by demonstrating that campaigners' relationships to their chosen objects were far more complex than media depictions indicated at the time. Until this work, existing scholarship had also never updated this understanding. Chains did not only work to inhibit arrest and allow for increased speaking time, they were symbolic of women's political and domestic oppressions and suffragette imprisonment. Like hunger striking, chains allowed women to use their bodies in the fight for enfranchisement in ways that left them vulnerable, but these were equally acts of bravery and defiance. Whips were a symbol of protest against the abuse of women activists, they were carried in self defence and on some occasions used in spiritual and emotional defence to attack and humiliate, subverting the power between the dominated suffragette and the prison doctor or politician. They were a last resort, an expression of women's immense frustration, her rage and despair at her injustices. Hammers were indeed the suffragettes' greatest weapon in their window smashing campaigns. They redirected violence away from women's bodies toward property, and their usage was a liberation for suffragettes who experienced joy in the act of destruction. Their inscription and marking with slogans both imbued them with meaning, and solidified their connection to their owners, and these modifications allowed the weapons to further reveal their intent after an act. The connection suffragettes had to this chosen weapon was fully realised by prisoners of Winson Green in their creation of *The Hammerer's Magazine*, which revealed their embracing of this identity, and the importance of tools as comrades in their protest. By centering materials to uncover these object stories this work has not only enhanced knowledge on the militant suffrage movement, but has provided examples of object and activist relationships that are relevant to wider emerging research on archaeologies of resistance, and the intersecting themes of identity creation and gender.

Alice Farmer's collection reveals how objects continued to form the militant identity and push ideas after direct action had taken place. Hunger strike medals allowed the WSPU to frame suffragette activity as being worthy of awarding. Use of militaristic language and the awarding of medals similar to military honours likened suffragettes to heroes and martyrs, like Joan of Arc. This chapter has also shown that medals strengthened the bond between militant suffragettes and the WSPU, encouraged members to act similarly, and helped spread the organisation's message through awards ceremonies that invited a range of guests from various countries. Illuminated manuscripts further elevated formerly imprisoned suffragettes, while preserving and recording their actions through a document which was historically used to commend noble actions.

Analysing a diverse range of materials together in this study has allowed for commonalities to appear between materials that might not otherwise have been considered in conjunction, prompting new questions. Several examples covered in this chapter suggest that campaigners were potentially creating objects for future audiences as well as the present. Leonora Cohen's dress and the staged photographs of Helen Fox both evoke Joan of Arc in ways that pinpoint their achievements in line with Joan's celebrated story. The addition of text to Caprina Fahey's bookstand might also be considered to have functioned in this way, as a secret message that marks something to be uncovered in the future. This chapter has additionally provided numerous examples of materials made and kept by women which recorded and translated their prison experiences in ways which were explicitly and unmistakably tied to the Votes For Women campaign.

Prison related objects and the Pank-a-Squith game also evidence ways that suffragettes used materials to recontextualise their challenging experiences. The awarding of Holloway badges and wearing of convict's arrows made imprisonment an accomplishment to be proud of, rather than a mark of shame. It's clear that suffragettes inside prison were also reclaiming the space in various ways by making and amending materials, documenting their experience through drawings, accounts and stealing objects, while also using needwork to spread their propaganda and continue suffrage work.

The following, final chapter takes this discussion of suffrage materials to the present day, with consideration toward the legacy of suffrage objects, the continuing commercialisation of the movement, and the ongoing incorporation and reimagining of the WSPU colours by past and present activists.

8. Legacies of Suffrage Materiality

During the 2018 centenary, numerous events were held prompting people to dress in ‘suffragette costume’ with placards, rosettes and sashes (typically in the purple, white and green) and take part in demonstrations and marches, following actual suffrage pilgrimages or arriving at a designated event, such as the installation of a plaque commemorating a campaigner (figures 362-364). These types of activities continue to keep suffrage history alive through commemoration and reenactment, and allow campaigners’ stories to keep being told. But beyond centenaries and other suffrage anniversaries which prompt activity, what is the ongoing role of suffrage materials and the legacy of the movement? This chapter considers the role of suffrage objects as they exist in museums and private collections, as well as the impacts of recently produced ‘suffrage merchandise’, modern interpretations, and the lasting legacy suffrage objects have had on past and ongoing radical activism. The final part of this chapter considers the future of suffrage materials, while making recommendations for their continuing use and study. This analysis gives ideas on how suffrage objects might continue to produce movement histories that challenge current structures of power and highlight inequalities that still persist.



Figure 362. Aerial shot of marchers dressed in purple, white and green to create the effect of a WSPU flag formation through central London (Howell & Slater 2018). AFP Images.





Figures 363 & 364. In 2018, women walked together dressed in purple, white and green to celebrate 100 years since women won the right to vote. Coordinated marches were held in London, Belfast, Edinburgh and Cardiff. Many placards and banners harkened back to the suffrage campaign, while others made statements about current issues such as gender pay, or in Belfast, the abortion rights campaign was part of the message of many marchers (Howell & Slater 2018). Getty Images Europe.

8.1 Relevance Today

The significance and meaning of suffrage materials has changed since they were actively used in the Votes For Women campaign. As mentioned earlier in this work, a large proportion of objects were collected and donated to museums by suffrage campaigners themselves; MoL has the largest militant collection donated directly by the Suffragette Fellowship (figures 365 & 366), and LSE inherited the LSWS collection, again curated by campaigners themselves. Leonora Cohen donated her collection to her local museum, and other suffragette's personal collections have been donated by subsequent generations. Institutions continue to collect suffrage artefacts, typically based on regional significance. One example, the Manchester 1908 WSPU banner, was discovered then acquired by PHM in 2018 (see pg 102). Other materials exist in private collections such as Kenneth Florey's, and are collected and sold at auctions by specialist dealers such as Elizabeth Crawford. Some objects can be found in antique shops, and it is still not uncommon for new collections and objects to be uncovered (figures 367 & 368). These materials are among the prized possessions of their owners and institutions, and have become incredibly desirable to collectors, escalating immensely in price[43] and prompting counterfeits. Numerous examples of fake suffragette jewellery in the WSPU colours have infiltrated the market, making it more challenging to spot a truly authentic piece (Goring 2002; Atkinson 2008; Crawford 2021). Their significance has changed considerably from objects used in the act of making change, breaking laws and raising awareness, to objects of commemoration. Over the course of the last century, suffrage objects have taken on additional context through their categorisation by museums. Their display among social history collections have tended to place women's suffrage artefacts in designated women's history sections, or in the spaces between Victoriana exhibits and World War One and World War Two displays. In recent years, a suffragette teacup might otherwise be placed beside a Pussyhat, part of the ongoing history of women's fight for equality. Such suffrage artefacts have acquired new meaning and interpretation within their assemblages, far removed from their original owners and intended environments.





Figures 365 & 366. Objects on display within the former People's City Gallery (2022). MoL.

[43] Collecting suffrage materials has been popular since the vote was won, but demand has continued to increase with notable spikes around anniversaries, such as the 2018 centenary. In 2018, expert and suffrage materials dealer Crawford worked with LoveAntiques.com to put together a list of the most sought after suffrage objects with the average price they sell for (these prices have likely increased since this list was drawn up, but this gives an idea); 1. Suffrage Banner – £20,000, 2. Hunger-Strike Medal - £10,000, 3. Suffrage Poster - £7,000, 4. Holloway Brooch - £4,500, 5. Illuminated Address - £3,000, 6. Votes For Women Sash - £3,000, 7. Suffragette Jewellery - £1,000 - £4,000, Suffragette Society Badges - £100 - £2,000, 9. China - £750 for a plate, £1,200 for a cup and saucer, and £4,000 for a teapot, 10. Toys with suffrage messages - around £1,000 (Avis-Riordan 2018).



Figure 367. Suffrage objects from a collection which belonged to suffragette sisters Edith, Florence, and Grace Hodgson. The collection was discovered in a cubby under the stairs in the home of a 94 year old man (the great-nephew of the three sisters) when it was cleared out by a relative upon his passing. It was bought at auction by Elizabeth Crawford in 2018 for £16,000 (Hansons Auctioneers 2018).



Figure 368. In 2022, an 1898 coin stamped with 'Votes For Women' was found secured on the underside of an antique bowl dating back to the 1910s-1920s (Irvine 2022). It was found in a house in the village Fochabers, Moray, Scotland. A hole punched through the coin indicates it may have been worn as a pendant, though it's hidden location also brings up potential theories about it as a secret artefact which showed solidarity with the movement. Smile Scotland's Auction House.

As we can appreciate from our perspective today, women did get the vote, and so many of the materials used in their political activism are now celebrated as part of the story of women's progression. Perhaps the tubing and funnels that were used in force-feedings, the hateful postcards or the possessions of Emily Wilding Davison (her flags within the LSE Women's Library collection for example), are among the objects that provoke the strongest feelings of empathy, sorrow and disgust for how these pioneering women were treated and what they were forced to sacrifice and endure, as accounts from the time certainly do. In this way, these objects might function to help us reflect critically on the nature of democracy today.

Franchise extensions allowed for increased participation, though there is not full parity between sex, class, race and other minorities in government positions and in regards to pay. At the same time, authoritarian practices continue within democratic countries[44] and there continues to be erosion of human rights policies (Webber 2022), and stagnation or backsliding on monumental issues such as climate change, where everyone is a stake-holder (E3G 2023). Perhaps most significant to the suffragettes' legacy is the drastically increasing restriction of rights to protest. New anti-protest measures have been passed in the Policing, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Act, and in April 2023, a controversial Public Order Bill was passed through the House of Lords, giving police more power to restrict and shut down any protest (figure 369). Deshmukh (Amnesty International UK 2023) explained,

> "The shifty passing of these regulations as law marks a dark new era for protest rights in the UK…Given the well-known problems of institutional racism, sexism, homophobia and political bias in the police – only underscored by the explosive revelations from the Casey Report into the Met Police - now is absolutely not the time to be handing them ever-more broad and sweeping powers to pick and choose which protests they will and won't allow… The Government has been hellbent on passing a whole raft of anti-protest legislation in recent years and this latest addition just stands alongside an already absurdly long list of ways that the fundamental human right to peaceful protest is being muzzled."

Authoritarian controls which restrict the human-right to protest are not a far cry from the oppression of suffrage activists, who were regularly abused by police and were driven to various measures by a government who sought to silence them. Suffrage artefacts are often used to reflect on how far we have come as a society, but they also reveal how groups which face discrimination are still threatened and stifled by authorities. Rather than a look back on our progression, these objects are an inheritance which speaks to the legalised assault on our freedoms, which has shifted and changed in the past century, but is still everpresent. In terms of public perceptions, troubling objects from the past such as force-feeding implements and satirical/hateful printed materials also shed light on how we see those who seek to challenge democratic standards, policies and state governed issues via protest. Crucially, they reveal similarities between how activists were treated then, and how they are still treated today. Protesters continue to be mocked and ridiculed in ways parallel to the suffragettes (figures 370 & 371). Suffrage campaigners battled the national press, anti-suffragists and commercial publishers. Today the combination of tabloid newspapers, social media and populist groups continue to fuel attacks on protesters. Though interestingly, the imagery made by activists and their supporters also show similarities in format and tone to that of the suffrage campaigners. For example, those which represent climate change issues (figures 372-375).

[44] During the Covid-19 pandemic, Boris Johnson's government ministers made laws via secondary legislation - dubbed the use of 'Henry VII powers', they announced plans with "ouster clauses" which placed themselves outside of the legal system, and their politicisation of huge government bodies by appointment of Tory leaders has been criticised for creating conservative biases (Ogden 2022, para. 10).



Figure 369. ‘Protest While You Still Can’ a placard held by a protestor at a ‘Kill the Bill’ protest, in reference to the Public Order Bill (2023). Alamy.





Figure 370 (left). Spectator cartoon by Grizelda which shares the view that Just Stop Oil protestors are ‘annoying’ (2023). The suffragettes were also deemed annoying, their protests certainly antagonised and alienated many members of the public to their cause. To them, this was a price worth paying to raise awareness of their message, a sacrifice for the greater good in the hopes they might get the change they desired, and persuade more people to join them in their fight.

Figure 371 (right). One of numerous widely-shared memes which disparages both climate change activist Greta Thunberg’s U.N. Climate Summit speech as well as trans and non-binary people (c.2019). Other variants of this meme were shared thousands of times with additional criticism of Gen-Z, Millennials and protesters.



Figure 372 (left). Pro-suffrage poster designed by Catherine Courtauld for the Suffrage Atelier. Despite the sun rising (representative of women's freedom), 'the anti-suffrage ostrich' ignorantly buries its head and insists it is not (1912). MoL:50.82/1072.

Figure 373 (below). A cartoon by Dan Wasserman shows an ostrich (this time representative of global leaders) burying its head to avoid climate change (2019). Tribune Content.

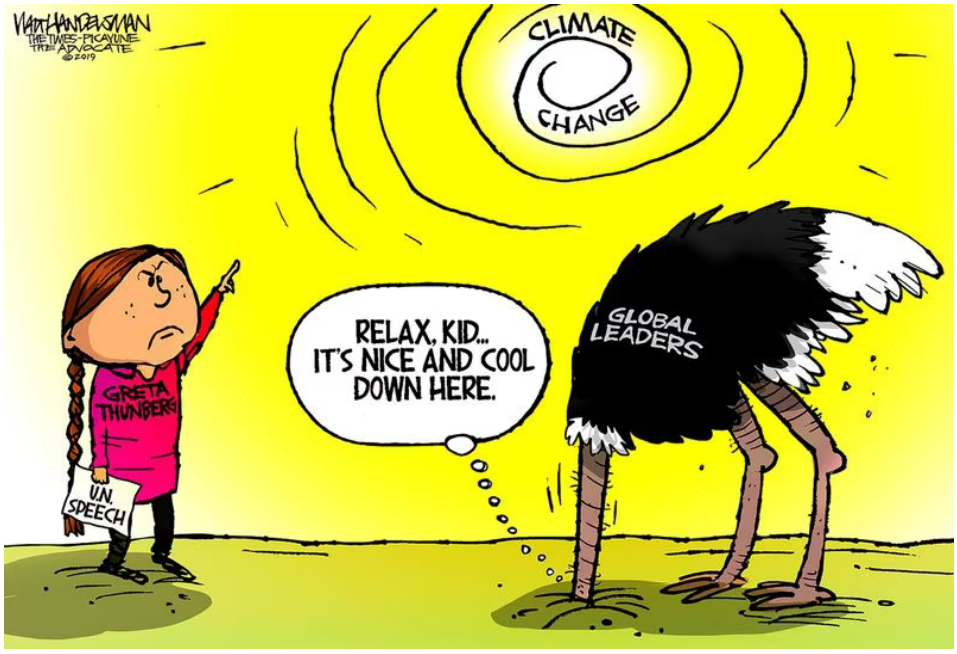




Figure 374. Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard designed and published by Ernestine Mills. Mrs Partington of the Anti-Suffrage Society makes a futile attempt to keep out the tide of women's suffrage. She is shocked that the wave of 'professional women, taxpayers, mothers, medical women, Liberal, Socialist and Conservative women...keeps rising' (1910). MoL:50.82/864.



Figure 375. Like the anti-suffrage 'Mrs Partington' who makes a futile attempt to push back the wave of women's suffrage issues while ignoring their incoming tide, in this comic illustration by David Horsey, world leaders make a futile plan for a future meeting, while ignoring the looming climate change iceberg ahead (2009). David Horsey.

8.2 Post Propaganda

As demonstrated in the previous chapters, the Votes For Women campaign was the first social movement to commercialise and merchandise their political message. Perhaps then it's not surprising that today re-merchandising and commercialisation of the movement continues, albeit in a very different way. An extensive variety of contemporary ‘suffrage’ commodities evidence a sizable consumer market. A search for ‘suffragette’ and related terms on e-commerce marketplaces Etsy, Ebay or Amazon brings up hundreds of results ranging from replica adornments and attire, to art-prints and historical propaganda turned into mundane items. It is possible to buy replica pin badges and jewellery as well as coasters, fridge magnets and tote bags with suffrage organisation symbols and imagery. Such items can also be found in independent gift shops, and are a main feature of museum shops that have women’s suffrage collections. In this space they provide visitors the opportunity to take home a souvenir as a reminder of something they saw or were inspired by on their visit.

Most of these items target the ‘casual buyer’, a different demographic to the ‘serious’ collectors who might invest a great deal of time and money researching, locating, authenticating and buying actual suffrage antiques, or those in the middle market who instead choose to spend a considerable amount on a high quality replica. Museum of London collaborated with manufacturer Toye, Kenning & Spencer to create replicas of ‘Votes for Women’ sashes and the Holloway prison brooch which were first commissioned by the WSPU from the company during the movement. At the time of this writing the replica sash retails for £94.50 and the brooch is £69.95, both of which are reduced from their original price (MoL Shop 2023).

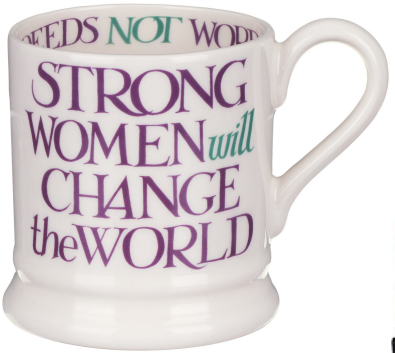


Figure 376 (above). Emma Bridgewater ‘Strong Women’ Half Pint Mug with ‘Deeds Not Words’ printed on the inside rim and purple/green lettering. One of numerous examples of contemporary objects made with reference to the WSPU campaign.



Figure 377 (right). Felt suffragette decoration. MoL Shop (2023).

The popularity of certain materials from the movement give an indication of which parts resonate most strongly with contemporary audiences. In many ways the WSPU colours seem to have come to represent suffrage in general, with the nuances of the different militant and constitutional campaign groups often lost under the shadow of the most famous Pankhursts and the purple, white and green. The range of materials that infuse women’s suffrage iconography and colours with contemporary ideas also pinpoint the most enduring elements. Though they are no longer active propaganda, art prints, t-shirts, mugs and other merchandise are still printed with slogans from the movement, and figurines and Christmas tree decorations are among other popular novelties (figure 377). Some objects promote women’s ongoing empowerment, for example a mug with the slogan ‘Strong Women will Change the World’ (figure 376). These feminist materials sometimes facilitate the contribution of a percentage of sales toward women’s charitable causes, though as everyday consumer goods, many simply fall into the realm of ‘kitsch’ and contribute to the dilution and sanitisation of what were once powerful political propaganda campaign symbols, colours and messages. This was the case with Rosie the Riveter’s “We Can Do It!” poster and other images of women from the First and Second World Wars; ‘...Nostalgic reclamations of the memorabilia enable “kitsch" to neutralize previously

prominent political capital by transforming militarized visuals into everyday utilitarian goods' (Ghilani 2010, 47).

More optimistically, one might consider that perhaps these objects keep the message present in mundane worlds, enable chance encounters and prompt new actions. Though people today are not the intended audience for suffrage materials as they were first designed. British women have been enfranchised for all of living memory, so when we see suffrage materials we place a very different value and significance on them than people would have at the time of their conception when they were active propaganda. It is the continuing commodification and 'kitschifying' which selects and reuses aspects of the movement that are most marketable, and thus profitable, which dilutes the historic campaign and appropriates the radical and political voices who designed the materials. As the less palatable or saleable aspects fall behind and the enduring aspects become novelties, over time this leads to an altered impression of the movement which lacks historical context, grounding and reality. "Deeds Not Words", like "We Can Do It!", is another slogan which has transcended its original usage to be applied in numerous contexts beyond Votes For Women (figure 378). Emmeline Pankhurst quotes are also popularly used on commodities; 'I incite this meeting to rebellion', once a call to action delivered in a passionate speech, is now commonly featured on novelty mugs often used in the workplace (Etsy 2023). A variety of other suffrage merchandise centres feminine depictions of Edwardian womanhood. A pillbox, apron and silk scarf sold by the Houses of Parliament feature a silhouette design to best show the feathered hats and ruffled collars of the suffragette women (figure 379). Perhaps it's not surprising that the view of suffrage campaigners as referring to only middle- and upper-class women is so pervasive when so many materials emphasise this dress.





Figure 378 (left). Museum of London sold face masks with the slogan 'Deeds Not Words' during the Covid-19 pandemic (2020). MoL Shop.

Figure 379 (right). Silk scarf printed with Votes For Women and a silhouette design (2023). Houses of Parliament Shop.

In many ways Emmeline Pankhurst and the figure of the suffragette have become one of numerous cultural symbols of ‘Britishness’. The Houses of Parliament online store marks their £8.00 ‘suffragette duck’ (figure 380) as a ‘bestseller’ (HoP Shop 2023). She is among other prominent British figures such as Queen Elizabeth II, Henry VIII and William Shakespeare who all have their own duck depictions (ibid). Once ‘a radical disrupter of the political order’, the figure of the suffragette is now far enough removed from her place in history that she poses no current threat, but is still ‘seemingly radical enough to denote progress’ (Mayhall 1999, 1). Mayhall describes how, in the years since the Votes For Women campaign, the movement was ‘domesticated’, and the suffragettes remembered for their service to the nation before their rebellion against the British government who allowed their subordination for so long. From this view, the enduring figure of the suffragette ‘serves to consolidate the authority of the nation-state and women's subordinate place within it’ (ibid). The building of suffrage monuments and other state endorsed ‘feminist’ activities give an impression of an increasingly democratic, less patriarchal government. Yet, the ways these women are acknowledged can reveal continuing subjugation via the sanitisation and cherry-picking of women’s activism. In 2018 there was government discussion of legally pardoning the suffragettes, an act which Cowman (2018) explained would have left them “spinning in their graves" as defiance against the government and obtaining imprisonment was for them a badge of honour. In 2017, historian Holmes described the government's decision to erect a statue of the constitutionalist Millicent Garrett Fawcett in Parliament Square as ‘a crashing disappointment’,



Figure 380. Suffragette rubber duck (2023). Houses of Parliament Shop.

> ‘I do not wish to downplay the contribution that Millicent made to the suffrage movement, but we should be wary of the conservative history that suggests that it was as, or even more, significant than that of the suffragettes in the struggle to achieve the vote. This represents the kind of airbrushing of history that makes the fight for women’s suffrage palatable in a contemporary context where populism of the nationalist right is tolerated and appeased but only so-called “moderation” and “gradualism” are allowed in support of the cause of greater equality’ (Holmes 2017).

Popular depictions of suffrage have also impacted its legacy in public imagination today. The BBC’s series *Shoulder to Shoulder*, dramatised the British movement for viewers when it was released in 1974 (figure 381). *The Radio Times* produced a special issue to coincide with the show in which three surviving suffragettes Grace Roe, Leonora Cohen and Cicely Hale were interviewed. Some of the interviews conducted by Brian Harrison with suffrage campaigners between 1974 and 1981 also discuss the series, and while there was some criticism about certain depictions, the

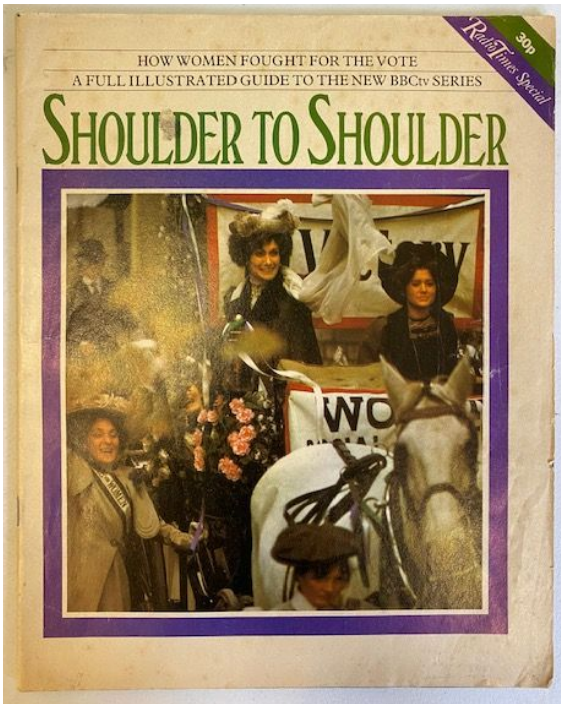


Figure 381. Radio Times special edition on the British women’s suffrage movement published to coincide with BBC drama *Shoulder to Shoulder* (1974). GWL.

series has been praised by historians for its accuracy and unflinching coverage of the campaign (Crawford 2014c). The largest production in recent years, *Suffragette* (2015), uses the fictional character Maud Watts to shed light on a working mothers life within the movement, in context of the actual events and individuals involved. In doing so, the film sheds some light on the immense personal struggle and sacrifice suffragism had on the women involved. The oldest and most watched of these suffragette depictions exists in Mary Poppins (1964), which was released to international success (figure 382). It's likely that several generations first learned of the suffrage movement from the character of Mrs Banks, 'a bumbling mother' more interested in politics than her children (Blakemore 2015, para. 1). Just as the suffragette commodities produced today reflect a combination of societal ideas about historical suffrage and present day issues, Mary Poppins gives a glimpse into a cultural feeling of 1960s America - albeit reflected onto Edwardian Britain. Mayhall (1999, 11) explains how the film is 'rooted in the complexities of the Cold War American middle-class family', with a fixation on the late 1950s ideal of 'family togetherness'. The British suffrage movement provides an opportunity to express an irresolution around women's independence and women's role as mothers - which was a core anti-suffrage argument at the time. 'Disney's use of the comic mode in the film rescaled explicitly political conflict to the realm of the familial, humorously subordinating women's political activism' (ibid). In the opening scene Mrs Banks' mention of Mrs Pankhurst is trivialised and her points undermined by the comedic flashing of her bloomers (figure 383) (ibid, 12-13). With the help of Mary Poppins, by the final scene the nuclear family has been restored, and in symbolic gesture, Mrs Banks gives up her Votes For Women sash for use as a tail for her children's kite.





Figures 382 & 383. Mary Poppins (1964), Glynis Johns sings 'Sister Suffragette'.

Mrs Banks' character is one of numerous examples that illustrate how the figure of the suffragette has been appropriated culturally in the years since the Votes For Women campaign. This particular portrayal softened and 'domesticated' the movement, as have the insistent commodities that continue to diffuse suffrage propaganda into kitsch household objects. These presentations have often, with or without meaning to, also pushed a false narrative that the British campaign was formed under one organisation unified under Emmeline Pankhurst and represented entirely by the purple, white and green.

Present day suffrage materials act as reminders of the movement. It could be argued that through remembrance, these objects are an important source of empowerment. Yet, the integration of women's suffrage with current feminist issues via mundane commodities (such as the Emma Bridgewater mug, figure 376) typically act only as signifiers of change, while being essentially unproductive commodities that preserve the status quo by providing a feeling of progress without

really achieving anything. Most of these 'post propaganda' materials and cultural depictions are made to exploit money from a palatable image of historic feminism without any of the real power, radicalism and disobedience that the suffragettes harnessed. Having provided an overview of contemporary suffrage materials, the following section demonstrates how activists succeeding the Votes For Women campaign picked up on different aspects of suffragism and its material culture to present and legitimise their own movements.

8.3 Legacy and Influence

Cowman (2010, 193-194) explained that feminists have long used historical research to challenge their ongoing gender inequalities;

> 'Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la cite des dames* (c.1405) countered medieval male supremacy by describing an allegorical female world where Queen Esther, Minerva and others combined to install a sense of possibility in women readers. Six hundred years later, when Trevelyan's new History of England ignored women, Virginia Woolf urged female undergraduates to collect 'a mass of information' to reconstruct 'the life of the average Elizabethan woman'.'

The suffragettes also looked back in time to inform and justify their work, choosing role models such as Joan of Arc and Boudicca, and seeking artistic and performative inspiration from medieval times. The uncovering and writing of women's history in and of itself has been considered a form of political activism, as it facilitates a process of 'dismantling', 'recovery' and 'reconstruction', where past histories can then be interpreted and studied for ongoing benefit (Boxer & Quataert 1987). Feminist publishing has also centred women's history, integrating it with current issues. Like *Votes For Women,* 'Women's Liberation magazine' *Spare Rib* (1972-1993), 'simultaneously informed their readership while attempting to motivate them into activism' (Cowman 2010, 197). The magazine centred women's history from the outset, combining historical research into first-wave activism with reflective commentary, personal experiences (in the form of interviews) and social analysis. This work continued the process of recovery and reconstruction to inform the current generation of women, motivate them to address their ongoing concerns and shape their methodologies (ibid, 198). *Spare Rib* writers demonstrated a much deeper awareness of the suffrage movement in its intricacies than had been perpetuated in the main at that point. However, their coverage did not engage with all aspects, there were some notable factual errors as the articles were not peer-reviewed (for example Emmeline Pankhurst was inaccurately named Emily on more than one occasion), and narratives were inevitably skewed as the second-waves' interpretations of the past were heavily led by their present day ideas as activists (ibid, 206). Characteristics and occurrences were cherry-picked to suit the magazine's objective to empower their female readers. Because of this, the movement was generally viewed through the lens of feminist activism - to the detriment of its understanding as political activism. The more unfamiliar or controversial aspects were sidestepped, in favour of insights that could inform and attend to ongoing women's rights issues (ibid, 199; 207). Some misinterpretations of women's suffrage have continued to the present day, yet despite the flaws of feminist retelling, what is most profound is feminism's ongoing need to revisit, analyse and engage with its own past.

Armed with historical research on their predecessors, past and present activists continue to engage with the suffrage movement. The important role that symbols and visual identities play in this has scarcely been identified from an academic perspective, though the impact suffrage campaigners' use of objects has had on radical activism over the last hundred years can not be underestimated. As first-wave feminists, all successive women's movements are connected to the suffrage movement, but countless activists have directly cited the suffragettes as inspiring their actions, while many women's groups have explicitly used the WSPU's purple, white and green. For example, the activism at

Greenham Common in 1981 was one of the largest women-led protests since the suffrage movement. The 'Embrace the Space' strategy led more than 30,000 women to visit and/or live at the site in protest of the NATO decision to deploy cruise missiles in Europe (Laware 2004, 19; 29). Greenham protestors were directly influenced by the suffragettes; the suffrage movement was recalled on banners (figure 384), some women chose to appropriate the WSPU's colours, others chained themselves to fencing surrounding the base, a 'self-conscious' reference to suffragettes direct action[45] (Marshall et al. 2009, 227).



Figure 384. 'Women's Struggle Won the Vote Use It for Disarmament' banner by Thalia Campbell (designer), with help from Ian Campbell and Jan Higgs (1982). LSE:TWL.2003.20a.

The strategies of subversion and reclamation which have been studied in the action at Greenham were first used by the suffragettes, and manifested in objects such as the Holloway brooch. Greenham women used many of the same tactics of subversion, 'stealing back' and 'recoding' objects and spaces to challenge dominant paradigms and undermine the military, in similar ways as the suffragettes used materials to undermine the police and politicians. Like the suffragists/suffragettes, Greenham women also incorporated their craft skills into the protest. Darning the base's perimeter fence with brightly coloured wool acted to 'make it less male, less military, less functional… and more ridiculous' (Schofield & Anderton 2000, 244). Laware (2004, 19; 25) also writes, '...Greenham women delineated a community of shared meaning through the use of feminist coding strategies that posed a challenge to and effectively undermined the masculine symbols of the military in ways not readily evident to the predominantly male military personnel.'

Suffrage history has informed, and been used performatively, by numerous environmental campaigns, demonstrating its currency as an enduring and versatile political symbol. On 13 October 2008 (the anniversary of the Suffragette Rush on Parliament, 13 October 1908) environmental organisation Climate Rush held a rally in Parliament Square to urge politicians to take action on climate change.

[45] Greenham women faced similar criticisms to the suffrages in relation to their sexuality and their perceived disruption of the heteronormative family unit; 'Their queer 'uncommon practices' threatened the heteronormative, patriarchal social order, prompting hostile, anti-lesbian and anti-feminist media coverage and regular attacks by violent local vigilantes' (Marshall et al. 2009, 229).

The group described their activism as ‘peaceful civil disobedience’, akin to the WFL (Chidgey 2015, 63). They used the WSPU slogan ‘Deeds Not Words’ and wore suffragette style sashes as a nod to the movement (figure 385) (ibid). The following year, over 700 ‘Climate Suffragettes’, many dressed in suffrage inspired attire, staged a sit-in dinner at Heathrow’s Terminal One, in protest against the decision to build a third runway, making the airport the UK’s largest carbon emitter (BBC News 2009). Other actions by the group’s members continued to pick up on the suffragettes use of objects while recalling their histories; ten members chained themselves to the gates at Westminster in order to create a visible protest, four activists glued themselves to the same statue in Parliament which suffragette Marjory Hume chained herself to 100 years earlier, they unfurled a ‘Deeds Not Words’ banners from the statue of Boudicca at Westminster Bridge and stormed the newsroom of the Daily Express wearing their trademark red sashes and handing out climate change ‘fact cards’ (Sparrow 2009; Ottery 2010). These actions caught press attention and aimed to shift public conversation and Parliamentary priorities to the climate and ecological emergency.

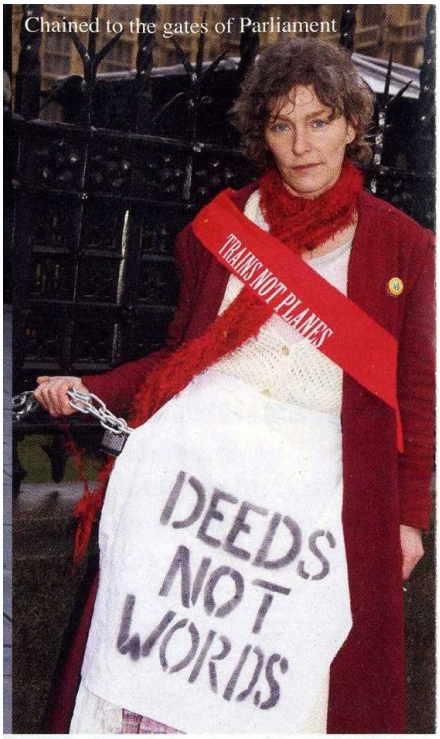


Figure 385. Climate Rush activist wearing a suffragette style sash and fabrics printed with ‘Deeds Not Words’ while chained to railings at the Houses of Parliament (2008). The posing while chained is reminiscent to the images of suffragette Helen Fox c.1908 (see pp. 233-234).

The group received some criticism for rebranding their environmental campaign with visual identifiers of the suffrage movement while missing the opportunity to make gendered links to the issue[46]; ‘if feminist memories are being invoked for present day concerns, there remains the legitimate wish that groups using these memories also attend to the gendered implications of the causes they are agitating for today’ (Chidgey 2015, 65). Instead, many of the group’s activities aimed to honour suffrage campaigners through commemoration and reenactment. On 18 November 2010, Climate Rush held a silent vigil dedicated to the 300 women who were brutally treated by police 100 years earlier on Black Friday 18 November, 1910. Attendees wore black and were joined by Helen Pankhurst (the granddaughter of Sylvia Pankhurst and great granddaughter of Emmeline Pankhurst) and her daughter Laura who laid a wreath at the statue of their ancestor Emmeline (Lambert 2010). Prior to the event, artists from the campaign group publicised the vigil by spray painting the words 'Remember the Suffragettes – 18 November 2010' at sites such as Buckingham Palace, the National Gallery, Hyde Park Corner and Holloway Prison, all chosen for their historical connections to the suffragettes (ibid).

Intersectional feminist group Sisters Uncut was founded in 2014 to undertake direct action for domestic violence services in Britain. This followed funding cuts to life saving services under the UK

[46] Climate change disproportionately affects the poorest people in the world, and amplifies existing issues for women and girls (UN Women 2022). In many areas of the world women bear the greatest responsibility to secure food, water and fuel. Agriculture is the most significant sector for women's employment in low and low-middle income countries. Issues caused by climate change such as droughts, soaring temperatures or erratic rainfall make it even harder for women to work, to secure income, food, water and fuel. Research also shows that women are less likely to survive natural disasters and are more likely to be injured due to long established gender inequalities such as lack of schooling and training leading to a disparity in knowledge, information and access to resources, all of which have left women more vulnerable (ibid).

coalition and Tory governments. The group aimed to fight for women, LGBTQ+ people and others who suffer most under interconnected systems of oppression (sexism, racism, classism, disableism, ageism, among others), whose safety was left most at risk by the stripping back of vital systems such as refuges and Rape Crisis centres, and by cuts to mental health services, legal aid, social housing, among others (Sisters Uncut 2018). Sisters Uncut garnered international attention in 2015 while protesting at the London premiere of the film *Suffragette*, where they laid across the red carpet and chanted 'Dead Women Can't Vote' (Gander & Townsend 2015). The statement was also written on their banners and highlighted that cuts to domestic violence services kill, with the statistic that two women are murdered by a current or former partner every week in England and Wales[47] (Sisters Uncut 2016).

Sisters Uncut made use of the WSPU's colour scheme in their own logo (figure 386) and have drawn from their legacy in their own campaigns. On the evening before the 103 year anniversary of Emily Wilding Davison's death in 2016, the group targeted an event at Parliament where a new art installation by Mary Branson[48] was unveiled to honour women's struggle for the vote in Britain (Sisters Uncut 2016). Activists wore black, purple and green, set off purple and green smoke flares and used paper chains to symbolically tie themselves to Parliament. They highlighted the irony that while suffragettes were being commemorated, many of their actions are still illegal arrestable offences and women's struggle is far from over (figures 387 & 388) (ibid).



Figure 386. Sisters Uncut logo (2022).

Their placards showing domestic violence statistics not only drew upon the legacy of the suffragettes and bound suffrage history with current activism, but it invoked the suffragettes to their cause. One which read 'the suffragettes wouldn't stand for this', uses the reputation of highly regarded historic women to shape the public viewpoint on an ongoing contemporary issue. The viewing public, who likely value the suffragettes as trustworthy proponents of equality, are perhaps more likely to be sympathetic to a cause once it is presented in these terms. The use of colour and symbolism is also a key component of this. Just as the statement 'the suffragettes wouldn't stand for this' uses the suffragettes reputation for being on the right side of history, this also translates to their visual language. Colour has been recognised as the most instantaneous method of conveying a message, capable of symbolising abstract concepts and thoughts, it can convey an idea, time or place as well as producing an emotional response (Pierson 2008, 3). Within politics, single colours are a shortcut to indicate the leanings of a particular party, while multiple colour combinations draw more connections - e.g. red and yellow to represent communism. Still just as recognisable over 100 years on, the purple and green combination in the context of this protest enables viewers to draw from their existing understanding and make a connection to women's history without further explicit reference. With this aesthetic choice Sisters Uncut were thus able to manifest the spirit of the suffragettes, a decision that both commemorated and built onto the suffragette legacy.

