PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA

MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Master Two Literature and Civilisation

The Rise and Evolution of Women's Rights and The Creation of a New Female Voice

Case Study: The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movements (1902-1933)

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of master in Literature and Civilisation

Submitted By: Bendjeddia Kaouter Chafia

Board of Examiners:

President: Dr. Djafri Yasmina

Examiner: Mr. Serir

Supervisor: Mr. Cherif Teguia

Academic Year: 2018 – 2019

Dedication

To my loving family I dedicate this work …

To my One and Only Parents, Father and Mother…

This work could not have been realized if it were not for you, the only people who sacrificed many precious moments in their lives so that I could have many of them in mine. I am only here today because of how much time and love you have invested in me and for my benefit, no matter how much thankful I may be, down in my heart it will never ever be enough, Thank You for believing in me. In fact, Thank You for EVERYTHING

To my Dear Husband Abderrahmane …

To you my biggest supporter, to my other Half, I dedicate this work…

You have been here through it all, your support has always meant everything to me. It is because of your continued encouragements that I continue to believe in myself. Dear Husband, God has blessed me with you and so far, You have brought nothing but the best out of me and always been my vivid source of inspiration through your Love, respect and support.

Thank you Endlessly.

To my Dear Brother and Sisters …

Mehdi, Ikram, Wafae, and Bouchera
You are just what completes me in every way, you inspire me, you make me complete, you are what I call HOME …
Thank you for being the Best Siblings that anyone can ever ask for

To my Dear Family in Law …

Father in law, Mother in law, brother and sister in law, Djalili and Khadija…
I could not miss dedicating this work to you as well, God knows how much I love and respect you …

To my Dear BFFs …

Yousra, Hadjer, and Bouchera
You are the dearest and most precious people to my heart; I could not ask for better friends
I am blessed to call you my Best Friends Forever.

To the Best Classmates …
Souhila , Chahinez and Wafae .

Acknowledgments

This Dissertation is nothing like what I thought I would write when I began this project. The process of transitioning from one chapter to another would not have been possible without the support of many wonderful people.

In particular, I would like to thank and acknowledge the support of my supervisor, my mentor, Mr. Teguia Cherif, He deserves special thanks for his patience with me. My greatest hope is to someday accomplish half of what he has accomplished in his professional life as a professor. I am thankful and grateful to him for his continued help and continued encouragements. He went above the call of duty to guide me through one of the most challenging periods of my life. It is thanks to him that I embarked on this project.

In addition, I owe additional thanks to the few, rare, significant and great professors who taught and inspired me during my last five years of university, Mr. Teguia, Mrs. Jaafri, Mr. Bahous and Mr. Belkhir, the names I will forever respect ,cherish , and look up to .It has been a privilege being taught by you. Finally, special thanks to Mr. Serir, for his kind heart, and for introducing us to Civilisation in 1st year of University in the best way a student can ever ask for, he is definitely one of those unique teachers whom we cross once in a life time.

Finally, I must thank everyone who have participated in the process of my dissertation. I have had much experiences in my fieldwork. And To those who passionately treated me as a researcher with warmth and respect.

Thank you for Brightening the Process.

Abstract

This dissertation examins the history of the origins of the Women's Liberation Movements (WLM) in Britain circa 1902-1933.Whilst we have well-established studies and documentations on the Suffrage Movements in England, Little work has been done on the background of this new social political movements in Britain as a whole, more precisely, Scotland. Examining life histories particularly from the perspective of the roots of feminism and women's revolutions and fight for their rights all over Britain, this dissertation will examine the Scottish suffrage movements and seeks to demonstrate that Women's Liberation has been empowered and was based on the substantial union and presence of not only women from England, but also from Scotland. This dissertation also seeks to contribute to the gradual growing historiography of Women's liberation in England as well as in Scotland, and to create a picture of the women who made 'first wave feminism' a movement. The research will also investigate the WLM's origins on the international level, and most importantly shed light on the historical backgrounds of Women's suffrage movements in Scotland and to what extent they were representative of the movement.

Key words:

Suffrage, Scotland, Revolutions, Feminism, Movements, Liberation, Women

Table of Contents

Chapter Three: The Scottish Suffragettes and the Campaign to Vote

List of Acronyms

- **GWSSWS**: Glasgow and West of Scotland Society of Women's Suffrage
- **HQ:** Headquarters
- **ILP:** Independent Labour Party
- **LNS:** London's National Society
- **MNSWS:** Manchester National Society of Women's Suffrage
- **MWP:** Married Women's Property
- **NUWSS:** National Union of Women's Suffrage Society
- **UK:** United Kingdoms
- **WFL:** Women's Freedom League
- **WLM:** Women's Liberal Movement
- **WSPU:** Women's Social and Political Union

General Introduction

Over one hundred years ago, British women won the right to vote with the passage of the Representation of The People Act in 1918.This was following decades of campaigning, petitions, and very unlikely acts of radical protest. Despite the fact that the decades that followed witnessed groundbreaking research on this very subject, scholars were still noting the dearth of research on the subject.

The popular depiction of the women's suffrage movement in London is based on "suffragettes" chaining themselves to railings, marching for the cause, breaking windows, getting arrested and being forcibly fed by prison authorities. However, the movement was more spread than studies might suggest. As support grew throughout the country, Scottish women were also playing an important part in the campaign for the parliamentary right to vote.

The story of the campaign for votes for women of both the constitutional and militant campaigning in the Uk has for the most part always been told from the point of view of the women suffrage in England. That is from a London-centric perspective. That is when searching for references about Scots women or events in Scotland in the histories of the suffrage movement we would find very little information about Scotts women, If Scotland is mentioned at all.

In the recent years, the focus of suffrage studies has returned to the London leadership, particularly with the publication of three Pankhurst biographies by Paula Bartley, June Purvis and Martin Pugh and the heated exchange in press over the different assessments of the Pankhurst women.

Scotland was and important focus throughout the campaign for the vote, particularly because several major political figures in the Liberal government held seats in the country in particular, and Britain in general.

In addition, the militant society that broke away from the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1907, the Women's Freedom League (WFL) was particularly strong in Scotland, and the leaders of other suffrage groups, such as the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, were based in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

In this light, this dissertation is dedicated to answer the following questions:

- How have women in the Scottish regions been invigorated and active for the same cause as of women in England?
- Why should the Scottish suffragettes also receive the recognition they deserve for their fight?
- To what extent were Scottish suffragettes' stories and adventures rebellious and passionate as they were in England?

As possible answers to the mentioned questions, the following hypothesis are suggested:

- Scotland's suffragettes played an important role in the fight for women's votes.
- The Scottish suffragettes were determined, and their activities were outrageous, shocking or at least daring, and this is fairly enough to guarantee them the recognition and the coverage they deserve.
- Scottish Suffragettes, and regardless of the cause of their militancy, many Scottish women took risks and suffered the consequences of their actions to ensure women will get the vote

To this end, this work has been conducted and divided into 3 chapters. The first one, titled The Rise and Evolution of Feminism, is devoted to highlight the main spheres, aspects, the history of Feminism and the Feminist Movements and ideologies which have developed over the years. The second chapter sheds lights on women's suffrage movements fight for their rights in Britain, more precisely, the right to vote and to have equal rights as those of men. Finally, the last chapter is dedicated to recount the story of individual, resolute and passionate Scottish suffragettes whose lives have been hidden from history, but who now are finally receiving the recognition they deserve.

Chapter One: The Rise and Evolution of Feminism

This chapter is dedicated to highlight the main spheres,aspects, and an overview of Feminism. It depicts the numerous feminist movements and ideologies which have developed over the years. This chapter mainly showcases some of the significant movements of Feminists and Women's Liberation movements through history.

