Lesson 1:

Enquiry 3: Resources

Manchester Evening News article

Plans for Manchester's new Emmeline Pankhurst statue have been approved.

The bronze sculpture will stand proud in St Peter's Square. It is set to be unveiled by the end of the year, to mark the centenary of women first getting the vote.

Councillors approved blueprints on Thursday, at what campaigners have dubbed a 'historic' meeting.

The idea for a new statue – which would be only the second of a woman in the city centre, after Queen Victoria – came from Didsbury councillor Andrew Simcock, who set up the WoManchester project two years ago.

Designed by sculptor Hazel Reeves, it will show the iconic Mancunian suffragette standing on a chair as if addressing a crowd, arm outstretched. It will face out towards the Free Trade Hall, which was a venue for radical suffragette campaigning in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Fatima Shahid, 11, from Wythenshawe, told the planning meeting: 'Having this statue in Manchester shows the rest of the country that we are a fair and modern city.

'I look forward to next year when I can visit the city centre and call to see Emmeline and say hello.'

The Newall Green Primary School pupil added: 'Then, in years to come, I can bring my children and my grandchildren and tell them Emmeline's story and tell them how I had a say in her statue being here.

Lesson 1:

Enquiry 3: Resources

Manchester Evening News article

'There is still lots to do to make life more equal for men and women.

'Emmeline Pankhurst made change possible. Since then, our parents, grandparents and great grandparents have been working hard to carry on her vision and her principles.

'And my generation will make sure we have a truly equal world.'

After a public vote on a shortlist of 20 legendary Mancunian women, Pankhurst was selected as the iconic female most deserving of a permanent memorial. The unveiling of the statue had originally been pencilled in for International Women's Day in 2019.

But late last year, the government announced a further £200,000 for the project as part of its Centenary Cities programme, intended to mark the 100th anniversary of women first being allowed to vote in a general election.

On Tuesday, on the centenary of the Representation of the People Act, Prime Minister Theresa May was shown a maquette of the design when she met with Pankhurst's great grand-daughter Helen.

Councillor Simcock said: 'After almost four years of work on the project to create a statue of a woman of significance to Manchester, I am delighted that we have reached this next important milestone.'

The meeting circle on which the statue will stand is expected to be unveiled in July.

1. What does the headline say 'Emmeline' is doing?
2. Read line 5. Why is the statue being put up?
3. In lines 14-15, how is Emmeline Pankhurst described?
4. In line 31, what does the girl who helped get the statue put up say Emmeline Pankhurst did?
5. Read line 40. How much extra money has the government provided for the project?
6. Read lines 41 and 42. Why is the government giving money to 'Centenary Cities'?
7. Read lines 44 and 45. Who was shown the maquette of the statue design?
8. Read line 49. How does Councillor Simcock describe Emmeline Pankhurst?

https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/emmeline-pankhurst-suffragette-statue-manchester-14265979

Lesson 1:

Arguments for and against

What arguments were given at the time for and against giving women the vote?

Making women think about politics is unfair – they already have important jobs to do such as bringing up children.	Women already have a say in how the country is run! Their husbands vote for them!	Men can be alcoholics or have a criminal record and still have the vote. Women can be doctors and still be denied the right to vote.
In the Bible it says that women should obey their husbands.	Giving women the right to vote will cause arguments between them and their husbands.	Most women aren't interested in politics – they don't want the right to vote!
Britain cannot call itself a democracy when over half the population has no say in choosing its leaders.	Women don't fight for their country so don't deserve as much of a say as men.	Women are too emotional. They cannot be trusted to make sensible decisions about whom to vote for.

Lesson 1:

Short history of the campaign for votes for women

Beginning

It is not easy to choose a starting point for the story of the campaign for votes for women. There have been many women throughout history who have demanded, and fought for, more say in how their lives, their societies and their countries have been run. However, if we are talking about the campaign to allow women to vote in elections to the British Parliament, perhaps the best starting point would be the formation of the Kensington Society for Women's Suffrage.

In the mid-nineteenth century, a group of well-to-do women formed a discussion group in a house in Kensington in London to debate the political and philosophical ideas of the day. In 1865, one of the questions debated by the Kensington Society was whether women should have the right to vote in elections to Parliament. They agreed that they should and that they should do something about trying to make this happen. They took their idea to Liberal MPs (Members of Parliament) John Stuart Mill and Henry Fawcett, who were both in favour of votes for women. Mill and Fawcett encouraged the women to start a petition to show that there was support for the idea. The women were originally tasked with getting 100 signatures but, in the end, Mill was able to submit a petition with 1,521 signatures to the House of Commons. This led to a debate in the House of Commons, but the idea of giving women the vote was defeated, 73 to 196 votes.