[47] This is a 2016 statistic, though at the time of writing this figure is the same (Refuge 2023).

[48] The protest was not intended to diminish the art of Mary Benson, only to use the event to draw public attention to women's ongoing struggle against male and state violence. Mary Benson actually joined the protestors, along with Helen Pankhurst who was also in attendance.



Figures 387 & 388 (above and below). Sisters Uncut activists protest at Parliament (2016). Photographs by Jade Jackman.



The colours and symbols of the WSPU have been used in numerous other protests in recent years. In 2019, women from the Women Against State Pension Inequality campaign, dressed in the WSPU colours, wore Edwardian style outfits and held placards that recalled the Votes For Women campaign in protests carried out across Britain (figures 389-392). In April 2021, seven women from climate activist group Extinction Rebellion cracked glass windows of Barclays HQ, Canary Wharf using hammers and wearing patches with suffragette slogans (figure 393). In January 2022, Green Party Parliamentarians, representatives and members gathered next to the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst in Victoria Tower Gardens in protest against the Police, Crime, Sentencing and Courts Bill. Some wore Votes For Women sashes and chains (figures 394 & 395).





Figure 389 (left). WASPI protester in Edwardian style outfit holds a placard with a picture of Emmeline Pankhurst with the words '100 years of the vote and still idiots in power'. The purple feathers in her hat are another nod to Pankhurst (2019). Imageplotter / Alamy.

Figure 390 (above). Purple dyed ostrich feather from a hat worn by Emmeline Pankhurst. Emmeline wore the feather hat at various campaign events including the Suffragette deputation to the House of Commons in June 1909 and whilst campaigning at Redcar during the Cleveland by-election in July 1909. MoL:50.82/1203.





Figure 391 (left). A WASPI protester wears several of the types of objects used by historic suffrage campaigners: a straw boater hat, rosette and a sash in the colours. She also holds purple and white flowers - suffrage campaigners often carried purple and white flowers in processions or wore them pinned to hats and clothing (2019). Imageplotter / Alamy.

Figure 392 (above). WASPI protesters hold a WSPU flag amended with their own protest statement (2019). Imageplotter / Alamy.



Figure 393 (above). Materials used by UK Extinction Rebellion activists (2021). As well as patches with WSPU slogans and colours, the women even had a modified hammer, akin to those used by militant WSPU members - as discussed earlier in this work. They were charged with causing over £114k of criminal damage and all seven women were given two years unconditional suspended sentences in January 2023. On 27 January, more than one hundred women dressed as suffragettes marched from the Bank of England to the court carrying placards in support and solidarity. They were joined by Helen Pankhurst (Extinction Rebellion 2023).



Figure 394. Green Party campaigner wearing a replica Votes For Women sash and chains (12 Jan, 2022). The well known sash design has endured since the suffrage campaign. Vuk Valcik / Alamy.

Figure 395. Purple, white and green ‘Votes For Women’ WSPU sash (also referred to as ‘the regalia’). This example would have been worn by a WSPU supporter at demonstrations, processions and public events. This type of sash was first seen at Women's Sunday held on 21st June 1908 and soon ‘became an essential part of the 'suffragette' uniform'. *Votes for Women* urged their readers to wear the sash over the right shoulder and fastened under the left arm (c. 1908-1910). MoL:78.169/1.

There are commonalities in these usages; invoking the Votes for Women campaign for ongoing women's rights issues builds onto its existing legacy and follows the 'historical duty' narrative whereby women are motivated by the actions of their foremothers. This typically manifests as; recognition of their sacrifice, gratitude for their actions, and a sense of duty in continuing their work (Chidgey 2015, 59). Issues of excessive police force link directly to what the suffragettes endured, as do activities concerning the human right to protest. Environmental issues, the devastating impacts of global warming and looming global ecological disaster are among the biggest pressing issues we face today. Whether some critics feel that suffrage and feminist histories be used, at least in some part, to serve and acknowledge ongoing gender struggles, the fact that suffragette imagery and tactics have appeared again so often in these campaigns, demonstrates the movement's continuing ability to serve as an activist template for direct action and publicity stunts. First wave feminists positioned themselves against the state and the police in such a profound way that they are still a fitting icon for a whole range of struggles.

Chidgey (2015, 52-53) described the '*familiarity'* of the suffragettes in the British historical imagination: aspects of the movement are part of school curricula, suffrage imagery is still regularly shared by mainstream media, the suffragettes are part of citizenship tests, and the term 'suffragette' is well understood (though is often wrongly used for all women across the movement). The suffrage movement is privileged in that it is classed as the first major feminist wave, it was extensively recorded with a range of documentation including photographs, it coincided with (and made the most of) the emergence of several new technologies, and it was ultimately successful - all of which contributed hugely to its enduring footprint in history. All of these aspects make it accessible and formative to campaigners today. What has been less considered, but is evident from the examples shown here, is how tied up the historical memory of the suffrage campaign is with its material culture. Would the suffragettes be as prominent in the public mind over one hundred years later if it were somehow removed from the imagery that made it so iconic and instantly recognisable, and would activists have latched onto suffrage so fully without the recognisable material culture of the movement? It seems likely that the work of Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence in branding the WSPU so clearly and impactfully to make a statement at the time (as well as the larger marketing and commodification of the movements' colours, symbols and fashions) played a critical role in ensuring this legacy has stayed so *familiar* today. This is not to suggest that the movement would not otherwise have achieved the same legacy, the actions of the militant suffragettes in particular are still a source of fascination, but the familiarity of women's suffrage cannot be removed from its sashes and banners, chains, hammers and recognisable colours, symbols and slogans.

The British suffrage movement, as these examples have shown, has functioned as a foundation and a resource which new political ideologies have built on. While some groups found inspiration from suffragette action, most simply chose to reuse and reinvest suffrage imagery with altered meanings. These activities were all greatly reinforced by the movement's established colours, imagery and symbolism - manifest in its material culture. However, there are significant drawbacks to this continuing reuse, both for current activists, and for the cultural memory and understanding of suffrage history. This 're-citation' of an already well established movement leaves little room for new groups to establish their own unique identifying markers (ibid, 64). The layering of ongoing struggles and protests with already successful ones also bypasses the opportunity to make 'new memory traces for the future', create new icons and tell new stories (ibid). Reuse of well established suffrage imagery and materials also further contributes to the slippage of lesser recognised historical suffrage groups and their visual languages from collective memory, as they become increasingly dominated by the Pankhursts and the WSPU colours favoured by current activists. This also brings the gradual erosion of meaning from WSPU imagery and materiality, as history becomes increasingly layered and new meanings are produced. Academic knowledge ensures accuracy is not wholly lost, but popular history still exerts considerable influence on common understanding. As the following section shows, this

becomes even more problematic when historic materials are reinvested with new contentious meanings.

8.4 Suffragism or Trans-Exclusionary-Radical-Feminism?

The WSPU's colours have stood the test of time, their integration into new social movements is evidence of this, but it also indicates how symbols and associated colours can begin to diffuse and transform over time as society and culture continues to reuse, and reconstruct meaning. As Awad and Wagoner (2020, 100) described,

> 'The social life of symbols and how they become anchor points for new issues, shows how the history of protest is layered in a way that symbols form part of the collective memory and can be activated or triggered for new causes across time… Sometimes they are destroyed and replaced by other symbols in an attempt to overlay memory. And sometimes they endure and travel across national borders and become diffused in other cultures. These processes show the power dynamic and the contestation over the production of meaning and the representation of society and who has the power to do it.'

In 2011, a new pride flag was created by Marilyn Roxie to represent the genderqueer community; those whose gender identity does not fit within the male/female binary. The colours are purple, white and green (specifically a pale lavender, white and dark green) represented on a horizontally striped flag (Yuko 2022). Despite being the same, the choice of colours in the flag have no connection to the women's suffrage movement. Roxie was not aware of this connection when designing it, and they had their own ideas about what each colour stood for [49] (Roxie 2013). This new use does not wipe out the previous, but it demonstrates the dynamic nature of social movement identities. It also demonstrates that the same (or very similar) visual cues can stand for two completely different things. They can be confidently known by one person as meaning one thing, while meaning something completely different to someone else who has a different understanding.

Meanings of a particular visual scheme tied to a social movement can however be in conflict, and its usage contested by parties with differing viewpoints. In recent years, the heritage of women's suffrage has become embroiled within heated debate as the WSPU colours have become increasingly associated with Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminists (TERFs) both online and in person. Often referring to themselves as 'gender critical feminists', TERFs fear the trans-rights movement's impact on women's rights. They stress their sex/biology at birth, often to undermine, exclude and delegitimise the existence of trans and non-binary people through narrow ciscentric, heteronormative and gender essentialist positions (Jones & Slater 2020, 834). Publicly gendered spaces such as women's toilets and changing rooms, as well as women's sports teams have become a focal point in discussion. Debates about children are often brought into this discourse, with particular focus on transitioning and surgery/hormones (CUSU 2019, 3). As Jones and Slater (2020, 835) explain, trans people become the 'subjects' of these debates, often without the opportunity to comment or share their own lived experiences and views. It has been argued that the perceived threat that trans people (mostly trans women) pose to cisgender women's security (both practically and relating to women's rights and progress more broadly), is less of a concern for safety, but instead stems from ideological motives. The denying of trans people from spaces is an attempt to deny the 'possibility' of trans people, as this challenges entrenched beliefs and understandings of sex and gender; 'the fight is not so much 'about toilets' but about the contested boundaries of womanhood, tightening the reins on gender, and making

[49] 'My intention in using lavender had to do with its association as a queer color, dark green as this color's inverse, and white to represent agender or neutral gender, similar to the white in the transgender pride flag' (Roxie 2013).

trans lives impossible', to the detriment of an in-depth discussion whereby legitimate concerns from a range of perspectives could be shared and solutions founded (ibid, 847). Ironically, it is not too dissimilar to narrow Victorian and Edwardian ideas about gender, and the strict controls and stereotypes that (prior to the onset of the women's suffrage campaign) kept women marginalised as a result.

With trans people facing incredibly high rates of violence, sexual assault, poverty, homelessness and healthcare discrimination, it is considered vital by many that spaces and resources are available and accessible to them, along with all other marginalised women (ibid, 2). Trans-exclusionary radical feminist ideology puts the intersectionality of the feminist movement at risk, and puts trans and non-binary people in danger. With that in mind, it is a cause for concern for many that long established feminist markers such as the WSPU's colour scheme have recently taken on an exclusionary meaning which can be used in potentially dangerous ways. In 2022, historian Riddell tweeted, 'At some point UK feminism is going to need to address how transphobic hate has stolen the colours of the suffragettes to identify themselves' (Pedersen 2022, 2).

Pedersen discussed this in an article which investigated the figure of the suffragette within feminism discussion boards on parenting website Mumsnet - recognised as 'one of the key online centres of gender-critical feminism in the UK' (ibid). Pedersen identified the suffrage campaign as a strong recurring theme, with mentions increasing during the 2018 centenary, around election time and more recently in threads concerned with the reform of the Gender Recognition Act (2004) by the British and Scottish governments (ibid, 11). In general, most Mumsnet users demonstrated understanding of the movement, including comprehension of the militant vs constitutionalist sides (ibid, 6-7). 'Suffragette crafting' threads also revealed ongoing usage of the purple, white and green by present day feminists. This included activities like knitting scarves in the colours, making beaded bracelets, christmas decorations or gardening with purple and white flowers (ibid, 7; Mumsnet 2018a; 2022a). Users of the site championed these handmade crafts, sharing images of their purple, white and green yarns, or images of their handiwork with tips for other users. Several commenters described how these handcrafts harkened back to the way suffrage campaigners made many of their materials (Mumsnet 2018a; 2019; 2020). These activities appear part of an ongoing commemoration, but they also demonstrate the adoption of the colours as signalling support for women's rights more broadly.

However, this usage continued to the exclusion of trans and non-binary genders. Some Mumsnet users drew from their understandings of the suffrage movement and made use of the historical precedent set by the suffragettes to justify and support their own stance on current political issues, even going as far as 'moulding the figure of the suffragette until she supports women not using their vote' (Pedersen 2022, 4). Pedersen found that the figure of the suffragette and in particular the use of WSPU colours allowed gender-critical feminists 'to identify themselves to each other on social media and to present a united front at real-life demonstrations' (ibid, 14). The connection of the purple, white and green to gender-critical feminists has been made by those on both sides. Twitter accounts on the TERF side have incorporated purple, white and green heart emojis into their profiles, used names such as 'Sister Suffragette' or have co-opted the names and images of actual women who were suffragettes (ibid, 1). These activities have led to the colours now being treated with suspicion by their opposers, who have flagged current usages of the combination as potential anti-trans dog whistles.

Radical feminist, gay rights activist and former Labour leader Linda Bellos wore a purple, white and green pocket square during a hearing at Westminster Magistrates Court in September 2018 (figures 396 & 397). The hearing was related to a speech Bellos had previously made in York on the Gender Recognition Act which led trans woman Guiliana Kendal to take out a private prosecution for "threatening or abusive words or behaviour" (Pedersen 2022, 11-12). More than 100 of Bellos supporters attended the court, some wore suffragette sashes and many waved signs and banners




Figures 396 & 397. Linda Bellos and Rose Venice Allen stand with their supporters outside of court. Allen was charged with one count of 'sending an offensive message by a public communications network', after sharing a video of Bellos' comments online. Bellos wore a purple, white and green pocket square and Allen pinned ribbons to her clothing in the same WSPU colours (Collins 2018). David Parker / ANL / Shutterstock.

(Collins 2019). They were asked to remove their sashes before entering court, though it was reported that 'the judge refused an application to remove a suffragette pocket square from one of the defendants and a woman in the public gallery wearing a T-shirt that said Woman equals Adult Human Female' (Duell 2018; Pedersen 2022, 12). One of Kendal's supporters voiced their feeling that the suffrage movement was being appropriated to exclude trans women (Hemery & Collins 2018). A thread entitled 'Using Suffrage colours symbol for our activism' on Mumsnet (2018b) does evidence that users of the site were sharing information on where they could get purple, white and green materials as a direct result of this incident;

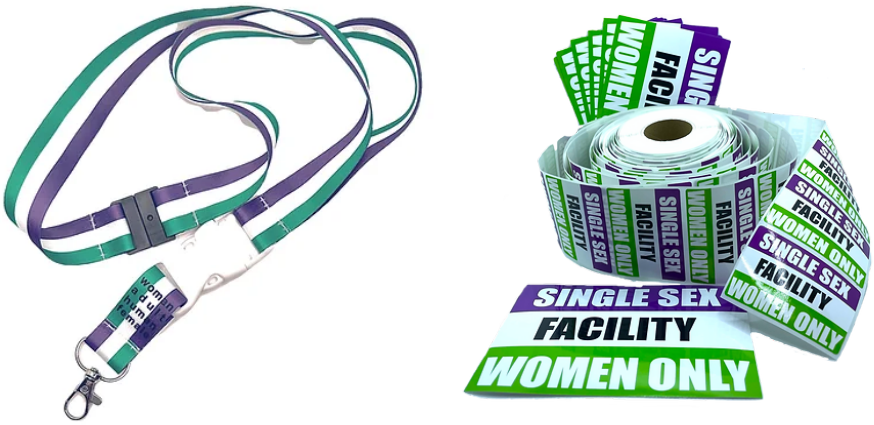
> 'Inspired by Linda Bellos hanky and it being referred to as causing offence by a court adversary I popped into Museum of London on my way to a meeting to purchase some pins and a suffrage bag…Wearing a suffrage pin strikes me as a perfect way of signalling the fight is not over and 100 years from getting the vote it is not sufficiently political that employers and colleagues can complain (although I thought that about my women definition bag). It is a way of starting the conversation with anyone commenting on it. So does anyone know where I can buy a suffrage colours scarf & pin?'

Chapter 5 of this thesis demonstrated how suffrage campaigners became conscious consumers; purchasing political materials which helped other women, fed back into the movement, financed it and helped create a unifying identity embedded with a clear message. In this recent activity, we see an attempt to replicate and 'buy' an activist identity, but without a deeper collective consciousness or intent. This is not protesting, but simply purchasing. There is a gulf between what suffrage campaigners were doing and this copy/paste 'activism'. This is further evidenced by the variety of places recommended to buy 'suffrage coloured' materials; various museum gift shops, e-commerce sites like Ebay and Etsy, and online marketplace Redbubble were suggested as places to get themed clothing and accessories (2018b). The disparate sellers on these sites will not all operate with the same ideology, so this activity does not feed into the buyers beliefs in any meaningful way. The Mumsnet user advocates this as a way to start conversation, though unlike suffrage campaigners who wore their colours and carried materials (for example membership cards and pin badges) to gain new

members and sell for the cause, this purchasing activity seems to attend more to self righteousness, identity seeking, and the desire to evidence a belief through commodities used tokenistically.

New posts seeking advice on places to find ‘suffragette’ themed objects and accessories have continued into 2022 and 2023. A thread from 2022 indicates that women have been purchasing purple, white and green lanyards (figures 398 & 399) and bracelets to wear ‘with pride’ in the workplace, with the justification that this should be deemed acceptable due to the prevalence of rainbow lanyards - which are representative of, and show support for, LGBTQ+ people (Mumsnet 2022b). Wanting to avoid being labelled ‘a hateful bigot’ and contemplating what response to give if questioned, one poster seemed to acknowledge the micro-aggression behind their wearing of a tricolour lanyard, but hoped to conceal this under the guise of being ‘pro-woman’:

> ‘"It's suffragette colours. I'm an ardent feminist and enthusiastically wearing the colours of the brave women who fought for our rights. What do you mean anti-trans? I know of no such thing. It's pro-women, that's not anti-trans." <Innocent smile>’ (Mumsnet User 2022b).



Figures 398 & 399. Purple white and green coloured lanyard printed with ‘Woman adult human female’ and purple, white and green flag stickers printed with ‘SINGLE SEX FACILITY WOMEN ONLY’ - designed for use on toilets and other public spaces to discriminate against trans and non-binary people. Both products are purchasable via ‘adulthumanfemale.store’ (a site recommended by gender-critical posters on Mumsnet) which stocks a variety of purple, white and green commodities including an umbrella printed with ‘Suffrage 2.0’ alongside various openly hateful and anti-trans merchandise. The online store is operated by ‘Standing For Women’ founder Kellie-Jay Keen-Minshull or ‘Posie Parker’, an anti-trans activist with ties to far-right, anti-LGBTQ+ and fascist groups (Elliards 2023).

Another Mumsnet poster (2023) shared an image of a handmade purple, white and green poncho and asked others to share their ‘terfy crafts’ that displayed their ‘terfy tendencies’ - the only signifier of terfism being the WSPU colours. There is further evidence of the WSPU colours being reinvested with hateful intent; Marion Milliar, an activist with anti-trans pressure group For Women Scotland was charged under the Communications Act for social media posts she made in 2019 and 2020. A photo she shared reportedly showed a bow made from purple, white and green ribbons tied to a tree which was considered to represent a noose (Parsons 2021). Another case demonstrates confusion around the colours, and potential malintent behind their use; in November 2022 a woman wearing a purple, white and green scarf was asked to leave an equalities committee meeting where a discussion on proposed reforms to Scotland's gender recognition laws was taking place. The woman was removed due to existing visitor rules on "the display of banners, flags or political slogans, including on clothing and accessories", though the presiding Scottish Parliament officer apologised to the woman after the

incident, stating this was an error. The situation prompted female MPs in Holyrood and Westminster to wear the colours in a show of support for the woman (figure 400) (BBC News 2022).



Figure 400. Thangam Debonnaire, Rachael Hamilton and Joanna Cherry all wore suffragette colours in Parliament (2022). Lisa Mackenzie via Scottish Daily Express.

Many of these instances, and others similar, were prompted and aggravated by the intense debate which surrounded an amendment to the Scottish GRA reform bill which would streamline the process for transgender individuals seeking to amend their gender on legal documents. This debate was heavily stoked by the media, and caused a divide in Scotland and the rest of the UK, with the long drawn out timescale of action on the bill allowing tension and toxicity to build (Rimmer 2023). Maya (2021), a trans woman and lecturer of transgender studies at the University of Edinburgh voiced that anti-trans views have become more visible, fueled by debate around the GRA bill and high profile critics such as author J.K Rowling. A 2021 report also identified that rhetoric which denies trans identities is being used to dismantle the rights of already marginalised trans and non-binary people, and hate crimes against these communities are rising. ‘UK hate crime statistics show a sharp increase in transphobic crimes since 2015 – though only 1 in 7 victims report them to an authority. Online abuse is also rising, and many trans people fear for their safety’ (Chikha 2021, 14).

At this moment in time the WSPU colours have become one of the main signifiers for those opposing a change to the GRA bill. Beyond the pageantry of period costumes and the purple, white and green, some have even gone as far as to label their movement ‘Women’s Suffrage 2.0’, and copy suffragette tactics such as defacing coins (figures 401-405).



Figure 401. A protester dressed as a suffragette with a purple, white and green flag demonstrates outside the Scottish Parliament during discussion of the GRA in 2021. Another holds a sign ‘Women’s Suffrage 2.0’ in the colours with the hashtag ‘women won't wheesht’ (women won't be silenced). Alamy.



Figure 402. Members of 'For Women Scotland' protest outside Holyrood Parliament in Edinburgh as MPs debate final changes to gender recognition reforms (2023). Murdo MacLeod/The Guardian.

Holyrood voted overwhelmingly across parties for Scotland to become the first part of the UK to introduce a system of self-identification to change one's legal gender, this action removes requirements for a medical diagnosis of gender dysphoria and extends applications to 16-17 year olds (Brooks 2022).



Figure 403. From left to right: Caroline Ffiske of Women Uniting, Maya Forstater of Sex Matters and Heather Binning of the Women's Rights Network at the launch of their campaign: 'Respect my Sex if you want my X'. The group uses WSPU colours and rhetoric around 'the vote' to promote their stance on trans issues (2022). PA Images.

Caroline Ffiske co-founded 'Conservatives For Women', in 2019 she published an article to the group's website where she stated 'I'd like to see the gender pay gap increase' (Ffiske 2019).



Figure 404 (left). Twitter user referring to themselves as 'TheSuffragettePunk' took to social media to share an image of a coin they had defaced (a tactic used by suffragettes) in protest against the Scottish National Party plans around the Gender Recognition Act. She also explained her plans to make more of the coins branded with 'Adult Human Female' (a slogan used to support anti-trans ideology) to hand out. Other supporters encouraged people to use permanent marker to deface more coins with the slogan (Savva 2023). TheSuffragettePunk / Scottish Daily Express.

Figure 405 (right). Penny defaced over the King's head with the words 'GIVE WOMEN THE VOTE' (1907). GWL:2017.96.

These activities have seen the long held meanings of the purple, white and green become murky and contentious. The colour combination was always political, it was a message of solidarity between women, it formed part of the fashionable suffragette look, it prompted conversation, aided in the growth of the WSPU and the larger suffrage movement, and it was used to fundraise through the sale of items in the colours. Those on the gender critical side might say it still functions in some of these ways in their current usage, though the colours in this context can also be recognised as hostile and exclusionary.

Built heritage monuments such as the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst in Manchester have also become a rallying point for activism (figure 406). On 15 May 2022, following a clash of protestors at the statue JK Rowling (2022) tweeted,

> 'I never expected the right side of history to include so many people in masks intimidating and assaulting women, did you? But she never dropped her flag. Emmelline would be proud.'



Figure 406. Emmeline Pankhurst statue in Manchester draped in trans-rights blue, pink and white flag (2022). Manchester Trans Rise Up & Twitter:@missdennisqueen. Other groups such as Transgender Action Block, Trans Safety Network, Mermaids UK, and TransActual all work in various ways to support trans people in the UK.

Here Rowling assigns her perspective to Emmeline, as Mumsnet users did. Pedersen (2022, 14) notes that this allows gender critical campaigners to 'performatively invoke their heritage as militant, radical feminists, and imbue their cause with a legitimacy and heroism some contemporary feminists and the media would refuse them.' It isn't so dissimilar from the ways that suffrage campaigners used Joan of Arc as their patron saint, with no real way of knowing what she would have thought of their campaign, or how Sisters Uncut invoked the suffragettes in their protests which drew attention to violence against women. Yet, in this latest usage the WSPU colours and the legacies of the suffragettes themselves have become a vehicle for pushing a narrow view of contemporary womanhood. We will never know what the suffragettes would make of these ongoing debates, and even if this were possible, it is essential to acknowledge that not all suffrage campaigners felt the same - in fact their views often differed greatly, which led to so many different organisations and divides. For example, the rift between the Pankhursts and the Pethick-Lawrences and even the Pankhurst women amongst themselves. Though, as Helen Pankhurst (in Ellery 2018) pointed out when asked her thoughts on trans women and suffrage,

> "The suffragettes came from all different backgrounds and defied rigid ideas about who or what a woman could be. I can't be certain what my great grandmother would have thought, but I hope she would have been supportive."

Dr. Fern Riddell (2022) also disagrees that suffragettes would have praised TERF ideology,

> 'The suffragettes fought for all those who understood the pain and suffering that goes alongside the identity of 'woman', and wanted to tear down the concept of patriarchy itself. They welcomed any and everyone who shared those aims, no questions asked.'

Research into queer suffrage campaigners is relevant here, though this area is still behind where it could be due to a long neglect of research into LGBTQ+ history. Riddell (2022) pointed out that individuals such as the Pankhurst's and Pethick-Lawrences driver, Vera Holme (also known as 'Jack' or 'Jacko') was 'someone whose gender identity was not strictly female, and yet Jack was at the heart of the suffragettes'. While working as a chauffeur, Jack was a member of the Young Hot Bloods, the secretive group of suffragettes aged under thirty who took on dangerous duties for the cause. As well as being a suffragette, Holme was an actress who cross-dressed for a variety of roles and often worked as a male impersonator (LSE n.d.,b). She was known to have adopted masculine dress off the stage and worn her hair short, in a letter to Celia Wray and Alick Embleton, Jack describes her physical transformation and the thoughts of Evelina Haverfield (whom she was in a romantic relationship with), 'I have my hair cut short and it is awfully wavy and curly, and I look like an impresario – Eve says – and she loves it.' (ibid).

While it's important not to impose or assume identities of historical women, individuals such as Vera/Jack Holme show us that while the WSPU emphasised feminine dress as part of their campaign image, they also recognised that there was no one way of being a woman, and were supportive of all those who fought for the same cause. Suffragettes were the revolutionaries of their time, vilified and condemned by many who believed women should not have a public/political voice. Without their pioneering actions and the great sacrifices they made, women today would not have the same political or personal freedoms. Recent debates which see this legacy - and the carefully carved material identity of the suffragettes - reduced to hateful dog whistles weaponised at the expense and exclusion of trans women is incredibly ill-informed, and disrespectful to the truly radical women who challenged existing ways and narratives for a fairer, more equal society. It might also be argued that referring to the war on trans people as 'Suffrage 2.0' is fraudulent, a violation of the group's original intentions which they are no longer here to determine and uphold. Suffrage artefacts and the WSPU

colours were made as a reaction to women's lack of inclusion, they were not made to further divide and exclude.

8.5 Palimpsest Theory

As this chapter has demonstrated so far, the visual language of women's suffrage and its associated materials has been continually commodified, harnessed and appropriated past its lifetime in the women's suffrage movement. It is worth considering palimpsest theory here, which understands objects as capable of gathering 'layered contested meanings over time', these meanings are 'not inherent or natural' but are formed by social relations (Colwell 2022, 129). As these object meanings change, they can conflict with each other when, as Colwell describes, 'divergent practices and expressions come into contact' (ibid). Of the five types of palimpsests defined by Bailey (2007) 'true palimpsests' signify lost material but 'cumulative palimpsests', which are the most common type in archaeology, refer to types with evident 'layers of activity' where remaining evidence becomes intermixed, making it challenging or impossible to separate. Applying this to suffrage materials, two novelty silver suffragette muffineers (or pepper shakers) commercially produced by Saunders & Shepherd, London in 1908 exist within the Museums Victoria collection (figures 407 & 408). Each figure has two removable acetate placards, the front reads 'WE CAN MAKE THINGS HOT FOR YOU' and the back is printed 'VOTES FOR WOMEN'. The objects are interesting in and of themselves, like suffrage teaware and other domestic items, they allowed women to bring their politics into the home. What makes these particular examples different from the others produced, and allows them to be interpreted as palimpsests, is that each placard has been removed and inscribed in pencil on the reverse of the original printed sides, the front reads 'WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO HELP YOUR COUNTRY?', and the back reads 'YOUR KING & YOUR COUNTRY NEED YOU.'[50] These modifications likely occurred during the First World War, and allow the muffineers to espouse a second political agenda relevant to conscription debates, nationalism and gender, given the nature of the object as a whole.

As both cumulative and literal palimpsests, they can be read in different ways, their meanings both mixed and evident. With this understanding, when returning to the usage of purple, white and green and suffrage materials in recent debates, we might better understand them as 'palimpsests of meaning', in reference to the successive meanings gathered by an object (or group of objects) due to different uses, contexts and associations over its lifespan (Bailey 2007, 208). While the museum or archive is typically the final resting place for historic suffrage artefacts, the re-investiture of meaning to the colours and newly made materials has made unexpected changes to the way this legacy is used and received. Latour (in Colwell 2022, 130) noted that people and objects can each make the other 'do unexpected things'. As objects assist in identity creation, they also 'mark its changes' (Domanska, 2006, 340). These shifts and layering of object meanings are often to do with ideas of identity, politics, authority and power (Colwell 2022, 134). This is the case with the ongoing appropriation of women's suffrage, which has emphasised some elements and ideas of the historic campaign, while ignoring others, leading to an uneasy usage with conflicting meanings that do not sit comfortably together. Duara (in ibid, 130) explained this in relation to myths, when newer versions become 'superscribed' over the older ones and the layered 'rival' meanings accumulate and compete for dominance in an 'interpretive area'.

[50] Unfortunately the Museum is no longer unable to remove the placards to display the sides which have this writing (so it has not been possible to acquire a photograph), as the plastic has become so brittle with age that it's likely to shatter if moved (Zoe 2023). The Museum's internal records clearly evidence the existence of this writing (ibid).





Figure 407 (left). Sterling silver suffragette shaker in the shape of a woman in early 20th century dress with gold plated details on bonnet and ribbon. Leather base and removable acetate inserts with slogan printed in red. Hallmarked Chester England 1908; Cornelius Desormeaux Saunders & James Francis Hollings -Frank-Shepherd, London (1908). Museums Victoria: HT 17185.

Figure 408 (right). Second image to show detail, this set appears the same and has the same hallmarks but has text is printed in black. This set was sold by Steppes Hill Farm Antiques Ltd, UK for £4,750.00.

8.6 The Future of Suffrage Materiality

Just as objects allow us to tell stories, a lack of objects can inhibit this. Research into suffrage materiality for this project has revealed gaps in northern museum collections for suffrage artefacts. The density of artefacts in the south is largely due to the great work of the Suffrage Fellowship, who collected their history and donated it to MoL, as well as the work of the Fawcett Society and their large collection held at LSE Women's Library. Scotland has some strong collections, National Museum's Scotland and Glasgow Women's Library being two examples, and the Leonora Cohen collection within Abbey House and Leeds City Museum is an exceptional focused collection on a particular campaigner, made possible by Cohen's donation. However, large institutions such as York Museums Trust or Tyne & Wear Archives & Museums do not have any relevant materials, despite representing areas with rich local suffrage histories (Musensengwe 2023). While there are other methods of telling suffrage history without artefacts (costumed interpretation, interactives or imagery and text panels are a few methods), a material collection acts as a habitual prompt for curators to work with these objects and tell their stories in new and different ways. Without these prompts, and the larger body of

research to support them, activities are often only prompted by anniversaries such as the 2018 partial centenary, and can feel superficial.

The scarcity of suffrage materials in some regions might be considered an unrectifiable issue; one can't create material collections when objects have not survived, or been recorded in ways that would help to understand their involvement. Yet focused studies on local branches and individuals can help salvage the stories of local women, and allow museums to locate their own suffrage histories. Cowman's (2007) publication offered enough material to bring to life Annie Seymour Pearson[51] and the York suffragette contingent in the 2017 York Theatre Royal production *Everything is Possible.* Another good starting point for regional studies are photographs, census and other government records, as well as the plentiful archive of suffrage journals at LSE. A North East centred project might also hone in on the Law & Order records within Tyne and Wear Archives, as well as the special collections at Newcastle University. This research, combined with ancestry information could provide insights which might lead to the discovery of historic artefacts from the great number of suffrage campaigners who have been overlooked by popular history. Recent acquisitions such as the Alice Farmer collection at MoL, and the others highlighted earlier in this chapter, are evidence that there are certainly still suffrage materials to be unearthed and studied. Failing this, museum's might attend to their gaps in women's history by actively looking to acquire materials from the suffrage movement through antiques auctions and other sellers. At the time of this writing Elizabeth Crawford (2023) is selling pieces from a WSPU tea set among other items, and with proper authentication it is still possible to obtain Edwardian jewellery in the purple, white and green.

Suffrage campaigners held a variety of beliefs, interests and motivations. During this research it became evident that vegetarianism was a strong recurring topic within suffrage journals and was regularly mentioned by campaigners in interviews. The intersection between vegetarianism and suffrage was covered by Leneman (1997), who discussed the overlap between suffrage and vegetarian societies, the prison diet of vegetarian suffragettes, vegetarian cookery demonstrations and lectures on the subject for suffrage campaigners, and even the opening of vegetarian restaurants by members of the WFL. Other than Leneman's work, this occurrence in the movement has all but faded into obscurity. It is highly likely there are other interesting and important intersections that have also not been acknowledged. Tracking other progressive causes, campaigns, groups and societies which campaigners were active in before, during and after the movement, would create a fuller picture of their lives, as well as illuminating women's broader social and political activism during the Edwardian era. Research into this might unearth new information, and in turn discover new ways of interpreting suffrage materials and uncovering lost narratives. As covered here, so-called "gender-critical feminism" has recently become tied with suffrage materials in public discourse. Further research into the lives of suffrage campaigners might also produce movement histories that challenge inequalities that still persist in regards to gender, race and sexuality, among other issues. In turn this might change some of the ways suffrage materials are used and discussed today.

8.7 Chapter Conclusion

A material based analysis has allowed for the bringing together of historic artefacts with more recent protest materials, new suffrage 'merchandise' and contentious objects that draw upon the WSPU. In doing so, this chapter has critically presented a comprehensive view of the ongoing surrounding narratives and uses of suffrage materiality and its associated visual legacy. This new contribution not only brings understanding of suffrage materials to the present day, but it prompts fresh thinking on the abilities of political objects and imagery, their agency, and their potential to be used in novel ways.

[51] After her imprisonment, Pearson ran a safehouse for suffragettes in York and kept a record of her campaigning activities in a logbook (now held by an institute in the south of England) which also included other suffrage ephemera.

Today suffrage materials can be used to tell a range of stories from the movement to museum audiences. They might further be used to draw parallels between the past and present on issues such as democracy, authority, participation and protest, in ways that are both illuminating and empowering. Outside of the museum space, the examples covered in this chapter have shown that looking back on the past to inform the future is one of the key ways activists still mobilise today, reusing colours, symbols and the legacy of the women's suffrage movement in order to legitimise and advance their own movements. Due to the strength and longevity of the WSPU's identity, which is manifest in its material culture, this visual language has been borrowed in ways that are referential, or taken wholesale. This activity has allowed for numerous and often contradictory meanings to become layered on top of historic suffragism. Through these material usages, the suffrage movement has reemerged time and time again for modern audiences, becoming a signifier for a broad range of interpretations.

Suffrage campaigners were able to infuse so much power into their material culture, it is understandable that the visual language they formed will remerge again and again in new ways as activists continue to claim some of this rich history. While successive uses, interpretations and contexts can produce palimpsests of meaning from the suffrage legacy, visuals and materiality, this does not mean that its biographies progressively build and increase like a snowball getting larger and more complex as they are overwritten (Colwell 2022, 133). Meanings accumulate, they challenge, disrupt or compliment each other and some stick, while others fall away.

The ongoing usage of the purple, white and green has been clouded by TERFism at the time of finishing this work, though it seems likely that just as other campaigns have passed by, this will be another fleeting moment in the legacy of women's suffrage as it exists after the active campaign. The existence of other groups which share the colours also suggests this, for example, Centenary Action Group was founded in 2018 by Helen Pankhurst with the aim to secure equal representation by 2028. Their logo is in purple white and green and the group is inclusive of trans and non-binary people (Centenary Action Group 2023; Centenary Action Group et al. n.d).

We might further consider whether suffrage materials are exhausted and dulled by activists' (and commercial manufacturers) constant replication which reuses the colours, symbols and associated objects. Is this activity really beneficial as a reminder of the movement, or does frequent reuse and decontextualisation strip away the emotion that made suffrage materials the powerful political objects they were, rendering the new materials hollow echoes by comparison? Creativity and ingenuity was at the heart of the successful use of many of the objects analysed in this thesis. This creativity finds an outlet in material culture when combined with activist imagination, which is needed when imagining new worlds freed from existing constraints and oppressions. It is at the heart of a movement, as demonstrated in Chapter 5. With this in mind, it is hoped that future activists learn from the past, but use it to forge new visual and material languages of resistance.

9. Conclusion

This thesis asked the questions; what was the role of objects in the women's suffrage movement and how did objects help to support the campaign? How did they help to construct collective identities? What were the types of materials appropriated by campaigners?

Combining a wide range of sources was necessary to answer these questions; online collections catalogues and visits to archives allowed for analysis of object types, their manufacture, symbolism and quantities. Time spent in archives was primarily used to analyse minute books, personal collections and other records which often illuminated more about object usages than the objects could themselves. Auditing oral history tapes helped gather campaigners' relevant thoughts and experiences, and extensive study of suffrage newspapers further illuminated the role of objects in a variety of different contexts. Optical character recognition was an incredibly useful tool for locating mentions of particular objects for this work. Reading around mentions and combining findings with other sources gave a fuller picture of object types, uses, campaigners opinions on them, the ways they shaped identities, and the thoughts and opinions of the public, media, commercial publishers and anti-suffragists.