1- Definition of Feminism

Feminism is a range of social and political movements, and ideologies that share a typical goal to establish, and win the political, economic, personal, and social equality of the genders. Feminism incorporates the position that societies prioritize the male point of view, and that women are treated unfairly within those societies. Efforts to change that include fighting gender stereotypes and seeking to determine instructional,educational and professional opportunities for women that are equal to those for men.the feminists concern themselves with women's inferior position in society and with discrimination encountered by women because of their sex. Furthermore, one could argue that all feminists call for changes in the social, economic, political or cultural order, to reduce and eventually overcome this discrimination against women. Feminism is defined by Merriam-Webster as "the theory of the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes" and "organized activity on behalf of women's rights and interests."(Meriam 36)

2- The feminist movements (1830's-2000s)

Feminist movements referto a series of political campaigns for reforms on problems like procreative rights, violence, maternityleave, equal pay, women's right to vote, harassment, and sexual violence, all of that comprise the label of feminism and therefore the campaign

Feministmovements have campaigned and still campaign for women's rights, together with the proper to vote, to carry place, to work, to earn equal pay, to own property, to receive education, to enter contracts, to own equal rights at intervals wedding, and to be granted a maternity leave. Feminists have also worked to ensure access to legal abortions and social integration, and to protect women and girls from rape, sexual harassment, and domestic violence. Changes in dress and acceptable physical activity have often been part of feminist movements.

Some students contemplate feminist campaigns to be a main force behind major and historical social changes for women's rights, particularly in the West, where they are near-universally credited with achieving women's suffrage, gender neutrality in English, reproductive rights for women (including access to contraceptives and abortion), and the right to enter into contracts and own property (Davin 68).

Although feminist advocacy is, and has been, principally targeted on women's rights, some feminists, argue for the inclusion of men's liberation within its aims because they believe that men are also harmed by traditional gender roles. Feminist theory, which emerged from feminist movements, aims to understand the nature of gender inequality by examining women's social roles and lived experience. It has developed theories in a variety of disciplines in order to respond to issues concerning gender.

3- First Seeds of Feminism Worldwide (mid 1800s)

Numerous feminist movements and ideologies have developed over the years and represented completely different viewpoints and aims.The history of feminism consists of the movements and ideologies that have aimed toward equal rights for women. While feminists around the world have differed in causes, goals, and intentions depending on time, culture, and country.Most Western feminist historians assert that all movements

that work to obtain women's rights should be considered as Feminist movements, even when they did not apply the term to themselves. Some other historians limit the term "feminist" to the modern feminist movement and itsprogeny, and use the label "protofeminist"[1]toexplain earlier movements (Hannam 34). The Modern Western feminist history is conventionally split into three time periods, or "waves", each with slightly different aims based on prior progress.

- **3.1- First-wave Feminism(mid 1800s-1920s)**

Thefirst-wavefeminism was a period of feminist activity that occurred throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Western world.It focused on overturning legal inequalities, particularly addressing issues of women's suffrage. It centered on legal issues, mainly on gaining the right to vote. It gradually began in the 1830s and was mainly about women's suffrage. During this time, women were still regarded by society as the property of their father or husband. Women recognized that, to gain equal status in society, they first had to gain some level of political power. This movement consisted mainly of well-educated middle-class white women, though in the early stages it was "interwoven with other reform movements, such as abolition and temperance" and initially closely involved women.

The Victorian ideal created a duality of distinctive "separate spheres" for men and women. In this ideology, men were to occupy the public sphere (the space of wage labour and politics) and women the private sphere (the space of home and children.) This "feminine ideal", was typified in Victorian conduct books like Mrs Beaton's Book of Household Management and Sarah Stickney Ellis's The Woman of England book.Both

[1]Protofeminism is a philosophical tradition that anticipates modern feminism in an era when the concept of feminism was still unknown, i. e. before the 20th century

Mrs Beaton's and Sarah's books truly symbolized the Victorian feminine ideal as Queen Victoria herself disparaged the thought of feminism, that she delineated privately letters calling them "mad, wicked folly of 'Woman's Rights' (Moore 675).

- **3.2- Second-wave Feminism (1960s–1980s)**

It has broadened the debate to include cultural inequalities, gender norms, and the role of women in society. It came right after World War II, and focused mainly on sexuality, the workplace, and reproductive rights. Many women involved with this movement were already involved in other civil rights movements, but felt that their voices were not being heard because of their gender and felt gender equality issues needed to be addressed before any real progress could be made. The feminist movement of this era was widely criticized for focusing primarily on the problems of middle-class white women, and ignoring concerns of other marginalized groups, though many women involved in feminist causes were also involved in other civil rights movements.

- **3.3-Third-wave Feminism** (1990s–2000s)

It refers to diverse strains of feminist activity, seen by third-wavers themselves both as a continuation of the second wave and as a response to its perceived failures. The 19th-century feminists reacted to cultural inequities together with the pernicious, widespread acceptance of the Victorian image of women's "proper" role and "sphere".

This third wave feminism began with women who were born with the privileges that first and second wave feminists fought for. Third wave feminists continue fighting for equality for women. Primary issues that third wave feminists are concerned with include closing the pay

gap between male and female workers, reproductive rights, and ending violence against women in the United States and abroad (Dorey 223).

There are often arguments today about who should represent feminism, but the suffrage fight suggests the need for the whole spectrum: the rabble-rousers, theorists, dogged campaigners, sympathetic politicians, those whose anger keeps them motivated, those who quietly, conscientiously chip away at issues that make others give up in despair and a need to those who refuse to see any conceivable option but victory. Women like the one who wrote to the Daily Telegraph in 1913. "Sir, everyone seems to agree upon the necessity of putting a stop to Suffragist outrages; but no one seems certain how to do so. There are two, and only two, ways in which this can be done. Both will be effectual. Kill every woman in the United Kingdom. Give women the vote. Yours truly, Bertha Brewster." (Annie, accessed in 23/05/2019)

4. Timeline of the Women's Liberation Movements (1960s-1980s)

There is a debate over equality, its meaning and how or if it may be achieved, and its relevance to women’s liberation. There are proofs that women all over the world have struggled to be equal to men and fought to valorize their differences from men. Women claimed for equality by force and perseverance. These are just a few of the many accomplishments and historical events that provoked and gave birth for more independent women societies. The following list is a list of one of the well-known contributions of women’s fight for liberation starting from the 1960s to the 1980s, it illustrates the struggle and the fights of courageous, significant and vulnerable women.

Chapter One: The Rise and Evolution of Feminism

To start with,on the 4th of December 1961: The contraceptive pill was launched as a means of birth control. The pill suppresses women's fertility using the hormones progestogen or estrogen (or both). At first it was available for married women only, but a few years later, in 1967, availability was extended for all women. The impact was revolutionary for women and men but also revealed that sexual liberation did not always mean women's liberation. The same year in 1967, the 27th of October, the United Kingdoms adopted the Abortion Act which legalized abortion in the Uk, for women who were up 24 weeks pregnant. However, Women had first to receive consent from doctors who had to agree that continuing the pregnancy would be harmful either to the woman's physical or mental health, or to the child's physical or mental health when it was born. This was another step-in feminist struggle who won two bottles over birth control pills and abortion.

As women kept fighting, to gain more rights and break the chains society had imposed them, many saw that much had to be done before reaching equal status with men. For example, prior to 1964, women’s property had always been men’s property, father or husband. This was outrageous especially when one considers the fact that when married, a woman was no longer the sole owner of her property. Instead, it was her husband who became the real property owner. Hopefully on March1964, the Married Women's Property Act (MWP)was first introduced in 1870. It allowed women to be the legal owners of money they earned, and to inherit property. Prior to this Act, everything a woman owned or earned became her husband's property when she is married. However, revisions in 1882 and 1893 extended married women's rights. The 1964 revision allowed married women to keep half of any savings they had made from the allowance paid to them by their husbands. This gave women a little more financial independence, but also provided official recognition that many women were still dependent on their husbands for their income in the first place.

In addition, in the cursus of women's fight for their rights, the fight for equal pay was on the top of the list. Few years after these feminist movements have started to become more accepted among women,on the 7th of June 1968, 850 women machinists at the Ford factory in Dagenham went on strike over equal pay. They disputed the classification of their work as unskilled - a label which seemed to justify them being paid less than their male colleagues. The struggle to gain equal pay has never stopped, it continued to reach the 1970s. on February the 27th 1970, a national conference was set in Oxford 1970. More than 600 women attended the first national Women's Liberation Movements conference, with a desire to debate a wide variety of issues affecting women. The first four WLM demands were discussed:

- Equal pay
- Equal educational and job opportunities
- Free contraception and abortion on demand
- Free 24-hour nurseries

Two years later, in 1972 The Women's Liberation Movement sought to unionize night cleaners, who worked in dangerous and low-paid jobs .The organization then set for strikes to help these people , the strikes were called Night Cleaners' strikes, two strikes which resulted greater awareness of the cleaners' (mainly women) working conditions eventhough the unionization was difficult, especially as cleaning work was increasingly privatized during the 1970s.