However, the petition of the Kensington Society wasn't the first petition submitted to Parliament asking for female suffrage. In 1832, a woman called Mary Smith had written to her MP and demanded that, because she paid taxes, she should have a vote in elections. Even though this petition was made up of a single signature, it still got read in the House of Commons.

But, again, it is difficult to say whether this was the start of the campaign for votes for women. Since the late eighteenth century, philosophers like Mary Wollstonecraft and Harriet Taylor Mill had argued that women's rights should be recognised. However, these voices were just some among the many who, in the wake of the French Revolution, wanted to change the way countries and societies were governed. When the British parliamentary system was reformed in 1832 to make the system fairer and to give more people the vote, instead of enfranchising women as some wanted, the 1832 Great Reform Act explicitly banned women from voting in elections to Parliament.

During the nineteenth century, there were to be two more reform acts that gave the vote to more and more men but, on each occasion, women's right to vote was denied. There were, however, some changes to the laws in Britain in the nineteenth century that allowed women to take part in elections for things like town councils and the groups that ran schools and helped the poor.

Lesson 1:

Short history of the campaign for votes for women

The NUWSS and WSPU

Despite these changes, women were still barred from voting in elections to Parliament. More and more groups and societies were set up to campaign for female suffrage. Notable among these was the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, set up in 1897 by a middle-class, well-educated woman called Millicent Garrett Fawcett. The NUWSS would go on to be one of the most famous groups campaigning for female suffrage, and members of this group, and others who agreed with its aims and methods, would become known as 'suffragists'.

The suffragists of the NUWSS were committed to campaigning for the vote in legal and peaceful ways. They organised meetings, marches, speeches and petitions. They were hoping to show the men in Parliament, who actually had the power to change the law, that the idea of votes for women was popular and that women, despite what many people thought at the time, could be trusted to make informed and sensible decisions about politics.

In 1903, some suffrage campaigners, frustrated at what they saw as a lack of progress, formed a new group called the Women's Social and Political Union. The WSPU was led by a middle-class woman from Manchester called Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters, Christabel and Sylvia. The motto of the WSPU was to be 'deeds not words' and they campaigned in a much more aggressive and disruptive way. In contrast to the suffragists of the NUWSS, the members of the WSPU were nicknamed 'suffragettes' by the newspapers.

In 1905, suffragettes Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney were arrested for disrupting a meeting of the Liberal Party in Manchester and assaulting a police officer. Many people see this as the point when the suffragettes' campaign changed and they began to use violence and break the law to get their points across.

In the following years, as well as writing letters and holding meetings and marches, the WSPU would break windows, set post boxes alight, deface paintings, attack golf courses and chain themselves to railings to try to show how serious they were about their demand to be given the vote. One suffragette, Emily Wilding Davison, was even trampled to death at the Epsom Derby, while probably trying to pin a suffragette flag to the King's horse to gain more attention for the cause. Many suffragettes were arrested and imprisoned for their protests. Others were attacked and assaulted, particularly on 'Black Friday', when 115 women and four men were arrested and many more were sexually assaulted by the police at a protest in November 1910. When suffragettes were arrested, they often went on hunger strike, refusing to eat in protest. To prevent them from dying in prison, the guards force-fed them.

Historians disagree about the impact the suffragettes had. On the one hand, they were brilliant at attracting publicity and their campaigns gathered a huge amount of attention in the newspapers, and this seems to have made their cause more popular. On the other hand, because they used illegal and violent tactics, some people thought that they were doing nothing to change the view that some people had that women were too emotional, irrational and hysterical to be trusted with the vote.

In contrast with the suffragettes of the WSPU, the suffragists of the NUWSS continued peaceful protests, including the so-called 'Mud March' when 3,000 suffragists marched cheerfully through the streets of London in the rain in February 1907.

In 1913, the NUWSS organised a 'Great Pilgrimage' in which women from all over the UK marched to London to attend a rally in Hyde Park. Around 50,000 women attended that meeting.

Despite the fact that votes for women was discussed in Parliament on numerous occasions at this time, there was never enough support for the bills that were proposed to become law.