In answering the questions posed by this thesis, this work has continually engaged with theories that view objects as 'active' and 'animate', operating to set a scene, prompt or facilitate activity, and continually work and advocate for the cause once made or amended by activists. This approach has expanded the biographies of suffrage objects by considering their role and impact in these alternative ways. Existing biographies, categorisations and the words 'souvenirs' and 'merchandise' are not always wholly accurate for objects which this thesis has proven to be multifaceted and complex, holding deep bonds with their makers and owners, helping them build and express their identity, allowing them to finance the cause, obtain new members and enact militant activity. Suffrage materials often achieved these various roles simultaneously. Categorising objects by their primary actions as world builders, objects which 'speak out' and those involved in direct action, helped emphasise their active participation first, rather than categorising them rigidly and inanimately by type.

This thesis has also highlighted hidden complexities and nuances which have gone unrecognised until an archaeological analysis such as this. An object-directed focus with a wide view of a range of materials has prompted unconsidered questions and flagged contradictions between what an object or image intends to express, and what might have actually motivated its use, as well as how it functioned in other ways. The appropriation of existing symbolism in some suffrage badges hint at the religious and cultural tensions the movement tried to smooth over, and attempts to entice groups that were less engaged. Textual proclamations about the benefits of badge wearing and constant appeals on the topic provide indication that many campaigners were actually not wearing theirs, while more ambiguous materials such as embroidered or beaded adornments in the WSPU colours suggest that supporters felt a desire to represent the cause in less explicit ways. Although leadership may have wished for every supporter to clearly advocate Votes For Women through their dress at every opportunity, subtle materials allowed women to tailor the meaning of their accessories depending on environment and company. These homemade objects, typically in keeping with the Arts & Crafts style, further allowed women to make their crafts political, and allowed them to independently express their creative resistance, while redirecting their domestic needlework into political objects which were often sold to finance the cause.

Arts & Crafts style adornments in the WSPU colours were produced by a variety of manufacturers from independent jewellers at mid-range prices, to wholesale jewellers at the more affordable end, as

well as fine jewellers. The philosophies of the Art & Crafts movement, often intertwined with the feminist movement, became unattached from the style as pieces became mass produced or expensive. However, this thesis has also shown that commodification of the cause was one of the greatest allies to the movement. Financial incentive prompted a wealth of businesses to produce goods 'in the colours', but by doing so, they signalled supportive environments for women to visit and meet together, and campaigners often took the opportunity to make speeches in these places. Suffrage commodities from purple, white and green tea cosies to tweed coats gave feminist politics a forefront space in towns and market spaces. Crucially, this integration with mundane objects also *domesticated* the movement and legitimised suffrage politics by making it accessible, commonplace and unthreatening.

This research has demonstrated campaigners' conscious consumption of material goods to aid their political goal, in doing so this work has offered answers to the questions posed by Mullins (2011, 178) as cited earlier,

> 'The ways in which everyday consumption provided footholds to citizenship - and what genuine privileges that citizenship brought with it - loom as important questions in consumer scholarship and provide archaeologists rich potential to probe the link between the most apparently mundane materialism and various forms of perceived and real political empowerment.'

Commodification of the cause facilitated the need for suffrage shops, which provided central and visible locations for suffrage campaigners. These shops further publicly demonstrated women's intertwined business and political capacities across the country. Women leveraged new consumerism to sell objects from shops in accessible town and city centre locations, generating funds for the cause and allowing objects to act as political marketing tools, helping to obtain new members. Postcards, greetings cards, calendars, a variety of pin badges and a range of other objects all acted in this way. As mentioned, demands for these items spurred other businesses to stock their own merchandise in the suffragette colours and styles which increased visibility and merged suffrage politics with domestic goods. Companies which stocked suffrage commodities, or indeed any item that might be marketed toward women, also brought increased revenue to the campaign through the placement of advertisements in suffrage newspapers. However, this commodification did have its drawbacks and contradictions, as this work has demonstrated through comparison of the advertising tactics of The Freewoman alongside other suffrage journals. Some campaigners clearly tired of the deluge of fancy frivolities advertised on nearly every page, while readers without expendable income might have felt disenfranchised if unable to support the cause in this way. For better or worse, the goods advertised by suffrage papers formed part of their associated organisational identities. Yet it is clear that working with a range of advertisers was vital for the financial viability, reach and longevity of these publications. While the motivation behind commercial support was likely almost entirely driven by profit, the way suffrage goods functioned was an overwhelming positive for the movement. The commodification of the cause encouraged women to consume with political intent and become drivers of the economy. Analysis of minute books for this work showed that women were actively directing their spending to help advance their politics. Another key finding revealed that commodification also helped the campaign to continue during wartime by sale of cigarettes and other consumables, as testaments from soldiers and advertisements in newspapers evidence.

A persistent thread throughout this research, repeatedly occurring across most object types, has been notions of 'power'. Objects and representations are incredibly powerful mechanisms for articulating ideas about a group or person. The power of campaign group identities, particularly that of the WSPU, was felt strongly by supporters who engaged with organisational materials. The feminine decor of the Women's Exhibition, suffragette dress and handcrafted objects harnessed women's powers

(needlework, decorative/artistic design abilities, and domestic skills culminating in the sale of sweets, baked goods and jams, tea sets etc) and elevated them as new alternative modes. Lowndes' descriptions of suffrage banners recognised their power to transform public streets, and entice women into the procession, while printed materials held enormous power to influence public opinion, provoke sympathy, anger or disgust and otherwise manipulate emotions to the benefit of the campaign, or not, depending on the maker. Postcards in particular, became a powerful vehicle for hateful representations. This research has shown that campaigners understood the persuasive power of photography to instruct and inform ideas by offering glimpses into their offices and other spaces - promoting alternative inspirational modes of work for women - while signed photographic postcards increased suffragettes' status, and thus their power. Allegories and historic figures were used to claim existing power tropes; Britannia symbolising British power and Boudicca symbolising maternal power. Joan of Arc became one of the most powerful symbols highly regarded within various factions of the movement. The WSPU built their militant, morally and spiritually righteous warrior woman identity out of Joan, the powerful ideas she represented motivated some women to pursue direct action, and her likeness manifested this power via posters, newspapers, pin badges, banners and costumes which legitimised and elevated the cause to a righteous moral crusade. Objects used in direct action held power in numerous ways; they disrupted and slowed police and governmental powers and exerted power and dominance over oppressors. The attachment of statements/colours to a weapon invoked organisational power, and the use of convicts arrows, medals, Holloway brooches and other representations of Holloway reclaimed power back from authorities who saw imprisonment and associated symbols as punishments. Finally, women were able to enact new purchasing powers in their role as consumers; Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence (1910, 9) recognised consumerism as women's 'very great power'. Objects harnessed this power as agents which allowed transactions to take place, empowering women through financial decision making, spending with political intent and increased public freedoms. As Spencer-Wood (2010, 347) explained, 'Powers can involve "powers with" of assisting, helping, and facilitating, or "powers over" of hindering, preventing, or prohibiting others from undertaking certain actions to achieve their goals. Powers are processes with variable purposes that are essential to all socialist and cultural change.' This thesis has highlighted ways that suffrage campaigners harnessed a diversity of interrelated powers through the use of material culture to influence opinion, shape new worlds, redirect attention, redefine womanhood and society, and gain control over or undermine authority. Objects were essential components in these interactions, aiding women in achieving the power to vote.

Another theme which became apparent through this work is the continuous repetition and reimagining of symbolism and legacies, and the use of recognisable imagery to legitimise a cause. For example, usage of Jewish and Irish symbolism by associated suffrage groups, the recalling of inspirational historic women and allegorical figures, and the reimagining of earlier propaganda. It's clear from analysis of the artistic styles and formats of suffrage print materials that earlier radical imagery and artists such as Walter Crane, as well as the socialist Arts & Crafts movement inspired a lot of suffrage print materials. This reuse and reinterpretation imbued their propaganda with a sense of authority and legacy. The previous chapter demonstrated that this still continues; activists still use the colours and symbols of suffrage campaigners (almost exclusively those of the WSPU) to reinforce and legitimise their own movements. This evidences the existing power contained within simulacra and past activist materials - power is used almost transactionally, borrowed from one established source or movement to reinforce another. Feminist movements seem almost always built upon predecessors, by harnessing relevant, accessible powers. The previous chapter postulated on the negative consequences of this ongoing replication of legacies, though palimpsest theory indicates that successive layering of meanings - including contentious ones such as the appropriation of suffrage visuals for anti-trans purposes - can build upon an identity, challenging it, though overtime many of these meanings are lost or overwritten. Another question might be whether this activity drains power; the final part of this study also considered the role of suffrage materials today, providing new insights

into the continuing commercialisation of suffrage into mundane ‘kitsch’ commodities which dull their original message and intent. Suffrage materials certainly still harness some power, as they have continually worked in the movements which have replicated them. Though their primary role now has also shifted to museum artefacts, their potential power lies in their ability to draw parallels to issues today, and tell alternative, challenging stories, beyond simply a celebration of women’s advancement.

Relevant to this work is a pervasive narrative of the separate spheres framework, which understands that ‘a model of domestic femininity was actively imposed on women, who experienced feelings of entrapment of such strength that they were led fiercely to resist their containment, resulting in a glorious escape from the private sphere’ (Vickery 1993, 391-392). Campaigners' own feminist polemic aided in this understanding, yet this thesis has contributed new evidence to indicate that while an existence of, and simultaneous ‘overlap’ in spheres, were both felt by women in differing ways, women were deliberately merging femininity and domesticity with the public and political through material culture. This meant that the restrictive separate spheres notion was undone gradually, it was not a sudden ‘breaking free’, but a cleverly orchestrated mixing of worlds that gradually redefined Edwardian womanhood.

The illuminated scroll gifted to Queen Victoria on behalf of the NUWSS is an early example which emphasised women’s occupation of both private and public roles. Events such as The Women’s Exhibition publicly centred women in a professional capacity and encouraged attendees to openly discuss politics while shopping for domestic goods that had been made and procured with political intent. The decor of the venue, tea sets and other goods for sale, which combined domestic skills with politics, all had a part to play in this dynamic social performance and muddling and undoing of restrictive ways. Women further emphasised their domestic skills through banner making, which allowed them to merge politics with domestic needlework. Processions showcased beautiful banners which carried their messages, and banner exhibitions helped further recognise women’s craft skills, while simultaneously getting their politics into new spaces. Domestic objects such as teaware and consumables (tea, soap, etc) meant women were also able to bring suffrage politics into the home through the household budget. The WFL’s ‘Suffragettes At Home’ postcards which highlighted women’s domestic tasks were not contradictorily engaging in women’s oppression, but were redefining what a politically engaged woman might look like. Suffrage campaigners were skillfully and deliberately showing that politics and domesticity, and indeed politics and motherhood, were not separate at all.

This thesis has demonstrated the importance of materials in the creation and maintenance of a politicised collective identity. Membership cards helped legitimise organisations, while further operating as a tool to track membership numbers, attendance at meetings, and prompt the creation of new organisational branches. They validated their owners sense of collective identity, cementing their place within a group and prompting participation. The creation and maintenance of group identity was also continually acted via aesthetics, which communicated suffrage ideas through recognisable symbols and colours, allowing women to spread their message, recognise other activists in shared solidarity, and empower themselves. Arts & Crafts style clothing and personal adornments also allowed women to convey ideas about their femininity, as did printed materials such as postcards which corrected assumptions and stereotypes about campaigners’ appearance. Postcards represent the attitude toward suffrage campaigners better than any other medium, they were another mode which kept suffrage in the public eye, and they provide unique insight into the ways women publicly negotiated their image.

This research has shown that printed materials functioned as ‘comrades’; continually sharing their propaganda messages after being deployed. Prior activists had used printed materials such as leaflets, but advances in print technologies allowed suffrage campaigners to print leaflets, posters and

other ephemeral materials en masse. They were used to provide key information on meeting times and places, as well as specific issues which could be shared in shorter format to a newspaper. Leaflets written by various contributors provided organisers with insights on how the cause was being received throughout the country, and they helped spread information about women's suffrage internationally. Beyond the materials made by campaigners, suffragettes used government paperwork by way of census resistance forms to defy authorities and share their feelings directly to those who had wronged them.

It's important to point out that these materials fed into and fueled each other; disparaging media, commercial and anti-suffrage materials shaped ideas on suffrage, which perpetuated campaigner's mistreatment in public, prompting women to arm themselves in self-defence. This led to additional printed materials illustrating women with whips and hammers, etc, once the window smashing tactic was chosen to avoid harm to women's bodies. Repurposed 'mundane' objects acted in defiance of the government in various ways during the campaign, and suffragettes became irrevocably tied to the weapons of their choosing. The examples sourced and analysed in Chapter 7 have complicated and illuminated understanding of campaigners' use of weapons. Whips were carried both for actual self defence, but also as symbolic protests against the physical mistreatment of women. They were also occasionally used to enact violence against prison doctors and politicians, allowing suffragettes to subvert dominant authority and shame their oppressors. The padlock and chain helped inhibit arrest, and like the whip, functioned in various symbolic ways to represent women's confinement and domestic servitude, but also her bravery and defiance. Locating mentions of hammers in newspapers, and combining this with court documents, commercial postcards and previously neglected materials such as *The Hammerer's Magazine,* evidenced and traced the strong connections between the suffragette and the hammer. In commercial/media representations the two became so enmeshed that a woman with a hammer became representative of a 'suffragette'. This research also contributed new evidence on the complex relationships women had with these tools. Hammers and other weapons modified with WSPU colours or slogans represent the suffragettes' connection to their weapon, the joy of the destruction they were capable of, and their amendment allowed the object to act as propaganda after a window smashing event if left at the scene. The self-defined suffragette 'hammerers' of Winson Green also evidenced an embracing of the object and the identity that came with its use.

This thesis placed jewellery within the tax resistance struggle and further considered it in the role of ceremony and awarding, along with medals and illuminated manuscripts which allowed the WSPU and other organisations to frame their actions as 'worthy' of awarding and reframe imprisonment as a badge of honour and mark of achievement, akin to the efforts of soldiers of war. Militaristic language and activities helped acknowledge suffragettes as heroes and martyrs, inspired increased participation and loyalty, and spread the message of the British women's suffrage campaign to other countries via guests invited to these ceremonies. These objects also recorded suffragettes' actions with their names for future generations, helping to preserve their legacy. While suffragettes outside of prison were conducting these activities and creating these objects to share their stories, imprisoned women were also using materials to continue their efforts and document their experience as inmates by stealing objects, writing, embroidering propaganda and reclaiming the prison space.

Clearly suffrage campaigners considered the place in history they existed in. Indeed, this work has only been made possible because women thought to preserve as much of their material legacy as they could. They formed groups with this purpose in mind, sought out favoured places for the donation of their collections and wrote notes to pass on to curators. This thesis has presented the idea that suffrage campaigners' conscious consideration of posterity began *during* the active movement. This is not a far reach given that campaigners were routinely thinking of future generations, as they sought equality for subsequent women as much as for themselves. Their fight was a moral and political one,

and this morality extended to feelings of concern and a duty of care to improve situations for those who came after. The anticipation of future perspectives was a crucial part of feminist arguments, and the future was a key part of their imagining of new worlds with increased opportunities for women. Furthermore, they believed their campaign to be predestined to victory (Pethick-Lawrence 1908c, 389; VFW 1912c, 646). In these ways campaigners had, from the very beginning, integrated distant futures in their protest. Considering that attention to posterity began earlier than in the years after the vote was won (as the careful preservation of many early materials would suggest), offers new food for thought on the potential duality of materials made to function in the present, but with the future in mind. Some of the examples covered in this thesis feel almost shaped for our eyes; Leonora Cohen's meticulously kept dress or the photographs of Helen Fox posing while chained to railings are among a range of materials which could be read as statements for the future. Indeed, all materials and images which evoke Joan of Arc seem to not only align suffragette actions with Joan, but also bookmark their historical significance.

Questions on how keenly and widely attention to posterity was felt, and how this translated into materials, become more complex when we consider the potential for future minded campaigners to have masked tensions and issues in their movement. Suffrage campaigners were intensely scrutinised, which prompted them to pay strict attention to their image and its perception. As covered in Chapters 5 & 6, this was necessary in order to correct damaging stereotypes and ideas. However, pretences about women not smoking and statements about pin badges are but two small examples which convey discordance between the image presented and day to day realities. Second-guessing future perspectives may have also played a part in their material construction. It is possible that a concern for future spectators prompted activists to hold a mirror up to their activism and potentially alter anything that did not fit with the image they wanted to appear. This thesis does not intend to suppose how materials might have been revised, or what might have been deliberately discarded as much as deliberately kept. The intention is only to show that the object focused nature of this project has revealed these intriguing questions. Again, as Kiddey (2020, 35) described, 'what archaeology needs is not certitude but more complexity, more ambiguity, less reduction, less impulse to seek closure.'

What has been made clear, are the many ways campaigners used materials to acknowledge their achievements. They awarded medals, jewellery and manuscripts, organised processions for imprisoned suffragettes upon their release, wrote lists of honour and made a host of other materials which ensured their achievements would be recognised akin to Joan of Arc and other celebrated women. Questions about the forward-thinking nature of suffrage campaigners connect to the reoccuring self-reflective nature of feminist activism. First-wave feminists navigated multiple worlds simultaneously, producing material outputs which responded to and linked the past, present and future. While suffrage campaigners legitimised their cause through a moral incentive for future women, this contrasts with the controversial activism by anti-trans campaigners covered in Chapter 8, who justify their politics through skewed perceptions of the past. Suffrage campaigners were outliers in their progressive ideas about women; in this sense, they envisioned future people as their contemporaries. They foresaw women not yet born who would share their vision and, thanks to the suffragettes' efforts, live lives less constrained by gender-based discrimination.

This study has expanded knowledge on the women's suffrage movement by making objects, and object agency, the central focus. It has evidenced that objects enabled women to shape their movement, speak out and participate in direct action in the variety of ways described. The material construction of the suffrage movement created a political campaign that has outlasted its usage by over one hundred years. Campaigners unprecedented usages of a range of objects constructed the Votes For Women campaign and saturated Edwardian society with it. Without these objects it could not have achieved this impact, or held this incredible cultural longevity.

9.1 Final Thoughts

One of the most significant outputs of this research is its demonstration that objects are a tangible link not just to ‘the movement’ but to the core emotions and feelings of the individual suffrage campaigners who were living under gendered oppression. Existing printed ephemera holds some of the clearest links to historic women’s voices, their dissatisfaction and determination to achieve something more for themselves and for future women. Hammers bore witness to the rage and the violent delight of direct action. Chains demonstrate suffragettes frustration, desperation and courage. Pin badges express comradeship, solidarity and the desire for unity. As well as their maker's skill in execution, banners translate dignity and hope, while jewellery and medals can express achievement and gratitude among women. Within the museum space it is the challenge for curators to draw these emotions from the objects. Reed (2014, 131) describes how museums can cause political objects to lose their nature,

> ‘Cut out from the pain, suffering, but also the joy of struggle, they are like characters in a play that have wandered off stage. Only those who know the play can fully catch their meaning.’

Many suffrage objects are immediately recognisable to the general public due to the movement’s longevity, familiarity and its regular replication and reinvesting. We know these characters, but it is the core emotions that drove their creation, and the personal stories attached which must be reconstructed and emphasised foremost to ensure they remain situated within the political struggle that made them, and avoid becoming simply ‘curios and fetishes’ (ibid, 130). The research conducted for this thesis allows us to tie objects to the heart of the struggle, and emphasise their active role in the movement, in which they allowed, instigated and made possible so many moments within the Votes For Women campaign. As well as reminders of a struggle, they are symbols of great achievement, bravery, joy, power and hope.

Appendices

Appendix 1. The Anti-Suffrage Movement



Figure 409. National League for Opposing Woman-Suffrage metal and enamel pin badge with organisation's clover, thistle and primrose logo (c. 1908-1910). Parliamentary Art Collection: WOA S749.

Many men and women sought to counter the women's suffrage movement. Best Selling novelist Mrs Humphry Ward was a key figure in the anti-suffrage movement. Having organised a petition in 1889 signed by the 'great and the good' women of Victorian society against female suffrage, she went on to lead the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League from 1908. In 1910 this organisation would then merge with the Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage, to form the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage (figure 409). Among its presidents was passionate anti-suffragist, politician Lord Curzon, who went as far as to publish a pamphlet; 'Fifteen Good Reasons Against the Grant of Female Suffrage.' Among his list of 'sound, valid, and incontrovertible arguments', Curzon claimed that enfranchised women would be distracted from their 'highest duty, which is maternity' (National Trust 2018). The devaluation of women to the base purpose of human reproduction was frequently made by anti-suffragists, and Curzon's was one of many widespread concerns that were taken very seriously by Victorian and Edwardian society. Fears about the impact of women's enfranchisement were complex, believing the vote in women's hands would be 'a disaster,' anti-suffrage was rooted in popular prejudices that viewed women as inferior and 'other.' First wave feminists recognised and spoke out against this, according to suffragette Billington-Greig;

> 'There is not consciousness in the mind of many men that women are human beings. They are regarded merely as sex-beings, segregated wholly, and not always honorably, for sex uses.' And Emmeline Pankhurst; 'A thought came to me in my prison cell… that to men women are not human beings like themselves. Some men think we are superhuman; they put us on pedestals… Other men think us sub-human; they think we are a strange species unfortunately having to exist for the perpetuation of the race' (Billington-Grieg & Pankhurst in Ziarek 2008, 9).

Other anti-suffrage arguments stressed the 'natural differences' of men and women, believing women would be both corrupted by politics and unable to make sound political decisions. Anti-suffragists also drew heavily on the Victorian ideology of 'separate spheres,' arguing that 'as a woman's place was in the home,' by being a public and political activity, the act of voting was inherently masculine (figure 410). In their view, women should therefore be kept out on the grounds of their 'proper exclusion from public life' (Atkinson 2018, 8; Tickner 1987, 98-100; 155). These points raised by anti-suffragists, and counter arguments from suffragists/suffragettes demonstrate that, though a single-issue campaign, the movement was about far more than enfranchisement but a larger contestation of gender inequality at a basic human rights level (Ziarek 2008, 9-11).

By 1914 the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage had 42,000 paying members and thousands more non-paying supporters (Bush, 2018). Anti-suffrage supporting men used their power and influence through both their votes and their management of the agenda in Parliament. While anti-suffrage supporting women 'imitated in a rather diluted fashion the suffrage use of posters and public meetings, producing their own propaganda literature and colour scheme' (ibid). Though unable to match the livelier Votes for Women campaigns, their participation in these political activities effectively undermined the credibility of their own case - contradictions which suffragists quickly exposed. NUWSS leader Millicent Fawcett wrote on the 'inherent absurdity of the whole position of anti-suffrage women,' while Ray Strachey, one of the first historians of suffragism, claimed that the anti-suffrage leagues 'soon began to afford great delight and comfort to their opponents by the ineptitude and futility of their ways' (ibid).



Figure 410. Pro-suffrage postcard satirising the 'prehistoric' convention of separate spheres for men and women, designed by Catherine Courtauld of The Suffrage Atelier (1912). MoL:50.82/841.

Appendix 2. Black Friday, 18 November 1910

The appalling physical and sexual violence women suffered at the hands of the Metropolitan police, plain-clothed police and public bystanders on Black Friday were detailed in countless letters and accounts (figures 411 & 412), one suffragette writes;

'Several times constables and plain-clothes men who were in the crowds passed their arms round me from the back and clutched hold of my breasts in as public a manner as possible, and men in the crowd followed their example... My skirt was lifted up as high as possible, and the constable attempted to lift me off the ground by raising his knee. This he could not do, so he threw me into the crowd and incited the men to treat me as they wished' (British Library 2020; Collinson 2018).

Rosa May Billinghurst, a disabled suffragette who used a wheelchair due to infantile paralysis also described her experience that day;

'At first, the police threw me out of the machine [wheelchair] on to the ground in a very brutal manner. Secondly, when on the machine again, they tried to push me along with my arms twisted behind me in a very painful position, with one of my fingers bent right back, which caused me great agony. Thirdly, they took me down a side road and left me in the middle of a hooligan crowd, first taking all the valves out of the wheels and pocketing them, so that I could not move the machine, and left me to the crowd of roughs, who, luckily, proved my friends.' (figure 413) (MoL 2018a).

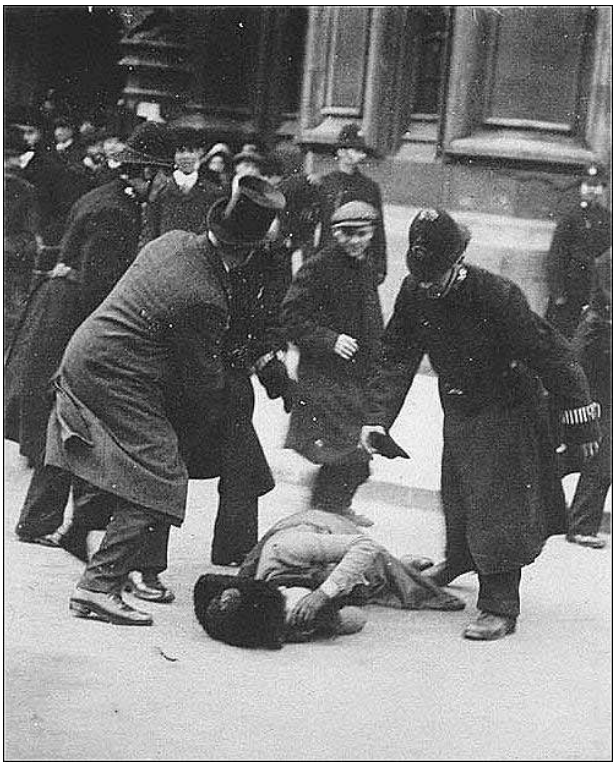


Figure 411. Suffragette Ada Wright lies on the ground with hands covering her face, 18 November 1910. National Archives:COPY 1/551. This iconic image made the front page of the *Daily Mirror* the following day, though it was reported that the government suppressed copies of the newspaper and ordered negatives of the photographs to be destroyed. The WSPU used the photograph to their advantage in Leaflet 75—'Plain Facts about Suffrage Deputations' (Crawford 2003, 759-760).



Figure 412. A suffragette struggles against a policeman on Black Friday, 18 November 1910. Produced by Barratt's Photo Press Ltd (1910). MoL:53.140/1486.



Figure 413. Photograph of suffragette Rosa May Billinghurst, who founded the Greenwich branch of the WSPU. Imprisoned several times for her militancy she endured hunger strikes and forced feeding (c. 1908-1914). MoL: 57.57/7.

Appendix 3. Additional Weapons with Written Statements

The act which led to Leeds suffragette Leonora Cohen's second arrest, was that which made her most well-known. In February 1913, Mrs Pankhurst called for women to take part in the Bond Street window smashing campaign. Leonora did not want to let Mrs Pankhurst down, but felt strongly that she did not want to take part in that campaign, and so she sought to find another way to get her message to the government. Leonora described in vivid detail her actions in choosing the implement which she would use at the Tower of London. She was staying at the time with her London hostess Mrs Morrison in Kensington and couldn't find a suitable object, but thought to repurpose an iron bar from the fireplace (figure 414);

> '...the only thing that I could think of was to take a bar out of the grate, when the fire was out of course, and this bar was so heavy… we had to file this thing into two, took us a whole night to get through with the file, which we did, and I made them into parcels (Cohen 1974).

Having been warned by housekeeper Mrs Morrison that her bag may be taken from her or searched, Leonora also made herself a fabric 'pocket' which she wore tied around her waist and concealed underneath her coat. She prepared the bars for her protest, as she described she made a parcel out of each and a bag to carry and conceal them. Finally, much like the inscribed hammers mentioned in Chapter 7, she chose to add messages to them to make her actions clear. She wrote her first message in green ink onto white paper (figure 415);

> 'This is my Protest against the Liberal Government for its treachery and torture of the suffragettes of Great Britain who claim the right to have the Vote and become recognised citizens. Signed, Leonora Cohen, Leeds.'

She also attached a tag (figure 416) again in the WSPU colours; green card secured with a purple ribbon, which further stated her cause and also the place of her planned action;

> 'Jewel House, Tower of London. My Protest to the Government for its refusal to Enfranchise Women, but continues to torture women prisoners - Deeds Not Words. Leonora Cohen' and on the other side, 'Votes for Women. 100 Years of Constitutional Petition, Resolutions, Meetings & Processions have Failed' (Leeds Museums & Galleries).



Figure 414. Iron bar Leonora Cohen took to the Tower of London and used to smash a display case in protest (act carried out in 1913, iron bar from fireplace grate likely dated much earlier). Leeds Museums & Galleries:LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0055.

In her interview with Harrison, Leonora (1974) explained how she succeeded in her task by smashing a display case in the Jewel House at the Tower of London,

> ‘I had to weave in and out to get to the place where I should be able to throw the missile over the heads of them, and I could only do that by being tall... there was a terrible crash, a good aim, I don't know whether I’d been a cricketer in a past life or not but that’s what happened’.

Cohen’s actions not only demonstrate her resourcefulness and determination at finding and concealing her weapon, but additional details of her use of the WSPU colours in the accompanying paper and tag she attached show the meticulous effort and incredible importance of representing the WSPU, and embodying the suffragette identity through materials.

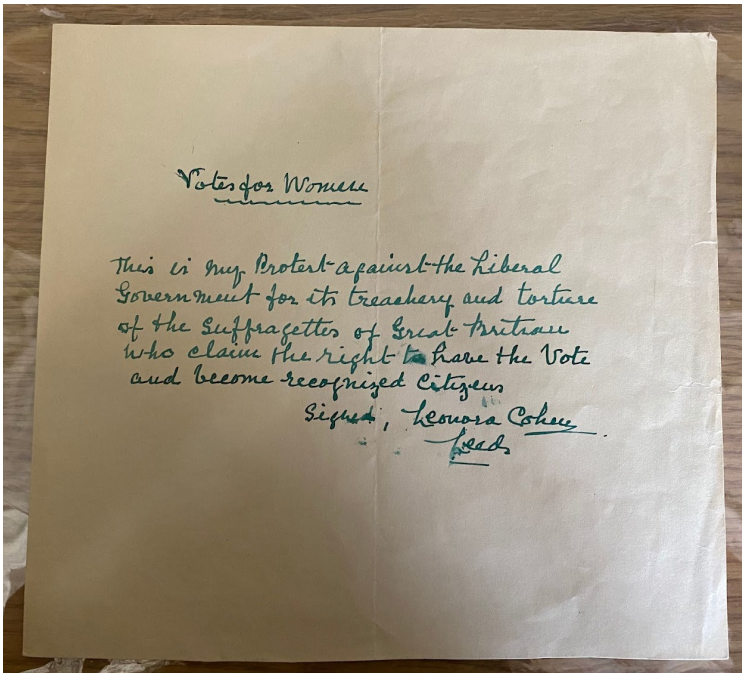


Figure 415. Cohen’s message to the Liberal government written with green ink on white paper as part of her protest at the Tower of London (1913). Leeds Museums & Galleries:LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0179.



Figure 416. Green tag with purple ribbon which was attached to the iron bar that Leonora Cohen used to smash a display case at the Tower of London. The tag further stated her cause and also the place of her planned action (1913). Leeds Museums & Galleries:LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0054.A.

Other suffragettes also added written statements to their chosen weapons. Nellie Godfrey threw a lump of iron at Churchill's car in December 1909 with a note attached, 'Thrown by a woman of England as a protest against the Government's treatment of political prisoners'. Appearing at Bolton Magistrates Court the following day, Godfrey pleaded guilty and was fined 40 shillings. Refusing to pay, she was sentenced to seven days' imprisonment but was later released from Manchester Prison on medical grounds (most likely under the 'cat and mouse' system) (Chaudhari 2021). On 27 May 1914, two stones were thrown through railings at Buckingham Palace (figure 417). Each has a sticky label attached, the first reads, 'IF A CONSTITUTIONAL / DEPUTATION IS REFUSED / WE MUST PRESENT / A "STONE MESSAGE"'. The second stone reads, 'CONSTITUTIONAL / METHODS BEING / IGNORED, DRIVE / US TO WINDOW / SMASHING'. Windows were broken at the Palace that day and two women were arrested though the Master of the Royal Household chose not to prosecute and so both were released (Royal Collection Trust n.d).



Figure 417. Two stones modified with suffrage messages which were thrown through railings at Buckingham Palace on 27 May 1914. Royal Collection Trust:RCIN 71068.

Appendix 4. Suffrage Materials Catalogue

This catalogue was collated as a working Excel spreadsheet during 2020/2021 to bring together and provide an overview of the types of materials relating to the British women's suffrage movement which exist across various museum, archive and personal collections. Online collections catalogues and other digitised collections were utilised in order to gather information and images. Some non-digitised objects were added after site visits became possible from mid to late 2021. The catalogue as it stands is by no means a complete list; many objects studied and discussed in this work do not feature in the catalogue, and there are an even greater number of objects included which are not discussed in this work, but which helped form my understanding of suffrage materiality.

Due to the formatting of this document, please find the catalogue following pg 385.

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Figure 75. Votes For Women (1910). Advertisement for Mappin & Webb jewellers. *Votes For Women* (4 February 1910, 295). Women's Rights Collection: Journals. Part 1, Votes For Women. LSE, The Women's Library. Retrieved from: https://lse-atom.arkivum.net/uploads/r/the-womens-library/7/c/d/7cd881dfc55c286ff5cd724e46ac31eb269efa78ab0b668906abb017588cd5a6/f8e471f6-b585-4b3f-876e-5cdc9f1a15a6-UKLSE_DL1_WR03_015_004_0005_0001.fc8ba2eb-1c76-4d84-9bd3-15556690c31b.pdf.

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Figure 200. Picture postcard. 'While in the act of voting, Mrs Jones remembers that she has left a cake in the oven!' (c.1908-1914). LSE, The Women's Library:twl/2004/1011/47. Retrieved from: https://www.flickr.com/photos/lselibrary/40005988132/.

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Figure 221. Crane, W (c.1885). Walter Crane's logo for the Socialist League. The angel of Justice is flanked by two workers, oak leaves representing strength, and the League's motto: Agitate, Educate, Organise. Wikimedia Commons. Retrieved from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%22THE_SOCIALIST_LEAGUE%22_%22AGITATE%22_%22EDUCATE%22_%22ORGANIZE%22_-_The_art_of_Walter_Grane_(page_213_crop).j.

Figure 222. Crane, W (1895). 'A Garland for May Day' illustration by Walter Crane. Wikimedia Commons. Retrieved from: https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:CRANE_a_garland_for_mayday_1895.j.

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Figure 227. The Suffragette (1913). '*The Majesty of the Law'*. A female allegory of Justice holds a Votes For Women banner and hunger strike sword. This illustration by Bernard Partridge was first published in *Punch* magazine, and was then reproduced with permission on the cover of *The Suffragette* (March 14, 1913). National Archives:ASSI 52/212. Retrieved from:https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/ASSI52-212-Pr2-Cover-of-The-Suffragette-14-March-1913.j.

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Figure 244. Picture postcard showing the suffragette as a feisty and self-assured cat who takes no notice of the police notice which bans political or other meetings and asserts ‘THE VOTE, I WILL HAVE IT!’ (c. 1908). Mary Evans Picture Library. Retrieved from: https://www.prints-online.com/suffragette-cat-vote-14393532.html.

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Figure 248. Commercial/ anti-suffrage postcard of a bulldog with caption 'Who Said Votes for Women!!!' and anti-suffrage symbol to the left of the dog (c. 1908). Johns Hopkins University. Retrieved from: https://exhibits.library.jhu.edu/omeka-s/s/VotesAndPetticoats/item/2381.

Figure 249. E Mack (c. 1910-1911). Pro-suffrage 'lucky' black cat postcard. Published by E Mack for the International Suffrage Shop, 31 Bedford Street. The green background, white mouth and gold eyes of the cat might indicate that the card meant to represent the colours of the Women's Freedom League. Museum of London:50.82/1697. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/453918.html.

Figure 250. *The Sunday Oregonian* (July 9, 1916). Newspaper clipping showing suffragists Alice Burke and Nell Richardson and Saxon the cat. The Oregonian Archives. Retrieved from: https://oregonlive.newsbank.com/browse/11A73E5827618330/1916/july/09/1.

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Figure 252. E.T.W Dennis & Sons (c. 1907). 'What! You think a man could do it as well' postcard from the 'Woman Suffrage Series' (also known as the 'Dainty Series') produced in Scarborough by E.T.W Dennis & Sons. Glasgow Women's Library:GWL-2010-45. Retrieved from: https://ehive.com/collections/8664/objects/973420/postcard-what-you-think-a-man-could-do-it-as-well.

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Figure 263. Tax Resistance League (1911). Census Resistance badge. LSE, The Women's Library. Retrieved from: https://www.mappingwomenssuffrage.org.uk/post/helena-normanton-s-census-resisted-badge.

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Figure 269. Watts, C (1908). The 'Bugler Girl' or 'Clarion Girl' design by artist Caroline Watts, first used on a pamphlet published by the NUWSS to advertise the 13th June 1908 procession. Wikimedia Commons. Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caroline_Watts#/media/File:Caroline_Watts_The_Bugler_Girl_1908.j.

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Figure 276. Cohen, L (1914). Leonora Cohen's Cohen's handmade suffragette dress. Leeds Museums & Galleries: LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0080 .A. Retrieved from: https://news.leeds.gov.uk/news/object-of-the-week-leonora-cohen-s-dress.

Figure 277. Cohen, L (1914). Joan of Arc shield and bugler girl/ 'Angel of Freedom' logos on the inside cover of Leonora Cohen's scrapbook of newspaper cuttings entitled "Memories of a Leeds Suffragette" (c.1913-1969). Leeds Museums & Galleries:LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0077. Author's own photograph.

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Figure 287. The Illustrated London News (1908). Illustration of Helen Fox and Muriel Matters who chained themselves to the grille in the Ladies Gallery, House of Commons on 28 October 1908. Published in *The Illustrated London News* (7 November, 1908). House of Commons Library. Retrieved from: https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/parliamentary-collections/ladies-gallery-grille/grille-incident/.

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Artists' Suffrage League. LSE, The Women's Library. Retrieved from: https://womanandhersphere.com/2012/11/27/suffrage-stories-beware-a-warning-to-suffragists-by-cicely-hamilton-5/.