Four years later, in July 1974 another conference was held by the same organization, the WLM conference, it was in Edinburgh. It focused on two demands which were added to the first four demands introduced in the previous conference in 1970, the two demands were:

- Legal and financial independence for all women
- The right to a self-defined sexuality and an end to discrimination against lesbians

These conferences set by the WLM encouraged and motivated women all over Britain to join the fight for the same cause. This resulted the set up of many other conferences around Britain. In the same year in Aberystyth, a Welsh National Women's Liberation Conference was held, it consisted of encouraging women to develop a strong independent network of feminist activists in Wales.

Another National WLM conference was held in Newcastle in April 1976. It Issued included debates over the 6th demand, class and lesbianism. There were discussions on the potential of a further demand being added: calling on men to share housework and childcare equally. Furthermore, also another National WLM conference, was held in London in 1977. The conference was notable for the appearance of 'revolutionary feminism' led by Sheila Jeffreys.

These national conferences of the WLM continued the struggle for change, in 1978 a final National WLM conference was held in Birmingham The final national WLM conference demand was added to the first six:

- Freedom for all women from intimidation by the threat or use of violence or sexual coercion regardless of marital status; and an end to the laws, assumptions and institutions which perpetuate male dominance and aggression to women. Also, amid some controversy, 'the

right to a self-defined sexuality' was split off and added as a preface to all the demands.

Finally, one of the greatest achievements wasa first woman becomes Prime Minister. Margaret Thatcher, a Conservative politician and MP for Finchley from 1959-1992, became the first woman Prime Minister of the UK in 1979. Serving until 1990, her 11 years in post make her the longest serving British Prime Minister. Her hard-liner politics led to her being known as the 'Iron Lady'.

Later in the 1980s, the event of the first woman becoming a prime minister inspired other women to take the lead in different fields. Jenni Murray became a regular presenter of Woman's Hour on Radio 4: Woman's Hour has been broadcast on Radio 4 since 1973. It is a daily program that offers a female perspective on the world through reports, interviews and debates on issues affecting women's lives. Presenters have included Jean Metcalfe, Judith Chalmers and Sue MacGregor and Jenny Murray is currently still a regular presenter of the program. Another remarkable event was the first black woman who was elected to the House of Commons, Diane Abbott. She was a Labor politician and has served as an MP for Hackney North and Stoke Newington since 1987. She has been a Shadow Minister for Public Health since 2010. When she was elected to Parliament in 1987, she became the first black woman to be elected to the House of Commons. In addition, another woman has broken a dogma,Julie Hayward was the first woman to win a case under the amended Equal Pay Act. Julie Hayward was a canteen cook at the Cammell Laird shipyard in Liverpool. Her work was valued as less skilled than that of her male colleagues and she was therefore paid less. She took her case to court under the amended Equal Pay Act and eventually, won her battle. (Thomas, accessed in 24/05/2019)

5-Conclusion

The evolution of Feminism has been by far one of the greatest and most significant evolutions through history. However, it is in Britain that these feminist movements have been most active and revolutionary. Britain was the birth place of one of the glorious feminist movements in history namely the Suffragists and Suffragettes campaigns. Both campaigned for women's right to vote leading to the awaken of women's liberation movements all over the world .Therefore, It should be noted that tremendous progress in the fight for women's liberation has been made thanks to the bravest of feminist movements in Britain, which explains why the next chapter is dedicated to pay tribute to the suffrage movements in the UK.

Chapter Two: History of The Suffrage Movements in The United Kingdom

According to BBC history, the 19th century women had no place in national politics and could not stand as candidates for Parliament.Women in Britain were not even allowed to vote, it was assumed that women had no need to vote because their husbands would take responsibility in political matters whereas a woman's role was always seen to be child rearing and taking care of the home. In response to this notion, the women's suffrage movements were born. This chapter is thus devoted to shed light on women's suffrage movements fight and struggle for their rights in Britain, more precisely, the right to vote and to have equal rights as those of men.

1- An Introduction to Women's Suffrage Movements (1847, 1928)

The women's suffrage movement was a period of time where women, not only fought for the right to vote, but also for rights which would extend into the home life and into the workplace. This movement was a time of unification, struggle, protest, disappointment and even violence. For more than 60 years women attempted to petition to demand for their rights but it wasn't until the year 1918 that they moved one step ahead by winning one battle when they gained a limited right to vote. Indeed, with the Representation of People Bill, women over 30 had at least the right to vote in England. This period is often considered to have begun in 1866 and ended in 1928, however women's rights were addressed many years before this in 1792 when Mary Wollstonecraft published her Vindication of The Rights of Women. This book initially drew attention and was a beg for a change in women's role in society, education and politics.

In the 1860s several organizations were founded such as the London National Society for women suffrage (LNS), Sheffield's Association for female suffrage and the

women's liberal Association were influential organizations and also stepping stones and rallying for bigger changes.

Furthermore, in 1903 the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) had its first meeting, this organization was formed by one of the most recognizable names in this movement, namely Emmeline Pankhurst, a feminist leader. According to June Purvis in her book “Emmeline Pankhurst a Biography”, the activist is remembered today at least in popular memory as the heroine of the votes for women campaign that was waged in Britain. Indeed, Emmeline Pankhurst was a key figure in the long struggle women undertook to gain political recognition.

First, Emmeline Pankhurst is known for stating in one of her speeches that “You must make women count as much as men, you must have an equal standard of morals and the only way to enforce that is through giving women political powers so that you can get the equal world standard registered in the laws of the country ,it is the only way” (Rick 3). Her daughter Sylvia said “I know we will create a society where there are no rich or poor, no people without work or beauty in their lives, where money itself will disappear, where we shall all be brothers and sisters, where everyone will have enough”. (Rick 2)

2-Women’s Social and Political Union (1903)

The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) was founded at 62 Nelson Street, Manchester on Sunday 10 October 1903. In its early years there was little to distinguish this group from numerous other contemporary suffrage societies and committees apart from its particular geographical and political location within the Northern labour movement. The WSPU initially remained small and parochial, its entire membership had barely reached thirty.

This anonymity was soon to alter on 13 October 1905 when the WSPU first used militant methods as part of its campaign for the vote. Two of its members, Christabel Pankhurst, a member of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), and Annie Kenney, a mill girl and trade unionist whom Christabel had met at an ILP meeting. Both went to the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, where Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary was speaking and attempted to make noise by making themselves heard. The young women asked the politician whether his government intended to extend the parliamentary franchise to women and had brought with them a banner carrying the words 'Votes for Women'. When they got no response to their question, they began to heckle, and attempted to unfurl the banner, to be ultimately forcibly ejected. Outside, a crowd surrounded them, but when Christabel began an important meeting, the police tried to move her out. A brief scuffle ensued during which Christabel allegedly spat at police men, thus committing an assault. The two women were arrested for assault and obstruction, and having refused the option of a fine, they were sent to Strange Ways Goal for one week. The Labour leader Keir Hardie, a close friend of the Pankhurst family, telegraphed immediately to the WSPU: '... a dastardly outrage, but do not worry, it will do immense good to the Cause. Can I do anything?" (Bartely 124)

In the popular understanding of suffrage history, the political origins of the WSPU are still often neglected. Recent work on the union has begun to make it possible to reconsider how the organization functioned at the branch level. Studies of the History Workshop Journal of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and of the districts of Merseyside, Portsmouth, the Black Country and the East End of London and of individual branches in Wimbledon and Lewisham have added to the knowledge of people the experiences of the WSPU members and challenged dominant portrayals of the WSPU. Rather than comprising a small group of middle-class London ladies, at a branch level it was a much broader and more

flexible body than it had previously been thought. In revealing that, local networks characteristically linked different suffrage and political organizations all over the world.

The WSPU is over all widely known organization that was one of many to home the suffragettes. According to the BBC archive, the WSPU marked the start of a radical new phase in the fight to win the right to vote for British woman, the campaign would send shockwaves throughout the polite society of the Edwardian drawing-room and provoke civil disobedience on a massive scale.

3-The Early Campaigns for The Right to Vote in Britain

3.1- The Suffragists movements and the (NWSS)

A suffragist, by definition, is anyone who advocates for enfranchisement, or the right to vote (Banks 32).