Lesson 1:

Short history of the campaign for votes for women

The First World War

A radical change in the campaign for votes for women came about in 1914, with the outbreak of the First World War. Almost all of the women's suffrage organisations stopped campaigning for the vote for the duration of the war. Many of the women who had been involved in the suffrage campaign put their knowledge, energies and organisational skills into helping with the war effort by working in factories, farms or as medical staff. Not all the women who went out to work to undertake 'men's jobs' during the First World War were campaigners for the vote, but the fact that there were around five million women working outside of the home by 1918 had a profound impact on how British society viewed women's capabilities and, for many of the women, how they looked at themselves.

In 1917, a bill was passed by the House of Commons that would give women the vote. The so-called Representation of the People Act became law in February 1918. It gave the vote to those working-class men who had not been able to vote before, but it also allowed women over the age of 30 who owned a house, or were married to a home owner, the right to vote in elections to Parliament.

Just as with the suffragists and suffragettes, historians disagree about the impact the First World War had on the campaign for female suffrage. Some argue that women were given the vote in 1918 as a sort of 'reward' for the work that they had done during the war. Others argue that war work had proved, in the minds of male MPs, that women were capable of being responsible and making a contribution to society. Also, although women hadn't fought at the front lines, they had done dangerous work in munitions factories and as medical staff near the battlefields, and therefore could claim to have defended their country and so deserved the vote.

Another group argue that there was substantial support for women to have the vote but that politicians couldn't be seen to be giving in to the threats and violence of the suffragettes. If women could get the vote through violence, what message would be sent to the people of Ireland or the British Empire who wanted changes to the way they were governed? When the suffrage campaigners suspended their campaigns, it 'allowed' the male establishment to give them the vote.

Finally, still others argue that the government gave women the vote in 1918 through fear that the violence of the suffragettes would restart.

Whatever the roles of the suffragists, the suffragettes and the First World War, the Representation of the People Act 1918 was a huge step forward in women's rights in Britain. However, it wouldn't be until 1928 that men and women would be given the vote on equal terms, when the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act allowed all women over the age of 21 the vote in elections to Parliament.

Lesson 1:

Very short history of the campaign for votes for women

Beginnings

It is not easy to choose a starting point for the story of the campaign for votes for women because women have been demanding their rights in different ways for a very long time.

However, if we are talking about the campaign to allow women to vote, also known as female suffrage, perhaps the best starting point would be the Kensington Society for Women's Suffrage, which sent a petition to Parliament in 1866. This petition was a piece of paper with the signatures of 1,521 people who thought that women should have the right to vote.

Although Members of Parliament (MPs) discussed the petition, women weren't given the vote in 1866.

There were lots of changes to the rules about who could vote in Britain during the nineteenth century, but it was always only men who were given the vote in Parliamentary elections.

The NUWSS and WSPU

To campaign for the vote, more and more groups were set up. The most famous of these groups was the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. The NUWSS was set up by a middle-class, well-educated woman called Millicent Garrett Fawcett in 1897. Members of this group were called 'suffragists'.

The suffragists of the NUWSS wanted to campaign in peaceful ways without breaking the law. They organised meetings, marches, speeches and petitions. They were hoping to show the men in Parliament, who actually had the power to change the law, that the idea of votes for women was popular and that women could be trusted to make informed and sensible decisions about politics.

In 1903, some suffrage campaigners were angry because they felt that they hadn't made enough progress. They started a new group called the Women's Social and Political Union. The WSPU was led by a middle-class woman from Manchester called Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters, Christabel and Sylvia. Its members were nicknamed 'suffragettes'. The motto of the WSPU was to be 'deeds not words' and they campaigned in a much more aggressive and disruptive way.

In 1905, two suffragettes called Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney were arrested for disrupting a political meeting in Manchester and for assaulting a police officer. Many people see this as the point when the suffragettes' campaign changed and they began to use violence and break the law to get their points across.

In the following years, as well as writing letters and holding meetings and marches, the WSPU would break windows, set post boxes alight, deface paintings, attack golf courses and chain themselves to railings to try to show how serious they were. One suffragette, Emily Wilding Davison, was even trampled to death at a horse race, while probably trying to pin a suffragette flag to the King's horse to gain more attention for the cause. Many suffragettes were arrested and imprisoned for their protests. Others were attacked and assaulted, particularly on 'Black Friday', when 115 women were arrested and many more were sexually assaulted by the police at a protest in November 1910. When suffragettes were arrested they often went on hunger strike, refusing to eat in protest. To prevent them from dying in prison, the guards force-fed them.

Historians disagree about the impact the suffragettes had. Some think that they helped the cause of women's suffrage by getting lots of attention. Others think they did not help because they made powerful men think that women like them could not be trusted with the vote.