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Figure 298. *The Illustrated London News* (1908). Illustration showing suffragette Helen Ogston with whip held high before the men who grappled to stop her at the Royal Albert Hall (5 December 1908). Royal Albert Hall. Retrieved from: https://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/news/2015/march/the-woman-with-the-whip-suffragette-helen-ogston-causes-an-international-stir/.

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Figure 301. Anti-Suffrage illustration (presumably printed as postcards) of a young girl sneaking into the WSPU offices (1912). Mary Evans Picture Library. Retrieved from: https://www.agefotostock.com/age/en/details-photo/a-girl-sneaks-in-to-the-offices-of-the-militant-suffragettes-to-see-piles-of-newspapers-hammers-whips-and-stones-all-part-of-the-w-s-p/MEV-11094174.

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Figure 304. Natural History Museum (1914). 'Good behaviour card'. Natural History Museum:DF ADM/1000/99. Retrieved from: https://www.nhm.ac.uk/discover/hide-the-dodo-suffragettes-are-coming.html.

Figure 305. Transcript of Harriet Kerr's defence of hammers found in the WSPU offices, Lincoln's Inn (1913). The National Archives:HO 144/1275/239581. Retrieved directly from The National Archives of the UK via email correspondence with Iglikowski-Broad, V (2022).

Figure 306. WSPU (1912). Silver brooch in the shape of a toffee hammer with the inscription 'Votes for Women'. Museum of London:50.82/1188a. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/65680.html.

Figure 307. Bookstand belonging to suffragette Caprina Fahey (date unknown). Norfolk Museums Service. Retrieved from: https://norfolkthreads.wordpress.com/2018/04/12/in-search-of-caprina/.

Figure 308. 'Mary Had a Little Hammer' commercially produced postcard satirising the movement (c. 1912). Mary Evans Picture Library. Retrieved from: https://www.prints-online.com/suffragette-mary-little-hammer-14161513.html.

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Library. Retrieved from:
https://www.mediastorehouse.co.uk/mary-evans-prints-online/suffragette-hammer-headress-kew-gardens-14161176.html.

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Figure 317. The Hammerer's Magazine (1912). Comic illustration showing the difficulties of washing in Winson Green, by a suffragette inmate, *The Hammerer's Magazine* (May 1912). Museum of London:2019.6/1. Author's own photograph.

Figure 318. The Hammerer's Magazine (1912). Annotated illustration of 'the new spoons', by a suffragette inmate of Winson Green, *The Hammerer's Magazine* (May 1912). Museum of London:2019.6/1. Author's own photograph.

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Figure 320. Leather glove which belonged to suffragette Alice Farmer and was used by her in direct action (c.1912 - object likely dates earlier). Museum of London:2019.6/6. Retrieved directly from the owner.

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Figure 329. Lowndes, M (1908). ‘Florence Nightingale / Crimea’ banner designs and swatches from Mary Lowndes design album. LSE, The Women’s Library:Mary_Lowndes_Album_0059/0060. Retrieved from: https://www.flickr.com/photos/lselibrary/albums/72157692028437514/with/39253777874/.

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Figure 331. WSPU (1912). Illuminated address presented to Alice Farmer after her release from prison. Museum of London:2019.6/4. Retrieved directly from the owner.

Figure 332. WSPU (c. 1908-1909). Illuminated address presented to Elsa Gye after her imprisonment. Museum of London:50.82/1497. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/294663.html.

Figure 333. Combined Committee of the National Society for Women’s Suffrage (1897). Illuminated address signed by Millicent Garrett Fawcett and given to Queen Victoria on her Diamond Jubilee. The National Archives: PP 1/349/2. Retrieved from: https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/suffragettes-on-file/suffragist-petition/.

Figure 334. WSPU (1909). ‘Angel of Freedom’ or ‘Trumpeting Angel’ design by Sylvia Pankhurst for the WSPU, shown on a flyer advertising The Women’s Exhibition. LSE, The Women’s Library:UDC Box 344. Retrieved from: https://www.flickr.com/photos/lselibrary/41597122214/in/album-72157660822880401/.

Figure 335. Votes for Women ‘Angel of Freedom’ embossed medallion, likely commissioned from a jeweller (c. 1909-1914). Hake’s Auctions. Retrieved from: https://www.hakes.com/Auction/ItemDetail/260185/WSPU-ORNATE-WOMENS-SUFFRAGE-SHELL-BADGE.

Figure 336. WSPU (c. 1910). Banner made by the West Ham branch of the WSPU. The ‘Angel of Freedom’ in the centre was adapted from Sylvia Pankhurst's design by branch members Misses M A and E Brice (presumably sisters). Museum of London:50.82/1237. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/91885.html.

Figure 337. Metal and enamel badge in the WSPU colours depicting Sylvia Pankhurst’s ‘Angel of Freedom’ (1910). Used with the permission of Dr. Kenneth Florey. Retrieved directly from the owner.

Figure 338. WSPU (1909). White china teapot decorated with Sylvia Pankhurst's ‘Angel of Freedom’, part of the 22 piece tea service commissioned for the Women’s Exhibition. Museum of London:81.113/8. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/456410.html.

Figure 339. The Suffragette (1913). ‘The Roll of Honour’ list of suffragette prisoners. *The Suffragette* (9 May 1913). LSE Women’s Rights Collection: Journals. Part 1, The Suffragette. LSE, The Women’s Library. Retrieved from: https://lse-atom.arkivum.net/uploads/r/the-womens-library/a/6/2/a625645ed500800de9be15b95929848a500efa8c7be74e11f707038d75be5864/ef96d9dc-8b14-42cf-afe2-870f69bf7877-UKLSE_DL1_WR03_010_002_0020_0001.3b9371c5-7ff9-46a5-bdee-99a67fa193d8.pdf.

Figure 340. John Wadsworth Ltd (1914). ‘Roll of Honour: Suffragette Prisoners 1905-1914’ booklet, produced by John Wadsworth Ltd, The Rydale Press, Keighley. Leeds Museums and Galleries: LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0025.A. Author’s own photograph.

Figure 341. ‘THEY WENT TO PRISON’ booklet (c.1914). Glasgow Women’s Library.

Figure 342. Christabel Pankhurst waves to suffragette prisoners from a house overlooking Holloway Prison (likely the one rented by suffragettes on Dalmeny Avenue) (1909). Historica Graphica Collection / Getty Images. Retrieved from: https://www.mediastorehouse.com/heritage-images/christabel-pankhurst-waving-hunger-strikers-house-15140224.html.

Figure 343. WFL (1908). Holloway prison brooch presented to formerly imprisoned WFL members from 1907. This example was awarded to Muriel Matters and is engraved ‘MM’. An inscription on the back reads 'WFL/Margaret S Clayton/Holloway/March 20th/April 13th 1907'. Museum of London:50.82/1142. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/43309.html.

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Figure 355. New, E (c.1907-1908). Pair of socks which was handmade by imprisoned suffragette Edith New, and presumably smuggled out upon her release. The red banding on the socks indicate they were intended for a boys juvenile facility such as Borstal. Museum of London:50.82/1217. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/292020.html.

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Figure 359. WSPU (1909). Close up photograph of the Pank-a-Squith board game. Museum of Australian Democracy. Retrieved from: https://collection.moadoph.gov.au/objects/2011-0099/.

Figure 360. WSPU (1909). Close up photograph of the centre of the Pank-a-Squith board game. Princeton University, Special Collections, Graphic Arts Collection. Retrieved from: https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/2019/03/05/pank-a-squith/.

Figure 361. Votes For Women (1909). Advert for the 'Pank-a-Squith' board game, produced in time for Christmas sales. *Votes For Women* (26 November 1909). LSE Women's Rights Collection: Journals. Part 1, Votes For Women. LSE, The Women's Library. Retrieved from: https://lse-atom.arkivum.net/uploads/r/the-womens-library/a/a/c/aacd3dbcfe7fca08541d1a10c8237e3321428feca2d1ff834e00a3b264fdd94b/c5a4de7c-8f5d-4ac8-9043-5c8ec0785f73-UKLSE_DL1_WR03_015_003_0049_0001.21631dfd-0012-4766-bb93-bb3f1dd0dac8.pdf.

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Figure 366. Photograph of objects on display within the former People's City Gallery (2022). Museum of London. Author's own photograph.

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Figure 369. 'Protest While You Still Can' a placard held by a protestor at a 'Kill the Bill' protest, in reference to the Public Order Bill (2023). Alamy. Retrieved from: https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2023/24-february/comment/opinion/bill-chokes-the-right-to-protest.

Figure 370. The Spectator (2023). Spectator cartoon by Grizelda which shares the view that Just Stop Oil protestors are 'annoying' (2023). The Spectator / Spectator Shop. Retrieved from: https://shop.spectator.co.uk/grizelda---just-stop-oiljust-stop-being-annoying.

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Figure 372. Suffrage Atelier (1912). Pro-suffrage poster designed by Catherine Courtauld for the Suffrage Atelier. Despite the sun rising (representative of women's freedom), 'the anti-suffrage ostrich' ignorantly buries its head and insists it is not. Museum of London:50.82/1072. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/290659.html.

Figure 373. Wasserman, D (2019). A cartoon by Dan Wasserman shows an ostrich (representative of global leaders) burying its head to avoid climate change. Tribune Content. Retrieved from: https://www.masslive.com/opinion/2019/10/greta-thunbergs-concern-for-planet-understandable-letters.html.

Figure 374. Mills, E (1910). Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard designed and published by Ernestine Mills. Mrs Partington of the Anti-Suffrage Society makes a futile attempt to keep out the tide of women's suffrage. She is shocked that the wave of

'professional women, taxpayers, mothers, medical women, Liberal, Socialist and Conservative women...keeps rising'. Museum of London:50.82/864. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/289830.html.

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Figure 376. ‘Strong Women’ Half Pint Mug with ‘Deeds Not Words’ printed on the inside rim and purple/green lettering. Emma Bridgewater. Retrieved from: https://www.temptationgifts.com/emma-bridgewater-1put040002-purple-toast-change-our-world-half-pint-mug?gclid=Cj0KCQjw9rSoBhCiARIsAFOiplm8dNdbcNGUCGLrs72ZazhSNXJypzk-Zu_C0gU4VHpTZ-D6x3M8AaAlPwEALw_wcB.

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Figure 380. Suffragette rubber duck (2023). Houses of Parliament Shop. Retrieved from: https://www.shop.parliament.uk/collections/votes-for-women-1/products/suffragette-duck.

Figure 381. Radio Times (1974). Radio Times special edition on the British women’s suffrage movement published to coincide with BBC drama *Shoulder to Shoulder*. Glasgow Women’s Library. Author’s own photograph.

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Figure 383. Mary Poppins (1964). Glynis Johns sings ‘Sister Suffragette’ [screenshot from Youtube video clip of the film with subtitles]. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=gsxQdanRXN0.

Figure 384. Campbell, T (1982). ‘Women’s Struggle Won the Vote Use It for Disarmament’ banner by Thalia Campbell (designer), with help from Ian Campbell and Jan Higgs. LSE, The Women’s Library:TWL.2003.20a. Retrieved from: https://elephant.art/journey-through-a-world-of-ideas-with-augusts-best-art-books-06082021/womens-struggle-won-the-vote-use-it-for-disarmament/.

Figure 385. Photograph of a Climate Rush activist wearing a suffragette style sash and fabrics printed with ‘Deeds Not Words’ while chained to railings at the Houses of Parliament (2008). Climate Rush. Retrieved from: https://www.thesuffragettes.org/campaigning-performance/performance-and-protest-now/.

Figure 386. Sisters Uncut (2022). Logo. Retrieved from: https://www.sistersuncut.org/.

Figure 387. Jackman, J (2016). Sisters Uncut activists protest at Parliament. Photograph by Jade Jackman. Retrieved from: https://www.sistersuncut.org/2016/06/08/we-are-the-suffragettes-sisters-uncut-chain-themselves-to-parliament-at-government-art-launch/.

Figure 388. Jackman, J (2016). Sisters Uncut activists protest at Parliament. Photograph by Jade Jackman. Retrieved from: https://www.sistersuncut.org/2016/06/08/we-are-the-suffragettes-sisters-uncut-chain-themselves-to-parliament-at-government-art-launch/.

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Figure 394. Green Party campaigner wearing a replica Votes For Women sash and chains (12 Jan, 2022). Vuk Valcik / Alamy. Retrieved from: https://www.alamy.com/london-uk-12th-january-2022-protesters-next-to-the-statue-of-emmeline-pankhurst-in-victoria-tower-gardens-green-party-members-and-protesters-gathered-outside-the-parliament-in-protest-against-the-police-crime-sentencing-and-courts-bill-credit-vuk-valcic-alamy-live-news-image456593148.html?imageid=B799645C-9BEC-45E5-9112-A0DBFAD0CDB5&p=795639&pn=1&searchId=c7792ccec01dad1ae7fd1a9110ab1b76&searchtype=0.

Figure 395. WSPU (c. 1908-1910). Purple, white and green ‘Votes For Women’ WSPU sash. Museum of London:78.169/1. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/87737.html.

Figure 396. Photograph of Linda Bellos wearing a purple, white and green pocket square (2018). David Parker / ANL / Shutterstock. Retrieved from: https://www.shutterstock.com/editorial/image-editorial/linda-bellos-striped-suit-and-venice-allen-appearing-at-westminster-magistrates-court-facing-a-private-prosecution-by-transgender-rights-campaigner-guiliana-kendal-aka-mark-for-threatening-behaviour-260918-reporter-neil-sears-10447218a.

Figure 397. Photograph of Rose Venice Allen wearing purple, white and green pinned ribbons to her clothing (2018). David Parker / ANL / Shutterstock. Retrieved from: https://www.shutterstock.com/editorial/image-editorial/linda-bellos-striped-suit-and-venice-allen-appearing-at-westminster-magistrates-court-facing-a-private-prosecution-by-transgender-rights-campaigner-guiliana-kendal-aka-mark-for-threatening-behaviour-260918-reporter-neil-sears-10447217a.

Figure 398. Purple white and green coloured lanyard printed with ‘Woman adult human female’ (2023). Adulthumanfemale.store. Retrieved from: https://www.adulthumanfemale.store/product-page/suffragette-2-0-lanyard-x-2.

Figure 399. Purple, white and green flag stickers printed with ‘SINGLE SEX FACILITY WOMEN ONLY’ (2023). Adulthumanfemale.store. Retrieved from: https://www.adulthumanfemale.store/product-page/single-sex-sticker.

Figure 400. Photographs of Thangam Debonnaire, Rachael Hamilton and Joanna Cherry wearing suffragette colours in Parliament (2022). Lisa Mackenzie via Scottish Daily Express. Retrieved from: https://www.scottishdailyexpress.co.uk/news/scottish-news/jk-rowling-pays-tribute-politicians-28526287.

Figure 401. Photograph of a protester dressed as a suffragette with a purple, white and green flag demonstrating outside of the Scottish Parliament during discussion of the GRA in 2021. Another holds a sign ‘Women’s Suffrage 2.0’ in the colours with the hashtag ‘women won't wheesht’ (women won't be silenced) (2021). Alamy. Retrieved from: https://www.holyrood.com/editors-column/view,how-skewed-is-the-debate-on-sex-and-gender-that-wearing-suffragette-colours-is-seen-as-provocative.

Figure 402. Photograph of members of ‘For Women Scotland’ protesting outside Holyrood Parliament in Edinburgh as MPs debate final changes to gender recognition reforms (2023). Murdo MacLeod/The Guardian. Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/jan/21/stoking-a-culture-war-no-nicola-sturgeon-this-is-about-balancing-conflicting-rights.

Figue 403. Photograph of Caroline Ffiske of Women Uniting, Maya Forstater of Sex Matters and Heather Binning of the Women’s Rights Network at the launch of their campaign: 'Respect my Sex if you want my X' (2022). PA Images. Retrieved from: https://sex-matters.org/posts/single-sex-services/launch-of-respectmysex-campaign/.

Figure 404. Coin defaced with the words ‘Adult Human Female’ (a slogan used to support anti-trans ideology) (2023). TheSuffragettePunk / Scottish Daily Express. Retrieved from: https://www.scottishdailyexpress.co.uk/news/scottish-news/scottish-gender-reform-activists-urged-29108416.

Figure 405. Penny defaced over the King’s head with the words ‘GIVE WOMEN THE VOTE’ (1907). Glasgow Women’s Library:2017.96. Author’s own photograph.

Figure 406. Photograph of the Emmeline Pankhurst statue in Manchester draped in trans-rights blue, pink and white flag (2022). Manchester Trans Rise Up & Twitter:@missdennisqueen. Retrieved from: https://twitter.com/missdennisqueen/status/1525847226500665345

Figure 407. Sterling silver suffragette shaker in the shape of a woman in early 20th century dress with gold plated details on bonnet and ribbon. Leather base and removable acetate inserts with slogan printed in red. Hallmarked Chester England 1908; Cornelius Desormeaux Saunders & James Francis Hollings -Frank-Shepherd, London (1908). Museums Victoria: HT 17185. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/items/1328466.

Figure 408. Photograph of another similar example of the same sterling silver suffragette shaker (1908). Steppes Hill Farm Antiques Ltd, UK. Retrieved from: https://www.steppeshillfarmantiques.com/antique-silver/d/edwardian-novelty-silver-suffragette-pepper/371830.

Figure 409. NLOWS (c. 1908-1910). Metal and enamel pin badge with the organisation’s clover, thistle and primrose logo. Parliamentary Art Collection: WOA S749. Retrieved from: https://londontopia.net/columns/lauras-london/voice-vote-womens-place-parliament-exhibition-palace-westminster/.

Figure 410. Suffrage Atelier (1912). Pro-suffrage postcard satirising the 'prehistoric' societal convention of separate spheres where men and women took on different roles, designed by Catherine Courtauld of the Suffrage Atelier. Museum of London:50.82/841. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/289722.html.

Figure 411. Photograph of suffragette Ada Wright lying on the ground with hands covering her face, taken on Black Friday (18 November 1910). The National Archives of the UK:COPY 1/551. Retrieved from: https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/suffragettes-and-the-black-friday-protests-18-november-1910/.

Figure 412. A suffragette struggles against a policeman on Black Friday, 18 November 1910. Photograph produced by Barratt’s Photo Press Ltd (1910). Museum of London:53.140/1486. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/455271.html.

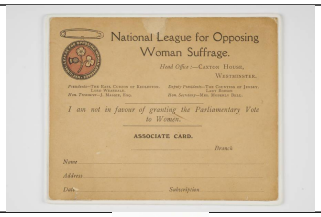
Figure 413. Photograph of suffragette Rosa May Billinghurst (c. 1908-1914). Museum of London:57.57/7. Retrieved from: https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/456290.html.

Figure 414. Iron bar Leonora Cohen took to the Tower of London and used to smash a display case in protest (act carried out in 1913, iron bar from fireplace grate likely dated much earlier). Leeds Museums & Galleries:LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0055. Retrieved from: https://news.leeds.gov.uk/news/object-of-the-week-leonora-cohen-s-iron-bar.

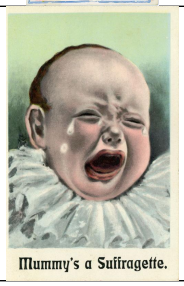
Figure 415. Cohen, L (1913). Cohen’s message to the Liberal government written with green ink on white paper as part of her protest at the Tower of London. Leeds Museums & Galleries:LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0179. Author’s own photograph.

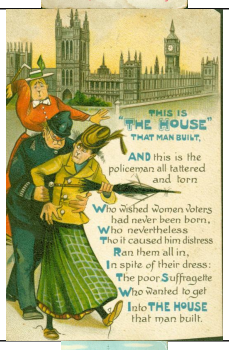
Figure 416. Cohen L (1913). Green tag with purple ribbon which was attached to the iron bar that Leonora Cohen used to smash a display case at the Tower of London. The tag further stated her cause and also the place of her planned action. Leeds Museums & Galleries:LEEDM.E.1989.0010.0054.A. Retrieved from: https://www.mylearning.org/resources/leonora-label-tag.

Figure 417. Two stones modified with suffrage messages which were thrown through railings at Buckingham Palace on 27 May 1914, (1914). Royal Collection Trust:RCIN 71068. Retrieved from: https://www.rct.uk/collection/71068/two-stones-with-suffragette-labels.

Object Images	Object Type	Subcategory	Description / Material	Organisation / Association	Date	Current Ownership
	Anti-Suffrage	Membership	Associate Membership card of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. With space for name, address & branch. On the top left hand corner is printed the League's medallion & logo.	National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage	1910-1912	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage	Other	This handbell offers a satirical view of the militant votes for women. Here the suffragette is depicted as an unwomanly harridan.		1909	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage	Other	Anti-suffragette clock, glass		1910	Glasgow Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage	Personal Adornment	Circular enamelled metal medallion produced by the anti-suffrage movement. With a black enamelled border marked 'National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage'. In the centre is a white enamelled flower sprig on a pink/red background. There is a small loop in the top of the medallion for the insertion of a safety pin. The medallion is missing the bar or pin used for attaching to clothing.	National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage	1910-1914	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage	Personal Adornment	Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, paper, produced by the National League for Opposing Woman-Suffrage, printed with a black and white image a clover, primrose and thistle, on a pink ground, black border, printed with white inscription: 'The National League for Opposing Woman-Suffrage', paper covered with plastic, over metal base.	National League for Opposing Woman-Suffrage	1910-1918	LSE Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage	Personal Adornment	Badge, metal, enamel, round attached with a ring to a straight metal pin, produced by the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League black and gold image a clover, primrose and thistle, on a pink ground, black border with gold inscription: 'Women's National Anti-Suffrage League'.	Women's National Anti-Suffrage League	1908-1910	LSE Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage	Printed Ephemera	This postcard, captioned 'The Appeal of Womanhood', was designed by Harold Bird to announce an anti-suffrage meeting at the Royal Albert Hall organised by the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage. The central figure represents a 'womanly woman' wearing a feminine dress and flowers in her hair as she politely refuses the vote. Behind her a suffragette is depicted as the 'hysteric' or the 'shrieking sister', inelegantly leaping towards parliament brandishing a hammer. The postcard was sent to Lillian M Slade in 1912. The suffrage artist Louis Jacobs's later designed a riposte to Bird's representation. Her poster, also entitled 'The Appeal of Womanhood' and published by the Suffrage Atelier, shows a similar figure to Bird's 'womanly woman' apealling for the vote.	National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage	1912	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage	Printed Ephemera	This commercial comic postcard has been annotated with an anti-suffrage message. An example of anti-suffragette 'hate mail' it was sent to the headquarters of the Women's Social and Political Union in Lincoln's Inn in 1909. Addressed to 'Miss Pankhurst and Her Crew', it expresses a popular view of suffragettes as 'unnatural' single women who have abandoned their traditional domestic role in order to fight the cause.		1909	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Other	Satirical account of the Suffragette movement entitled 'Votes for Catharine, Susan and Me' by Kathleen Ainslie. With full page colour illustrations and verse recounting the adventures & imprisonment of three young women. The title of this edition has been altered by hand to read 'Votes for Catharine Sarah and Milligan'. Inside is a handwritten dedication 'With love from one on the other side Christmas 1910'.		1910	MoL

	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Postcards	A woman, unflatteringly depicted with goggle-eyes, protruberant front teeth and a generally hysterical expression, with her arms upraised, a flag in her right hand reading 'I WANT A VOTE'. In the background, a sign on the wall, black capitals on a read background, reads 'GIVE ME A VOTE AND SEE WHAT I'LL DO!' Caption: "A perfect woman, nobly planned, To warn, to comfort & command" Inscription and Marks Correspondence: "Dear B. Just a line to let you know we have not forgotten you, hope Nellie is better, shall be glad of a line to hear how she is, don't know when we shall be able to get over again, have visitors booked up for some weeks now. Hope all the rest of your [increased?] family are well, love to all, J.C." Addressed to: Mrs Raven, 66 Maryon Rd, Old Charlton, Kent. Postmarked London NW.			Glasgow Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Commercially produced picture postcard satirising Suffragettes. Captioned 'I protest against Man-made laws', the suffragette is depicted wearing masculine clothing and a 'pork pie' hat traditionally associated with representations of lesbians. [GWL also has an example of this postcard in their collection].		1907-1912	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	An Advokate for Women's Rights', commercially produced picture postcard satirising the Suffragette campaign.		1909	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Commercially produced picture postcard satirising the militant Suffragette. Captioned 'Now Madam, Will you go quietly or shall I have to use force?', here an 'unwomanly' suffragette is depicted heckling a male dominated political meeting. Typically the Suffragette is represented wearing masculine clothing, including a tie and a 'pork pie hat' traditionally associated with lesbianism.		1908-1912	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	"This Is The House That Man Built", one in a set of 12 commercially produced postcards. Designed by the artist 'B.B', the series included both 'pro' and 'anti' female suffrage messages.		1908-1909	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Commercial picture postcard satirising the militant votes for women campaign. The image refers to the policy of force feeding hunger striking suffragette prisoners.		1913	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	How The Deuce Did I Know She Was A Suffragette?'. Commercially produced postcard satirising the suffragette movement. Here the suffragette is depicted as a domineering and nagging wife.		1910	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	But surely my good woman don't you yearn for something?', commercially produced picture postcard satirising the Suffragette movement. The postcard highlights the criticism by anti-suffragists that the suffrage campaign was essentially a middle class movement with little relevance to the working class. Here the suffragettes are typically depicted wearing hats and clothing that imply masculinity and spinsterhood.		1907-1914	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Anti-suffrage picture postcard showing a suffragette represented as a vicious looking cat shrieking 'I want my Vote'. Sent to Christabel Pankhurst , October 15th 1908. [GWL also has an example of this postcard in their collection].		1908	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Commercially produced picture postcard satirising the suffragette campaign. Captioned 'What are men, who are they, where are they, etc, etc', the postcard depicts a 'typical' suffragettte as forceful, unwomanly and unfeminine. Here she wears masculine clothing, a tie and a pork pie hat traditionally associated with lesbianism. This was one of in a series of similar postcards.		1908-1914	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Picture postcard satirising the votes for women campaign. This postcard was sent to Christabel Pankhurst with the message 'Don't you think you had better sew a button on my shirt' This ironic greeting signed 'Joe' refers to the common accusation that those campaigning for the vote were neglecting their traditional domestic duties of wife and mother.		1909	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	This comic picture postcard satirising English suffragettes was purchased in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Sent to Flora Drummond at WSPU headquarters, it also includes a news clipping from an Argentinian newspaper describing the activities of British suffragettes. Both the clipping and postcard reflect the worldwide impact of the British suffragette campaign. By transforming the traditional role of women in bringing them to the forefront of Britain's political and public life, the militancy of the WSPU made headlines throughout the world.		1909	MoL

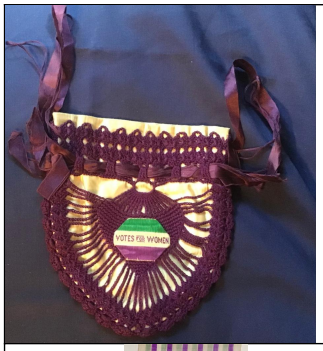
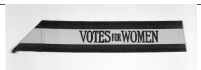
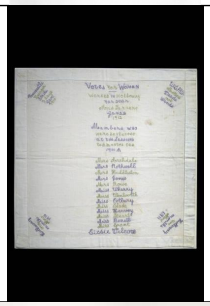
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Satirical picture postcard captioned "The Suffragette Nails her Colours to the Mast". Here the suffragette is depicted as a masculine woman wearing manly clothing including a pork pie hat, this being at the time a direct reference to lesbianism. Those opposing female suffrage regarded suffragettes not only as a political, but also as a sexual threat.		1908-1914	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	The Suffragette's Vision, Mrs Speaker'. One in a series of commercial postcards produced by Tuck and Sons, that satirises the suffragette movement. The postcard implies the absurdity that women could ever play a key role in government.		1908	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	The Suffragette Defies the Tyrant Man'. One in a series of commercial postcards produced by Tuck and Sons that satirises the suffragette movement. Here the female suffragette, who is excluded from joining the police service, is depicted as small and insignificant in comparison to the male policeman who plays a key role in public life and society in 'discharging the ultimate obligations of citizenship'.		1908	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	The Suffragette Flouts His Worship'. One in a series of commercial postcards produced by Tuck and Sons that satirises the suffragette movement. Here suffragettes are depicted as small and insignificant in comparison to the male judge who plays a key role in public life and society.		1908	MoL
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Postcard: My wife's joined the Suffrage Movement About this object Lady pinches anxious apron-clad gentleman by the ear and points severely at him as he kneels on the hearth polishing the fire irons. Caption: "My wife's joined the Suffrage Movement (I've suffered ever since!)" Inscription and Marks Correspondence: "Dear Nina, I hope you did not think I had forgotten you. Hope you are all quite well Hale (?)." Addressed to Miss Nina Henley, Green End, Grandboro', Winslow, Bucks. Postmark probably 'UPPER HOLLOWAY		1909	Glasgow Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Postcard: The Suffragette not at home About this object A gentleman at home with two children in the background, one a boy in a Norfolk suit with a piece of toast on the end of a long fork, the other a babe in ruffles seated at a kitchen table. On the wall, a sign reading 'WOMENS' SUFFRAGE LIST OF MEETINGS'. On the floor, a handwritten note that says 'Dear Ted, afraid shall be late - important committee meeting - Alice'. Ted, who wears an expression of actue consternation, is in the act of accidentally scalding the cat while attempting to make tea. Caption: "The Suffragette not at home." Published by C.W. Faulkener, London.			Glasgow Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Postcard:"Peace At Last! About this object Suffragette postcard, possibly a reprint of an original postcard. The postcard shows a woman wearig a scold's bridlle and a padlock through her lips with the slogan "Peace at Last". Maker Fine Art Publishers Place Made England, London.			Glasgow Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Postcard: Mummy's a Suffragette About this object Crying baby in ruff collar. Caption: "Mummy's a Suffragette." Inscription and Marks Correspondence: "Thanks for [poetry received?] & really one can quite understand you being so very decided about such matters, by glancing on this picture of your baby - hard on the other side - [signature illegible, possibly Mary]". Addressed to: Mr. Richard Emondson [?], Post Offices, Thakeham, Pulborough, Sussex. Postmarked Brighton, 6.30pm May 14 1909.		c. 1909	Glasgow Women's Library

	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Postcard: Peace At Last About this object Misogynistic postcard showing a woman with her tongue being nailed to a table with a mallet, captioned "Peace at Last" (GWL). [Example of one of several similar postcards in the GWL collection, not strictly suffrage related though of the same period].		c. 1909	Glasgow Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Suffragette postcard showing a man at a red post box who has slipped in something that looks like oil or petrol with the tite "Another pillar box outrage". There is no stamp but the front has By Request written in ink on it. The back is addressed to All the Boys at Lenton Liberal Club Inscription and Marks Dec / 15 Lenton England. All the Boys at Lenton Liberal Club wishes you the best of luck and Merry Xmas. When received write back Club Osmaston Street, Lenton, Notts, Yours ffully J. Vickers. Front "Best Wishes from Dad. C. Brown.			Glasgow Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Harrassed policeman shepherds two comically plain women to the accompaniment of an anti-Suffragette poem. Caption: "This is the house that man built. And this is the policeman all tattered and torn, Who wished women voters had never been born, Who nevertheless, Tho it caused him distress, Ran them all in, In spite of their dress: The poor Sufferagette Who wanted to get Into the house that man built." Published by B.B. London Inscription and Marks Correspondence: "Don't you wish to be a Suffragette. Mrs N. would like to see you she is just (illegible word) we are only staying till the morning Tuesday it is not nice weather M.S." Addressed to: Mrs J Cooper, Gairside (?) Terrace, Conundey (?), Nr. Reighley, Yorkshire. Postmarked Morecombe (GWL).		c. 1909	Glasgow Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	A lady in a trouser suit stands on a podium in a pose of dramatic oration. A group of slight puzzled-looking men look on. Caption: "If we can't have the vote, we can wear the trousers!" Published by Bamforth & Co Ltd, Holmfirth Maker Bamforth & Co, Ltd Place Made England, Holmfirth.			Glasgow Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Postcard: Who said votes for women!!! About this object Bulldog in spectacles with a pipe in its mouth against a Union Flag background. Caption: "Who said votes for women!!!" Inscription and Marks Correspondence: "Wed July 12th 1911, Dear Nellie, Thank you for PC's, what time are you coming back Sunday I have just finished two exams, they were very stiff, were not examined on our (illiegible word - Centures?). What do you think of this picture? Looking forward to seeing you on Sunday - yours ever, Charlie." Addressed to: Miss Nellie Topham, at 16 Belmore Rd, Eastbourne. Postmarked London.		c. 1911	Glasgow Women's Library
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Suffragettes Attcking a Policeman' postcard			Kenneth Flo
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Suffragist holding a Votes for Women sign depicted chasing after Satan			Kenneth Flo
	Anti-Suffrage / Commercial	Printed Ephemera	Feeding a Suffragette by Force' postcard.			Kenneth Flo
	Banners & Signage	Banners	WFL 'DARE TO BE FREE' Banner in WFL colours.	WFL	1907	LSE Women's Library

	Banners & Signage		banner bearing the legend ‘Votes for Women in 1912’ The banner was created for the 14 July 1912 demonstration organised by Sylvia Pankhurst in Hyde Park to mark Mrs Pankhurst’s birthday.Still attached to it is a luggage-type label bearing the information ‘Platform 2’ Votes for Women 1912’. This, however, doesn’t refer to a railway platform but to the Hyde Park Platform 2, chaired by Georgina Brackenbury at which the speakers were Mrs Cameron Swan, Mrs Massy and Miss Amy Hicks. The banner is 193 cm (76 inches) at its widest x 111 cm (44 inches) high, with a machine-stiched pocket running down the right-hand side into whiich a stiffening rod was presumably inserted. Small rings have been hand-sewn to the top and the bottom of this pocket. The left -hand side of the banner is shaped as a sideways ‘V’ – all the better to flutter in the wind. The material is a cream cotton and the lettering is painted on in green. The banner is in surprisingly good condition – in that it is intact, no moth holes, the painted lettering is still quite bright. The marks that it does show are consonant with having been carried in a great demonstration – a little muddied and marked'.		1912	Elizabeth Crawford
	Banners & Signage		Suffrage banner, carried by the Hampstead Church League for Women's Suffrage. It was designed by Laurence Housman and possibly made by his sister Clemence Housman, whom he described as 'chief banner-maker' for the Suffrage Atelier. The CLWS was founded in 1909. Its aim was to secure for women the vote in 'Church and State' on the same basis as it was awarded to men. The league also campaigned for the revision of the marriage service in the Book of Common Prayer and, after World War I, led a drive for the ordination of women. By the end of 1913 the CLWS had 103 branches and 5,080 members. The banner is of yellow cotton sateen with beige silks and cotton, green, purple & yellow embroidery silk. The central design incorporates a cross entwined with interlacing grape vines. A foliate capital in metal thread in each corner reads 'CLWS The Glorious Liberty' (above), 'Of the Children of God' (below). On the reverse is painted 'Hampstead Church league for Womens Suffrage'.	Church League for Women's Suffrage	1909-1910	MoL
	Banners & Signage		Mary Lowndes designed the 'Graduates of London University' suffrage banner in 1908. In 1878 the university had been the first in Britain to admit women to degrees.	Mary Lowndes of the ASL	1908	MoL
	Banners & Signage		This suffrage banner was designed by Mary Lowndes, the founder and chief organiser of the Artists' Suffrage League. The silk inner panel bears the arms and motto of the City of London.	Mary Lowndes/ Artist's Suffrage League (ASL)	1908	MoL
	Banners & Signage		Godalming banner designed by Gertrude Jekyll. Jekyll took an interest in female suffrage, creating an embroidered banner for the Godalming Branch of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS). A photograph shows the banner being paraded on a Suffrage Pilgrimage through Guildford in July 1913.	NUWSS	c. 1913	PHM
	Banners & Signage		Grecian robed woman wit arms out to the sides. She holds an olive branch in her left hand and a winged figure on a globe in her right palm. A tape label printed 'WH' and the figures '753093 1 op'. The London based Suffrage Atelier was founded in 1909 and operated until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. It was established as 'An Arts and Crafts Society Working for the Enfranchisement of Women'. The Atelier encouraged non-professional artists to submit work and paid them a small percentage of any profits made from work sold. The Suffrage Atelier made many of the surviving women's suffrage banners. Materials: Ground of rep with cotton weft and silk warp. Applied work in silk and embroidery in metal and silk threads.	Suffrage Atelier	1910	PHM
	Banners & Signage		Suffrage banner carried by the Hampstead branch of the Women's Freedom League. Designed in the league colours of gold, green and white this shield shaped banner is of coarse white linen, with green cording and yellow & green paint. It has a central coat of arms with a stag's head and painted chequered side borders in green and yellow. 'Women's Freedom League' is printed at the centre top with 'Hampstead Branch' at the bottom. The Latin inscription on the banner, 'Non Sibi Sed Toti' translates as 'Not for Oneself but for All'.	WFL	1908-1912	MoL