The suffragists were a national organization named (NUWSS) created in 1847 and lead by Millicent Garett Fawcett. A group of women who believed the vote would be achieved through peaceful campaigning, and gained a lot of support for the cause. The suffragists were a non-radical group of women for they believed in peaceful methods to achieve their end goal. their approaches did in fact tend to make them more favorable to the people in London.

3.2- suffragettes

In the early 20th century, after the suffragists failed to make significant progress, a new generation of activists emerged. These women became known as the suffragettes, and they were willing to take direct action for the cause. The word suffragette, however, was used to describe strictly women, the type who were disrupting local meetings, getting arrested, and

going on hunger strikes in prison. The word might be used to mock them, and it might have connotations of disapproval, but it was also associated with action, disruption, and demanding to be heard no matter the cost. In 1906, British journalist Charles E. Hands of the Daily Mail coined the term “suffragette” to mock and diminish those women of the movement who sought the vote through “violent” or “militant” means—such as arson, hunger strikes, or destruction of public property among other tactics—thus gaining them the new title. Adding the diminutive suffix, “ette,” was seen as a derogatory term meant to minimize these women and distinguish them from “constitutional” suffrage advocates. (Dicenzo 115)

The suffragettes (WSPU) lead by Emeline Pankhurst, a smaller organization that believed more violent tactics would give them the vote soon, however these methods often lost support for the cause. Members of the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU), the radical branch of the British suffrage movement, embraced Hands’ intended insult and called themselves “suffra-GET-tes,” with a hard “g,” to signify that they were going to “get” the right to vote. By 1914, the WSPU appropriated the demeaning term as the title of their newspaper. British suffragettes did not, as a rule, allow men into their group and campaigned through more direct action and civil disobedience such as harassing Members of Parliament (MPs) and disrupting meetings. Many others, became involved in arson, window smashing, and other violent attacks—although never on human life. Consequently, many of the women were arrested, treated brusquely by the police and imprisoned and forced fed. Even though suffragette's obtained publicity for the cause through their almost fanatical actions, many people thought that they were too extreme, and suffragists thought they were actually damaging the cause (Pankhurst 327). However, although the suffragists and the suffragette’s methods were different, they shared the same main goal to influence

the opinions of important people to persuade them that women should soon or later have the vote.

3.3-Millicent Fawcett and the National Union of Women Suffrage Society (1847, 1929)

Millicent Fawcett was born in 1847 and married the Liberal MP Henry Fawcett in 1867. She began a writing and speaking career – discussing women's education and women's suffrage, among other issues. After the death of Lydia Becker, Fawcett emerged as the suffrage movement's leader and presided over a committee that eventually became the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) in 1897. Fawcett found support among middle-class and university women as well as working-class women who preferred the NUWSS's peaceful, legal campaigning methods.

Fawcett recognized the positive effect of the First World War on the suffrage campaign and encouraged campaigners to accept the compromise of women over 30 being enfranchised. She resigned as president of the NUWSS in 1919 but was still heavily involved with the organization, rechristened as the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship (NUSEC). She campaigned for the legal profession to be opened to women. She chaired the NUWSS and led the constitutional women's suffrage campaign.

Fawcett also, and From the beginning of her career, had to struggle against almost unanimous male opposition to political rights for women; from 1905 she also had to overcome public hostility to the militant suffragists led by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel, with whose violent methods Fawcett was not in sympathy.There were often major splits in the suffrage movement but there was also enough solidarity to keep the

mission afloat. One strong example arose in 1906, when Millicent Garrett Fawcett, the leader of the non-militant side of the movement, wrote to the Times in support of the militants. "I take this opportunity of saying that in my opinion," she wrote, "far from having injured the movement, they have done more during the last 12 months to bring it within the realms of practical politics than we have been able to accomplish in the same number of years." It was a generous statement from the woman whose conscientious campaigning, over the course of many years, is often credited with being the essential force in the fight for the vote.

Many of the suffragettes also recognised that women could be oppressed by factors beyond their sex, and went to great lengths to support their sisters. For instance, when Lady Constance Lytton was imprisoned in 1909, and quickly released, she was determined to expose the fact that working-class suffragettes had faced much more brutal treatment than her. She therefore disguised herself as Jane Warton, a seamstress, travelled to Liverpool and staged a protest; she was imprisoned and force fed eight times, proving her point. This experience did her health no favours, and she went on to suffer a heart attack in 1910 and a series of strokes, but wasn't deterred. Lytton's dedication was such that she once carved a large "V" for "votes" into her own breast, and she continued to campaign for the suffrage cause until her death in 1923 (Jalland 67).

After a lot of hue and cry in the social and political arena, it was only after the First World War that the situation improved. Seeing the active involvement of women in support of war effort, the right to vote for those over 30 was approved by the Qualification of Women Act, 1918. A year after the first women had been granted the right to vote, she left the suffrage movement, and devoted much of her time to writing

books. It was only ten years later in 1928 that the voting age for women became at par with the men.

3.4- Emeline Pankhurst and Women's Social and Political Union campaigns

Emmeline Pankhurst was born on 14 July 1858 in Manchester into a family with a tradition of radical politics. In 1879, she married Richard Pankhurst, a lawyer and supporter of the women's suffrage movement. He was the author of the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882, which allowed women to keep earnings or property acquired before and after marriage. His death in 1898 was a great shock to Emmeline.

Emmeline Pankhurst, with her daughters Christabel and Sylvia, founded the WSPU in 1903, whose members "known as suffragettes" fought to enfranchise women in the United Kingdom and used militant tactics to agitate for women's suffrage. Pankhurst was imprisoned many times because despite of her children and other household responsibilities, Pankhurst remained involved in politics, campaigning for her husband during his unsuccessful runs for Parliament and hosting political gatherings at their home.

In 1904 Pankhurstprotested outside of parliament, whilstthis protestunsupported the suffrage movement because the feminist activity was frequently viewed as deviant. The female suffrage speakers were caricatured as unwomanly and subjected to a subtle process of role stripping. They were known for their extreme measures especially in 1909 when they engaged in a hunger strike, another example is when Emily Davidson stepped in front of King George's horizon at the Epsom Derby in June 1913 in protest for women's rights, she died from complications from these injuries. On February seventh 1907 3000 suffragettes and

suffragists marched from Hyde Park to Exeter Hall which is in other terms known as the mud March because it occurred on a dreary and rainy-day.

Like many suffragettes, Emmeline was arrested on numerous occasions over the next few years and went on hunger strike herself, resulting in violent force-feeding. In 1913, in response to the wave of hunger strikes, the government passed what became known as the 'Cat and Mouse' Act. Hunger striking prisoners were released until they grew strong again, and then re-arrested. In October 1908 over 60,000 people gathered in Trafalgar Square to hear Emmeline deliver a speech. Shortly after this speech Emmeline and her daughter, Christabel, were arrested alongside Flora Drummond for inciting a rush on the House of Commons.Over the course of the militant campaign, around 1,000 suffragettes were imprisoned in the UK, and many went on hunger strike and had to contend with the torturous process of force feeding. In 1913, the Cat and Mouse Act was brought in, a cruel law which meant suffragettes could hunger strike to the point of emaciation, be let out of prison to recover, recalled to serve a little more of their sentence, on and on, until the term wasserved. The suffragettes kept going, despite the opposition and the immediate consequences. Emmeline Pankhurst was one of 220 protesters arrested. Modern feminists might balk at some of the suffragettes' more destructive actions, but their audacity was inspiring. (Branca 11)

The suffragettes put their fight on hold during World War One. Pankhurst took partin many public rallies to encourage women to contribute to the war effort and demanding women's right to work during the war, which is why this period of militancy was ended abruptly on the outbreak of war in 1914, when Emmeline turned her energies to supporting the war effort. In 1918, the Representation of the People Act gave voting rights to women

over 30. Emmeline died on 14 June 1928, shortly after women were granted equal voting rights with men (at 21).

Emmeline Pankhurst is remembered as one of many women who fought hard to help women gain the right to vote. Shortly after her death in 1928 a memorial fund was set up resulting in a statue of her being placed in Victoria Tower Gardens, London. Her daughters Christabel and Sylvia were absorbed in politics. Christabel was the oldest child of Emmeline and from an early age was absorbed in politics. In 1903 Christabel co-founded the WSPU with her mother, Emmeline, with whom she enjoyed a special relationship. She obtained a law degree from the University of Manchester, but as a woman was unable to practise as a lawyer, an issue against which she entered an impassioned protest. She very effectively applied her legal knowledge in speeches and pamphlets to highlight inequality and injustice experienced by women and she also organised large-scale processions and demonstrations in favour of 'Votes for Women', attracting thousands of supporters to the cause.