In contrast with the suffragettes of the WSPU, the suffragists of the NUWSS continued peaceful protests, including the so-called 'Mud March', when 3,000 suffragists marched cheerfully through the streets of London in the rain in February 1907.

In 1913, the NUWSS organised a 'Great Pilgrimage' in which women from all over the UK marched to London to attend a rally in Hyde Park. Around 50,000 women attended that meeting.

Despite the fact that votes for women was discussed in Parliament on numerous occasions at this time, there was never enough support for the bills that were proposed to become law.

The First World War

A massive change in the campaign for votes for women came about in 1914 with the outbreak of the First World War. Almost all of the women's suffrage organisations stopped campaigning for the vote while the war was on. Many of the women who had been involved in the suffrage campaign put their energy into helping with the war effort by working in factories, farms or as medical staff. In the past, these were jobs that had almost always been done by men. However, because so many men joined the armed forces, women needed to do those jobs. By 1918, five million women were doing jobs that men usually did.

In February 1918, Parliament passed a new law called the Representation of the People Act. It gave the vote to those working-class men who had not been able to vote before and it also allowed women over the age of 30 who owned a house, or were married to a home owner, the right to vote in elections to Parliament.

Just as with the suffragists and suffragettes, historians disagree about the impact the First World War had on the campaign for female suffrage. Some say that the war was more important than the suffragists or suffragettes. Others disagree.

In 1928, Parliament passed another new law called the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act, which gave all women over the age of 21 the right to vote, on the same basis as men.

Lesson 2:

Leicester councillor's letter to the *Guardian*

As the instigator of the campaign for a statue of 'Leicester's suffragette', Alice Hawkins, it strikes me that we should recognise the diversity of opinion and experience there was within the struggle for the vote; a diversity and experience as rich as that which resides in our democracy today.

Fawcett, the Pankhursts and Hawkins – a working-class shoe-machinist who rose to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Pankhursts – saw an injustice and did something about it: they should all be recognised and respected for that.

Surely, though, in the name of equality, working-class female freedom fighters such as Hawkins deserve greater recognition during the centenary of the Representation of the People Act than the already well-known (and much more affluent) leaders of the suffragists and suffragettes. I am therefore very pleased that the seven-foot statue of her has been fully funded (by Jamie Lewis, who sensitively converted the factory where she worked into student accommodation), nearly completed (by the sculptor Sean Hedges-Quinn) and will be unveiled in time for next February's anniversary of the act's royal assent.

Councillor Adam Clarke (Labour, Aylestone)

Assistant city mayor, Leicester

Answer the following questions:

1. How does Councillor Clarke describe Alice Hawkins in line 1?
2. Read lines 2-4. What does Councillor Clarke think that we should recognise about the struggle for votes for women?
3. How does Councillor Clarke describe Alice Hawkins in line 6?
4. Read lines 11-13. What does Clarke think women like Hawkins deserve?

https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/oct/04/pankhurst-fawcett-alice-hawkins-different-class-suffragette

Lesson 2:

Statues in the news

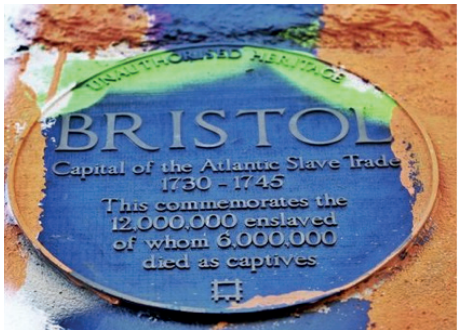


Image credits: Bristol Post

A statue of Edward Colston, Bristol

Edward Colston (1636–1721) was a rich Bristol merchant who gave away lots of his money to good causes in Bristol, such as schools and almshouses for the poor. Twenty things in Bristol, from streets to schools, are named after him.

In 1895, a statue was put up honouring him, as 'one of the most virtuous and wise sons of their city'.

However, the statue has long been controversial because Edward Colston made all of his money in the transatlantic slave trade, buying and selling people as slaves.

The statue, and other sites in Bristol named after Colston, have been attacked and vandalised. In the photos you can see that, at various points, Colston's face was spray-painted white, someone attached a knitted ball and chain to his ankles and someone else put up an unofficial plaque that commemorates the victims of the transatlantic slave trade.

In 2018, Bristol City Council is planning to attach a new plaque to the statue. This will read:

'As a high official of the Royal African Company from 1680 to 1692, Edward Colston played an active role in the enslavement of over 84,000 Africans (including 12,000 children) of whom over 19,000 died en route to the Caribbean and America.