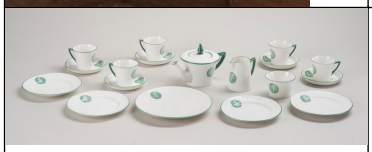
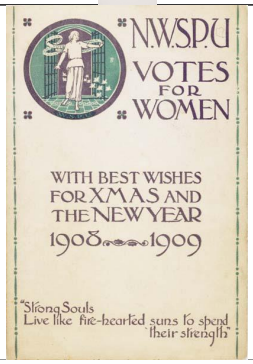
	Banners & Signage		Purple, white and green suffragette flag associated with the death of Emily Wilding Davison... Although the provenance of this flag is unclear it is most likely it was brought to Emily's hospital bedside by her friend and fellow Suffragette Mary Leigh. This was one of several flags draped at the head and foot of the hospital bed of Emily Wilding Davison by her fellow Suffragettes as she lay unconscious in Epsom Cottage Hospital so 'she might die under the flag she had served so unselfishly and with such magnificent courage'. On Emily's death Mary retrieved the flag and carried it on the first Aldermaston 'Ban the Bomb' march in 1958.' Material: wool	WSPU	1913	MoL
	Banners & Signage		Suffrage banner of purple cotton fabric with white appliqued lettering 'Ask with courage'. The 'Ask with' is a pun on the name Asquith, the British Prime Minister, who consistently opposed the introduction of a female suffrage bill.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Banners & Signage		Suffragette Banner of the Lewisham branch of the Women's Social & Political Union. The figure of Justice is represented to emphasise the justice of the Votes for Women cause. Prison arrows adorn the corners of the banner. The motto 'Dare Never Count the Throe' can be read as a warning for people not to underestimate the suffragettes' struggle.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Banners & Signage		Embroidered panel made in Holloway Prison, by Janie Terrero and her fellow prisoners incarcerated in DX wing. Embroidered in purple, white and green silk with the signature of those who took part, with Janie in the hunger-strike and were 'fed by force'. All were serving terms for having taken part in the window smashing campaign of March 1912. The central section of the panel is embroidered in purple 'Worked in Holloway prison by Janie Terrero' surrounded by purple and white embroidered flowers. A photographic postcard of the Suffragette leaders,	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Banners & Signage		Banner, in the suffragette colours of purple white and green, designed and made by the West Ham branch of the Women's Social and Political Union, based at 49 Junction Road. The trumpeting angel design in the central medallion was adapted from Sylvia Pankhurst's 'angel of freedom' motif by branch members Misses M A and E Brice (presumably sisters). The letters were made by Helen Friedlaender and her brother. Helen was Honorary Secretary of the Forest Gate WSPU and Organiser in West Ham during the 1910 general election campaign. It is likely the banner was made during this time.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Banners & Signage		This banner was designed for the Chelsea branch of the Women's Social and Political Union (W.S.P.U) by Herman Ross. It was first unfurled at the Queen's Hall on 17 June 1908 in preparation for Women's Sunday on 21 June. The painted banner depicts two policemen guarding the entrance to Holloway prison, out of which a suffragette prisoner can be seen waving a banner with the slogan 'Votes for Women'. The base of the banner is decorated with the W.S.P.U's colours: purple, white and green.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Banners & Signage		Suffragette banner composed of 80 rectangular pieces of linen sewn together and bordered by green and purple panels. The 80 pieces of linen are embroidered in purple cotton with the signatures of eighty Suffragette hunger-strikers who, by 1910, had 'faced death without flinching'. Along the top is embroidered 'Women's Social and Political Union' in Scottish art nouveau style along with the names of the suffragette leaders Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney. The banner was first carried in the 'From Prison to Citizenship' procession in June 1910 to symbolise the spirit of comradeship that gave suffragette prisoners the strength and courage to endure hunger strike and force feeding. The banner was originally designed as a traditional friendship quilt by the embroiderer Ann Macbeth. Ann was head ot the embroidery department at the Glasgow School of Art. On completing the quilt she donated it to the WSPU Scottish Exhibition and Bazaar held at St Andrew Hall, Charing Cross, Glasgow in April 1910 to raise funds for the Suffragette campaign. The Votes for Women newspaper described the donation as 'A suffrage linen quilt, with a beautiful design in the colours by the well known artist, Ann Macbeth, and containing the embroidered names of hunger strikers, forms an interesting memento, and will be sold for £10'. A following entry notes that '...the quilt embroidered with the names - in their own handwriting - of all the hunger strikers...has been bought by one of the leaders, Mrs Pethick Lawrence'.	WSPU	1910	MoL

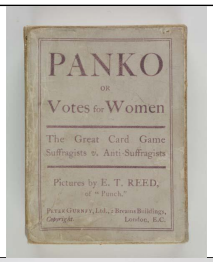
	Banners & Signage		Suffragette banner carried by the Hammersmith branch of the Women's Social and Political Union. The banner is reversible and has a rectangular central section with vertical side panels machine-stitched. It is formed from purple, green & cream satinette with cream cotton damask and purple velvet. The central panel has 3 hammers and horseshoes painted on material over card with 'Hammersmith' and the suffragette motto 'Deeds not words'. The side panels are embroidered with irises on one side and appliqued in velvet on the reverse, with hanging tassels.	WSPU	1910-1912	MoL
	Banners & Signage		Poster parade of young suffragettes advertising Votes for Women, the weekly newspaper of the Women's Social and Political Union. The young Suffragettes were taking part in the Coronation Procession of 1911 as part of the Votes for Women newspaper contingent.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Banners & Signage		This ornately embroidered banner comes from the Brighton branch of the NWSPU. Brighton's banner is embroidered in cotton on cotton sateen. The town's coat of arms is incorporated into the design. Materials: Ground of wool twill, with cotton thread and cotton sateen fabric applied embroidery. This banner was found in a Brighton junk shop by Andy Durr (1945-2015) and presented to the museum in about 1980.	WSPU	1905	PHM
	Banners & Signage		ILFORD W.S.P.U. - VOTES FOR WOMEN - BELIEVE AND YOU WILL CONQUER . The banner has been produced in the union's colours, although these are now rather faded: purple for dignity, green for hope and white for purity. Materials: painted and embroidered cotton fabric with wool fringe.	WSPU	1903	PHM
	Banners & Signage		Purple ground with gold text. "FIRST IN THE FIGHT FOUNDED BY MRS PANKHURST" to the centre and "MANCHESTER WOMEN'S SOCIAL & POLITICAL UNION" to the top edge and left and right side edges, This banner commemorates the founding of the Women's Social and Political Union in Manchester in 1903 and was made by the Manchester-based Thomas Brown & Sons. The banner appeared on the platform alongside Emmeline Pankhurst on several occasions, including at the Heaton Park rally in Manchester (19 July 1908). This banner, commissioned by the Manchester WSPU, was made by Thomas Brown & Co. in 1908. It was taken to London in June 1908 for a mass suffrage rally, organised by the WSPU.The banner's message, First in the Fight, shows how important Manchester was to the struggle for the vote. The colours on the banner, green, white and purple, were the official colours of the WSPU. They represent hope, purity and dignity. Purchased with assistance from the Arts Council/V&A Purchase Grant Fund, Heritage Lottery Fund Collecting Cultures scheme and a crowdfunding campaign.	WSPU	1908	PHM
	Banners & Signage		Suffrage banner, depicting St George killing the dragon against a sky of moon and stars. Made from blue, green, ochre and cream linen, grey, flesh-coloured and black silk and green cotton ribbon.		1908-1911	MoL
	Banners & Signage		Processional Suffragette banner, double-sided with three white compartments edged with red ribbon on a black background, for the Northern Men's Federation of Women's Suffrage, Edinburgh: by Maude Arncliffe-Sennet of the Suffrage Atelier, 1914.		1914	National Museums Scotland
	Ceramics	Other	"Arcadian China" transfer printed cream ceramic bell in the shape of a woman's head - on one side an older woman with "Votes for Women" and the Glasgow City Coat of Arms and on the other a younger woman with the slogan "This one shall have a vote". Maker Arcadian China Place Made England, Stoke-on-Trent			Glasgow Women's Library
	Dress & Textiles	Aprons	Textile, apron, constructed of five panels each in one of colours of the Women's Social and Political Union, with green diamond trim, central panel includes embroidered illustration of Sylvia Pankhurst design 'The bugling angel' and embroidered inscription, 'WSPU Votes for Women'; the apron was made by Manchester suffragettes for Rose Lamartine Yates.	WSPU	1913	LSE Women's Library

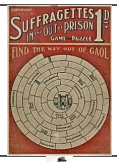
	Dress & Textiles	Bags	WSPU EVENING BAG 'A totally delightful evening bag, crocheted in purple, with a cream silk lining. The front features a purple, white, and green lozenge, formed from one of the ribbon badges, printed with 'Votes for Women', that were sold by the WSPU. Exactly-matching purple ribbon is threaded through to form a delicate holding strap. I wonder if this was made by Miss Chapman herself, or if she bought it at a WSPU bazaar? It is most certainly home, rather than factory, made. It is an item such as one dreams of finding, so beautiful and so intimate. I am including with the bag, for the sake of provenance, a comic suffragette postcard, postmarked 1913 and addressed to Miss Chapman. The bag is in fine condition, the 'Votes for Women' ribbon as bright as ever I have seen' (Crawford).	WSPU	c. 1913	Elizabeth Crawford
	Dress & Textiles		Suffragette motor scarf of white Japanese silk with green and purple stripes and 'Votes for Women' printed on each end. Sold for 2s 11d and could be purchased via mail order or in shops run by the Womens Social and Political Union. First advertised in the Votes for Women newspaper in June 1908 with the marketing slogan 'the beauty of the scarf is not its only merit for it washes, the colours, like the principles of the Union, being fast...'	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Dress & Textiles		Purple, white and green sash, worn by a supporter of the Women's Social and Political Union at demonstrations, processions and public events. On both the top & bottom of the sash is a narrow purple band on the outer border, followed by a band of green and then a broader central band of white on which is stamped 'Votes for Women'. First seen at Women's Sunday held on 21st June 1908 the regalia or sash soon became an essential part of the 'suffragette' uniform'.	WSPU	1908-1	MoL
	Dress & Textiles		Purple, white and green 'Votes for Women' sash, worn by Agnes Kelly at suffragette demonstrations and processions.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Dress & Textiles		White cotton embroidered handkerchief gifted to Janie Terrero by Cissie Wilcox and her fellow window-smashing Suffragettes incarcerated in Holloway Prison. The handkerchief 'worked in Holloway' on 28th January 1912, includes the embroidered names, in purple and green silk, of those prisoners that were sentenced 'at the sessions to 2 months imprisonment' in December 1911. It appears to have been produced as a thank-you to Janie Terrero, and may be associated with her donation of a Christmas hamper to Holloway prisoners, referred to in Votes for Women December 1911. It is almost certainly to have been embroidered by Cissie Wilcox who signs the panel at the bottom.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Dress & Textiles		Replica white cotton prison bonnet painted with black convict arrows. Sewn to the sides of the bonnet are ribbons for tying under the chin. The bonnet formed part of a replica prison uniform made by a Suffragette. Such items were worn by ex-Suffragette prisoners at public events including processions and fund-raising bazaars to highlight the conditions under which imprisoned Suffragettes were held. In 1909 an exhibit entitled 'Prison Life' formed part of the Women's Exhibition held at Princes Skating Rink.	WSPU	1909-1914	MoL
	Dress & Textiles		Pair of black silk stockings, worn in Suffragette processions by Mrs Lilian Burslem. Hand embroidered with the 'Votes for Women' slogan and miniature flags in the purple, white and green.	WSPU	1908-1910	MoL
	Dress & Textiles		Black kid leather court shoe with small curved heel, decorated with a black satin rosette and black beadwork on the vamp, belonging to Emmeline Pankhurst. It was lost by Emmeline during scuffles with the police at a suffragette demonstration.	WSPU	1908-1914	MoL

	Dress & Textiles		The Suffragette, Vera Wentworth walking along The Strand, London wearing an apron advertising a march, 1909. Born Jessie Spink, Vera, previously worked in a shop where she became active in trade unionism. She joined the Women's Social and Political Union in 1908 and became a member of The Young Hot Bloods a group of young suffragettes, fiercely loyal to Emmeline & Christabel Pankhurst. This secretive group, dedicated to carrying out 'danger duty' met every Saturday at 4.30pm in Alan's Tea Rooms in Oxford Street and were used by the WSPU to lead protests, organise parliamentary demonstrations and harass government ministers. Vera was imprisoned several times for militancy between 1908 and 1912. In September 1909, together with WSPU colleagues, she harassed the Prime Minister, Asquith, while he was staying in Lympne for the weekend, at church, on the golf course and by throwing stones at his window. Vera also took part in the window smashing campaign of March 1912. In prison she went on hunger strike and was force-fed. On her release she achieved her ambition of studying at University by leaving London for St Andrews where she stayed until 1914.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Dress & Textiles		Pair of socks knitted by Edith New whilst in prison. Suffragette prisoners were required to undertake work during their time in Holloway.Many chose knitting. The red band around the leg and toe indicate these socks were intended for boys held in juvenile offending units known as Borstal. Presumably Edith smuggled them out of prison on her release as a souvenir.		1907-1908	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Books	An Anti-Suffrage Alphabet by Laurence Housman, edited by Leonora Tyson the organiser of Lambeth/Southwark WSPU. The book was produced specifically for the Christmas market and was advertised in Votes for Women on 15 December 1911. Each edition was printed by hand to order by Leonora Tyson. Orders were placed directly to her at her home address in Streatham. The cost of the book was 10s 6d. 'An Anti-Suffrage Alphabet' was designed by Laurence Housman and edited by Leonora Tyson, the organiser of the Lambeth/Southwark Women's Social and Political Union. The verses, documenting disenfranchised women's unfair subordination, lampooned opponents of women's suffrage. The book includes stencilled illustrations in the suffragette colours of purple and green by a number of female artists including Alice B. Woodward, Pamela C. Smith and Ada P. Ridley. The book was produced to raise funds for the suffragette campaign. Advertised in 'Votes for Women' on 15 December 1911, it was marketed as a suitable gift for suffragette supporters. Leonora received book orders at her home address in Streatham, where she printed each edition by hand.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	China sugar bowl with the 'angel of freedom' logo designed by Sylvia Pankhurst in the suffragette tricolour of purple, white and green. The motif incorporates the initials of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and a winged angel with 'Freedom' written on a banner above her head. Part of a 13-piece tea service specially made for the Women's Exhibition held at Princes Skating Rink in 1909. As well as being used in the refreshment room of the exhibition the sugar bowl and other items in the tea service were sold, either as individual pieces or as a whole set to raise funds for the WSPU.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	White china teapot decorated with Sylvia Pankhurst's 'trumpeting angel' as above in the Suffragette purple, white and green tricolour. The motif incorporates a winged angel of freedom blowing her trumpet, the banner of 'Freedom' above her head. In the background are the initials of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) set against prison bars surrounded by the thistle, shamrock, and rose and dangling chains. The teapot has a green handle and the lid a green rim and knob. This is part of a 22 piece tea service commissioned for use in the Refreshment room at the Women's Exhibition held by the Women's Social and Political Union in May 1909 at Prince's Skating Rink in Knightsbridge.	WSPU	1909	MoL

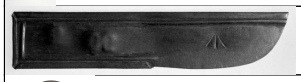
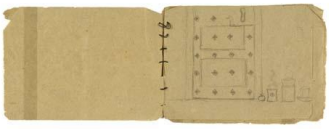
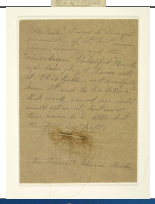
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	White china tea cup and saucer decorated with Sylvia Pankhurst's 'trumpeting angel' roundel in the Suffragette purple, white and green tricolour. The motif incorporates a winged angel of freedom blowing her trumpet, the banner of 'Freedom' above her head. In the background are the initials of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) set against prison bars surrounded by the thistle, shamrock, and rose and dangling chains. The cup and saucer have a green rim and green handle. This is part of a 22 piece tea service commissioned for use in the Refreshment room at the Women's Exhibition held by the Women's Social and Political Union in May 1909 at Prince's Skating Rink in Knightsbridge.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Cup with Holloway Prison gates logo, purple and green. This tea set was designed by Sylvia Pankhurst on behalf of the WSPU around 1909, and were made by H.M. Williamson & Sons of Bridge Pottery, Longton, Staffordshire. They were sold by the WSPU to raise funds, and used by supporters at tea parties and events; this tea set was owned by Rose Lamartine Yates of Dorset Hall in Merton, chairwoman of the Wimbledon/Merton branch of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and used at local meetings and events.	WSPU	1909	PHM
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Ceramic cup, with angel blowing trumpet logo, green, purple border. This tea set was designed by Sylvia Pankhurst on behalf of the WSPU around 1909, and were made by H.M. Williamson & Sons of Bridge Pottery, Longton, Staffordshire. They were sold by the WSPU to raise funds, and used by supporters at tea parties and events; this tea set was owned by Rose Lamartine Yates of Dorset Hall in Merton, chairwoman of the Wimbledon/Merton branch of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and used at local meetings and events.	WSPU	1909	PHM
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Saucer, baring logo of the Women's Social and Political Union This tea set was designed by Sylvia Pankhurst on behalf of the WSPU around 1909, and were made by H.M. Williamson & Sons of Bridge Pottery, Longton, Staffordshire. They were sold by the WSPU to raise funds, and used by supporters at tea parties and events; this tea set was owned by Rose Lamartine Yates of Dorset Hall in Merton, chairwoman of the Wimbledon/Merton branch of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and used at local meetings and events.	WSPU	1909	PHM
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Saucer with Holloway Prison gates logo, purple and green. This tea set was designed by Sylvia Pankhurst on behalf of the WSPU around 1909, and were made by H.M. Williamson & Sons of Bridge Pottery, Longton, Staffordshire. They were sold by the WSPU to raise funds, and used by supporters at tea parties and events; this tea set was owned by Rose Lamartine Yates of Dorset Hall in Merton, chairwoman of the Wimbledon/Merton branch of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and used at local meetings and events.	WSPU	1909	PHM
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Side plate, baring logo of the Women's Social and Political Union This tea set was designed by Sylvia Pankhurst on behalf of the WSPU around 1909, and were made by H.M. Williamson & Sons of Bridge Pottery, Longton, Staffordshire. They were sold by the WSPU to raise funds, and used by supporters at tea parties and events; this tea set was owned by Rose Lamartine Yates of Dorset Hall in Merton, chairwoman of the Wimbledon/Merton branch of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and used at local meetings and events.	WSPU	1909	PHM
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Scottish version of the Prince's Rink tea service, commissioned from the Diamond China Co, another Longton pottery, for use at the refreshment stall at the Scottish WSPU Exhibition held in Glasgow at the end of April 1910. Here the 'angel of freedom' is allied, on white china, with the Scottish thistle, handpainted, in purple and green, inside transfer outlines. After the exhibition this china, too, was sold – Votes for Women, 18 May 1910, noting that 'a breakfast set for two, 11s; small tea set 15s , whole tea set £2, or pieces may be had singly'. It will hardly surprise readers to learn that WSPU china – now so very rare – commands a very high price. But what a wonderful addition a piece would make to any suffrage collection (Crawford - Woman & Her Sphere).	WSPU	c. 1910	Private / Unknown
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Milk Jug from the tea set designed by Sylvia Pankhurst, with the 'Angel of Freedom' device. Made by Williams of Longton, Staffordshire, for use in the tea room at the WSPU Exhibition, 1909. 5″/12.7cm high.	WSPU	1909	Elizabeth Crawford

	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	WSPU Scottish Branch China... Saucer designed by Sylvia Pankhurst for use at the refreshment stall at the Scottish WSPU Exhibition held in Glasgow at the end of April 1910. Here Sylvia's 'angel of freedom', used on the china for the 1909 WSPU London exhibition, is allied, on white china, with the Scottish thistle, handpainted, in purple and green, inside transfer outlines.The Scottish version was commissioned from the Diamond China Co, a Longton (staffordshire) pottery. After the exhibition the china was sold – Votes for Women, 18 May 1910, noting that 'a breakfast set for two, 11s; small tea set 15s, whole tea set £2, or pieces may be had singly'. This saucer has a slight crack, hence the comparatively low price…. this Scottish WSPU china is extremely rare' (Crawford).	WSPU	1910	Elizabeth Crawford
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	WSPU teaset (19 pieces) The teaset comprises teapot and lid, sugar bowl, milk jug, five teacups, five saucers, one bread plate, four side plates. The service is white porcelain with a dark green trim around rim of spout, and the rim of the lid. The handle and the knop on the lid are also in this dark green. Emblazoned on the side of the teapot is the green and purple transfer print of WSPU emblem.	WSPU	1909	Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums
	Merchandise / Commodity	Greetings Cards	Christmas and New Year Card produced by the Women's Social and Political Union. Such cards raised funds for the suffragette 'war chest' and also raised the public profile of the campaign.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Greetings Cards	Christmas card issued by the Women's Social and Political Union for 1909. Printed in the suffragette colours of purple, white and green the card depicts a drummer from the WSPU's own junior band, formed, along with the Women's Band in 1909. The greeting on the card optimistically calls for Votes for Women in 1910 referring to the anticipated passing of the Conciliation Bill. On the reverse is the handwritten greeting 'to dear Letty with hearty good wishes from Alice F Ryland Dec 1909' At the bottom of the card Alice has also written 'by Bertha Ryland' identifying the artist/designer of the card as her sister. Bertha's initials also appear in the bottom right hand corner of the desinger above the lower border.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Greetings Cards	Votes for Women' Christmas Card, 1911. Designed for the WSPU by Hilda Dallas. Christmas merchandise raised funds for the 'war chest' and kept the profile of the campaign in the public eye.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Greetings Cards	Christmas and New Year Card , produced by the Women's Social and Political Union. Such cards raised funds for the suffragette 'war chest' and also raised the public profile of the campaign. This card for Christmas 1908 was designed by Sylvia Pankhurst and includes the logo of a woman breaking free: stepping through a gate with iron bars and heavy chains, carrying a 'Votes for Women' streamer. For Christmas 1908 the WSPU issued two differently priced Christmas cards to accomodate the differing financial circumstances of their supporters and, thereby, maximise the potential of this fundraising opportunity. The most expensive card depicting Laurence Houseman's banner sold for 6d or could be purchased in larger quantities at a discount 25, for example costing 10s 6d. This example by Sylvia Pankhurst was referred to as the 'penny Christmas card' and sold for just 1d each.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Other	Brass-plated belt buckle bears the 'Haunted House' motif. The image of a female silhouette haunting the Houses of Parliament represents the growth of the campaign for female suffrage. Sold by the Women's Social and Political Union to raise money for the cause the buckle was first announced in Votes for Women on August 6, 1908: 'The latest novelty in the Union colours is a special belt and buckle, which is being sold at half a crown each. The buckle is a design taken from the picture of the Haunted House, and the belt is a ribbon in the colours of the Union'.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Other	Tinplate mechanical figure representing a suffragette, selling the Votes for Women newspaper. When wound the figure moves in circles waving a bell up and town. Although made in Germany this figure reflects the huge impact the suffragettes had on public life and society in Britain from 1906. Like many commercially produced items representing the campaign it is not particularly sympathetic to the Votes for Women cause and satirises the suffragette as a bell ringing newspaper seller trawling the streets for customers.		1908	MoL

	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	Card game of 'Panko or Votes for Women' that pits 'supporters' and 'opponents' of Woman's suffrage against each other. The cards were designed by the Punch cartoonist E.T.Reed. Together they form a portrait gallery of the leading figures in the movement. Sold for 2/- and manufactured by Peter Gurney Limited the game was first mentioned in Votes for Women on 10th December 1909. The advertisement for the game claimed 'Not only is each picture in itself an interesting memento, but the game produces intense excitement without the slightest taint of bitterness'.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	The Pank-a-Squith board game was first advertised in Votes for Women on 22 October 1909. The game depicts the suffragettes' struggle with Prime Minister Herbert Asquith and the Liberal government. By rolling the dice, players attempt to move a suffragette figure from her home to the Houses of Parliament, her course being hindered by a number of obstructions along the way. The game was distributed and sold through the network of high-street shops run by the Women's Social and Political Union. [MPHM also has another of these in their colllection].	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	Deck of 48 playing cards in cardboard box, titled "Panko or Votes for Women". Each card features a purple and white design onthe reverse, and cartoons of political figures, policemen and suffragettes on the obverse. Cartoons designed by E.T. Reed of Punch magazine. The game was designed and sold by the Women's Social and Political Union to raise funds, as well as by independent merchant.	WSPU	1910	PHM
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	WSPU Votes for Women cards. 'Manufactured by DeLarue and Company, the face cards were those of a typical deck, but the backs carried the slogan “Votes for Women” surrounded by prison arrows, all in the Union’s symbolic colors of purple, green, and white. These cards were sold in WSPU shops throughout the country and through advertisements in the WSPU’s official paper, Votes for Women'.	WSPU		Kenneth Florey
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	The Game of Suffragette playing cards. 'The card game called “Suffragette” was developed by the Kensington branch of the Women’s Social and Political Union (always creative in their production of suffrage memorabilia) and first promoted in the November 1907 issue of the WSPU journal, Votes for Women. It could possibly be the first suffrage card game on either side of the Atlantic. It could be played as a “round” game or in sides—the Suffragettes versus the anti-Suffragettes. The object was to see who could obtain the highest number of votes by making up cards into sets, each set worth a different number of points, in order to attain the Franchise Bill. The names of the sets contained such period allusions as “Piecrust Principles,” “Broken Promises,” “The Sensational Press,” etc. Each card contained a question and answer, and several of them also featured photographs of prominent suffragists. The back of the cards contained the same image of the specter of a woman holding the franchise bill that graced the cover of the journal during its first year of publication' (Florey).	WSPU		Kenneth Florey
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	Panko playing card game. 'Among all of the English suffrage card games, the most popular was probably “Panko.” Manufactured by Peter Gurney of London, it was sold both by the Women’s Social and Political Union at its shops as well as by independent merchants. It contained 48 cards divided into six different designs illustrated by E.T. Reed of Punch magazine, and was sold just in time for the Christmas season of 1909. A similar game manufactured in 1907, although with slightly more complicated rules, had the title of “Holloway or Votes for Women,” and it featured photographs and questions about prominent suffragists. Another English card game was called “Snap.” The idea was to pair up scenes of contemporary life, one of which was that of a suffragette breaking a shop window' (Florey).	WSPU		Kenneth Florey
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	The English board game called “Pank-a-Squith” (combining the names of WSPU head, Emmeline Pankhurst, with that of Prime Minister H.H. Asquith) was first made available in 1908. It involved the attempts of a “suffragette” to move from her home to the House of Commons. To get there, she had to cross 50 squares, each with its own vignette of the obstacles that were placed in the path of activists. The game came with 6 metal “suffragette” game pieces. The board itself is ordinarily a square one, but a period owner cut this example into a round frame for display' (Florey).	WSPU		Kenneth Florey

	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	Doll dressed as a suffragette prisoner in prison clothing marked with convicts' arrows. A suffragette supporter would have made the doll's clothes. Such dolls were regularly sold at bazaars held to raise funds for the militant suffragette campaign.	WSPU? / Militant fundraising	1909-1914	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	Mechanical game entitled 'Elusive Christabel', satirising the failure of the police to find and arrest the Suffragette leader Christabel Pankhurst. This satirical game was sold as a penny novelty by street traders. When the flap is pulled down the portrait of Christabel Pankhurst, who escaped to France in 1912 when faced with conspiracy charges, changes to a second picture of three policemen searching for the 'Elusive Christabel'.		1912	MoL
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	Panko Card Game			Glasgow Women's Library
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	“The Suffragette Puzzle to Get Bill Through Parliament.” Made by F.H. Ayers of Aldersgate Street in London, the game alludes to the failure of suffragists to get the Women’ s Suffrage Bill passed that was introduced in 1907 in Parliament but ran out of time for it to become law. The game’s players were instructed to take the “Bill,” which consisted of a metal pin, and push it through an opening in the doorway to the House by means of a tin die cut “Suffragette.” Once through, the “Bill” had to be manipulated into the Speaker’s Table.” Concealed under the door and table, however, were two small magnets that made the task virtually impossible to complete, symbolizing the bureaucratic measures that were used to prevent any type of suffrage bill from ever passing (Florey).			Kenneth Florey
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	“Suffragettes In and Out of Prison,” essentially the same type of game as the first. Copyrighted by a private manufacturer, Whitworth Hird Ltd. of London, the object was for players to work themselves out of the large maze of Holloway Prison by casting a die and moving counters. On the back of the board was an advertisement for “The Morning Leader,” a newspaper of the period (Florey).			Kenneth Florey
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	Handmade Votes For Women doll			Kenneth Florey
	Merchandise / Commodity	Toys & Games	Handmade Votes For Women doll			Kenneth Flo
	Militant Action	Chains	Leather restraining belt with chains used by suffragettes to chain themselves to railings. Padlocking themselves to the railings of Government buildings gave suffragettes the opportunity of making lengthy political speeches.	WSPU	1840	MoL
	Militant Action	Chains	Padlock and chain used by suffragettes for chaining themselves to railings.	WSPU	1907-1913	MoL
	Militant Action	Other	Fragment of glass from a dining room window of Westminster Palace Hotel. At 8.15pm on 21st November 1911 the window was broken by a stone thrown by a militant suffragette. The Westminster Palace Hotel was targed as because provincial members of parliament often stayed in the hotel when attending the House of Commons. At the time of the attack, Joseph Bliss M.P. was dining in the hotel's restaurant. He collected this piece of glass as a reminder of the suffragette's militant struggle.		1875-1911	MoL
	Militant Action	Weapons	Dog whip found in the possession of the suffragette Maud Arncliffe Sennett when arrested for breaking a window in the office of the Daily Mail, 21st November 1911. Her militant action was a response to the newspaper's failure to report the WSPU rally held a few days earlier in the Albert Hall, that raised over £4000. Initially arrested on a charge of using threatening behaviour, subsequently substituted for that of 'window breaking' Arncliffe Sennett was sentenced to a fine or 7 days imprisonment. Her fine was paid by Lord Northcliffe, the proprietor of the Daily Mail, and her stay in Holloway lasted only three hours.	Maud was a member of several suffrage societies both militant and constitutional.	1911	MoL
	Militant Action	Weapons	This catapult was used by suffragettes for throwing stones at windows. From November 1911, window smashing became an official policy of the militant Women's Social and Political Union. Attacks on both governmental and commercial buildings over the following months resulted in the arrest of over 200 women, many of whom received sentences of up to two months in Holloway Gaol.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Militant Action	Weapons	Toffee hammer used by militant suffragettes taking part in the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) window-smashing campaigns. Such hammers were readily available and could easily be concealed in clothing. In November 1911, window-smashing became an official policy of the WSPU.	WSPU	1911	MoL

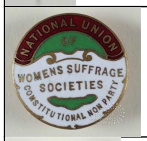
	Militant Action	Weapons	Leather covered baton adapted and used by the suffragette Lettice Floyd. The handle is bound with purple,white and green ribbon. It is possible the baton was used by Lettice for the purposes of 'self-defence'. Many Suffragettes were 'manhandled' by police and male members of the public and often had to defend themselves and their dignity.		1912	MoL
	Other	Coins	Defaced penny engraved with 'Votes for Women'		1912	Glasgow Women's Library
	Other	Coins	Defaced penny engraved with 'Votes for Women'		1906	Glasgow Women's Library
	Other	Coins	Defaced penny engraved with 'Give Women The Vote'		1907	Glasgow Women's Library
	Other	Illustration	Suffrage illustration in Alice Moake's album		1911	Glasgow Women's Library
	Other	Membership	Membership card for the Men's League for Women's Suffrage (MLWS), founded in 1907 to promote the women's campaign with support from men who already had electoral power. Its methods were non-militant, although it supported the work of the Women's Social and Political Union. The founder, Herbert Jacobs, stood as the woman's suffrage candidate in East St Pancreas.	Men's League for Women's Suffrage	1907	MoL
	Other	Membership	This Special Collecting Card was printed for 'Self-Denial Week' organised by the Women's Social and Political Union in 1914. Money saved through the 'self-denial' of luxuries was put in the collecting card and donated to the WSPU 'war chest'. The folded card opens out to reveal columns where financial donations can be added by hand. Printed in purple and green lettering. 'Self-Denial Weeks' were held every year to raise funds for the WSPU.	WSPU	1914	MoL
	Other	Membership	Membership card for the Women's Social and Political Union designed by Sylvia Pankhurst. The design reflects the origins of the Women's Social and Political Union in the Manchester labour movement. This style of WSPU membership card was only issued for a short period from 1906.	WSPU	1906	MoL
	Other	Plaques	Across the top of the shield a painted banner, in red on white, reads ‘NUWSS North-Eastern’ with the number ’25’ encircled in green on the right-hand side. Underneath is painted the well-known NUWSS ‘tree’ showing the branches of the NUWSS federations, each with a number attached, these relating to the number of societies that comprised each federation.The ’25’ indicates that at this time the North-Eastern Federation was composed of 25 societies. Eighteen federations are shown, suggesting to me that the shield dates from c 1913. ‘Founded 1867’ is painted at the base of the ‘tree’. The shield is 53.5cm (21″) at its widest and is 49cm (19.5″) high – a substantial object. I wonder if every federation had a similar shield? The NUWSS paper, ‘Common Cause’, 22 March 1918, reveals that when decorating the Queen’s Hall for the ‘Victory’ celebrations, there were 21 federation sheilds available, ‘with heraldic devices’ -soquite different from this one with the NUWSS ‘tree’ image. A shield certainly unique to the North-Eastern Federation – in good condition (Crawford).	NUWSS	c. 1913	Elizabeth Crawford
	Other	Prison Objects	Small loaf of bread issued as food to prisoners in Holloway jail. Removed as a souvenir from Holloway by a released suffragette prisoner.	WSPU	1907-1914	MoL
	Other	Prison Objects	Pack of patience playing cards made in Holloway prison by the suffragette prisoner Mrs Kitty Marshall (full name Emily Katherine Willoughby Marshall). In her autobiography Suffragette Escapes & Adventures, Kitty describes how she made this set of cards during her first period of imprisonment in Holloway in 191 from four postcards found in a library book and the sides of a Thermogene box. The ink, she writes 'I got through writing to the Home Secretary and the red colour out of a red book from the prison library....With a little water and an old stick I found in the prison yard, I made the hearts and diamonds. I used as a table, my slate, which I hade in my nightdress case, so that when I heard the key being turned in the prison door, I could draw the flap of the nightdress case over the cards. I usually had my prayer book open so that I could escape detection. I also used toilet paper, with the help of a little milk, to cover the peephole in the door, where the wardresses looked through'.		1910	MoL

	Other	Prison Objects	White and black earthenware egg cup removed from Holloway Gaol as a souvenir by a suffragette prisoner. The egg cup bears the convict's arrow.		1905-1914	MoL
	Other	Prison Objects	Steel prison knife used in Holloway prison, stamped with a prison arrow. Removed from Holloway as a souvenir by a released suffragette prisoner.		1908-1914	MoL
	Other	Prison Objects	Metal dinner plate used by inmates in Holloway jail. Removed by a released suffragette prisoner as a souvenir of her imprisonment..		1906-1914	MoL
	Other	Prison Objects	Sketchbook entitled 'Drawings of life in Holloway gaol' Drawn on prison issue toilet paper by the suffragette prisoner Florence Hull. Florence was Secretary of the Letchworth Branch of the Women's Social & Political Union. She created the sketchbook whilst serving a two week prison sentence for smashing a window in the Colonial Office during the Suffragette demonstration of 29th January 1913. She later wrote of her prison experience in the Suffragette newspaper: All through the night, at intervals of less than an hour, a warder would open the wooden windows and ask, 'Are you all right?'. If a wardress was in charge too, she was not in evidence. There is a plank fitted up in the cell; half is used for a bed, the other half for a lavatory, the plug being pulled by a warder outside when he deems fit' Florence also used the alias Mary Gray.		1913	MoL
	Other	Prison Objects	Library card issued to the Suffragette Kathleen Frell whilst in prison. The card notes that she was issued with devotional books and an arithmetic book during the period March 27th to June 29th 1912.		1912	MoL
	Other	Prison Objects	Note written on prison toilet paper from Kitty Marion to another imprisoned suffragette. The letter refers to the poor condition of the writer's hair which, seems to be 'falling out dreadfully here' (in prison). A lock of red hair is attached to the paper with a pin. The letter was written in 1914. It refers to the incident that took place 18 months earlier in September 1912 where Kitty's hair had been badly pulled by a mob opposed to her heckling of Lloyd George at the Welsh National Eisteddfod at Wrexham.		1914	MoL
	Other	Prison Objects	Painted umbrella stand from Duke Street Prison Early twentieth century (Creation) 1 cast iron painted umbrella stand, 50 (w) x23 (d) x 82 (h) Donated by Kay Carmichael, a former social worker at Duke Street prison, who salvaged the stand from a skip. This stand was painted by suffragettes whilst they were incarcerated in Duke Street prison. It was painted in the nearest colours they could get to the violet, green and white that came to symbolise the cause. It used to stand in the office of the Governess who, during the years that suffragettes were interned in the prison, was a suffragette sympathiser.		Early20thC	Glasgow Women's Library
	Other		Scrapbook compiled by Lucy Minnie Baldock, (c.1864-1954), WSPU organiser in East London. The scrapbook comprises newscuttings, flyers and other items relating to Minnie's Suffragette activity.	WSPU	1906-1914	MoL
	Other		The Suffragee' sung by Jock Mills, 1908. Recording of Jock Mill's satirical response to the 'Women's Sunday' rally held in Hyde Park on 21 June 1908. The middle verses of the song allude to the rally at Hyde Park, the Suffragettes' failure to enter the Houses of Parliament and the breaking of windows at 10 Downing Street on 30 June 1908. The record features a black and gold label, with the front reading 'Hmoophon Company G.M.B.H. The Suffragee sung by Mr. Jock Mills. 6816. Recorded in London. Pressed in Berlin'. The reverse reads the same, but with the title of the piece being 'The Lokal Candidate' and the pressing number being '6814'. Jock Mills was advertised as 'The Wise Man', and sung comedic songs at music halls, interspersed with knowing monologues. The Suffragee was recorded on 8 September 1908.		1908	PHM
	Other		Marion Buchanan Album 1918. Includies significant newspaper clippings, photographs and signatures of suffragettes, letters and memorial service programme letter for Millicent Garrett Fawcett.		1918	Glasgow Women's Library