The Suffragettes were established in 1905 when the WSPU's militant movement was formally inaugurated when Christabel and Annie Kenney achieved widespread publicity and were imprisoned following their disruption of speeches being made by Winston Churchill and Sir Edward Grey at a political meeting in Manchester. From this point on Christabel advocated a campaign of civil disobedience which, by the outbreak of the First World War had escalated to include arson, bombing and attacks on works of art in public galleries. In 1906 Christabel moved to the London headquarters of the WSPU, where she was appointed its organising secretary and from 1912 to 1914 she directed the union's militant actions from exile in Paris, where she was living to escape imprisonment under the 'Cat and

Mouse Act'. Compelled to return to England with the outbreak of World War One, Christabel was again arrested and engaged in a hunger strike, ultimately serving only 30 days of a three-year sentence. Like her mother, Christabel supported the women's struggle for gaining their rights. In 1918 Christabel was narrowly defeated in the general election when she stood as a candidate for the Women's Party in alliance with David Lloyd George's Conservation Party coalition.

Sylvia Pankhurst the second eldest daughter of Emmeline. Sylvia, like her sisters, began working full-time for the WSPU in 1906, eventually becoming honorary secretary and channeling her gift for art into designing posters, banners and badges. In the years before the break out of war, Sylvia was one of the chief figures among the militant suffragettes and was imprisoned numerous times, she came to see the struggle for women to have the vote as just one strand in a larger struggle for equality.

4- Conclusion

Finally, after World War one, many people protested by petitions and marches. The British Parliament passed the Representation of The People Act in 1918 with over 355 votes. However, the fight was far from over because this act only allowed women over 30 to vote. The suffrage movements gained more speed throughout the years. In 1928 the representation of people acts expanded upon the original, act finally giving all women electoral equality with men.

One of the aims of the WSPU had been to increase the profile of the women's suffrage campaign, and by summer 1906 this had certainly been achieved. However, the credit and recognition for this victory was only given for the Suffrage Movements in England, and remarkably neglected in other parts of Britain .It is important to note that women all over

Chapter Two: History of The Suffrage Movements in The United Kingdom

Britain have payed tribute to these outrageous movements ; in Ireland , Whales, and mainly in Scotland as well, but unfortunately history neglects the fact that women in Scotland have played a fundamental role in the suffrage movements success at the time, which is why the next chapter is about to discuss the significant Scottish suffrage movements and to what extent their fight and demands for the same cause had been as difficult and challenging as with women's suffrage in England.

Chapter Three: The Scottish Suffragettes and the campaign To Vote

By the first decade of the twentieth century, “suffrage” had become a leading issue and had attracted the interest of a vast number of dedicated women across the social spectrum. Unfortunately, historians have been largely ignorant of who these women were at some parts in Britain. However, standard books on the suffrage movement provide a full account on the movement itself but mainly in England only and throw very little light on its activists in Scotland, as well as in other parts in Britain. Whilst history ignores to examine the struggle of the Scottish women who supported "the cause" would, of course, be impossible, not only because of the enormous numbers involved but also because the records of many suffrage societies were destroyed during the Second World War. That is why this chapter provides an inspiring look at the remarkable women and event who fought so tirelessly for equality in Scotland. This Chapter moves away and goes beyond the ardent activists in London only and focuses on the campaign for the vote for women in Scotland. Non-militant 'suffragist' groups were found countrywide - from Ayrshire to Orkney - and involved thousands of Scottish women of all ages and from all backgrounds. Unlike their attention-grabbing counterparts the Suffragettes, these women in Scotland laboured not only for the right to vote, but also for the right to higher education, to separate legal existence from their husbands, and to be actively involved in local government. This chapter sheds light on the story of individual, resolute and passionate Scottish suffragettes whose lives have been hidden from history, but who now are gradually receiving the recognition they deserve.

1- First Phases of the Campaign in Scotland

Again, the term ‘suffragettes’, coined in the early twentieth century, is often used to describe all efforts by individual women and women’s organisations to gain the right to vote in Parliamentary elections on equal terms with men. However, there were important

distinctions between those organisations which continued to use constitutional methods to affect change, known as suffragists, and those who instead became increasingly militant in using what may be described as 'direct action'. These were the women who could accurately be described as suffragettes.

The election of a Liberal government at the start of 1906 initially brought new hope to the suffrage campaign. Under the premiership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman[1], the new government had reforming plans.Growing frustration with the lack of progress on the suffrage issue finally prompted Emmeline Pankhurst, the widow of Dr Richard Pankhurst, a socialist politician from Manchester, to establish a new campaigning organisation. The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) which aimed to raise the profile of the question of women's suffrage, as mentioned in the previous chapter and to make women campaigners more visible

for example, by directly asking questions at political meetings. For a woman to attend a public political meeting was, in itself, pushing the boundaries, as discussed in the previous chapter as well. These acts were seen as a deviation from cultural norms and traditions. However, the suffragettes were committed to makingtheir bodies, and their demands, visible, they used shock tactics toraise the profile of their cause, drawing attention to themselves as being"out of place" in the public sphere and at the same timedemanding admission to it. As Wendy Parkins points out, women's bodiesbecame subversive simply by being placed in the public sphere becausetheir legitimate sphere was the home and the domestic (Parkins 37).

Pankhurst was supported in establishing the WSPU by her daughters Christabel, Sylvia and Adela, and also by some of the women she knew through the socialist

[1]Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was a British statesman and Liberal Party politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1905 to 1908 and served as as Leader of the Liberal Party from 1899 to 1908.

political scene in Manchester, such as mill-worker Annie Kenney and teacher Teresa Billington[2]. Billington had left teaching in 1905 to work full time as an Independent Labour Party organiser, the first woman to be appointed to such position, but became a paid organiser for the WSPU in 1906.[3](Cowman 51) She was to be an important figure in the militant suffragecampaign in Scotland.

The first act of suffragette militancy occurred in October 1905, whenChristabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney disrupted a political meeting inManchester, were arrested and opted to be imprisoned rather than pay afine. On the other hand, in Scotland, the constitutional suffragists continued their non-militant campaigning. Florence Balgarnie's speaking tour was still attracting some press notice as she moved around the country. In addition, the Dundee[4] and District Women's Liberal Association tackled the subject of women's suffrage at its annual meeting, although the emphasis here was on what women themselves could do to improve the situation. The president's report appealed to women to "value and use the votes they were entitled to" since this "would be the best plea for giving them the franchise".

By this time, the issue of women's suffrage had become a staple of debating societies throughout the country. In December 1905, there was a debate on the subject at a meeting of the Camelon Mutual Improvement Association held in Falkirk, narrowly won by the suffrage side; a debate at the Lerwick debating society in Shetland, again won by the suffrage side and a debate at the Young Scotts Society in Selkirk in the Borders. In contrast to the two other debates, the Selkirk Society rejected the idea of women's suffrage, which

[2]Teresa Billington-Greig was a Scottish suffragette who helped create the Women's Freedom League. She left another suffrage organisation - the WSPU (Women's Social and Political Union) - as she considered the leadership too autocratic.