'Colston also invested in the Spanish slave trade and in slave-produced sugar. As Tory MP for Bristol (1710–1713), he defended the city's "right" to trade in enslaved Africans.

'Bristolians who did not subscribe to his religious and political beliefs were not permitted to benefit from his charities.'

However, this has proved controversial. A member of the City Council has objected to the idea of the new plaque, saying: ***'I have never been a believer in taking the law into one's own hands. However, … I cannot find it in my heart to condemn anyone who damages or removes it.'***

Lesson 2:

Statues in the news

Image credit: Howard Stanbury, Flickr

A statue of Cecil Rhodes, Oxford

Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) was a British businessman and politician. He made lots of money in Southern Africa and helped the British Empire develop control over that part of the world. The source of Rhodes' wealth was diamonds. He helped set up the country of Rhodesia (which is now Zimbabwe and Zambia).

Rhodes believed that white people and their culture were better than black people and their culture. He thought that white people were 'the first race in the world' and 'the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race'.

Rhodes gave money for the Rhodes Scholarship, which is a fund that helps talented university students to study in other countries. He also gave some of his money away to help Oriel College at the University of Oxford, which was struggling financially. The money he left Oriel College in his will helped pay for a new building. The building was decorated with a number of statues, including one of Rhodes himself.

In 2015, a protest movement was started against statues of Cecil Rhodes in South Africa. This spread to Oxford University, where some students demanded that the statue of Rhodes at Oriel College be removed.

In January 2016, Oxford University announced that the statue would not be removed. Some newspapers have suggested that Oriel College was worried that it might lose money in donations from angry former students if it took down the statue.

Lesson 2:

Statues in the news

Monument to the Women of World War II, Whitehall, London

In 2005, a memorial was put up that was designed to commemorate the contribution made by women to the Allied victory in the Second World War. It was unveiled by the Queen in the year of the 60th anniversary of the end of the war.

The memorial shows the uniforms worn by women who were part of the armed forces and other services during the war. The lettering on the memorial is designed to look like the lettering used in ration books, to make the point that it was often women who had to look after and feed their families when many things they needed were in short supply.

The memorial is located on a street called Whitehall in central London. On this street are many important government buildings and offices. It is just around the corner from Downing Street, where the prime minister lives. Perhaps most importantly, Whitehall is also the site of the Cenotaph, the British national war memorial that remembers the British soldiers who have died in conflicts since the First World War.

At the opening ceremony, the then Speaker of the House of Commons, Betty Boothroyd, said: 'This monument is dedicated to all the women who served our country and to the cause of freedom, in uniform and on the home front. I hope that future generations who pass this way will ask themselves: "what sort of women were they?" and look at our history for the answer.'

Image credit: Andrew Shiva / Wikipedia / CC BY-SA 4.0

Lesson 2:

Statues in the news

The fourth plinth, Trafalgar Square, London

Trafalgar Square is a square in the middle of London that remembers the victory of the British Royal Navy against the French at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. In the middle is a 52-metre-tall column with a statue of British Admiral Horatio Nelson, who died commanding the British fleet in that battle. The column was paid for by donations from the British public in the 1840s.

Around the edge of the square are four plinths for statues. Three of the plinths have statues on them. These are of King George IV and two military commanders who helped protect the British Empire in India: Major General Sir Henry Havelock and General Sir Charles James Napier.

The fourth plinth was supposed to have a statue of King William IV riding a horse but the money ran out.

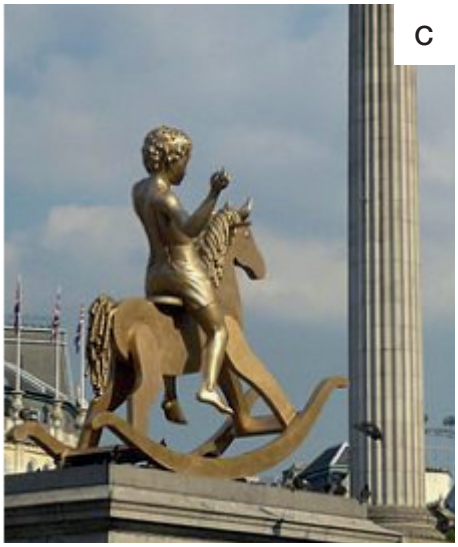
Since 1999, the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA) and later the Greater London Authority have put up temporary statues and art installations on the fourth plinth for about a year each. These include some of the things that are shown here.