	Personal Adornment	Jewellery	This gold bracelet belonged to the militant suffragette Edith How-Martyn. As a supporter of the Tax Resistance League, Edith refused to pay tax, resulting in the seizure of goods to the value of taxes owed. This bracelet was seized on several occasions when Edith refused to pay taxes. On each occasion, it was bought back in a public sale by a sympathetic fellow member of the TRL and returned to Edith, only to be seized again.	Edith How-Martyn, Member of WSPU & Tax Resistance League	1900-1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Jewellery	Necklace in the suffragette colour scheme of purple, white and green glass beads. Possibly woven at home on a bead loom by a member of the Women's Social and Political Union.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Jewellery	Silver chain-necklace commemorating the imprisonment of the suffragette Emily Katherine Willoughby Marshall. The chain has three silver medallions each commemorating a different period of imprisonment. The medallions are engraved both sides, on one side with Kitty's name and the period of imprisonment, on the reverse with the cell and wing number occupied by Kitty during three of her prison terms in Holloway.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Jewellery	Miss Chapman's Neck Piece modelled by Christabel Pankhurst on 13 October 1908, when being arrested by Inspector Jarvis, along with her mother and Flora Drummond, in Clements Inn. The item is in fine condition, with no fraying, the colours vibrant.	WSPU	c. 1908	Elizabeth Crawford
	Personal Adornment	Jewellery	Suffragette Brooch/Pendant gold, amethyst, diamond and enamel	WSPU	c. 1910	Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums
	Personal Adornment	Jewellery	Necklace of silver, amethysts and green and white enamel, the colours of the WSPU. English, Birmingham, by Arthur and Georgina Gaskin.	WSPU	c. 1910	National Museums Scotland
	Personal Adornment	Jewellery	Enamelled pendant by Ernestine Mills (1871 - 1959) Suffragette Pendant, Silver, enamel, pearl British, 1909	WSPU	1909	Tadema Gallery
	Personal Adornment	Jewellery	Necklace in WSPU colours, 'Votes For Women' initials			Glasgow Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Jewellery	Beaded necklace in WSPU colours, 'Votes For Women' initials			Glasgow Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Jewellery	Necklace of silver, amethysts and green and white enamel. WSPU colours. English, Birmingham, by Arthur and Georgina Gaskin, c. 1910 (NMS).		1910	National Museums Scotland
	Personal Adornment	Medal	Medal presented to suffragette Helen Tyson on her release from Holloway Gaol. It is inscribed 'to Mrs Helen Tyson in remembrance of Feb 24th to March 24th 1909 a token of affection from the new union'. The 'Dx2 7' refers to the number of the prison wing and cell in which Helen was held during her month in Holloway. Above the medallion is a flat gold bar for pinning on the colours & the medallion to clothing.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medal	Silver hunger strike medal in presentation box presented to the suffragette Leonora Tyson. On one side is engraved 'Hunger Strike' on the reverse 'Leonora Tyson'. The medal is attached to a small strip of purple, white & green ribbon to which is attached one purple white and green enamel bar engraved on the reverse 'fed by force 4/3/12. At the top of the ribbon is a silver pin inscribed 'For Valour'. The box covered in starched purple fabric has a hinged lid padded with cream silk on which is gilded in gold the following 'presented to Leonora Tyson by the Women's Social & Political Union in Recognition of a gallant action, whereby through endurance to the last extremity of hunger and hardship a great principle of political justice was vindicated'. The base of the box is lined with green velvet.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medal	Silver Holloway medal presented to the militant suffragette Kate Lilley bearing, in black paint, her Holloway wing number 'Dx3' and cell number '5'. On the reverse is engraved 'K Lilley March 9th to April 29th 1912 HL'. The medal was presented to Kate on her release from Holloway following a two month sentence of hard labour for breaking a window in the War Office. The 'HL' on the medal representing 'hard labour. 'This was one of three medals presented to Kate on her release, the others being a hunger strike medal and Holloway brooch.	WSPU	1912	MoL

	Personal Adornment	Medals	Suffragette prisoner's silver hunger strike medal with purple, white and green ribbon. Presented to Emmeline Pankhurst to commemorate her hunger strike when serving a 9 month sentence in Holloway jail for 'conspiracy to incite persons to commit damage to property'. The medal is inscribed 'For Valour/March 1st 1912/Hunger Strike/Emmeline Pankhurst' Engraved with the date March 1st 1912, referring to a two month prison sentence Emmeline received for throwing a stone at a window of 10 Downing Street.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Silver Hunger Strike Medal presented to Florence Haig. Inscribed "For Valour/Hunger Strike/Florence Haig" plus the dates of her hunger strikes.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Silver medallion presented to the Suffragette Leonora Tyson by the Streatham branch of the Women's Social and Political Union. The obverse is inscribed LEONORA TYSON/IN REMEMBERANCE OF MARCH 9TH TO MAY 8TH 1912. A TOKEN OF APPRECIATION FROM THE STREATHAM WSPU. The reverse is marked: 'DX2 32', referring to the number of the prison wing and cell occupied by Leonora during her 2 month imprisonment in Holloway for smashing windows in March 1912. The medal was presented to Leonora on 10th May at a Prisoners reception at Streatham Town Hall organised by the Streatham branch of the Women's Social & Political Union.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Holloway prison medal awarded to the suffragette Florence Haig. The circular silver medal is engraved 'DX 3 28' referring to Haig's Holloway Prison wing and cell number. Attached to a purple white and green ribbon the medal is also engraved with the dates of Haig's 2 prison sentences served in 1908: '1st July 1908 3 months and 12 Feb 1908 six weeks'. The February sentence refers to Haig's arrest for taking part in the 'pantechnicon raid' on the House of Commons, whilst in July she was imprisoned for taking part in a suffragette deputation from Caxton Hall to the Houses of Parliament.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Holloway prison medal presented to the suffragette Lady Constance Lytton. The medal was presented to Constance on her release from one month's imprisonment for taking part in a suffragette deputation to the House of Commons. During her time in Holloway Constance was kept mainly in the hospital ward, accorded special treatment on account of her family background and known heart condition.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Presentation box for a suffragette hunger Strike medal. An inscription in the lid notes that the medal was presented to Florence Haig in commemorate of her hunger strike whilst in prison in 1912.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Box for hunger strike medal presented to the suffragette Leonora Tyson. Covered in starched purple fabric. The hinged lid is padded with cream silk on which is gilded in gold the following: 'presented to Leonora Tyson by the Women's Social & Political Union in Recognition of a gallant action, whereby through endurance to the last extremity of hunger and hardship a great principle of political justice was vindicated'. The base of the box is lined with green velvet and covered with starched purple fabric.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Silver hunger strike medal with purple white and green ribbon. Presented to the suffragette Emily Katherine Willoughby Marshall in 1912 to commemorate her hunger strike whlst serving a sentence in Holloway Prison for taking part in the window smashing campaign of March 1912. Engraved on the silver bar below the ribbon 'March 1st 1912'. On one side of the medal is engraved 'Hunger Strike' and on the reverse 'Emily Katharine Marshall'. (note the different spelling of Katharine the medal may be incorrect).	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Silver Holloway medal presented to the militant suffragette Louise Lilley bearing, in black paint, her prison wing number 'Dx3' and cell number '4'. On the reverse is engraved 'L Lilley March 9th to April 29th 1912 HL'. The medal was presented to Louise on her release from Holloway following a two month sentence of hard labour for breaking a window in the War Office.	WSPU	1912	MoL

	Personal Adornment	Medals	Circular medallion presented to the suffragette Diana Tyson on her release from prison. Inscribed: TO DIANA KATARINA TYSON/IN REMEMBERENCE OF FEB 24TH TO MARCH 24TH 1909. A TOKEN OF AFFECTION FROM THE NEW UNION. The medallion also includes a fastening bar attached to the medallion by a purple, white & green ribbon. The medallion was presented to Diana on her release from prison during a meeting of the Streatham branch of the Women's Social and Political Union by the New Union for Women's Suffrage. On the reverse is engraved the wing and cell number occupied by Diana during her term of imprisonment. Diana, her sister Leonora and mother Helen became members of the Women's Social and Political Union in 1908. On 24th February 1909 Diana and her Mother, Helen were among the 25 Suffragettes arrested and imprisoned for taking part in a WSPU deputation to the House of Commons led by Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Silver hunger-strike medal presented to the suffragette prisoner Lady Constance Lytton, October 1909. The medal refers to Constance's second term of imprisonment when she was sentenced to one month for throwing a stone at a car she thought was carrying Lloyd George. On arrival in prison she immediately took part in the hunger strike but was quickly released due to her heart condition. Lady Constance's shame at being given preferential treatment in prison due to her family connections led to her adopting the disguise of Jane Warton, a working-class woman, when rearrested in 1910.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Other	Purple ostrich feather from a hat worn by Emmeline Pankhurst. The hat was worn by Emmeline at various campaign events including the Suffragette deputation to the House of Commons in June 1909 and whilst campaigning at Redcar during the Cleveland by-election in July 1909. The information with regards Emmeline's association with the feather is on a label handwritten by a Suffragette prior to it being acquired by the Museum of London in 1950.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, paper, produced by the Church League for Women's Suffrage, printed with a gold cross and border, white ground, gold inscription: 'CLWS', paper covered with plastic, over metal base.	Church League for Women's Suffrage	1909-1918	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Actresses Franchise League badge. Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, paper, produced by the Actresses Franchise League, printed with a black, pale green and white shield, inscription across shield: 'Votes for Women AFL', dark green background. Paper disc in reverse, printed 'Manufactured by T[ait Co], [Mercha-- Portra-- Kentish [Town Rd], London [NW]'	AFL	1906-1914	Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	No Vote, No Census. Census Resisted badge."A census for G'Britain shall be taken in the year 1911 and the census day shall be Sunday the 2nd day of April that year."	Census Resistance		Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Free Church Federation for Woman Suffrage badge	Free Church Federation (FCFWS)		Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, round, produced for the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, embossed image of a woman in classical dress holding balancing scales, embossed inscription front: 'Suf... Fra... Jus... Gn', metal clasp on reverse side.	International Women's Suffrage Alliance	1902-1920	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, paper, metal, textile, in the style of a medal, produced by the International Women's Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), metal rectangle of gold metal with paper inserted into it, black manuscript inscription on paper: 'Gt Britain', strip of white, cotton, moiré, braid attached to bottom of metal rectangle, gold printed inscription on braid: 'Associate Member Sorbonne', round of gold metal attached to the bottom of the braid with two gold metal rings, red, blue, gold stylised enamel motif of a ship on the round of metal, crown motif on top of the ship, embossed inscription to each side of the image: 'Mai 1926 Juin Paris' , metal pin on reverse side of metal rectangle.	International Women's Suffrage Alliance	1926	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, paper, produced by the Jewish League for Women's Suffrage [JLWS], printed with a white star on a blue ground, white inscription in centre of star: 'JLWS', purple border, with white inscription in Hebrew, paper covered with plastic, over metal base.	Jewish League for Women's Suffrage (JLWS)	1912-1918	LSE Women's Library

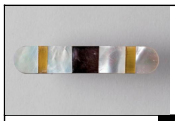
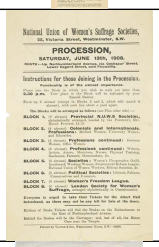
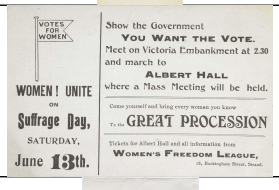
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Men's League for Women's Suffrage Badge. Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, produced by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, yellow ground, printed with black inscription: 'Men's League for Women's Suffrage', paper covered with plastic, over metal base.	Men's League for Women's Suffrage	1907-1918	LSE Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, plastic, medal, round. Men's League for Women's Suffrage	Men's League for Women's Suffrage		LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Steward badge (possibly NUWSS)?? Badge, paper, metal, round, possibly produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, red stamped inscription: 'Steward', across centre, white ground, hand-drawn red and green border.	NUWSS	1927	LSE Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, enamel, round, produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, white stripe across the centre, red half circle at the top, green half circle at the bottom green, pattern of small oval shapes under red section, inscription in gold: 'National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' gold border.	NUWSS	1908-1918	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, enamel, round, produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, red, green and gold rose design with gold inscription: 'National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' around the edge, on a white ground, green and gold border.	NUWSS	1908-1918	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, enamel, round, produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, white scroll shape across bottom half with green stripe in the centre, red and green stripe across the top, inscription in gold: 'National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies Constitutional Non Party', gold border.	NUWSS	1908-1918	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, enamel, round, produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, white scroll shape across bottom half with green stripe in the centre, red and green stripe across the top, inscription in gold: 'National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies Constitutional Non Party', gold border.	NUWSS	1908-1918	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, paper, plastic, round, produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, white stripe across the centre, red half circle at the top, green half circle at the bottom green, inscription in white and red: 'National Union Women's Suffrage Societies'.	NUWSS	1908-1918	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, enamel, rose shaped, scalloped edge, produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, red, green, black and white rose design with black inscription: 'National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' around the edge, black border.	NUWSS	1908-1918	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, enamel, round, produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, red, white, green and gold rose design with the inscription: 'NU' in the centre and the inscription: 'National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' around the edge, gold border.	NUWSS	1908-1918	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, paper, plastic, round, produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, green circle in the centre with a white shell motif and inscription: 'Pilgrimage 1913', red and white border with a white inscription: 'Active Service League NUWSS'.	NUWSS	1913	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, enamel, rectangular, possibly produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, gold border and inscription: 'Women's Suffrage', red background.	NUWSS	1906-1914	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, enamel, rectangular, with rounded corners, possibly produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, gold border and inscription: 'Steward', black background, pinned through a piece of cotton, red, green and white striped, rep weave ribbon, cut into a point at the bottom. Engraved on reverse 'Thomas Pattorini Ltd Regent St Birmingham'	NUWSS	1909-1928	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, cardboard, metal, textile, rectangle of cream cardboard, possibly produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, manuscript inscription: 'Steward' in black ink, hole at top of cardboard for safety-pin to go through, reinforced, length of cotton, rep weave ribbon with red, white and green stripe design, attached to the back bottom edge of the cardboard, bottom of ribbon cut diagonally.	NUWSS	1909-1928	LSE Women's Library

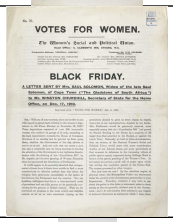
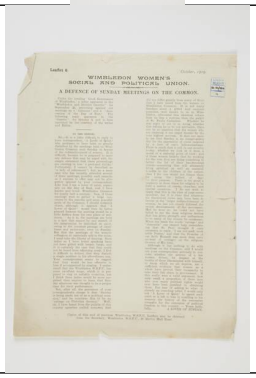
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, cardboard, textile, metal, round piece of cardboard, possibly produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, stamped across centre in red with inscription: 'Steward', white ground, hand-drawn red and green border, attached to a folded piece of red and green cotton, rep weave, ribbon, green ribbon under red ribbon, safety-pin stitched to back of the green ribbon.	NUWSS	1909-1928	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, cardboard, metal, textile, rectangle of cream cardboard, possibly produced by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, manuscript inscription: 'Steward' in black ink, hole at top of cardboard for safety-pin to go through, reinforced, length of cotton, rep weave ribbon with red, white and green stripe design, attached to the back bottom edge of the cardboard, bottom of ribbon cut diagonally.	NUWSS	1907-1914	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	This piece, made specifically for Millicent, is gold and enamel bearing the arms of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, of which Millicent was President until 1919, and encrusted in green, white and red gems – the colours of the suffragists. On the reverse is a gold-lettered message in blue enamel 'Millicent Fawcett 1913 Steadfastness and Courage' '(Murphy, 2016) See also blog post on Fawcett Society webpage. Millicent Fawcett was awarded this brooch for steadfastness and courage in 1913. Millicent regularly wore the brooch, often as a pendant and it is included on the statue of her by the artist Gillian Wearing unveiled in Parliament Square in April 2018.	NUWSS	1913	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, enamel, paint, in shape of a primrose flower, produced by the Primrose League, five yellow petals, outlined in black, orange centre.	Primrose League	1900-1950	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	St. Jones Social and Political Alliance enamel badge. Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, paper, produced by the St Joan's Social & Political Alliance, printed with a gold and white fleur-de-lys motif in the centre, blue ground, gold, white and blue border with printed inscription: 'St Joan's Social & Political Alliance', paper covered with plastic, over metal base.	St. Jones	1923-1950	LSE Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Round button badge issued to promote the Census Resistance campaign of 1911. In 1911, the Tax Resistance League encouraged members of the Women's Freedom League to boycott the April 1911 Census. Women householders were encouraged to return either spoiled or incomplete census returns.	Tax Resistance League	1911	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, leather, paper, cotton, round, front: brown leather, embossed with inscription in silver: 'Votes for Women Fellowship Membership 1914', reverse: adhered paper with printed inscription: 'Member's Name' and manuscript inscription: 'Miss D. Layton', red cotton cord attached through hole at top of badge.	Votes for Women Fellowship Membership	1914	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, metal, enamel, in shape of stylised flower with five blue and gold petals, white circle in the centre, with the inscription: 'WF'	WF	1900-1950	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Holloway' brooch presented to the suffragette Margaret Clayton by the Women's Freedom League to commemorate her imprisonment in Holloway Gaol, 1907. The silver brooch depicts in stylised relief the entrance to Holloway prison. An inscription on the reverse reads 'WFL/Margaret S Clayton/Holloway/March 20th/April 13th 1907'.	WFL	1907	MoL

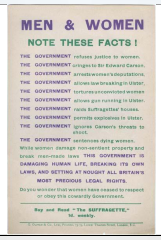
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Button badge inscribed 'Votes for Women W.F.L.'. Issued by the Womens Freedom League this badge, in the league's colours of green, white and gold, was first advertised in 'The Vote', the newspaper of the WFL on 30 October 1909.	WFL	1909-1914	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Enamelled Brooch designed and made by the enamellist and artist Ernestine Mills for a supporter of the Women's Freedom League. Inscribed 'Votes for Women' the brooch is in the WFL colours of green, white and gold. Possibly produced by Mills for sale in a WFL fundraising bazaar or as a private commission.	WFL	1908-1911	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Women's Freedom League badge	WFL		Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Women's Freedom League badge 1909. "Petition. It is the right of the subjects to petition the king and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal."	WFL	1909	Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Women's Freedom League Votes for Women badge. Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, paper, produced by Women's Freedom League, printed with a gold, green and white shield, left side of shield white with green printed inscription: 'Votes for Women', right side of shield gold with green printed inscription: 'WFL', paper covered with plastic, over metal base. Paper disc in reverse, printed 'T[ait] Co, [Kentish] Town Rd, London NW'	WFL	1907-1914	LSE Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Women's Freedom League enamel pin. Badge, metal, enamel, in the shape of a flag produced by the Women's Freedom League, flag composed of a green, gold and white horizontal stripe, gold inscription: 'Votes for Women', over stripes, gold flag pole.	WFL	c. 1907	LSE Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Women's Freedom League badge Badge, metal, enamel, round, produced by the produced by Women's Freedom League, white centre, green border, gold inscription: 'Women's Freedom League Votes for Women'. Reverse is engraved 'Toye & Co, Manufacturers, St Theobalds Rd'	WFL	1907-1914	LSE Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, paper, produced by the Women's Freedom League, printed with a gold, green and white shield, left side of shield white with green printed inscription: 'Votes for Women', right side of shield gold with green printed inscription: 'WFL', paper covered with plastic, over metal base, clasp attached to back of badge extending beyond the sides of the badge, three pieces of silk, plain weave ribbon stitched to the clasp, ribbon yellow, white and green. Reverse engraved '178174/9/05, 17817/4/9/09 ptent'	WFL	1907-1914	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, cardboard, metal, textile, rectangle of blue cardboard, with manuscript inscription: 'Women's Service Library... Steward' in blue ink, hole at top of cardboard for safety-pin to go through, length of silk moiré, rep weave ribbon with red, white and green stripe design, attached to the back bottom edge of the cardboard, frayed along bottom edge.	Women's Service Library / NUWSS	1927	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Tax Resistance Badge designed by Mary Sargent Florence.Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, paper, produced by the Women's Tax Resistance League, printed with a black and white images of a boat, brown background, white printed inscription around edge: 'No Vote No tax', paper covered with plastic, over metal base.	Women's Tax Resistance League	1909-1914	LSE Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Writers League pin badge. Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, paper, produced by Women Writers Suffrage League, printed with a black and white image a shield, on a white ground, gold and white inscription on top of shield: 'WWSL', paper covered with plastic, over metal base.	Writers League	1908-1918	LSE Library

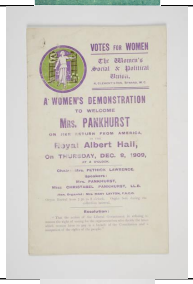
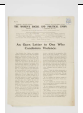
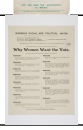
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Suffragette badge of office worn by an official at Women's Sunday, 21st June 1908. The badge comprises a cream watered silk panel embroidered in green silk thread with the title 'N.W.S.P.U. Banner Captain' and below a gilt tassel.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Celluloid photo button badge of Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence. Badges bearing portraits of the suffragette leaders Christabel and Emmeline Pankhurst and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence were mass produced by the Women's Social and Political Union. Sold to supporters for one penny, they raised funds for the campaign 'war chest' and enhanced the public profile of the suffragette leaders.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Celluloid photo button badge of Emmeline Pankhurst. As above.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Celluloid photo button badge of Christabel Pankhurst. As Above.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Shield-shaped silver and enamel pin or lapel badge in the suffragette colours of purple white and green. Bearing the legend 'Votes for Women' this badge was issued by the Women's Social and Political Union to promote the suffragette message and raise funds for the campaign 'war chest'.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Lapel Badge in the shape of a flag, enamelled in white and inscribed 'Votes for Women'.	WSPU	1908-1910	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Circular silver and glass-fronted brooch, containing a portrait of Emmeline Pankhurst suspended from a purple, white and green ribbon.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge worn by an official speaker at the WSPU rally in Hyde Park, July 23rd 1910. Comprising a green enamelled bar brooch with the lettering 'Hyde Park July 23rd 1910' and a length of cream satin, inserted through the bottom of the bar, and embroidered in green with the word 'Speaker' between two embroidered purple lines.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Suffragette rosette and badge with ribbons in the purple, white and green. In the centre of the rosette is a tin badge bearing the slogan: 'Votes for Women'.	WSPU	1908-1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Silver plated pin brooch in the shape of a prison convict's arrow. Referred to in Votes for Women, February 26th 1909, these pins were specifically marketed at ex-suffragette prisoners.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Silver and enamel Holloway brooch designed by Sylvia Pankhurst. The design of the brooch is of the portcullis symbol of the House of Commons. The gate and hanging chains are in silver and the superimposed broad Prison arrow is in purple, white and green enamel. The brooch was presented to Louise Lilley on her release from Holloway Prison, 1912.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Circular tin badge in the suffragette colours of purple white and green. The design has a green centre with 'WSPU' in white between celtic knots and a purple border with the legend 'Votes for Women' in white.	WSPU	1908-1910	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Silver brooch in the shape of a toffee hammer with the inscription 'Votes for Women'. Such brooches were worn by suffragettes who had taken part in window smashing. This example was owned by Agnes Kelly who participated in the mass window smashing campaign of March 1912.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Shield shaped enamel badge in the suffragette colours of purple white and green. Inscribed 'Votes for Women/WSPU' this badge was issued by the Women's Social and Political Union to promote the suffragette message and raise funds for the campaign 'war chest'.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Tin badge designed by Sylvia Pankhurst for the suffragette campaign. Incorporating the purple, white and green colour-scheme of the Women's Social and Political Union, the design depicts a woman breaking free: stepping through a gate with iron bars and heavy chains, carrying a 'Votes for Women' streamer.	WSPU	1909-1910	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Square silver and enamel badge in the purple white and green colour scheme of the Women's Social and Political Union. Inscribed 'Votes for Women' this badge was issued by the Union to promote the suffragette message and raise funds for the campaign 'war chest'.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	WSPU Brooch. Collected as par of the Belvidere Project	WSPU	1913	Glasgow Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Circular badge with green and purple enamel, and an angel in relief, inscribed WSPU / Votes for Women. Metal and enamel.	WSPU	1918	National Museums Scotland

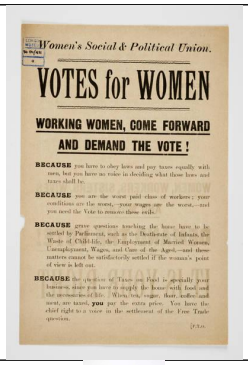
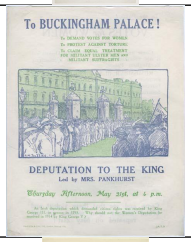
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	WSPU enamel pin badge. Badge, [tarnished] metal, enamel, shield-shaped, produced by the Women's Social & Political Union, enamelled purple, green and white background, with metallic inscription: 'Votes for Women... WSPU", metal clasp on reverse side.	WSPU	1906-1914	LSE Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	WSPU Joan of Arc enamel pin badge	WSPU		Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Votes for Women WSPU enamel pin	WSPU		Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Votes for Women WSPU enamel pin	WSPU		Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Badge, paper, plastic, metal, round, produced by the Women's Social & Political Union, paper printed with black and white, celluloid photo, head and shoulders portrait of Emmeline Pankhurst, metal clasp on reverse side, paper covered with plastic, over metal base.	WSPU	1908-1914	LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	WSPU ROSETTE, WITH 'VOTES FOR WOMEN' BADGE Purple, white, and green silk WSPU rosette, such as were advertised for sale at 6d each by the Women's Press in 'Votes for Women' (eg see issue of 14 May 1909). To this rosette has been added a small 'Votes for Women' badge. This badge is an early example, being on a stick pin, under an inch across, printed black on a white background. The rosette is 2½" (6.5 cm) across and, with its trailing ribbons, c 6" (15 cm) long. It is in fine, bright condition, with only a little fraying to the bottom edge of one of its ribbon lengths. I have never had such a rosette for sale before. I am including with the rosette and badge, for the sake of provenance, a comic suffragette postcard, postmarked 1913 and addressed to Miss Chapman' (Crawford).	WSPU	c, 1909	Elizabeth Crawford
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Suffrage badges, WSPU, tin, enamel, velvet	WSPU	c. 1913	Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	This badge formed part of a replica prison costume worn by an ex-suffragette prisoner at demonstrations and fund raising events. The numbers represent the prison wing and cell number occupied by the wearer. The number on this badge does not correspond to a wing or cell block in Holloway Prison. It is like, therefore, to have been made and worn by a Suffragette who served a term of imprisonment in another prison such as Winson Green in Birmingham. In 1909 an exhibit entitled 'Prison Life' formed part of the Women's Exhibition held at Princes Skating Rink. The exhibit included a replica prison cell 'peopled' by Suffragettes dressed in replica prison clothing and taking part in prison activities such as sewing.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Chain link brooch			Glasgow Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Brooch in WSPU colours			Glasgow Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Votes for Women badge	Irish Women's Franchise League		Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Photographic pin badge of early women's suffrage campaigner Charlotte Despard. Despard was a founding member of the Women's Freedom League, Women's Peace Crusade and Irish Women's Franchise League as well as being an active member in a range of other organisations such as the WSPU. Despard was imprisoned four times for her suffragette activism, and she continued actively campaigning for women's rights, poverty relief and world peace into her 90s.			Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	As above			Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Votes for Women Fellowship enamel badge. When the Pethwick Lawrences were "expelled" from the WSPU they formed the Votes for Women Fellowship and produced several enamel badges.			Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	December 5, 6,7 Grand Oriental Bazaar. Empress Rooms. Women's Suffrage baazar badge			Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Support The Bill Votes For Women, June 1910 (possibly NUWSS).		1910	Kenneth Florey
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Green White and Violet Rosette with Votes for Women badge in centre. Likely WSPU			LSE Women's Library

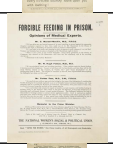
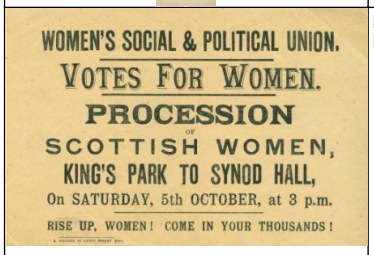
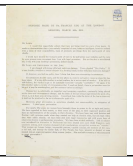
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Suffragette Brooch Associated with Caroline Phillips (Aberdeen, Scotland, 1874 - 1956) 1910, wood, mother of pearl, shell and metal Length: 5.8cm, Width: 1.1cm		c. 1910	Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums
	Personal Adornment	Ribbons	WFL Ribbon	WFL		LSE Library
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Recruitment flyer issued by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. The flyer urges male voters to support women in their struggle to achieve the parliamentary vote.	Men's League for Women's Suffrage	1907-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet noting the procession order for a march on 13 June 1908 organised by the National Union of Womens Suffrage Societies. On the reverse is a plan of the starting places for different blocks of marchers. This march was organised by the NUWSS to place pressure on the new Prime Minister Asquith to support the passage of the women's suffrage bill through parliament. This bill was introduced into the Commons in February 1908 by the Liberal MP for North Kensington, H.Y.Stanger. Although it was passed, its second reading was subsequently blocked by the government.	NUWSS	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet entitled 'To Repeal the Cat and Mouse Act' calling for the repeal of the Prisoner's Temporary Discharge (for ill health) Act. Under this act, passed by the government in April 1913, hunger striking suffragettes were temporarily released from prison on the grounds of ill health, only to be rearrested once they had fully recovered their strength. The leaflet announces a meeting at Caxton Hall on Thursday, 24 July organised by the Repeal the Act Committee.	Repeal the Act Committee.	1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet published by the Women's Freedom League in response to the General Election of January 1910. Headed 'General Election Leaflet No. 4: To the Electors', the leaflet asks voters to choose their candidates for the General Election on the basis of the candidates' attitude to women's suffrage.	WFL	1909-1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Handbill produced by the Women's Freedom League during the Peckham by-election urging women to join the local branch of the organisation.	WFL	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Freedom League Leaflet no. 7: 'Some Social Problems and Votes for Women'. This leaflet identifies a number of social problems experienced by women and children and states how giving women the vote would help alleviate these issues.	WFL	1911-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet and handbill titled "Payment of Members of Parliament". Issued by the Women's Freedom League the leaflet highlights the injustice of women taxpayers contributing to MP salaries whilst they themselves do not have the right to elect MPS.	WFL	1911-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Flyer issued by the Women's Freedom League entitled 'Why Women need the Vote'. The flyer outlines the case for female suffrage in eight clear points.	WFL	1909-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet published by the Women's Freedom League entitled 'Is Political Agitation a Crime?'. Here the WFL protests against the force-feeding of hunger striking prisoners and calls for the suffragettes Alice Chapin and Alison Neilans to be made first division (i.e. political) prisoners.	WFL	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	This handbill announces the Great Procession of Women Suffragists organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies on 13th June 1908. Both this event, and Women's Sunday held by the Women's Social and Political Union the following week, were intended to demonstrate mass support for female suffrage and place pressure on the new Prime Minister Asquith to introduce a new women's suffrage bill.	WFL	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet issued by the Women's Tax Resistance League, headed with the League's motto 'No Vote! No Tax!'. The Tax Resistance League (TRL) was formed in 1909 to conduct a campaign of organised resistance to taxation. The argument of the League was that if women were liable to pay tax, they should also be given the right to vote in parliamentary elections and influence how those taxes were spent. The League attracted primarily middle-class professional women, such as Doctors, who were liable to income tax and rates.	Women's Tax Resistance League	1909-1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Flyer issued by the Women's Social and Political Union headed 'Women! Demand the Privileges of Citizenship!' urging women to support the cause for women's suffrage.	WSPU	1906-1907	MoL

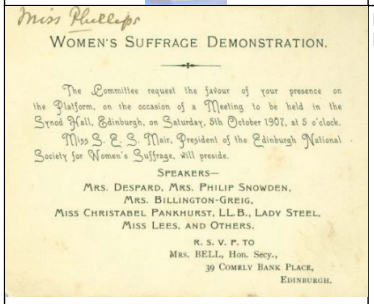
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet No. 95 published by the Women's Social and Political Union. Entlted 'Suffragist Prisoners are Political Offenders, therefore they should be treated as first-class misdemeanants', this leaflet argues that suffragettes were making a political protest when they broke the law and so should be treated as political prisoners, as had happened to other political offenders in the past.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet No.76, published by the Women's Social and Political Union. Entitled 'Black Friday', the leaflet provides a detailed account of the ill-treatment of women during a deputation to the Prime Minister on 18 November 1910. The violence experienced by suffragettes at the hands of the police on Black Friday resulted in a change of tactics by the Women's Social and Political Union. Large deputations were no longer considered safe and, instead, suffragettes 'went underground' to wage guerilla warfare against the government in their struggle to win the vote.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union Leaflet entitled 'How you can Help'. The leaflet suggests ways that women can help support the work of the Union and further the suffragette campaign.	WSPU	1906-1907	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Propaganda flyer issued by the Women's Social and Political Union: 'How the Liberals love the People!'. The Leaflet highlights the unequal treatment of suffragette prisoners from different social classes as experienced by Lady Constance Lytton went to prison as both a member of the aristocracy and subsequently in disguise as a working woman.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Printed leaflet issued by the Women's Social and Political Union. Headed ' Window Breaking. To One Who has Suffered' the leaflet, in the form of an open letter to a shopkeeper, justifies the Suffragette policy of window smashing by stating it is the Government's refusal to introduce female suffrage that has forced them to adopt such a policy.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union leaflet: 'The Case of Mrs Pankhurst. A Victim of the Cat and Mouse Act'. The leaflet highlights the treatment of Emmeline Pankhurst who was repeatedly released from prison and subsequently rearrested under the terms of The Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Bill.	WSPU	1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet No. 91 published by the Women's Social and Political Union. Entitled 'A Challenge!' by Christabel Pankhurst in which the suffragette leader attempts to justify suffragette militancy. A handwritten annotation in the border declares 'This article was censored'.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	NWSPU Leaflet 42 entitled 'Why I went to Prison' by Emmeline Pethick Lawrence. A personal account of militancy by one of the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	This leaflet was published by the Women's Social and Political Union as part of their general election campaign of 1910. Entitled 'The Right Dishonourable Double-Face Asquith' the leaflet, signed by Emmeline Pankhurst, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, Christabel Pankhurst and Mabel Tuke, urges voters to vote against the Liberal Government, headed by Prime Minister Asquith due to its refusal to give the vote to female tax payers.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	This leaflet entitled ' A Defence of Sunday Meetings on the Common', was published by Wimbledon Women's Social and Political Union (W.S.P.U.) in October 1909. It records a suffragette's response to a letter of complaint about union activities printed in the Wimbledon and District Gazette in September. The Wimbledon branch of the W.S.P.U. was founded in 1908. As well as organising lectures and fundraising initiatives, the branch staged regular meetings on Wimbledon Common. These meetings attracted crowds of up to 5,000 but many local residents were against the union's militancy and tried to prevent the meetings from being held. Eventually a local Retaliation League was formed that vowed that 'every act of violence perpetrated by these women will be answered by this league by attacks on the private houses or properties of Militant Suffragettes'.	WSPU	1909-1910	MoL

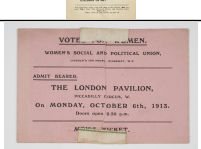
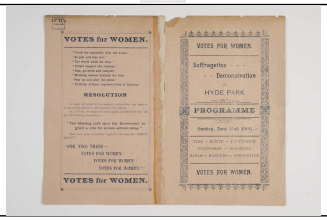
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet No. 60 published by the Women's Social and Political Union entitled 'Women's Demand'. The leaflet outlines the suffragette demand for female suffrage on the same terms as men. The mass distribution of propoganda literature justifying militant action and 'educating the public' on the justice of female suffrage was a key tactic of the Women's Social and Political Union who aimed to achieve mass popular support for their campaign. Such leaflets were mass printed and sold in bulk through the The Woman's Press to local branches of the WSPU. The costs were 9d for hundred leaflets and 6 shillings for 1000 with postage free. The Woman's Press placed regular advertisements in the weekly Votes for Women newspaper listing all the propaganda leaflets available.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Suffragette propaganda leaflet headed 'Men and Women. Note these Facts!' Issued by the Women's Social and Political Union and printed in their purple, white and green colourscheme the leaflet gives a Suffragette view of government policy and attempts to justify the growing militancy and violence of the WSPU campaign by asking 'Do you wonder that women have ceased to respect or obey this cowardly government?' In particular the leaflet outlines the contrast between the Asquith government's seemingly lenient policy towards campaigners in Ireland, with that of the hard line response to Suffragette militancy.	WSPU	1912-1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Handbill appealing for Irish women to join a 'Monster Demonstration from Westminster Embankment to Hyde Park in support of the Votes for Women Bill' on Saturday 23rd July 1910. This demonstration was organised by the Women's Social and Political Union to show mass support for the Conciliation Bill that had just passed its second reading in the House of Commons. The date of 23rd July was chosen by the WSPU as it marked the anniversary of the day in 1867 when men, demonstrating for their inclusion in the Reform Bill, pulled down railings in Hyde Park. As well as the Hyde Park demonstration of 1910 the WSPU organised similar events in Edinburgh, Bristol, Liverpool, Nottingham, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union Leaflet: 'Tortured Women: What Forcible Feeding Means. A Prisoner's Testimony'. An account by the suffragette prisoner Mary Richardson of her experience of force-feeding whilst on hunger-strike in Holloway Prison, 1914.	WSPU	1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union Leaflet No.47 "The Treatment of the Suffragettes in Prison" by F.W. Pethick Lawrence. Here Pethick Lawrence puts forward the case that suffragettes should be treated as 'first division' prisoners and given the same status and privileges as other political offenders.	WSPU	1908-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union leaflet, 'Why Women Should Not Have the Vote'. Written by Dennis Hird as a satirical riposte to the anti-suffrage movement, it explores why women should in fact be entitled to the vote and even suggests that women have more moral enthusiasm than men.	WSPU	1906-1907	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union leaflet 'The Tactics of the Suffragettes' by Emmeline Pethick Lawrence. This leaflet justifies the use of militant action by the WSPU.	WSPU	1907-1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet: 'The Medical Aspects of Forcible Feeding'. Addressed to readers of the National Review, the leaflet provides a number of statements on the subject of the forcible feeding of suffragette prisoners and calls upon readers to write to their MPs in protest against the practice.	WSPU	1913-1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet No. 63 published by the Women's Social and Political Union, entitled 'Militant Methods', and written by Christabel Pankhurst. Here Pankhurst justifies the use of miltant methods adopted by Suffragettes by referring to examples set by men to achieve the vote. Citing examples of historical precedents of militancy in the name of political representation, Christabel quotes the arguments of Liberal politicians who had defended militancy in the past.	WSPU	1909-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Leaflet No. 90. 'Torture in an English Prison'. This four page illustrated article outlines the case of William Ball, imprisoned for his militant support of the suffragettes. Ball was allegedly force fed and seriously mistreated in prison, before being sent to a lunatic asylum.	WSPU	1912	MoL