[4]Dundee is Scotland's fourth-largest city and the 51st-most-populous built-up area in the United Kingdom. The mid-year population estimate for 2016 was 148,270, giving Dundee a population density of 2,478/km^2

stimulated a letter to the Selkirk Times criticizing the Society for its decision but expressing little surprise, "as any time I have had discussion with them, it was evident they had very little regard for the intelligent help of women". The letter ended with the news that thelocal Liberal Association was to be reconstructed shortly and suggested that both old Liberals and Young Scotts should come along to have their prejudices removed. (Butler 23)

A key argument of suffrage campaigners was the suitability of women to deal with social issues, such as housing, the welfare of women and children, and health, and the need for their voices to be heard on a national stage on such subjects. However, despite these words, Sir Henry was heckled by suffragettes at a speech at the Albert Hall in London in January 1906. Women Liberals were quick to react. The Scottish newspapers carried a letter from Lady Aberdeen, the President of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation, apologising to the Premier and assuring him of "the deep regret felt . . . regarding the unseemly methods used by exponents of the Women's Suffrage movement". The Association wished "emphatically to dissociate ourselves from such methods and believe that they can only retard and hinder progress of the movement which we have so deeply at heart".[5] (Butler 33)

Scotland got its own taste of the new militant. A speech given by Campbell-Bannerman in St Andrew's Halls in Glasgow was interrupted when "a woman screamed – What about women's suffrage? There was great interruption and the woman was expelled amidst cheers." Sir Henry passed the incident off with a joke – "Don't be alarmed. There is no danger. I have met that poor lady several times already" (Butler 42) Mortification at such an event occurring in Glasgow led to a letter to *the Glasgow Herald*[6] from the Glasgow and West

[6]*The Herald* is a Scottish broadsheet newspaper founded in 1783. *The Herald* is the longest running national newspaper in the world and is the eighth oldest daily paper in the world.

of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage[7], disassociating the Association from such behaviour: "in common with the general public we deeply deplore the unseemly interruptions by someWomen Suffragettes at Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's meeting this evening. Strongly as we feel the justice of our demand, we equally feel that these are not the methods by which we would seek to have them conceded, and we desire to dissociate ourselves from all such discourteous behaviour." (Crawford 234)

In response to this letter, a correspondent who signed herself "A Working Woman" wrote to the Glasgow Herald in support of the action of the suffragettes. She stated that she felt "grieved at the treatment meted out to the three women who dared at the Premier's meeting in St Andrew's Halls, to show how near their hearts woman's suffrage lay", in particular because it was clear that they had "the appearance of refined, intelligent young women" (King 94).

The following day the WSPU itself entered the fray. A letter from Elizabeth Pollok, who introduced herself as the honorary secretary of the Glasgow WSPU, mocked the Glasgow Association for its letter, which must have been written at a "hasty meeting" "to denounce the heroic efforts of several noble Glasgow women, who were willing to make sacrifices for a reform which they considered of immediate necessity for the economic and social welfare of themselves and their more helpless sisters". Pollok pointed out that, since the WSPU had been campaigning, the Prime Minister had been "compelled" to make a public statement in favour of women's suffrage and declared: "We are proud in Glasgow we have women brave and courageous to demand their rights, and all we regret is the unchivalrous conduct of the Liberal men, in a country with freedom of speech, who ill-treated women in such a brutal manner."

[7]The Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage was an organisation involved in campaigning for women's suffrage in Glasgow, with members from all over the west of Scotland.

Chapter Three: The Scottish Suffragettes and the campaign To Vote

Attention in Scotland swung once more to the constitutionalist campaign as the issue of the parliamentary vote for Scottish women graduates was raised. Early in 1906 the parliamentary seat held jointly by the Universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh was contested for the first time since women had been allowed to graduate from these universities. Women graduates therefore demanded the chance to vote in this election. Both universities refused, which led to a lawsuit by some of the women graduates led by Chrystal Macmillan, who had been the first woman science graduate from Edinburgh in 1896.

2-The Scottish Women's Suffrage Militancy

The history of suffrage militancy in Scotland and the women involved is quiet broad. It is full of the many contributions of how widespread militancy was in Scotland, both geographically and in terms of the individuals involved. Obviously, conventional studies of suffrage militancy always start with the Pankhursts (Emmeline and her daughters Christabel, Sylvia and Adela) and the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). Formed in 1903 in Manchester this organisation took a new direction demanding, rather than requesting, 'votes for women'. It established headquarters in London in 1906. Furthermore, around 1906 WSPU branches were established in the four main Scottish cities, and a Scottish headquarter was opened in Glasgow in 1908. This was largely the result of the efforts of Teresa Billington-Greig, a young Manchester teacher married to a Scot, and Helen Fraser, an artist who gave up her work to devote herself to the cause.

The movement was most prominent in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee, but there were smaller groups of suffragettes in other parts of Scotland.Helen Crawfurd was one member, imprisoned in both Holloway Prison and Duke Street Prison during a prolific career of window-breaking.Janie Allan barricaded herself into her cell at Holloway and allegedly

stoodagainst several police officers with crowbars in a stand against the practice of force-feeding within that prison.Non-militant 'suffragist' groups were also found countrywide - from Ayrshire to Orkney - and involved thousands of Scottish women of all ages and from all backgrounds.

3- Organisations and Activist Individuals part of Scotland's Militancy

At first the members of the WSPU were referred to as militant suffragists rather than suffragettes, although it seems that later the terms were used interchangeably in press reporting. Early tactics involved disrupting public meetings and this was considered radical. Opening the Scottish headquarters, Dr Marion Gilchrist, the first female graduate from the University of Glasgow, stated that 'the old school had managed to get over 400 members of Parliament to pledge themselves in favour of the cause, but had they got the vote yet? (Pederson 98). Evidently, she was not the only one questioning the methods of suffragist organisations. Yet, many women remained faithful to the 'Old School'. In Glasgow, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Society for Women's Suffrage continued to co-exist alongside the WSPU. The membership of the GWSSWS were conventionally middleclass as was the WSPU's, although the WSPU was more open to working-class women.

Working-class WSPU militants included Celia Russel and Jessie Stephen. Russel, a pawnbroker's assistant, acted as one of Mrs Pankhurst's 'enforcers' at the 1914 St Andrew's Hall 'riot' in Glasgow, when Mrs Pankhurst, released from prison under the 'Cat and Mouse Act' of 1913 (weakened by hunger strikes, prisoners were released to recuperate), was smuggled into the hall in a laundry basket. When she started her speech, the police rushed the stage to arrest her, the reasoning was that if she was fit to talk in public, she was able to return to prison. Jessie Stephen, organiser of the Domestic Workers' Union in Glasgow and WSPU

member, later recounted her part in acid attacks on Glasgow pillar boxes (envelopes with bottles of acid were posted to destroy the mail): 'I was able to drop acid into the postal pillar boxes without being suspected, because I walked down from where I was employed in my cap, muslin apron and black frock … nobody would ever suspect me of dropping acid through the box' (Leneman 123) .

As WSPU militancy stepped up in 1913, the suffragettes were accused of a 'campaign of terror'. Acts of destruction in Scotland included cutting or bombing telephone links, smashing a natural history case in the Royal Scottish Museum, defacing the King's portrait in the National Gallery, an attempt to burn down Kelso racecourse in April 1913, and the burning down of the Western Meeting Club at Ayr and of Farington Hall in Dundee in May 1913. However, suffragettes sometimes received the blame for unexplained fires.

4- The Early Militant Acts and Campaigns in Scotland

In August 1913, two women physically assaulted the Prime Minister at Lossiemouth golf course, he was also attacked in on the course at Dornoch, too. In 1914, suffragettes were accused of attempting to blow up the Kibble Palace in Glasgow's Botanic Gardens, burning down the White Kirk in East Lothian, and attempting to burn down Burns Cottage in Ayrshire. Such activities were reported in the national and local press in detail, accompanied by photographs of any damage.

Arrests were made for some of these attacks. Suffragettes imprisoned in Scotland were subjected to force-feeding later than in England (where it had begun in 1909). Ethel Moorhead was the first woman to be force-fed in a Scottish prison in 1914, at Calton Jail in Edinburgh (Leneman 134). Subsequently, all suffragettes on hunger strike were taken to Perth prison. During the royal visit in Perth on July8th1914, speeches were made, banners

with ‘no forcible feeding’ and ‘votes for women’ were displayed and Rhoda Fleming jumped on the bonnet of the king’s car to try and smash the window. Moorhead, imprisoned for smashing the case containing William Wallace's sword in the Wallace Monument, suffered from ill-health arising from the pneumonia she contracted as a result of inhaling the food forced into her throat. (Elspeth 64).

Leah Lenemen has suggested that perhaps increasing numbers of women joined militant societies was a result of the suffering of the suffragettes in prison. It seems likely that the treatment of suffragettes in prison did provoke some sympathy with their cause, but at the same time, as Sarah Pedersen has shown, the increasing violence of the WSPU resulted in uniformly hostile coverage in the Scottish press. Many suffrage supporters were against violent militancy, both constitutionalists and non-violent militants. Furthermore, some WSPU members and branches had difficult relationships with the Pankhursts. Their increasingly heavy-handed leadership resulted in members leaving the WSPU to form the non-violent Women’s Freedom League (WFL). Led by Theresa Billington Greig, the WFL was prominent in Scotland with a Suffrage Centre in both Edinburgh and Glasgow. There were also strained relationships between the Pankhursts and Scottish WSPU activists such as Caroline Phillips in Aberdeen and Janie Allan in Glasgow.