A – Nelson's Ship in a Bottle. British-Nigerian artist Yinka Shonibare's sculpture is the only piece of art on the fourth plinth that has made reference to the fact that it is in Trafalgar Square. Here a model of Nelson's ship The Victory is given sails printed with African designs.

B – Alison Lapper Pregnant. British sculptor Marc Quinn chose to make a statue of a pregnant woman called Alison Lapper, who was born with no arms and no legs. According to his website: 'The sculpture celebrates in a very public way the beauty of a different body, … As well as being an artwork, the sculpture's presence in Trafalgar Square has been hugely empowering in the progress of disabled rights in the UK.'

C – Powerless Structures, Fig. 101. Scandinavian artists Michael Elmgreen and Ingar Dragset chose a bronze sculpture of a boy on a rocking horse. This was in contrast to the statues of kings and generals in the rest of the square.

D – One & Other. British sculptor Antony Gormley decided to let any member of the British public who wanted to stand on the plinth for an hour. They were allowed to do whatever they wanted. A total of 2,400 people took part. Some told jokes, some showed off, some made political protests and some just stood there.



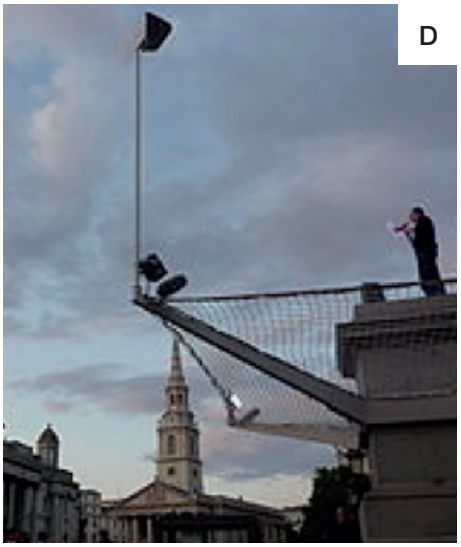


Image credits:
A: Photograph by Mike Peel (www.mikepeel.net)
B: Sarah Charlesworth / The 'Empty Plinth' in Trafalgar Square / CC BY-SA 2.0
C: Wikimedia Commons, Cmglee
D: Simon Lee, Flickr

Lesson 3:

Enquiry 3: Resources

Millicent Fawcett statue: multiple-choice questions

1.	Where is the new statue?	a) Whitehall, London b) Parliament Square, London c) The Houses of Parliament, London
2.	Who is the statue of?	a) Emmeline Pankhurst b) Alice Hawkins c) Millicent Fawcett
3.	How long did Millicent Fawcett campaign for women to have the right to vote?	a) Six decades b) Six years c) 16 years
4.	What two things make this statue unusual?	a) It is the first statue of a woman and it is the first statue by a woman in Parliament Square. b) It is the first statue of a woman in Parliament Square. c) It is the first statue by a woman in Parliament Square.
5.	What percentage of statues in the UK are of historical non-royal women?	a) Around 50% b) Around 33% c) Less than 3%
6.	Who inspired Millicent Fawcett to campaign for women's rights?	a) The philosopher John Stuart Mill b) Emmeline Pankhurst c) No one
7.	What was the name given to the group that Fawcett joined?	a) The suffragettes b) The suffragers c) The suffragists
8.	What kind of things did the suffragists NOT do?	a) Lobbying MPs b) Petitions c) Violent protests
9.	Which of these things did the suffragettes NOT do?	a) Riot b) Go on hunger strikes c) Assassinate politicians
10.	What happened in 1918?	a) All adult women were allowed to vote. b) Some adult women were allowed to vote. c) No adult women were allowed to vote.

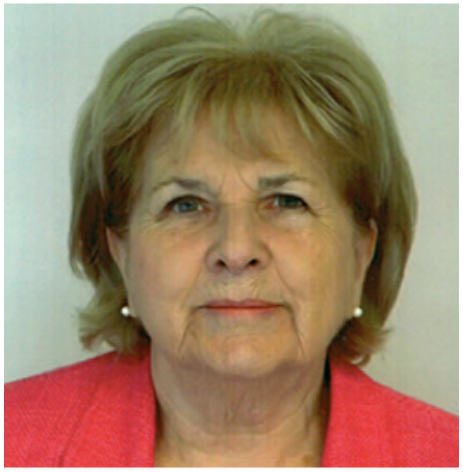
Lesson 3:

Millicent Fawcett statue: multiple-choice questions

11.	What happened in 1928?	a) All adult women were allowed to vote. b) Some adult women were allowed to vote. c) No adult women were allowed to vote.
12.	Why did the campaigner Caroline Criado-Perez start her campaign to get a statue of a woman in Parliament Square?	a) She thought that there were too many statues of men in Parliament Square. b) She thought that there should be more statues of women in Parliament Square. c) She thought that there should be at least one statue of a woman in Parliament Square.
13.	Why did Criado-Perez choose Millicent Fawcett?	a) She wanted it to be a statue of a woman whom we didn't already know about, who didn't already have a statue. b) She didn't want a statue of Emmeline Pankhurst. c) She is related to Millicent Fawcett.
14.	What does Criado-Perez say she likes about the design of the statue?	a) It makes it clear that Fawcett was a woman. b) It makes it clear that Fawcett was British. c) It makes it clear that Fawcett was part of a movement.

Lesson 3:

Purvis letter



June Purvis, Emeritus Professor of Women's nd Gender History, University of Portsmouth

It was pointed out on Tuesday that the words on the banner that the statue holds – 'Courage calls to courage everywhere' – were written by Fawcett about the suffragette Emily Wilding Davison, who died on 8 June 1913, days after running on to the Derby racecourse. What was not said was that those words were not written at the turbulent time of Davison's death, when Fawcett made no public comment, but in the relative safety of 1920. The NUWSS, which Fawcett headed up, did not even send a wreath to Davison's funeral and refused to take part.

To include these words on the banner is a travesty of justice, especially since the picture of Davison is placed at the back of the statue's plinth, hidden from view. And that is not the only point.

Fawcett does not represent the diversity of the women's suffrage movement. The well-known suffragette leader Emmeline Pankhurst (whose name was not even mentioned in the speeches) should also be in Parliament Square. After all, Caroline Criado-Perez, in her original petition for female representation in the square, signed by nearly 85,000 people, campaigned for a statue of a 'suffragette', not a 'suffragist'.

June Purvis

University of Portsmouth

https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/apr/25/misgivings-over-new-statue-and-old-portrait-of-millicent-fawcett

Lesson 3:

Case studies

Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (1836–1917)

Elizabeth was part of a large, well-to-do family. Her father was a wealthy businessman, who could afford to build a mansion for his family to live in and pay for Elizabeth to go to a private girls' school. Aged 18, Elizabeth met Emily Davies, an early feminist. The two became part of a group known as the Langham Place circle, which campaigned for women's entry into higher education, medicine and politics. Through this group, Elizabeth met Dr Elizabeth Blackwell, the first female doctor in the USA. Elizabeth became inspired to become a doctor.

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It would take much determination for Elizabeth to achieve her dream. At this time, women were not allowed to become doctors in Britain and so Elizabeth was turned down as a student at all the medical schools she applied to. She managed to study some medical classes at Middlesex Hospital, while working as a nurse, but she was soon kicked out after the male students complained about having to study with a woman. Fortunately, Elizabeth was still able to take her exams with the Society of Apothecaries, which she passed with top marks in 1865. Elizabeth thus became the first female doctor in Britain, having studied for and received a medical degree in Paris. She soon set up her own medical practice and, in 1866, she founded the first hospital staffed by women. Determined to train other women to become doctors, she co-founded the London School of Medicine for Women in 1874. There she taught her female students that 'the first thing women must learn is to dress like ladies and behave like gentlemen'.

At the same time, Elizabeth campaigned for female suffrage. In 1865, she helped found the Kensington Society, which wrote a petition asking for some women to have the vote. Elizabeth and her friend Emily Davies collected 1,521 signatures, which they personally presented to MP John Stuart Mill at the House of Commons in 1866. The petition failed. For a time, Elizabeth withdrew from the suffrage campaign, but in 1889 she became a member of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage.

Elizabeth campaigned peacefully for female suffrage for decades, but by the time she was 72 she had become frustrated with the lack of progress and so she joined the militant Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1908. As part of the suffragettes, she took part in a 'raid' on the House of Commons, gave speeches and marched in the WSPU's 'From Prison to Citizenship' march. Most publicly, she took part in the 'Black Friday' march in 1910, in which 300 suffragettes marched to the Houses of Parliament. Elizabeth was part of the leading group, including Emmeline Pankurst and Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, who tried to meet with the prime minister. The prime minister refused to meet them and the demonstration ended in awful violence.