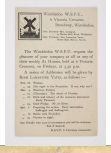
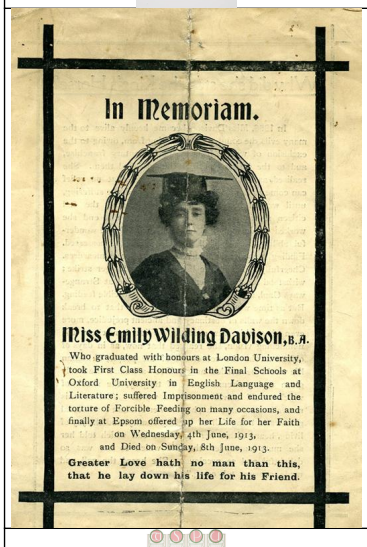
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Printed handbill announcing a suffragette demonstration to be held on 24 November in the Bow Palace, Bow Road. Speakers included Emmeline Pankhurst and George Lansbury, the Labour Party member of parliament for Bow and Bromley, who was a staunch supporter of women's suffrage. The bill is printed in the purple, white and green colours of the Women's Social and Political Union.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	This leaflet announces a 'Great Demonstration of Suffragists', one of two 'Votes for Women' demonstrations held in Hyde Park in the summer of 1910 in support of the proposed Conciliation Bill. The leaflet gives details about the demonstration organisers, platform speakers and the routes of the two marches that converged on Hyde Park from east and west London.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Published by the Women's Social and Political Union, this handbill invites suffragettes to support 'Census Resistance'. Initiated by the Women's Freedom League 'Census Resistance' urged women householders to boycott the April 1911 census in protest at the lack of women's constitutional representation.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union Leaflet No. 94. 'Miss Pankhurst's Treatment in Prison', by Dr. Ethel Smyth. Here Smyth gives an account of the alleged ill-treatment suffered by Emmeline Pankhurst in Holloway Prison in March, 1912. There follows a response by the Home Office, and a further reply to this from Dr. Smyth. All three letters were originally printed in The Times newspaper.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Suffragette flyer or handbill entitled 'The Votes for Women Bill'. Published by the Women's Social and Political Union, this handbill urges support of the Conciliation Bill currently blocked by the Government.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	This emotive propaganda leaflet, issued by the Women's Social and Political Union, shockingly describes the force feeding of hunger-striking suffragette prisoners. It was intended to shame the government and raise public awareness of the daily torture faced by those fed by force.	WSPU	1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Flyer in the form of a ticket advertising Women's Sunday, 21st June 1908. Printed in the purple, white & green tricolour of the WSPU.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Handbill advertising a women's demonstration to be held on Thursday 9th December 1909 in the Royal Albert Hall. The gathering was called to welcome Emmmeline Pankhurst on her return from a lecture and fundraising tour of USA. Speakers include Emmeline Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst. The leaflet is folded and printed both sides. Inside is printed a list of women to be presented a medal of valour in acknowledgement of their periods of imprisonment. The bill is printed in purple and green and includes Sylvia Pankhurst's logo of a woman emerging from a prison gate, stepping over her broken chains surrounded by a flock of doves.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Handbill calling upon women from the Tottenham and Edmonton areas of North London to join a Votes for Women procession. The handbill reflects the organisational skills of the Women's Social and Political Union. Whilst all large processions were masterminded from WSPU headquarters at Clement's Inn, local branches of the WSPU played a key role in organising their own members to make banners and attend events.	WSPU	1906	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union Leaflet No. 67. "An Open Letter to One Who Condemns Violence", by G. Penn Gaskell. This leaflet, in the form of an open letter, argues that personal violence may sometimes be justified against oppressive regimes with reference to historical examples.	WSPU	1909-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Flyer headed 'Men and Women'. Issued by The Women's Social and Political Union the flyer calls for the public to decide whether to stand 'with or against the suffragettes' in their militant struggle to win the vote.	WSPU	1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	This leaflet issued by the Women's Social and Political Union gives 14 reasons 'Why Women Want the Vote'. The text originally appeared in the Reformers' Year Book, 1907. The WSPU published a range of leaflets and flyers outlining the arguments for female suffrage.	WSPU	1907	MoL

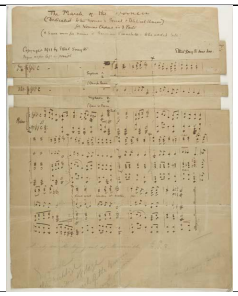
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Printed flyer issued by the Women's Social and Political Union headed 'Working Women, Come Forward and Demand the Vote'. This flyer issued in the first years of the WSPU campaign represents an early policy to engage working class women in the 'Votes for Women' campaign. The flyer outlines reasons why working women would benefit from the right to vote. It was probably published in 1906 to encourage working women from, in particular, East London to attend a meeting at Caxton Hall and a delegation to parliament on 19th February. In the days before the meeting Annie Kenney went repeatedly to Poplar, Limehouse and Canning Town to rouse support and, as an incentive paid the train fare and refreshments for 300 women to travel to Caxton Hall. The flyer includes the address of Syvlia Pankhurst's lodgings at 45 Park Walk Chelsea used as a London base for the WSPU between 1904 and 1906.	WSPU	1906	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Incomplete Women's Social and Political Union leaflet containing three articles : 'A False Accusation:' by Christabel Pankhurst; 'The Hunger Strike' by Florence E. Cooke and 'Six Days and Seven Hours Without Food' by Elsie McKenzie.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet No.75 published by the Women's Social and Political Union, entitled 'Plain Facts about the Suffragette Deputations'. This leaflet was published in response to the events that occured on 18th November 1910, known as Black Friday that resulted in the arrest of 115 women and four men. The leaflet includes witness accounts of several protestors that suffered violence, intimidation and even acts of indecency at the hands of the police.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union Leaflet: 'How the Press Deceives the Public'. The leaflet analyses press coverage of the suffragette campaign and reveals how incorrect and biased reporting has led to a misrepresentation of the facts and actions of the WSPU.	WSPU	1907	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union Leaflet 'The Outragettes' reprinted from The Weekly Dispatch, 18 April 1913. The writer argues the case for female suffrage.	WSPU	1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Handbill or flyer announcing a women's demonstration to be held on Thursday 16th November 1911 in the Royal Albert Hall. The ticket prices listed at the bottom of the flyer indicate that this event was as much a 'fund raising' event for the Women's Social and Political Union as a political meeting.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Double sided handbill, printed in the suffragette colours of purple and green, announcing a deputation to Buckingham Palace, on May 21, 1914. This notice asks supporters to 'Come and see that these violent and brutal attacks on women are not repeated on May 21st'. The organisers' hopes were dashed when the deputation of 21 May again ended in a violent struggle between the suffragettes and the police. More than 60 women were arrested, including Emmeline Pankhurst, who was restrained outside the gates of Buckingham Palace while trying to present a petition to the king.	WSPU	1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Handbill announcing a series of public meetings organised by the Women's Social and Political Union at the Steinway Hall in Portman Square, London. Speakers included the Suffragette leaders Emmeline Pethick Lawrence and Christabel Pankhurst. The handbill is printed in the purple, white and green colour scheme of the Women's Social and Political Union and includes Sylvia Pankhurst's symbol of a woman sower.	WSPU	1909-1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet No. 88 published by the Women's Social and Political Union. Entitled 'Broken Windows' by Christabel Pankhurst the leaflet aims to justify the 'window-smashing policy' officially adopted by the WSPU in 1911.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Handbill or flyer, printed in the suffragette colours of purple, white and green, announcing the Women's Coronation procession to be held on Saturday 17 June 1911. This spectacular event, organised by the Women's Social and Political Union, took place one week before the coronation of the new King, George V. The organisers hoped this display of patriotism would encourage George V to support the proposed Conciliation Bill. The Bill, if passed, would have given the vote to women who were responsible for the premises they occupied, but it ultimately failed to get through parliament and the King made it clear he had no sympathy for the suffragette demands.	WSPU	1911	MoL

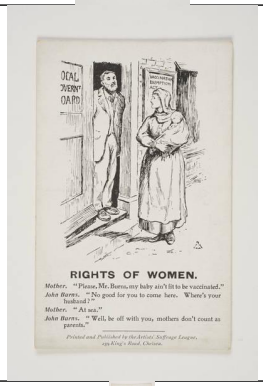
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union Leaflet No. 94. 'Miss Pankhurst's Treatment in Prison', by Dr. Ethel Smyth. Here Smyth gives an account of the alleged ill-treatment suffered by Emmeline Pankhurst in Holloway Prison in March, 1912. There follows a response by the Home Office, and a further reply to this from Dr. Smyth. All three letters were originally printed in The Times newspaper.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	This leaflet announces a 'Great Demonstration of Suffragists', one of two 'Votes for Women' demonstrations held in Hyde Park in the summer of 1910 in support of the proposed Conciliation Bill. Between 1910 and 1912, three Conciliation Bills giving limited female suffrage were drafted and debated by parliament. None succeeded in being passed into law. The leaflet gives details about the demonstration organisers, platform speakers and the routes of the two marches that converged on Hyde Park from east and west London.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union Leaflet No.47 "The Treatment of the Suffragettes in Prison" by F.W. Pethick Lawrence. Here Pethick Lawrence puts forward the case that suffragettes should be treated as 'first division' prisoners and given the same status and privileges as other political offenders..	WSPU	1908-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	This emotive propaganda leaflet, issued by the Women's Social and Political Union, shockingly describes the force feeding of hunger-striking suffragette prisoners. It was intended to shame the government and raise public awareness of the daily torture faced by those fed by force.	WSPU	1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women's Social and Political Union Leaflet: 'Forcible Feeding in Prison'. The force-feeding of suffragette hunger striking prisoners was introduced in September 1909. This leaflet includes the opinion of various Doctors who opposed this brutal and violent method on medical grounds.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet No. 88 published by the Women's Social and Political Union. Entitled 'Broken Windows' by Christabel Pankhurst the leaflet aims to justify the 'window-smashing policy' officially adopted by the WSPU in 1911.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	WOMEN'S SOCIAL & POLITICAL UNION VOTES FOR WOMEN PROCESSION OF SCOTTISH WOMEN KING'S PARK TO SYNOD HALL On SATURDAY, 5TH OCTOBER at 3 P.M. RISE UP, WOMEN! COME IN YOUR THOUSANDS! A Hossack 63 Bristo Street Edin	WSPU	1907	Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Leaflet printed with a transcript of the 'Defence Made by Dr. Frances Ede at the London Session, March 26th, 1912'. This refers to Ede's trial for smashing windows with a hammer at 198 & 200 Piccadilly on 1st March. Despite her robust defence of window smashing as a legitimate tactic to achieve the vote, Dr Ede was sentenced to 4 months imprisonment.		1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Suffrage leaflet produced for a by-election at Chelmsford, Essex. The leaflet urges 'Electors of Chelmsford' to vote against the Liberal candidate by highlighting Asquith's Government policy on a number of issues including freedom of speech and the imprisonment of suffragettes.		1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	This handbill announces a demonstration to be held in Trafalgar Square on the 16 July 1910 against female suffrage. The demonstration was organised by the Anti-Suffrage campaign in protest against The Conciliation Bill, referred to as the Women's Suffrage Bill, that was being debated in the House of Commons. The Bill proposed to extend the franchise (right to vote) to women who were responsible for 'the premises they occupied', but it was defeated in the Commons and never passed. The phrase on the handbill 'you are in urgent danger' refers to the argument that female suffrage could place the country in 'danger' as women, who had no knowledge of politics, used their vote irresponsibly.		1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Handbill or flyer with details of the Coronation Procession, organised by the Women's Social and Political Union to commemorate the coronation of King George V. The handbill declares the event to be 'The Greatest Procession of Women'. Printed in green and decorated with three clovers, the flyer was specifically aimed at Irish women and invites them to join the 'Irish section' of the march.		1911	MoL

	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Woman's Franchise. The Need of the Hour pamphlet by Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy. Published by The Independant Labour Party. Price One Penny.		c. 1908	Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Women and The new Franchise Bill. A Letter To An Ultser Member of Parliament By Isabella M. S. Tod.'			Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Suffrage Fallacies. Sir Almroth Wright on "Militant Hysteria." A letter reprinted from The Times. Thursday March 28, 1912		1912	Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephemera	Flyers & Leaflets	Address Upon Women's Suffrage in Wyoming leaflet		1882	Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephemera	Illustration	John Bull illustration depicting stones being thrown through a window. "Sermons in Stones" John Bull (to non-militant suffragist) "I could listen more attentively, madam to your pleas, were it not for these concrete arguments which I find rather distracting."		1911	Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Invitation to Meeting of Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage Issued by Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage (ENWSS) (founded 1867) Associated with Caroline Phillips (Aberdeen, Scotland, 1874 - 1956) 5 October 1907 Miss Phillips (hand-written) WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION The Committee request the favour of your presence on the Platform, on the occasion of a Meeting to be held in the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 5th October 1907, at 5 o'clock. Miss S.E.S. Mair, President of the Edinburgh National Society of Women's Suffrage, will preside. SPEAKERS MRS DESPARD, MRS PHILLIP SNOWDEN, MRS BILLINGTON-GREIG MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B, LADY STEEL, MISS LEES, AND OTHERS. R.S.V.P. TO MRS BELL, Hon. Secy, 39 Comely Bank Place, Edinburgh	ENWSS	1907	Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Product sample broadsheet produced by the Suffrage Atelier. This broadsheet reproduces, in miniature, designs produced by the Atelier. It was used by customers when ordering full sized posters and postcards. This is one of two broadsheets produced by the Atelier. The Suffrage Atelier was founded in London in February 1909 as 'An Arts and Crafts Society Working for the Enfranchisement of Women'. Its object was: 'to encourage Artists to forward the Women's Movement, and particularly the Enfranchisement of Women, by means of pictorial publications.' The Atelier artists specialised in hand-made wooden block prints, stencilling and etchings and produced visually powerful posters and postcards to publicise the pro-suffrage campaign. Laurence and Clemence Housman were co-founders of the Atelier, other members were Catherine Courtauld, Edith Craig and Isobel Pocock. The Atelier was associated with the militant Votes for Women campaign, in particular the Women's Freedom League. It also ran the Art Stall at the WSPU's fund-raising Women's Exhibition in 1909.	Suffrage Atelier	1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Product sample broadsheet produced by the Suffrage Atelier. This broadsheet reproduces, in miniature, designs produced by the Atelier. It was used by customers when ordering full sized posters and postcards. This is one of two broadsheets produced by the Atelier.	Suffrage Atelier	1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Constitution of the Women's Freedom League Issued by Women's Freedom League (WFL) (founded 1907)	WFL	1907	Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums

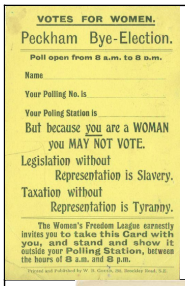
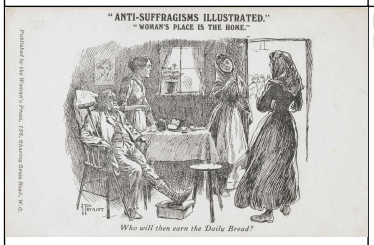
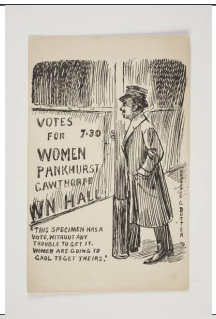
	Printed Ephemera	Other	This diamond ring belonged to Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, a member of the Tax Resistance League. The motto of the League was ‘No Vote No Tax’ and, as a protest against their unfranchised status, members consistently resisted the payment of taxes. In 1910 this ring was seized by bailiffs in lieu of Sophia's refusal to pay rates. The ring was subsequently bought at auction by a fellow member of the Tax Resistance League and returned to her.	Women's Tax Resistance League	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Souvenir paper table napkin printed with a programme for the 'Votes for Women' Coronation procession of 1911. The floral border is coloured in purple and green, the colour scheme of the Women's Social and Political Union who organised the procession. Souvenir napkins or 'handkerchiefs' were printed for every large public event, ceremony, or procession that occured in London from the early to mid 20th century. The squares were imported into London from Japan pre-printed with a decorative border in up to 5 colours and a blank central area. S. Burgess was one of the main printers of such napkins. They would have been sold for about 1 penny by street traders lining the route of the event. The fact that such napkins were produced as souvenirs for all the major suffragette processions indicates that these were high profile spectacular events that attracted huge crowds and had a major impact on London life during this period.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	First annual report of the Women's Social and Political Union, including a committee report, balance sheet and subscribition list for the year ending 28 February 1907. The inside cover lists WSPU officers, organisers and constitution; the the inside back cover lists local branches.	WSPU	1907	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Ticket of admission to the Hyde Park demonstration organised by the Women's Social and Political Union on Sunday 21st June 1908. Printed in the purple, white & green horizontal stripes of the WSPU with writing 'Votes for Women Procession from Victoria Embankment to Hyde Park Assembles 12-30pm Starts 1-30pm.' Reverse printed with details of the demonstration.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	The constitution of the Women's Social and Political Union. Originally founded in Manchester in 1903 this version of the Constitution was issued when the WSPU moved their headquarters to Clement's Inn, London in 1906.	WSPU	1906	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Souvenir paper table napkin printed to commemorate the Votes for Women Great Procession from the Embankment to Albert Hall, Saturday 18 June 1910. The napkin includes images of the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union who organised the event.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	The 'Purple, White and Green March' with words by Reginald Pott, Treasurer of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage and music by Mr Vivian Hatch. This march was composed for the WSPU procession held on 18 June 1910 in support of the Conciliation Bill.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Men's Ticket allowing the bearer to obtain admission to a meeting held by the Women's Social and Political Union at the London Pavilion on 6 October 1913. Membership of the WSPU was limited solely to women. However this ticket indicates that supportive men were allowed to attend some meetings.	WSPU	1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Ticket of admission for the 'Women's Parliament' organised by the Women's Social and Political Union on Thursday, February 13th 1908 at Caxton Hall. This 'Women only meeting' was chaired by Emmeline Pankhurst to discuss the King's Speech and discuss the Enfranchisment Bill that was hoped would be introduced into Parliament that session. The message on the ticket reads 'we demand the vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.' Entrance to the Women's Parliament cost 6d and drew delegates from across the country. The angry delegations to Westminster that followed the Women's Parliament sessions resulted in several scuffles with the police and the arrest of many Suffragettes including Emmeline Pankhurst.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Souvenir Programme of the 'Women's Coronation Procession to Demand Votes for Women', Saturday 17 June 1911. The eight page programme was priced 4d.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Programme printed with details of the Suffragette Demonstration to Hyde Park on Sunday 21st June 1908. Also known as 'Women's Sunday' this was the first 'monster' meeting to be organised by the militant Women's Social and Political Union. Specially chartered trains transported thousands of suffragettes from all over Britain to march in seven processions through central London to a rally in Hyde Park. The programme lists the route of the 7 processions and the Chairwomen of the 20 speaker's platforms erected in Hyde Park.	WSPU	1908	MoL

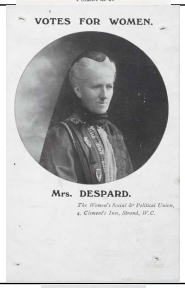
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Music score and words for 'The March of the Women'. Composed by Ethel Smyth with words by Cicely Hamilton. 'March of the Women' was played for the first time in public on Saturday 21 January 1911 at a social event at Suffolk Street Galleries to welcome those imprisoned after Black Friday. Votes for Women reported that 'The fiery spirit of revolution united with religious solemnity, the all-conquering union of faith and rebellion which makes the strength of the militant movement, is expressed in Smyth's Marching Song. It is at once a hymn and a call to battle'. The title page is printed with a drawing in purple, white and green by Margaret Morris.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Programme for 'The Women's Exhibition 1909' held at the Prince's Skating Rink, Knightsbridge, May 13 to 26. Organised by the Women's Social and Political Union, the exhibition was essentially a fundraising event but also aimed to raise the public profile of the Votes for Women campaign. The front cover of the programme carries a design by Sylvia Pankhurst. She was responsible for designing the whole event, including the large exhibition mural and the crockery used in the refreshment rooms.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Printed programme produced by the Wimbledon branch of the Women's Social and Political Union, listing the dates of their 'At Homes' meetings. Local branches of the WSPU held regular meetings to raise funds and keep abreast of events at WSPU headquarters. Many also had a programme of speakers and lectures to educate members on the suffrage cause and women's issues.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Emily Wilding Davison Funeral Service Programme, 1913. Emily Wilding Davison died on 8th June 1913, following a protest gone wrong four days earlier at the Epsom Derby. She ran out in front of King George V's horse Amner and sustained fatal injuries. Davison was a long serving member of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), formed by Emmeline Pankhurst in 1903, to campaign for women's suffrage. Emily Davison was known for militant activities which included disrupting meetings, assault, stone throwing and arson. She was imprisoned many times, including a spell at Strangeways prison in Manchester. Whilst in prison she went on hunger strike and was force fed by the authorities. Davison's funeral took place on the 14 June 1913. The funeral programme includes a short obituary, a list of hymns and an emotional piece on her ultimate sacrifice for women's suffrage. Although many believed that Davison deliberately killed herself, others think that she never meant to die at the Epsom Derby, but was instead attempting to pin a 'votes for women' banner on the King's horse. It was found later on that she had bought return train tickets on the day of the Derby. Whether she intended to die or not, Emily Davison is now remembered, as the only suffragette to lose her life in the Votes for Women campaign.	WSPU	1913	PHM
	Printed Ephemera	Other	WSPU Women's Suffrage Calendar	WSPU	1913	Private / Unknown
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Ticket of admission to a meeting held at the Royal National Eisteddfod, Wrexham, Wales, Thursday September 5th 1912. The ticket was used by a Suffragette to gain admission to the meeting at which Lloyd George was speaking. At the meeting five Suffragettes, including Kitty Marion heckled Lloyd George and were brutally set upon by vicious crowd. A full report of this incident appears in Votes for Women and notes that all the Suffragettes had handfuls of hair ripped from the roots so violently that blood ran down their faces and one Suffragette was even stabbed in the breast with a knife, although the cut was not serious. It is known Kitty Marion sat in seat 338, Row 11 Block C so this ticket was used by another of the five Suffragettes. Sitting separately was often a tactic used by Suffragette hecklers to avoid bringing attention to themselves prior to the meeting start.		1912	MoL

	Printed Ephemera	Other	Original Music score 'The March of the Women' handwritten by the composer, Dr Ethel Smyth. On the reverse is handwritten 'Presented to Jessie Kenney by Dr Ethel Smyth'. Ethel Smyth was a devoted friend of Emmeline Pankhurst and often provided shelter for her at her home in Surrey when Emmeline was evading recapture under the terms of the Cat and Mouse Act.		1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Cartoon drawn by Clara (Betty) Giveen whilst in Winson Green Prison, Birmingham in 1912. The black-and-white cartoon shows a prison warder standing amongst puddles produced by 3 women prisoners showering behind three cubicle doors. At the side is written 'Bathing. who would be a bathing woman, In this gaol of Winson Green. Where the Suffragettes do clamour and endeavour to keep clean. For there's very muddy water in those baths behind the screen'.		1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	The Australian artist William Dyson (1880-1938) moved to London in 1909. In 1912 he began work for the Daily Herald, a newspaper that had emerged in 1910 from a strike by London printers. The Daily Herald was London's only left wing newspaper, and the only one to support the suffragette cause. Here, Dyson portrays a wispy suffragette admiring the Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw, also a supporter of female suffrage. Shaw was a prominent socialist and outspoken member of the Fabian Society.		1912-1915	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	This pen drawing entitled "The New Advocate" depicts a skeleton figure carrying a sandwich board marked 'Votes for Women' with the Houses of Parliament in the background. The cartoon represents the death of Emily Wilding Davison and was published on the front page of the Daily Herald, the week following her death on June 11th 1913. The cartoonist William Dyson (1880-1938) was born in Australia. From 1900, he became a regular contributor to the Sydney Bulletin, with conservative politicians being the main target for his satire. In 1909 Dyson moved to London and worked on the Weekly Dispatch before the Daily Herald. This was a time of great political excitement in Britain with the Liberal government challenging the powers of the House of Lords and with the Women's Social and Political Union using militant methods to win the vote. Dyson's cartoons created a sensation. He was acclaimed by one critic as the best cartoonist seen in Britain since James Gillray. Sometimes his cartoons were so powerful that the editor decided to let it take over the whole of the front page. The Daily Herald fully supported the actions of the women fighting for the vote. Dyson agreed with this policy and produced a series of cartoons attacking the way the government was treating the suffragettes. Here, he reinterprets David Wilson's cartoon of the Haunted House of 1907 in an ambivalent, pessimistic image. The skeleton of Emily Davison is depicted as a victim of Westminster. Her spectacular self sacrifice is ignored in the mundane bustle of Westminster sketched in the background.		1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Other	They Went to Prison' Roll of Honour booklet with names if suffragette prisoners 1905-1914.			Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Women's Suffrage Calendar / Diary. Includes significant suffrage/women's history dates as well as details on classes for women and information on University examinations.		1886	Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephemera	Other	Scottish Council for Women's Trades and Union for the Abolition of Sweating. Twenty-Fourth Annual Report 1918-1919.		1918-1919	Glasgow Women's Library

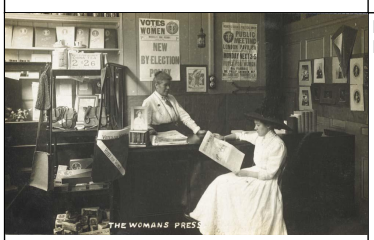
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-female suffrage propaganda postcard entitled 'Polling Booth, Companions In Disgrace.' Published by the Artists' Suffrage League the image compares a 'respectable' female graduate with a criminal, describing both as 'Companions in Disgrace'. The verse at the bottom of the card explains how, once the criminal has served his time, he may regain the right to vote. A 'harmless' woman however, may never have the right.	Artist's Suffrage League	1907-1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard captioned 'Who spends the Taxes?'. Designed by Harriet Adkins and published by the Artists' Suffrage League the postcard refers to the irony of women having to pay taxes without representation in Parliament.	Artist's Suffrage League	1911-1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard captioned 'The Cry of the Children'. C.Hedley Charlton's representation of children to carry the suffrage message was purposefully intended to place the campaign within an innocent and domestic context. This representation may be contrasted with the anti-suffrage view of suffragettes as having abandoned their traditional domestic roles of wives and mothers.	Artists Suffrage League	1907-1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard published by the Artists' Suffrage League. The postcard highlights the inequality between the rights of a mother and a father regarding the vaccination of children. In 1907 the Vaccination Act of 1898 was amended to permit easier 'conscientious objection' to smallpox vaccination, at a time when the threat from the illness had greatly diminished. If a Father affirmed before a magistrate that he objected to vaccination because he believed it threatened the health of his child, and paid a fee, he would receive a certificate to take to the registrar and vaccination was not enforced. This was national legislation, and although some Parliamentarians tried to persuade the government to allow mothers to carry out this procedure, because fathers could not always get time off work, this request was refused. Only unmarried mothers or widows, or women whose husbands were abroad for a long period, were allowed to object in their own right.	Artists Suffrage League	1907	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard captioned 'Is this Right?'. The artist's signature 'M.L' stands for Mary Lowndes, Chairman of the Artists' Suffrage League.	Artists Suffrage League	1907-1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard captioned 'To the Girl's Christmas Tree'. The postcard satirises gender discrimination with the boys given first choice over presents under the Christmas tree, the girls only being offered what, if anything is left.	Suffrage Atelier	1909-1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard published by the Suffrage Atelier captioned 'The English Inquisitors Have Revived Torture In Our Prisons'. The caption and image refers to the brutal proceedure of force feeding hunger striking suffragette prisoners.	Suffrage Atelier	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard showing 'Jane Bull refused admission to The People's House' representing the Houses of Parliament. The postcard was designed by the artist Isobel Pocock for the Suffrage Atelier.	Suffrage Atelier	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The Anti-Suffrage Society As Dressmaker', produced by the Suffrage Atelier, as propaganda for the pro-women's suffrage campaign. The Anti-Suffrage Society was satirised in suffrage propaganda. Here the A.S.S. is depicted as dressmaker fitting a badly made and out of date dress.	Suffrage Atelier	1909-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	This pro-suffrage propaganda postcard was designed by the artist Catherine Courtauld, a member of the Suffrage Atelier. The design satirises the 'prehistoric' societal convention of separate spheres where men and women took on different roles. Women were expected to play no part in the public 'sphere', their role being focused on the domestic 'sphere' as wives, mothers and sisters.	Suffrage Atelier	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard captioned 'The Vote Girl'. The postcard refers to suffrage determination to get the Conciliation Bill through Parliament.	Suffrage Atelier	1910	MoL

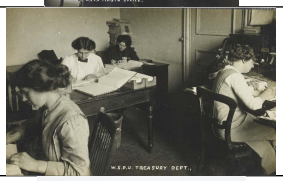
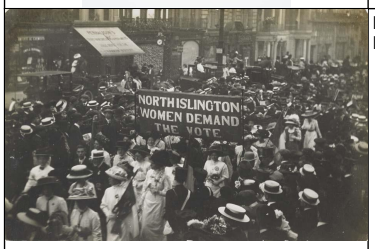
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard captioned 'To the Girl's Christmas Tree'. The postcard satirises gender discrimination with the boys given first choice over presents under the Christmas tree, the girls only being offered what, if anything is left. The Suffrage Atelier was founded in London in February 1909 as 'An Arts and Crafts Society Working for the Enfranchisement of Women'. Its object was: 'to encourage Artists to forward the Women's Movement, and particularly the Enfranchisement of Women, by means of pictorial publications.'	Suffrage Atelier	1909-1914	MoL
	Printed Ephen	Postcards	The Anti-Suffrage Society as Portrait Painter' Suffrage Atelier postcard	Suffrage Atelier		Kenneth Flo
	Printed Ephen	Postcards	The Scylla and Charybdis of the Working Woman" Suffrage Atelier postcard	Suffrage Atelier		Kenneth Flo
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Alison Neilans Cleans the Stove. One in the series of 'Suffragettes at Home' postcards published by the Women's Freedom League. This series was produced in response to the accusation, by anti-suffragists, that suffragettes were 'unwomanly' and neglectful of their domestic duties as wives and mothers.	WFL	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Mrs How Martyn Making Jam, propaganda postcard. One in the series of 'Suffragettes at Home' postcards published by the Women's Freedom League. This series was produced in response to the accusation, by anti-suffragists, that suffragettes were 'unwomanly' and neglectful of their domestic duties as wives and mothers.	WFL	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Maud Arncliffe-Sennett (1862-1936). Born in London, the daughter of an Italian immigrant wholesale confectioner, Maud and her husband Henry ran her family's firm of 'G Sparagnapane & Co, The Oldest Established manufacturers of Christmas Crackers and Wedding Cake Ornaments' in the Italian district of Clerkenwell. Like many women who followed the suffrage movement Maud was a member of several suffrage societies, often holding multiple memberships simultaneously. For some years she divided her allegiance between both the constitutionalists and the militants being a member of the NUWSS, the WSPU, the London Society for Women's Suffrage, the Women's Freedom League, the United Suffragists and the Actresses' Franchise League. As well as serving office in these four latter organisations she also founded, in July 1913 the Northern men's Federation for Women's Suffrage. Maud was arrested several times for Suffragette militancy including during Black Friday 1910 and in November 1911 for breaking a window in the offices of the Daily Mail. This portrait of Maud was taken by Lena Connell, a portrait photographer who was a member of the Hampstead Branch of the Women's Social and Political Union. It was in a series published by the Women's Freedom League depicting leading members of the organisation.	WFL	1908-1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Mrs Joseph McCabe bathing her baby. This postcard was part of the series of 'Suffragettes at Home' postcards published by the Women's Freedom League. This series was produced in response to the accusation, by anti-suffragists, that suffragettes were 'unwomanly' and neglectful of their domestic duties as wives and mothers.	WFL	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic Postcard. Poster parade organised by the Women's Freedom League to promote the suffrage message.	WFL	1907	MoL

	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Mock Polling Card Postcard for Peckham Bye Election Associated with Caroline Phillips (Aberdeen, Scotland, 1874 - 1956) 24 March 1908, Card and ink This is part of a collection of documents relating to Caroline Phillips (1874-1956), an Aberdonian journalist who was involved in the women's suffrage movement. The collection contains important correspondence between Phillips and key leaders in the suffrage movement, including Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst. (post stamp) Peckham S.O.S.E.	WFL	1908	Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard produced by the Women's Social and Political Union. The postcard designed by Frederic Dutton depicts a young girl with aspirations of becoming a suffragette leader similar to Mary Gawthorpe. This was one in a series of satirical postcards designed by Frederic G Dutton for the National Women's Social and Political Union Lancashire Headquarters based at 164 Oxford Road Manchester in 1909. Known as the 'exhibition' series it is probable they were originally published for sale at the Women's Exhibition held in Knightsbridge London in 1909. The sale of popular, comic postcards raised funds for the campaign and helped to spread the Votes for Women message by ridiculing the anti-suffrage argument and the injustice of the voting system.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propoganda postcard. Produced as both a postcard and a poster this design by A.Patriot (Alfred Pearse) was used by the Women's Social and Political Union to promote the suffrage message during campaigning for the General Election of December 1910. It was based on a popular advertisement of the time for Ripolin paint. [MPHM also has one of this design in their collection].	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Anti-Suffragisms Illustrated, Woman's Place Is In The Home, Who will then earn the Daily Bread?'. Produced by the Woman's Press as propaganda for the pro-women's suffrage campaign. The postcard depicts the irony of the 'separate spheres' argument that woman's place was in the home, the private sphere whilst the public sphere was the world of men and work. Here a daughter is seen going out to work to support the family whilst the man of the house is indisposed, this being the reality for many particularly working class and poorer families.	WSPU	1910-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	This Specimen has a Vote, without any trouble to get it. Women are going to gaol to get theirs'. Pro-female suffrage postcard comparing the irony of those 'irresponsible' men who are allowed to vote with women who are denied the vote. Here a gentleman, rather the worse for drink, clings to a lamp post beside an advertisement announcing a Votes for Women meeting. This was one in a series of satirical postcards designed by Frederic G Dutton for the National Women's Social and Political Union Lancashire Headquarters based at 164 Oxford Road Manchester in 1909. Known as the 'exhibition' series it is probable they were originally published for sale at the Women's Exhibition held in Knightsbridge London in 1909.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Picture postcard entitled 'History up to Date and More So by a Suffragette Pavement Artist'. Comprising 9 images captioned by rhyme relating to women's fight for the vote. The first shows an image of the Houses of Parliament and begins 'This is the House that men built'. The postcard bears the initals of the artist Marie Brackenbury. On the reverse is written a note by Emmeline Pethick Lawrence to her sister Dorothy Pethick. With postmark Holmwood May 3rd 1908.	WSPU	1908-1912	MoL

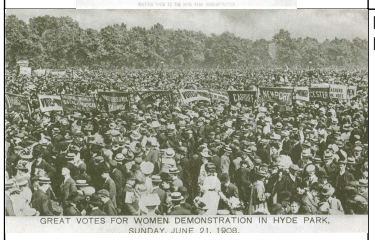
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Mary Eleanor Gawthorpe (1881-1973), Organiser and member of the National Committee of the WSPU from 1907-1910. The portrait depicts Mary wearing her Holloway prison badge, first issued in 1909. Such portrait postcards were issued by the WSPU to raise the profile of the Suffragette leaders and to raise funds for the campaign.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Flora Drummond, (c. 1879-1949) organiser and senior figure within the WSPU. Flora Drummond was one of the original members of the Women's Social and Political Union. In 1906 she moved with Annie Kenney from Manchester to London and became a paid organiser for the campaign. Nickamed the 'General' by her fellow suffragettes Flora was a keen horsewoman and is seen here with her riding crop and regalia supplied by the firm Toye & Co. Within a year of this photograph, taken on the occasion of the Hyde Park demonstration of June 1908 Flora gave birth to a son Keir Hardie Drummond, named after Keir Hardie Labour Party MP.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Charlotte Despard (1844-1939), Hon. Treasurer and President of the Women's Freedom League. Charlotte originally served as joint Honorary Secretary of the WSPU but left in 1907 as a result of a number of policy differences with the Pankhursts. With Teresa Billington-Greig and Edith How Martyn, Despard subsequently formed the Women's Freedom league. Under her leadership the Women's Freedom League encouraged its members to take part in non-violent resistance such as evading the Census of 1911, refusing to pay any taxes until women were given the vote, and wearing the League's colours of green, white and gold.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Edith How Martyn (c. 1875-1954) joint Honorary Secretary of the WSPU and, from 1907 co-founder and Honorary Secretary of the Women's Freedom League. In 1906 Edith had become one of the first Suffragettes to be imprisoned in Holloway, after being arrested outside the House of Commons. In 1911 she became Honorary Head of the Political and Militancy Department of the WFL until April 1912.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Christabel Pankhurst (1880-1958), Organising Secretary of the WSPU and editor of The Suffragette weekly newspaper. The eldest daughter of Emmeline and Richard Pankhurst, Christabel had a degree in law from Owen's College, Victoria University, Manchester. Because she was a woman she was not allowed to practice as a lawyer. As a founding member of the WSPU Christabel was a brilliant public speaker and inspired great loyalty in her supporters. Although Christabel served three terms of imprisonment for militancy she escaped to France in March 1912 to avoid the charge of conspiracy also faced by her Mother. In exile in Parish she continued to lead the WSPU and edit the Suffragette newspaper. She did not return to England until after the outbreak of the First World War.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The Suffragette Organiser Charlotte Marsh (1887-1961) joined the Women's Social and Political Union in 1907. She did not, however, become active in the movement until 1908 when she finished her training as a sanitary inspector. During her first WSPU deputation to Parliament Square in June 1908 Charlotte was arrested for obstruction and imprisoned in Holloway for one month. The following year she became WSPU organiser in Yorkshire. Whilst in prison in 1909 for heckling Prime Minister Asquith, Charlotte became one of the first hunger-striking suffragettes to be forcibly fed. In 1910 Charlotte became WSPU organiser in Oxford and subsequently Portsmouth and Nottingham. As well as working as a full time paid regional organiser Charlotte also continued to undertake miiltant acts. For smashing nine windows in the Strand in March 1912 she was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment. During World War I Charlotte worked as a motor mechanic, chauffeuse to Lloyd George and as a land girl whilst continuing her committments to the suffrage cause as honorary secretary of the Independent WSPU.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928), Honorary Secretary, and later Honorary Treasurer, of the WSPU, c. 1909. Emmeline was a charismatic leader and eloquent speaker. By 1913 she had served three prison sentences; two in 1908 for leading a deputation to Parliament and one for inciting the public to 'rush' the House of Commons. In the wake of the window smashing of March 1912, she was sentenced to nine months in prison for conspiracy to commit damage.	WSPU	1909	MoL