While the WSPU directly campaigned against Liberal MPs (the WSPU campaigned at four Scottish by-elections of 1908, opposing Winston Churchill), the WFL generally focused on less direct methods such as the non-payment of taxes in order to gain the sympathy of the general public (although Mary Maloney of the WFL followed Churchill ringing a bell every time he tried to address crowds)(Pugh 123). Their principle was ‘no

taxation without representation'[8] and members also refused to participate in the 1911 census. Suffragettes were inspired by the " no taxation without representation "slogan because it wasa slogan originating from the 1700s which summarized one of the 27 colonial grievances of the American colonists and was one of the major causes of the American Revolution. When Americans declared a war of independence this used to be their main slogan, later on it led to the American Civil War. Women suffrage used the same slogan as a form of protest as it has happened a century before when Americans were on the verge of becoming free only to make the government think twice since they have already been through it before.

Prominent organisers included Eunice Murray (who stood unsuccessfully as an independent candidate for Parliament in 1918), responsible for members and branches out with the main towns, also known as the 'Scottish scattered', did their best for the cause. By 1914, there were also sixty-three constitutional suffragist organisations in Scotland affiliated to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, with five paid organisers and an Edinburgh HQ.

Women thus continued to join constitutional suffragist organisations, distancing themselves from the actions of the suffragettes, although, as Pedersen indicates, the constitutional suffragists were blamed in the press for creating the conditions from which militancy emerged. When Helen Fraser, a suffragette, left the WSPU in 1908 in protest against the suggestion of the use of violence, Louisa Innes Lumsden[9] of Aberdeen Suffrage

[8]"No taxation without representation" is a slogan originating from the 1700s. It summarized one of 27 colonial grievances of the American colonists in the Thirteen Colonies, which was one of the major causes of the American Revolution.
[9]Dame Louisa Innes Lumsden was born in Aberdeen, Scotland where she was a pioneer of female education.

Society wrote to her stating that she hoped Fraser's 'protest would do good' but she had a fear that 'generous sympathy may hurry people into unwise action'.

In Scotland, as elsewhere, opinions over militancy remained divided, and it is difficult to know how widely sympathy for the militant cause was felt. On the one hand, the WSPU had a presence in Scotland, and regardless of the cause of their militancy; many Scottish women took risks and suffered the consequences of their actions to ensure womenwill get the vote on the same terms as men. On the other hand, it is quite difficult to have a clear picture of the level of local support and activism. The paid organisers and speakers of the WSPU had a high profile in the press, with the Pankhursts' presence during by-election campaigns gaining much publicity. But one does not know if support for the WSPU grew or declined as their strategy moved towards increasing violence. Furthermore, suffragette attacks were not necessarily carried out by local activists, and in Scotland the numbers of arrests were relatively small.

Local studies are likely to clarify further the place of militancy in the Scottish movement, particularly since the history of the suffrage movement has often focused on the cities and large towns. The history of Scottish suffragettes has also often focused on middleclass or politically involved women whose letters, diaries and memoirs have survived. There is a comparatively little knowledge about the actions of working-class women and those that didn't leave a paper trail, or perhaps more accurately their writings have not survived as they weren't deemed to be important.

5- Prominent Scottish Suffrage Activists

These are few of the stories of the Scots who played an important role in the fight for women's votes.Of all the stories to surface from the suffragette movements, there are two

from Scotland that seem particularly poignant. One is a mystery, never solved, and the other is the story of a young girl, who was small in stature but not in heart. The first took place on the night of May 21, 1913, when the suffragette movement across Britain was gathering strength. This was the year that Emily Wilding Davison, a firm supporter of women's rights, would fall beneath the hooves of the king's own horse at Epsom racecourse. Up in Scotland, in the city of Edinburgh, a woman scrambled up a stony path in the dead of night with a bomb in her handbag. She was at Blackford Hill[10], at the resting spot of the esteemed Royal Observatory, which at that point in time only employed men. She crept up, placed a clay vessel packed with gunpowder at the foot of its walls, and fled.

The explosion shook the foundations of the building, shattering windows, splintering the middle floor inside and cracked the masonry of the tall West Tower. As the Dalkeith Advertiser reported the next day: "The bomb exploded about one o'clock in the morning, causing considerable damage. The perpetrators left behind them a ladies' handbag of the kind used for shopping. It contained a few currant biscuits wrapped in paper, a couple of safety pins, and in the grounds were found two pieces of paper. Scrawled in ink on one of the scraps of paper was the phrase: "How beggarly appears argument before defiant deed. Votes for women." Other than these few clues and a small amount of blood found at the scene, the bomber was never caught, though police suspected - and papers claimed - the suffragettes were responsible. The mystery of who the bomber was has never been solved.

The second story is about a girl who was very well known. Bessie Watson was born on July 13, 1900, and lived in a small house in Edinburgh. As a young girl, Bessie was described as delicate and a little frail, so when her aunt Margaret contracted tuberculosis her

[10]Blackford Hill is a hill of 164 metres , in Edinburgh, the capital city of Scotland.

parents were really worried, she too would fall ill. They struck upon the idea to encourage her to take up the bagpipes in a bid to strengthen her lungs. She was only a wee thing, so a pipe maker on Grove Street made her a special half-size set. One day, when she was out with her parents, they passed by the Women's Social and Political Union on Queen ferry Street.Attracted to the bright adverts for it, Bessie was enrolled to play her pipes and in doing so, she and her mother became members.When she was nine-years-old, she put on her sash and she took part in a historical pageant and political march through Edinburgh.She would wear the colours of the marchers in ribbons on her pigtails at school and when members ended up in prison in the city, she would head down to play her bagpipes outside Calton Jail so they could hear her. Inside their cells, many of the women were on hunger strike. Force feeding was a common and painful ordeal.Bessie's bagpipes were of great comfort to the Scottish women who lay listening to her from behind bars.

Marion Wallace Dunlop, from Inverness, was the first and one of the most well-known British suffragettes to go on hunger strike. She had studied at the Slade School of Fine Art and had illustrated books such as Fairies, Elves, and Flower Babies and The Magic Fruit Garden. Marion became an active member of the Women's Social and Political Union and was first arrested in 1908 for "obstruction" and again in 1908 for leading a group of women in a march. In 1909 she was arrested a third time, this time for stenciling a passage from the Bill of Rights[11] on a wall of the House of Commons which read: "It is the right of the subject to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal." (Crawford 56)Choosing to go on hunger strike appears to have been entirely her own idea.

[11]The Bill of Rights, also known as the English Bill of Rights, is an Act of the Parliament of England that sets out certain basic civil rights and clarifies who would be next to inherit the Crown. It received the Royal Assent on 16 December 1689 and is a restatement in statutory form of the Declaration of Right presented by the Convention Parliament to William III and Mary II in February 1689.

Behind bars, she sent a letter to the then Home Secretary, Mr. Gladstone, demanding an application to be placed in the first division as befitted one charged with a political offence. She announced that she would eat no food until this right was conceded. Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence noted that Wallace-Dunlop had found a "new way of insisting upon the proper status of political prisoners, and had the resourcefulness and energy in the face of difficulties that marked the true suffragette"(Leneman 195). She endured 91 hours of fasting before she was released on the grounds of ill health. Hunger striking went on to become official WSPU policy and as a result, in September 1909, the British Government introduced force feeding in prisons.

Edinburgh was not the only city to be targeted by suffragette bombs. In Glasgow, Ethel Moorhead[12] and Dorothea Chalmers Smith[13], were jailed for eight months each for breaking and entering and attempted fire-raising at a property at 6 Park Gardens in the city. Ethel became a symbol of the movement in Scotland, frequently in jail and one of the first women in the country to be force-fed through a tube. Some small bombs, some made from tin cans and pipes, were found when the Kibble Palace in the Botanic Gardens was targeted in January 1914.The Glasgow suffragette movement also allegedly attempted to blow up the aqueduct serving the city's clean water supply from Loch Katrine. Two powerful bombs had been placed next to one of the structural supports leading from the Loch, about 42 miles outside the city, to the reservoir at Milngavie. At the time this reservoir supplied over 50 per cent of Glasgow's water. The explosions never took place. One failed to ignite and the second was spotted by a watchman near to an abandoned handbag, two trowels and a sign,

[12] Ethel Agnes Mary Moorhead was a British suffragette and painter, died in 1955.

[13]Dr Elizabeth "Dorothea" Chalmers was a pioneer doctor and a militant Scottish suffragette. She was imprisoned for eight months for breaking and entering, and attempted arson, where she went on hunger strike.

which stated that the destruction of the aqueduct was in protest against Emmeline Pankhurst's imprisonment (Leneman 116).

The movement was most prominent in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee, but there were smaller groups of suffragettes in other parts of Scotland. Helen Crawfurd was one member, imprisoned in both Holloway Prison and Duke Street Prison during a prolific career of window-breaking. Janie Allan barricaded herself into her cell at Holloway and allegedly stood against several police officers with crowbars in a stand against the practice of force-feeding within that prison. Non-militant 'suffragist' groups were also found countrywide - from Ayrshire to Orkney - and involved thousands of Scottish women of all ages and from all backgrounds. Most of these women laboured not only for the right to vote, but also for the right to higher education, to separate legal existence from their husbands, and to be actively involved in local government.

6-Conclusion

Scotland's suffragettes played an important role in the fight for women's votes. Throughout the early summer of 1906, the WSPU’s campaign continuedto attract the attention of the Scottish women’s suffrage, even though the majority of the action happened in England. The Scottish suffragettes were determined, and their activities were outrageous, shocking or at least daring, and this is fairly enough to guarantee them the recognition and the coverage they deserved. Just as the WSPU wished, it raised the profile of the Scottish woman suffrage question, making it a talking point in both the public and private spheres, which the constitutional campaign had failed to do for Scotts women.

General Conclusion

February 6, 2019, marks the 101st anniversary of the British parliament finally giving women in Britain the vote in elections. It was a massive victory for women all over Britain. However, whilst the situation of women suffrage has changedfrom the 1980s, when history has most of the times identified a London- andEngland-centric approach to the history of the women's suffrage movementin the UK, more precisely, in England, there is still work to be done to appreciate how thesuffrage campaign in Scotland differed from that of England as well as in the other kingdoms situated in Britain.

In particular,the Scottish campaign is notable for the contributions of the differentsuffrage societies, the co-operation between different organisations, andthe changing geographies of the militant campaign. Although previoushistorians have used the press as source material for their investigations ofthe Scottish suffrage campaign, their focus was primarily on what presscoverage and history have revealed about the campaign, especially in England , rather than what it revealed aboutthe relationship between the union of these women all over Britain for the same cause. While there have alsobeen useful studies of particular Scottish localities and their experiences ofthe suffrage campaign in Scotland, which were ton an extent a bit neglected compared with the coverage of women's suffrage in England.

Leah Leneman's 'Guid: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland(1995) which covers the period from 1867 until after World War I and includes the stories of Scottish women who were active suffragettes and discuss the hard work these women have done and risked everything to make their voice heard. The movement was most prominent in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee. Non-militant 'suffragist' groups were also found countrywide - from Ayrshire to Orkney - and involved thousands of Scottish women of all ages and from all backgrounds. Most of these women laboured not only for the right to vote,

but also for the right to higher education, to separate legal existence from their husbands, and to be actively involved

in local government. There was still a long way to go but it was a major first step to be reunited with women all over Britain to make the mission possible. In Scotland, the women who fought for change had played a leading part in the battle for equal rights. They burned down buildings, the grandstands at Ayr and Perth racecourses, poured acid in post boxes to destroy mail and burned the slogan 'votes for women' into the greens of golf courses with acid. All were linked to areas where men were allowed and women were not. Scotland's suffragettes played an important role in the fight for women's votes.Even World War Iis often credited with bringing some women from England the vote in 1918, but the valuable work of Scottish women campaigning for that right cannot be underestimated or forgotten.

Therefore, in my dissertation, the aim was to give equal recognition to women's suffrage from different localities in Britain, i.e. England and Scotland. In addition, chapter three offers instead, a whole-Scotland investigation and recounts the struggle of the Scottishsuffragettes, focusing primarily on the main Scottish organisations as well as the prominent women activist in Scotland, and highlightingthe relationship English suffrage had with the Scotts. More importantly, noting how particular events in Scotland were as significant as in England. The part where it is mentioned "Women Who Fought for Change in Scotland: Prominent Scottish Suffrage activists" in chapter three, recounts few of the courageous Scottish women's fight for a change. Chapter three also offers a rich seam of events which occurred in Scotland on the women'ssuffrage campaign cause from 1903 to 1933.

Moreover, women in Scotland are also blessed to have books such as the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage andsome personal papers of campaigners such as Chrystal Macmillan, JanieAllan and Caroline Phillips, tooffercomplementary voices and to give recognition to the Scottish suffrage movements.

Finally, thiswork has mainly offered a perspective on the campaign for women’s suffrage from the viewpoint of the Scottish side, besides the one of women’s suffrage

in England and it has also proved how women in the Scottish regions have been invigorated and active for the same cause as of women in England, sometimes taking the same path, and sometimes taking other ways.

Work Cited List

Books

- Banks, Oden. *The Politics of British Feminism.* Oxford University press ,1993.
- Bartley, Peyton. *Emmeline Pankhurst*. Psychology Press, 2002.
- Branca, Pelvis. *Silent Sisterhood: Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home*. Croom Helm, 1975.
- Cowman, Kaden. *Women of the Right Spirit: Paid Organisers of the Women's Social and Political Union 1904–18*. Manchester University Press, 2007.
- Crawford, Edelyn. *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain and Ireland*, Oxford University press, 2013.
- Crawford, Edelyn. *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain and Ireland*, Oxford University press, 2013.
- Davin, Anna. *Feminism and Labour History*. Indiana university press, 1981.
- DiCenzo, Martin. *Militant distribution: Votes for women and the public sphere*. Media History press, 2000.
- Dorey-Stein, C. A Brief History: The Three Waves of Feminism, 2015.
- Dorey-Stein, C. *A Brief History: The Three Waves of Feminism*. University press, 2015.
- Elspeth, King. *The Hidden History of Glasgow's Women*. Mainstream *Publishing*, 1993.
- Hannam, D, John. *Socialist Women in Britain, 1880s to 1920s*. Oxford university press, 2002.
- Jalland, Pollar. *Women, Marriage and Politics 1860,1914*. Oxford:Clarendon Press,1986

- Leah Leneman, *A guid cause: the women's suffrage movement in Scotland*. Mercat Press, 1995.
- Leah Leneman, *The Scottish Suffragettes*. NMS Publishing, 2000.
- Leslie, P Hume, *The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies 1897-1914*, Oxon press,1982.
- Moore, Lanon. *Feminists and femininity: A case-study of WSPU propaganda and local response at a Scottish by-election*. Oxford university press,1982.
- Pugh,Martin*Women and the Women's Movement in Britain*. Palgrave, 2015, pp 261-263.
- Rick Wilford, *Representing Women, Power, Politics, Positionings - Women in Northern Ireland*. New York university Press, 1996.
- Sarah Pedersen, *The Scottish Suffragettes and the Press*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Articles

- Billington, R. "Ideology and feminism: Why the suffragettes were 'wild women". Women's Studies International Forum 5(6), 1982, pp.663–674.
- Butler,Templeton, "The Isle of Man and the First Votes for Women, Women & Politics", vol 13, n 2, 1984, pp. 28-87.
- King,Elspeth. "The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement", Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society, 1800-1945, Edinburgh: EUP,1992.
- Rick Wilford, "Representing Women, Power, Politics, Positionings - Women in Northern Ireland", ed. Kate Fearon .Belfast: Democratic Dialogue, 1996, p. 2.
- Parkins,Willer. "Taking Liberty's, breaking windows: Fashion, protest and the suffragette public". Journal of Media & Cultural, 1997.

- Pankhurst, Christabel. “The woman suffrage movements and London newspapers”. European Journal of Women’s Studies,1987.

Webography

- http://www.lettersofnote.com/2015/10/give-women-vote.html
- https://www.bl.uk/sisterhood/timeline
- https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/woty2017-top-looked-up-words-feminism