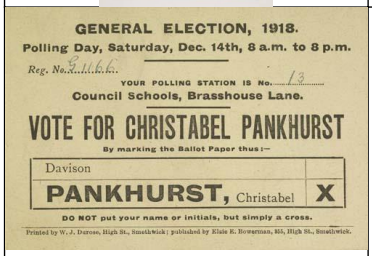
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic postcard of the information bureau and record office, Womens Social and Political Union Headquarters, Clement's Inn, September 1911. On the reverse of the postcard the photographer ad publisher name has been crossed out in black ink. By 1910 the WSPU. employed 110 salaried staff. Together with an army of volunteers they organised large demonstrations, meetings and processions and produced campaign and propaganda material. Standing at the back of the office, by the door is Isabel Seymour. Between 1906 and 1909 Isabel was employed as a salaried Hospitality Secretary in the Information Bureau organising accommodation for country members when they came to London to take part in protests and deputations. By 1913 she was Prisoners' Secretary supporting WSPU prisoners and organising bail for arrested members, an extremely busy and crucial role with prolific offenders being repeatedly arrested by this late stage of the campaign.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Packing and despatching Votes for Women at The Woman's Press, 156 Charing Cross Road, September 1911. Financed and edited by Emmeline and Fred Pethick-Lawrence Votes for Women was first published in October 1907 as a monthly publication and quickly became the official voice of the Women's Social & Political Union. The newspaper as printed by St Clement's Press located close to WSPU headquarters. From April 1908 Votes for Women became a weekly publication on sale every Thursday and was widely available at WSPU branch shops and retail newsagents including W.H.Smith and John Menzies.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The ticket office, Women's Social and Political Union Headquarters, Clement's Inn September 1911. From here were issued tickets for meetings and rallies. On the back wall is a plan of the Royal Albert Hall, used regularly for meetings by the WSPU. The Circulation Manager, whose job it was to boost the sales of Votes for Women, also worked in the ticket office.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic print portrait of Kitty Marion (1871-1944).	WSPU	1908-1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The Duplicating office, WSPU Headquarters, Clement's Inn, September 1911. Propaganda handbills were duplicated in this room and sold cheaply to WSPU members, who then gave them away on the street, outside railway stations, and after football and cricket matches. By the end of 1910 the WSPU employed 110 salaried workers but much work was done by an army of volunteer workers.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The General offices at Women's Social and Political Union Headquarters, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway. In 1912 WSPU headquarters moved from Clement's Inn to Lincoln's Inn.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The entrance hall of the headquarters of the Women's Social and Political Union, Lincoln's Inn. The postcard was sent to Minnie Turner who ran a guest house in Brighton, popular with her fellow Suffragettes. The postcard ipostmarked Reading has a handwritten message on the reverse that reads: 'You are a little brick - Thank you so much. I have forwarded Miss A's letter to my Uncle to see if he approves (he is paying the piper). I will let Miss A. know as soon as possible. Please give my love to Miss R & wish her good luck. Love from MLA'.	WSPU	1912	MoL

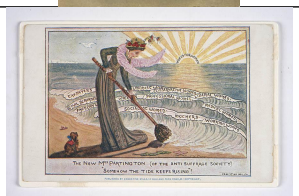
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The suffragette Kitty Marion. Kitty Marion combined her career as a music hall artiste with her career as a suffragette militant. She was imprisoned 4 times between 1909 and the end of 1912 for window breaking, arson and other militant activity. In 1913 Marion was suspected of committing five acts of arson, yet was arrested only for the fifth - the burning of the Grand Stand at Hurst Park Racecourse. For this she was sentenced, on the 3 July 1913, to three years and 21 days of hard labour in Holloway. Weakened through hunger-strike, she was twice released under the Prisoner's Temporary Discharge for Ill Health Act (referred to by the suffragettes as the 'Cat and Mouse Act') into a Women's Social and Political Union nursing home. Leaving the home, she would evade the authorities and commit further acts of arson or window-breaking before being captured and re-imprisoned. During Marion's last spell in Holloway, she was forcibly fed 232 times over a period of 14 weeks and two days. On 16 April 1914 she was released again under the Act, having lost 2 stone 8lbs (16kg) in weight.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Ada Flatman and Alma Martel, official full time organisers of the Women's Social and Political Union. By February 1909 the WSPU employed 30 organizers throughout the country. Appointed from WSPU headquarters organisers were paid £2.00 per week, the average for a woman clerk working in a business house at that time. Organisers were expected to travel extensively and moved from district to district organising local branches, WSPU shops, meetings, fund raising events, election campaigns, the hiring of halls, dealings with printers, the police and the local press. WSPU headquarters instructed organisers to avoid incidents that may attract imprisonment. They were required to 'stay at their posts' and leave acts of 'guerilla warfare' to the career activists, who were considered more expendable.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Despatch department of the Women's Social and Political Union Headquarters at Clement's Inn. From this office at WSPU headquarters the weekly Votes for Women newspaper was despatched throughout the country.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The advertising and book-keeping staff at work in the advertising department, Women's Social and Political Union Headquarters Clement's Inn, September 1911. Editorials in Votes for Women urged readers to patronize firms and individuals who took advertising space in the newspaper. It was anticipated that if advertisers gained business from the suffragettes it would encourage them to take yet more space thus raising further funds for the WSPU.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	This postcard, showing the arrest of a militant Suffragette was one in a series of photographic postcards depicting 'typical scenes of London life in the early 20th century'. The fact that the arrest of a suffragette was chosen as a subject for the series reflects the impact the Suffragette campaign had on London life and society between 1906 and 1914. The message on the reverse of the postcard is not entirely sympathetic to the campaign and refers to Suffragettes as the 'shriekin mob'. The claim by anti-suffragists that Suffragettes were hysterical, shrieking females was widely used to discredit the campaign.	WSPU	1908-1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The Woman's Press Shop, 156 Charing Cross Road. The Woman's Press shop opened in May 1910. Only three doors away from Oxford Street - London's main shopping street - its location was chosen carefully to 'attract the ordinary paser-by'. The premises comprised 12 rooms, including the shop. In July 1910 Votes for Women noted 'The Woman's Press is showing some beautiful motor and other scarves in various shades of purple as well as white muslin summer blouses and among the almost unending variety of bags, belts etc are the noticeable 'Emmeline' and 'Christabel' bags and the 'Pethick' tobacco pouch. In addition to books, games, blotters, playing cards and indeed almost everything that can be produced in purple, white and green'.	WSPU	1911	MoL

	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic postcard depicting a view of the typists office at WSPU headquarters, Clement's Inn. Successful fund raising enabled the WSPU to equip its headquarters with all the latest office technology and employ full time, qualified and paid female clerks and typists.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The treasury department, also known as the Financial Secretary's office, Clement's Inn, September 1911. Fundraising was vital to the success of the WSPU campaign. Large donations from wealthy members were supplemented by a range of income-generating schemes that included bazaars, the sale of merchandise, coffee mornings and 'Self-Denial' weeks.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The editorial department, Women's Social and Political Union Headquarters Clement's Inn, September 1911. Here the weekly Votes for Women newspaper was edited and compiled by both volunteer and paid workers.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Suffragette Procession, 23rd July 1910. In the centre of the postcard are Suffragettes representing North Islington, carrying a placard marked 'North Islington Women Demand the Vote' This procession, organised by the Women's Social and Political Union and Women's Freedom league in support of the Conciliation Bill, involved two processions through central London culminating in a rally in Hyde Park. On the reverse of the postcard is a printed advertisement for the photographer's series of 4 postcards relating to the procession on 23rd July and the series of 8 postcards issued for the earlier procession on June 18th that could be obtained individually for 2d or supplied to WSPU branch shops for 1/6d a dozen. The postcard was sent to Miss Dorothy Pethick in Leicestershire, presumably by the photographer. Dorothy, the sister of the Suffragette leader, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence was an active campaigner and organiser of the Women's Social and Political Union in the Leicester area. It is likely she would have ordered a batch of the postcards for sale to local branches.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Adela Constantia Mary Pankhurst (1885-1961) WSPU organiser. In 1906 Adela, daughter of Emmeline, gave up her job as a school teacher to become a WSPU organiser in Lancashire and Yorkshire. She served several prison sentences for interrupting political meeting and participating in demonstrations. Her outspoken socialist views were, however, not shared by her mother and sister, Emmeline and Christabel. In 1911 she was persuaded by them to end her career as a WSPU organiser. In 1912 Adela went to live in Australia where she remained for the rest of her life.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, along with her husband Fred was co-editor of Votes for Women, and business manager & Treasurer of the WSPU. As well as being a remarkable fund-raiser for the WSPU she was arrested four times for her militancy. Her last conviction in 1912 was for conspiracy to incite violence. In 1912 Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst expelled Emmeline and Fred Pethick-Lawrence from the WSPU although they continued to produce Votes for Women from the Clement's Inn premises. [MPHM also has the same postcard in their collection].	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The general offices at the Women's Social and Political Union Headquarters, Clement's Inn, September 1911. This room also served as the visitors' entrance and telephone exchange, and sold propaganda handbills, pamphlets, badges and purple, white and green sashes.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Annie Kenney (1879-1953) Salaried Organiser for the Women's Social and Political Union. Annie was a leading figure in the Women's Social and Political Union and one of its most charismatic speakers. She and Christabel Pankhurst, were the first Suffragettes to be arrested and imprisoned in October 1905 for interrupting a Liberal meeting in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester.	WSPU	1908	MoL

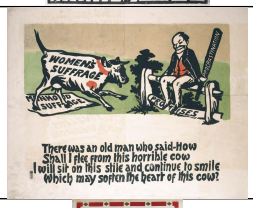
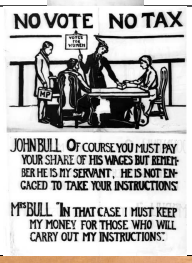
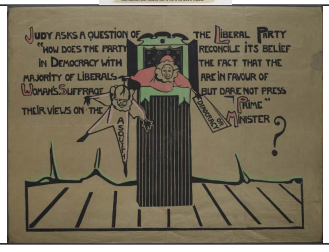
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Women's Social and Political Union Christmas Bazaar and Fair 4-9 December, 1911. For this fund-raising event members of the WSPU transformed the Portman Rooms into an 18th century Village Market Hall with wall murals designed by Sylvia Pankhurst. Stallholders, dressed in 18th century costumes, also designed by Sylvia, sold a range of items from bric-a-brac, to items made by Suffragettes such as blouses and decorated pin cushions to festive fare including turkeys, hams and jams.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The arrest of the suffragette leader Emmeline Pankhurst, 1908. On 13th February 1908 Emmeline Pankhurst was arrested whilst on a deputation to the House of Commons, on the charge of obstructing a policeman.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The 'From Prison to Citizenship' banner on the Women's Coronation Procession, 17 June 1911. The banner was designed by Laurence Housman for the Kensington branch of the Women's Social and Political Union and was first seen at Women's Sunday in June 1908. At the Coronation Procession of 1911 it headed 'The Prisoners' Pageant' that marched immediately behind the suffragette leaders and in front of the historical pageant of women.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Mrs Pethick-Lawrence's Secretary Office, WSPU Headquarters Clement's Inn. Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence was co-editor of Votes for Women and business manager & Treasurer of the WSPU. Her office employed both volunteer and paid staff who used the most up-to-date equipment including typewriters, telephones and calculators.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Postcard showing a suffragette fund raising stall. On the table can be seen a range of pamphlets, postcards and other propaganda merchandise for sale. At the front of the stall are hung posters advertising the Votes for Women newspaper and promoting A Suffragette Alphabet, written by Leonora Tyson.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Miss Jessie Kenney's Office, Women's Social and Political Union, Headquarters, Clement's Inn, July 1911. Jessie Kenney, younger sister of Annie, was personal secretary to Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence. The map on the back wall reveals the nationwide scope of the suffragette campaign.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Vera Holme (1881-1969) chauffeur to the Women's Social and Political Union dressed in her purple, white and green uniform. Vera was a member of both the Women's Social and Political Union and the Actresses' Franchise League.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	This Is Our First Task', propaganda postcard published by the National Women's Social and Political Union.	WSPU	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Portrait postcard of the Suffragette Norah Balls wearing the Summer WSPU 'uniform'. The suffragette regalia and colour scheme was introduced in June 1908. During the winter months members of the Women's Social and Political Union were required to wear 'full dress uniform' of a ' white frock with regalia and colours' to all indoor meetings and breakfast receptions. During the summer months this uniform was also worn to all outdoor processions and rallies.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Despatch department of the Women's Social and Political Union Headquarters at Clement's Inn. From this office at WSPU headquarters the weekly Votes for Women newspaper was despatched throughout the country.	WSPU	1911	MoL

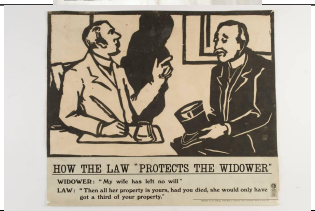
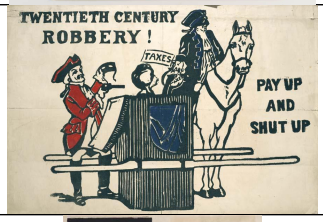
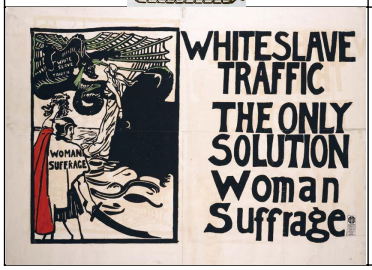
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic Postcard. The Arrest of Capt. C.M. Gonne, Member of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfrancisement, Parliament Square, 18 November 1910. This militant society was founded in 1910 by Victor Duval as a male counterpart to the WSPU.	WSPU	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Flora Drummond and a group of suffragettes on a steam launch opposite the terrace of the House of Commons. Flora is shown addressing members of parliament, inviting them to Women's Sunday, the first major demonstration organised by the Women's Social and Political Union (W.S. P.U.) on 21 June 1908.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Women's Sunday, Hyde Park, 21 June 1908. This 'monster meeting' was organised by the Women's Social and Political Union with military precision. Trains were specially chartered to bring in thousands of suffragettes from all over Britain. Frederick Pethick-Lawrence,a senior figure in the Women's Social and Political Union, persuaded the authorities to remove a quarter of a mile of park railings to accommodate the seven processions, accompanied by 30 bands, that gathered in Hyde Park from seven different directions around London. Crowds gathered to watch different groups of suffragettes parade 700 handmade banners and to hear 80 women give speeches from temporary platforms around the park.	WSPU	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic Postcard. A 'poster parade' of Ealing suffragettes advertising a meeting to be held on Ealing Common on 1 June 1912. This was one of a series of weekly demonstrations held on the common to show public demand for women's suffrage. As well as the advertised speakers, three local men also took the platform. The Ealing WSPU's branch was based at 35 Warwick Road.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic Postcard. A pararsol parade in Brighton of Suffragettes selling The Suffragette weekly newspaper, April, 1914. From left to right are: Miss Reid, Mrs Goodier, Miss Gye, Mrs Brandon, Miss Rae, Mrs Bouvier. Parasol parades were a regular feature of the union's sales drives to increase its newspaper circulation in the summer months. Brighton and Hove was one of the first WSPU branches, founded in may 1907.	WSPU	1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic Postcard. Emma Sproson (left) and a fellow suffragette chalking the pavement, 1907. Pavement chalking was regarded as one of the most effective means of advertising meetings. As suffragettes wrote with the purple, white and green chalk a crowd assembled to 'watch the announcement...develop under the hand of the chalker'. Suffragettes who volunteered for 'chalking parties' were advised to go in twos or threes.	WSPU	1907	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic Postcard. The Woman's Press shop, 156 Charing Cross Road. As well as propaganda material, postcards and pamphlets, the shop also sold a range of goods in the purple, white and green colour scheme. These included fashion accessories, sashes and badges.	WSPU	1911	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic postcard. Imprisoned Suffragist Leaders postcard, 1912. Mrs Pankhurst and Mr and Mrs Pethick-Lawrence all served prison terms and endured force feeding during their campaign (PHM).	WSPU	1912	PHM
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Votes for Women' Postcard of Charlotte Despard Issued by Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) (Manchester, England, founded 1903) Datec.1908 Mediumcard and ink	WSPU	c. 1908	Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums

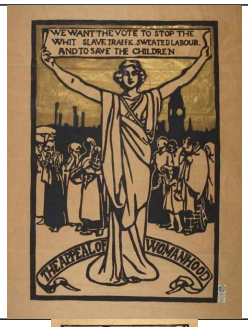
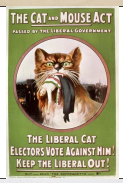
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Photographic Postcard. Suffragette procession and Hyde Park Rally, July 23rd 1910. The demonstration was organised jointly by the WSPU and Women's Freedom League in support of the Women's Conciliation Bill being debated in parliament at the time. Two processions converged on Hyde Park, one from the west and one from the east. The Women's Freedom League, shown in this photograph, organised a Roman theme for the west procession designed by Edith Craig and Laurence Houseman that focused on Justice and Victory. At the forefront of the procession can be seen the WSPU Drum and Fife band. The east procession, organised by the WSPU, incorporated an 'Oriental' theme.	WSPU / WFL	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	One in a series of picture postcards satirising 'Types of Anti-Suffragists'. In this postcard the cartoon depicts 'The nice old gentleman who wouldn't refuse the ladies anything bless 'em'. Louisa Thompson (artist).		1909-1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Pro-suffrage propaganda postcard captioned 'What may Happen, Take it away my boy! I've not been consulted in the making of this pie, and as it's a present I must pay for I won't accept it! (Sent to Christabel Pankhurst).		1907-1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Postcard issued as a campaign flyer for the General Election 1918, urging the electorate to vote for Christabel Pankhurst on Polling Day, Saturday December 14th 1918. Christabel Pankhurst stood at Smethwick in the December 1918 election as the Women's Party candidate, with the backing of the Coalition government. Her platform was to secure a lasting peace based on obtaining material guarantees against future German aggression; to improve the social conditions of the working class and to crusade against Bolshevism and 'shirkers'. She was also in favour of co-operative housekeeping and the provision of music and refreshments in public houses to make them more respectable for women. Although Christabel received over 8,500 votes she did not, however, succeed in winning the seat of Smethwick, losing to the Labour candidate by just 775 votes.		1918	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	This is 'The House' that man built'. One in a series of 12 postcards commercially produced and designed by the artist 'B.B', with both 'pro' and 'anti' suffrage sentiments. Message on the reverse, addressed to Emmeline Pankhurst, possibly refers to the Women's Parliament organised for 30 June at Caxton Hall.		1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	This is The House that man built', one of a set of 12 commercial postcards signed 'B.B' that offered both 'pro and 'anti' female suffrage messages. This 'pro' suffrage postcard was purchased at Berwick Street Market and sent to Miss Pankhurst at 4 Clement's Inn, London. The image and verse refers to 'The House that man built', the Houses of Parliament, and shows women sitting before the speaker; 'For the men now admit that the ladies have brains'.		1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	One in a set of postcards satirising 'types' of anti-suffragists. Here is depicted 'the gentleman who thinks that women ought not to work and therefore underpays his typist'.		1909-1910	MoL

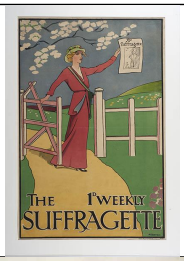
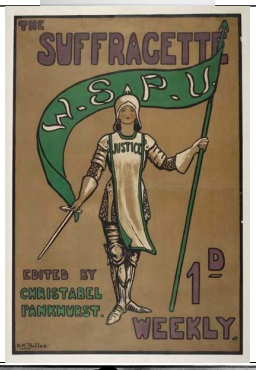
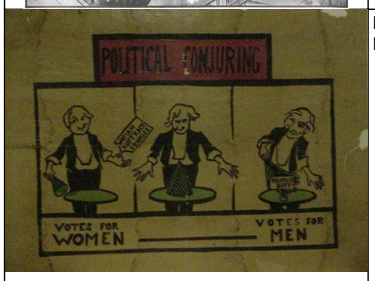
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	The Anti-Suffragist!', with poem, produced by Ernestine Mills as propaganda for the pro-women's suffrage campaign. The artist and enamellist Ernestine Mills designed and published this postcard, together with another entitled 'The New Mrs Partington', independently of any of the suffrage societies.		1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Anti-Suffragist Types, The man who thinks that "Women have no right to Vote because they can't defend their country"'. Picture postcard satirising the arguments of those against female suffrage (Louisa Thompson - artist).		1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Commercial picture postcard depicting a Suffragette under arrest with a satirical verse beneath. Headed 'A Lancashire Lass in Clogs and Shawl Being 'Escorted' Through the Palace Yard, Westminster, 20 March 1907. The image, originally printed on the front page of the Daily Mirror, depicts the young 16 year old Huddersfield mill girl Dora Thewlis being arrested in London during a Suffragette demonstration. Dora was part of the Yorkshire contingent in clogs and shawls that travelled to London by train to participate. In Court she was patronisingly described as 'the little mill hand' and, by the media as 'Baby Suffragette'. The handwritten note on the reverse of the postcard reads, 'Dear I am seding you PC as promised. i think it is very good take me back to P. yard I expect you are [illegible] have just sent a letter to her will write later from your loveing Edward G.W.' Addressed to Miss D Pethick. 12A Cotham Rd, Bristol. D Pethick was Dorothy Pethick, the sister of Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence.		1907	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Undaunted! The Arrest of Miss Grace Roe'. The caption refers to the arrest of Grace Roe, organiser and deputy-leader of the WSPU during the police raid on the Union's headquarters, Lincoln's Inn House 23rd May 1914. Grace was charged with conspiracy & imprisoned in Holloway on 23 May. Here she endured hunger strike and force feeding until she was released on 10 August under the government's amnesty.		1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Emily Wilding Davison (1872-1913). This postcard was issued as an 'in memoriam' card after Emily's death. Emily is depicted in the portrait wearing her graduation robes, having studied at both Holloway (now Royal Holloway) college and St Hugh's Hall, Oxford. Emily joined the Women's Social and Political Union in 1906 and served her first term of imprisonment in March 1909 for taking part in a deputation from Caxton Hall to see Asquith. A multiple offender she went to prison 7 times for a range of offences including obstruction, stone throwing, window smashing, setting fire to pillar-boxes, and assaulting a minister she mistook for the Cabinet Minister David Lloyd George.		1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	This pro-female suffrage propaganda postcard was designed and published by the artist and enamellist Ernestine Mills. The image depicts Mrs Partington of the Anti-Suffrage Society and her attempt to keep out the tide of women's suffrage. She admits that the tide of 'professional women, taxpayers, Liberal, Socialist and Conservative women...keeps rising'..		1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Postcard: Fellow Women, Our Day Dawns at Last About this object Suffragette postcard entited "Fellow Women Our Day Dawns at Last" showing a young girl wearing glasses. Part of the Woman Suffrage Series.		c. 1907	Glasgow Women's Library

	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Postcard: Infant girl in smock and oversized spectacles (slightly crooked), peering about. Caption: "Who Said Rats" Published by E.T.W. Dennis, Woman Suffrage Series, Dainty Series by E T W Dennis. England, Scarborough Inscription and Marks Correspondence: "Dear J(?). Glad you are well and happy - thanks for P.C. I've had no fever lately, knocked myself up, so have had to take it easy the last week, had two visitors for nearly a month. We, too, are waiting for finer weather. Love J.N." Addressed to: Miss Sewell, c/o Mr. J. Cheshire, Whitmore St, Whittlesea, Nr. Peterboro. Postmarked Oakham.		c. 1907	Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Postcard: What! You think a man could do it as well? About this object Smiling infant girl in smock and oversized spectacles with a newspaper. Caption: "Women's suffrage series. What! You think a man could do it as well." Inscription and Marks Correspondence: "Many thanks for P. hope you will get on allright is Buster well scan often see his pretty face we have it in our House yours with love A.C. have lost F." Addressed to: Miss Malins, the Manor House, Hadbury, Nr. Pershore. Postmarked Pershore.		c. 1907	Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Suffragette postcard showing a woman and man walking with the Houses of Parliament in the background. The postcard has a poem "This is "THE HOUSE" that man built, And these are the Members who've been sitting late Coming out arm in arm, from a lengthy debate, Women and men 'neath the shade of Big Ben In the Year - well we cannot exactly say when, But the brave Suffragette very shortly must get, Into "THE HOUSE" that man built. Dated Feb 22 2011, Kensington. B.B. London Series. Maker B.B. London Inscription and Marks Shall we ever be taken as bad as this. Love M Mother ? is perfect. Addressed to Miss Matthews, St Botolphs, Sevenoaks, Kent.		1909-1920	Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephemera	Postcards	Suffragette postcard showing a woman and man walking with the Houses of Parliament in the background. The postcard has a poem "This is "THE HOUSE" that man built, And these are the Members who've been sitting late Coming out arm in arm, from a lengthy debate, Women and men 'neath the shade of Big Ben In the Year - well we cannot exactly say when, But the brave Suffragette very shortly must get, Into "THE HOUSE" that man built. Dated ???. B.B. London Series no. E23 Maker B.B. London.		1909-1920	Glasgow Women's Library
	Printed Ephen	Postcards	Women's Franchise 'At Last' postcard			Kenneth Flo
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This pro-suffrage poster was designed by Emily Ford and published by the Artists' Suffrage League. The image refers to the oppressive situation of powerless women employed in factories as 'sweated labour'.	Artist's Suffrage League	1908	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	WHY WON'T THEY LET THE WOMEN HELP. TARIFF REFORM. EDUCATE ME. UNEMPLOYMENT..... Artists Suffrage League. Man pictured seated coping with three children, FREE TRADE pot etc Why Won't They Let the Women Help.	Artists Suffrage League	1910	PHM
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Poster. THEY HAVE A CHEEK I'VE NEVER BEEN ASKED\"FACTORY ACTS....PUBLISHED BY THE ARTISTS SUFRAGE LEAGUE Mill girl wearing shawl and clogs, looking at notice FACTORY.	Artists Suffrage League	1908	PHM
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	JUSTICE DEMANDS THE VOTE... BRIGHTON AND HOVE WOMEN'S FRANCHISE SOCIETY National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. This poster shows one woman holding a pair of scales, representing justice, and the Houses of Parliament in the background.	NUWSS	1908	PHM

	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propaganda poster, 'Modern chivalry'. Designed and printed at the Suffrage Atelier, the poster shows a knight carrying a 'Votes for Women' jousting stick, thereby referring to the anti-suffragist argument that men are simply being chivalrous and protective by shielding women from political life.	Suffrage Atelier	1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This pro-female suffrage propaganda poster was produced at the Suffrage Atelier in Shepherd's Bush, west London, probably by the artist E T Dana. The Atelier specialised in hand-made wooden block prints, stencilling and etchings. Its visually powerful posters and postcards were used to publicise the pro-suffrage campaign. The limerick on this poster was adapted from Edward Lear. It refers to parliamentary procrastination in relation to the introduction of a female suffrage bill.	Suffrage Atelier	1912-1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This pro-female suffrage propaganda poster refers to the Conciliation Bill. The poster represents the petitioning of government by 180 city and town councils in support of the Conciliation Bill. The bill proposed the franchise (the right to vote) for those women who were responsible for the premises they occupied. Although the bill was introduced into parliament on 14 June 1910, it was never passed.	Suffrage Atelier	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propoganda poster, 'How the Law Protects the Husband'; One in a series of 6 posters designed by 'Mac' for the Suffrage Atelier highlighting legal discrimination against women.	Suffrage Atelier	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propoganda poster, 'She ain't fit to vote'. Published by the Suffrage Atelier the poster makes the comparison between a respectable suffragette, who 'ain't fit to vote', with a drunken man who had the right to vote.	Suffrage Atelier	1909-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This pro-female suffrage propaganda poster was designed and printed at the Suffrage Atelier in Shepherd's Bush, west London. The woman is denied entry at the door of what is presumably the Houses of Parliament, the heart of British 'Political Power'. Attached to the door is a sign saying 'Electors Only'.	Suffrage Atelier	1909-1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This pro-female suffrage propaganda poster was designed and produced by the Suffrage Atelier. The poster refers to the 'no taxation without representation' campaign. John Bull represents the state that is happy to tax women but not prepared to give them the vote to influence how those taxes are spent.	Suffrage Atelier	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propoganda poster, 'What a woman may be, and yet not have the vote. What a man may have been, & yet not lose the vote'. Designed and published by the Suffrage Atelier this poster contrasts 'worthy' women mayors, teachers, mothers, doctors, nurses, factory hands denied the vote with 'unworthy' male convicts, lunatics, white slave traders, drunkards and those unfit for service who have the right to vote.	Suffrage Atelier	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propoganda poster, 'How the Law Protects the Widow'; conserved. One in a series of 6 posters designed by 'Mac' for the Suffrage Atelier highlighting legal discrimination against women.	Suffrage Atelier	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propoganda poster, 'Judy asks a question of the liberal party'. Published by the Suffrage Atelier this poster uses Punch and Judy figures to illustrate suffragette loathing of Prime Minister Asquith, here represented as a puppet. The suffragettes pose the question; how is it that Asquith is still able to block the growing demand for female suffrage even though the majority of Liberal MPs support votes for women?	Suffrage Atelier	1909-1913	MoL

	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This pro-female suffrage propaganda poster was designed and printed at the Suffrage Atelier in Shepherd's Bush, west London. The poster uses Punch and Judy characters to illustrate the view that suffragists would be prepared to help the Conservative Unionists gain power if the party actively supported the Votes for Women campaign.	Suffrage Atelier	1910	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propoganda poster, 'How the law protects the widower'. One in a series of 6 posters designed by 'Mac' for the Suffrage Atelier highlighting legal discrimination against women.	Suffrage Atelier	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This pro-female suffrage propaganda poster refers to the 'no taxation without representation' campaign. The poster represents the Liberal politicians Asquith and Lloyd George as 'Twentieth Century Robbers', happy to tax women but not prepared to give them the vote to influence how those taxes were spent.	Suffrage Atelier	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	The poster refers to the 'no taxation without representation' argument put forward by suffrage supporters. It calls for the reform of laws that impose taxes on women without giving them the right to the vote and, therefore, influence how those taxes are spent.	Suffrage Atelier	1911-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propaganda poster, 'How the Law Protects the Daughters'. One in a series of 6 posters designed by 'Mac' for the Suffrage Atelier highlighting legal discrimination against women.	Suffrage Atelier	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This pro-female suffrage propaganda poster was printed at the Suffrage Atelier in Shepherd's Bush, west London. It was probably designed by the artist E T Dana. The limerick on this poster was adapted from Edward Lear. It refers to the growth of the Votes for Women campaign in comparison with the underdeveloped anti-suffrage campaign here represented as an 'undersized bush'.	Suffrage Atelier	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propoganda poster, 'How the law protects the wife'. One in a series of 6 posters designed by 'Mac' for the Suffrage Atelier highlighting legal discrimination against women.	Suffrage Atelier	1909	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro female suffrage propaganda poster designed by Catherine Courtauld and printed at the Suffrage Atelier. Headed 'Waiting for a Living Wage" the poster depicts an exhausted female worker and refers to the powerless situation of women employed in the sweated industries. The message being that working conditions for these women will only improve once women won the right to vote and gained a voice in parliament.	Suffrage Atelier	1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This female suffrage propaganda poster was designed and printed at the Suffrage Atelier in Shepherd's Bush, west London, in 1912. The poster represents women's suffrage as an armoured knight: securing the right to vote was regarded as the only defence against the sexual and economic exploitation of women. It refers to the oppressive situation of powerless women unable to vote, employed in factories as 'sweated labour'. A major aim of the suffrage movement was to improve the conditions of working-class women by achieving female representation in parliament and trade unions.	Suffrage Atelier	1912	MoL

	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This pro-suffrage poster was designed by the artist Louise Jacobs for the Suffrage Atelier, a group of artists who used art to promote the Votes for Women campaign. The central figure represents a 'Womanly Woman' standing before a group of women representing a chainmaker, a mother, a laundress and a prostitute. The banner held by the central figure above a skyline showing the Houses of Parliament refers to the social reforms the suffragettes hoped would follow female suffrage. The poster was probably designed as a riposte to Harold Bird's poster entitled 'No Votes Thank You', published for the anti-suffrage meeting at the Albert Hall in February 1912.	Suffrage Atelier	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propoganda poster, depicting John and Mrs Bull at Franchise Villa. The poster represents the determination of suffragists to win the vote. The poster was published The Suffrage Atelier, founded in London in February 1909 with the aim 'to encourage Artists to forward the Women's Movement, and particularly the Enfranchisement of Women, by means of pictorial publications'.	Suffrage Atelier	1909-1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propoganda poster, 'The anti-suffrage ostrich'. The poster was designed by Catherine Courtauld, a member of the Suffrage Atelier, who produced handmade prints and stencils to promote the 'Votes for Women' campaign. Here the ostrich represents the anti-suffragists or those opposed to votes for women. Despite the fact that the sun (women's freedom) is rising, the ostrich still buries its head in the sand (Ignorance and stupidity) and insists: 'The sun is not rising'.	Suffrage Atelier	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Pro-Female Suffrage propoganda poster, 'Women underpaid - Men out of work'. Designed and printed at the Suffrage Atelier, the poster urges working men to support the campaign for female suffrage. The argument being that, if women had the vote, they could influence the pay and conditions of all working women.	Suffrage Atelier	1913	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This poster refers to the Prisoner's Temporary Discharge (for Ill Health) Act passed by the Liberal government in 1913. The act allowed all imprisoned suffragettes made ill through hunger striking to be released temporarily, only to be re-imprisoned once they had recovered. The suffragettes renamed this 'letting them go; then catching them again' policy 'The Cat and Mouse Act'.	WSPU	1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Election propoganda poster issued by the Women's Social and Political Union denouncing the Government's treatment of suffragette prisoners. Headed the 'modern inquisition', treatment of political prisoners under a liberal government'; the graphic represents the brutal force-feeding of suffragette prisoners. The poster, issued during the General Election of January-February 1910, urges electors to vote against the Liberal Government. This image was first drawn as a black and white cartoon by A Patriot (Alfred Pearse) for publication on the front page of Votes for Women on 28th January 1910. The publication of this poster, lithographed in green, black, white and brown was first announced in Votes for Women on February 11th 1910 and was intended to 'bring home to the public the terrible ordeal through which nearly 40 women have gone in the cause of political freedom.' The poster was available in two sizes, suitable for hoardings or windows and could be purchased via mail order or in person from The Woman's Press. This example was one of the smaller window versions.	WSPU	1910	MoL

	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Advertisement for The Suffragette newspaper. This poster, designed by Mary Bartels, represents the Suffragette as a feminine 'womanly' woman. The Suffragette was launched as the official newspaper of the Women's Social and Political Union in 1912. Its launch represented a split in the Union as Emmeline and Fred Pethick-Lawrence were purged from the leadership by Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst. As the Pankhursts organised an increasingly militant campaign from their new headquarters at Lincolns Inn House, Kingsway, the Pethick-Lawence's continued to publish Votes for Women at Clement's House, whilst advocating a less extreme militancy.	WSPU	1914	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Poster designed by Hilda Dallas advertising 'The Suffragette' newspaper. From 1912, The Suffragette was the official weekly newspaper of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). In the foreground is an image of Joan of Arc carrying a WSPU flag. Joan of Arc, a 15th-century French soldier canonised for her achievements in battle, was invoked as the patron saint of the suffragettes. 'The Suffragette' referred to her as 'the militant women's ideal. They feel the closest kinship to her and in every word and in every act of hers they recognise the same spirit as that which strengthens them to risk their liberty and endure torture for the sake of freedom'.	WSPU	1912	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	This poster first appeared as a cartoon in the 'Daily Chronicle', April 1907. It represents the growth of the campaign for female suffrage by showing the dominant silhouette of a woman haunting the Houses of Parliament.		1907	MoL
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	POLITICAL CONJURING.VOTES FOR WOMEN-VOTES FOR MEN.WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROMISE. MANHOOD SUFF. In 1908 Herbert Asquith became Liberal Prime Minister. Asquith was unpopular with the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (1887) and the Women's Social and Political Union (1903) because he opposed women's right to vote. During the 1910 General Election Asquith declared that, if he were re-elected, he would allow women with property the right to vote. In 1911 Asquith back-pedalled and unveiled legislation to give all men the vote but keep women disenfranchised. The WSPU began a window breaking campaign and attacked Asquith's house.		c. 1911	PHM
	Printed Ephemera	Posters	Poster, block printed (?), paper, black, red, gold and cream stylised image of three men and a woman standing in a group, woman wearing red gown, 'Votes for Women' ribbon draped across them, black printed inscription: '182 CITY AND TOWN COUNCILS HAVE PETITIONED GOVERNMENT TO GIVE FACILITIES FOR PASSING THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL', black owl logo and black printed inscription in bottom front right corner: 'DESIGNED & PRINTED AT THE ATELIER 6 STANLAKE VILLAS SHEPHERD'S BUSH LONDON W.', red and gold border, cream ground, laminated.		1913	LSE Women's Library
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Rose Lamartine Yates collection. Teaset, teapot. Makers mark reads 'Longton Williamsons England'	WSPU		LSE Women's Library
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Rose Lamartine Yates collection. Teaset, plate. Makers mark reads 'Longton Williamsons England'	WSPU		LSE Women's Library
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Rose Lamartine Yates collection. Teaset, cup and saucer. Makers mark reads 'Longton Williamsons England'	WSPU		LSE Women's Library

	Dress & Textiles	Tablecloth	Rose Lamartine Yates collection. Handmade tablecloth			LSE Women's Library
	Banners & Signage	Flag	Rose Lamartine Yates collection.'One of the 2 flags found on Emily Wilding Davison's body when she stopped The King's Horse, while running The Derby Race - 4th June 1913. Presented by Rose Lamartine-Yates.'		1913	LSE Women's Library
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Cup from WFL 'Dare To Be Free' teaset. No makers mark.	WFL		LSE Women's Library
	Merchandise / Commodity	Ceramics	Plate from WFL 'Dare To Be Free' teaset. Maker's mark reads 'J Abrahams Pembroke House. 133 Oxford Street London. W.	WFL		LSE Women's Library
	Dress & Textiles	Bags	WFL Bag Hodgeson sisters	WFL		LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Speaker fabric pin			LSE Women
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Holloway Badge			LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Embroidered Brooch			LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Grace Roe Hunger Striker medal in box			LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Pins & Badges	Embroidered 'Votes For Women' and Convict's Arrow pin			LSE Women's Library
	Personal Adornment	Medals	Mary Taylor medal			LSE Women's Library