From this point, the WSPU became increasingly violent and Elizabeth felt that she could no longer support them. She died after a long illness in 1917, just one year before women first gained the vote. In 1918, her London School of Medicine for Women was renamed the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in her honour. It still exists to this day and is now part of the University of London.

Case studies

Selina Cooper (1864–1946)

Selina was born into a big working-class family in Cornwall. Her father died when she was young and, facing complete poverty, her family moved north to find work in a Lancashire cotton mill. From the age of 13, Selina had to leave school and work full time in the mill to support her family.

Selina continued to work in a cotton mill as an adult. Determined to improve her education, Selina joined the Women's Co-operative Guild, which gave her the chance to read books about history, politics and even medicine, so she could help fellow workers who couldn't afford a visit to the doctors. She soon joined the Independent Labour Party (ILP) to campaign for better lives for workers. There she met her husband, Robert Cooper. Despite quickly having children, Selina stayed actively involved in politics.

In 1900, Selina joined the northern branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS). She helped organise a petition signed by women working in the Lancashire cotton mills, demanding the right to vote. She alone collected the signatures of 800 women and so was chosen as one of the 14 suffragist delegates to present the petition of 29,359 signatures to the House of Commons in London. She was soon talent-spotted by the leaders of the NUWSS and, from 1906, she was employed as a full-time NUWSS organiser. She travelled around the country and spoke at many NUWSS rallies, gaining a national reputation for her passionate speeches. NUWSS headquarters admired her efforts, with one organiser writing to her: 'I can't tell you what a difference it made when you came down and joined us, nor how much I admire your splendid energy and your convincing speaking.' In 1910 she was even chosen as one of the four women to present the case for female suffrage to the prime minister.

Throughout this time, Selina remained part of the Independent Labour Party (ILP). In 1901, she became the ILP's candidate for the Poor Law Guardian elections. Despite strong opposition among local newspapers, Selina became the first working-class woman to be elected as a Poor Law Guardian. Through her involvement in the ILP, Selina also did all she could to persuade the Labour Party to pledge their support for female suffrage. When they finally did, Selina persuaded the NUWSS to set up an Election Fighting Fund (EFF) to support Labour Party candidates in parliamentary by-elections, so that more MPs would be elected who supported female suffrage. From 1912–14, the EFF, with Selina Cooper's help, ensured the defeat of four politicians who opposed female suffrage.

Selina continued to be part of the NUWSS and the EFF throughout the

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First World War. Throughout this time, she helped to organise her town's first ever Maternity Centre, where she personally delivered 15 babies. Once some women were given the vote in 1918, she started to campaign for family allowances and better birth control for women. After her death in 1946, aged 81, her daughter received a letter from leading suffragist Kathleen Courtney, saying that Selina was 'a source of inspiration and comfort to very many'.

Lesson 3:

Case studies

Hannah Mitchell (1872–1956)

Hannah Mitchell was born to a poor farming family. She grew up resenting how she was treated differently from her brothers; she was expected to stay at home and help her mother with the housework just because she was a girl. Aged 14, Hannah had an awful row with her mother about this and, after being beaten with a stick, Hannah ran away from home.

Hannah managed to find work in Bolton as a dressmaker's assistant. Having never been allowed more than two weeks of formal schooling, Hannah was determined to gain an education. Although she was only earning eight shillings a week, Hannah subscribed to a small library so she could learn. While in Bolton, she met Gibbon Mitchell, whom she would go on to marry. Both Gibbon and Hannah Mitchell became involved in the socialist movement, which campaigned for better conditions for the working classes.

Through her time in the socialist movement, Hannah decided that more needed to be done for women's causes. As a result, in 1904, she became one of the first women to join the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) to campaign for female suffrage. Hannah soon became an active member of the suffragettes; she joined demonstrations and became a paid part-time organiser for the group in Oldham. She was a leading figure among the suffragettes, touring the north-east and London giving speeches, and even standing in for Emmeline Pankhurst at northern meetings. Like other suffragettes, she heckled Cabinet ministers and went to the House of Commons, where she pleaded in vain for her Liberal MP to support women's suffrage. She also spent time in prison for obstructing the police in 1906, although – to her annoyance – her husband bailed her out after just one night.

Exhausted from all this activity and from not eating properly, Hannah suffered a nervous breakdown in 1907. After her recovery, Hannah left the WSPU, having become frustrated with how the Pankhursts made all the decisions themselves and how they hadn't even contacted her during her breakdown. Instead, Hannah joined the Women's Freedom League and worked as a paid WFL organiser in Manchester, campaigning for female suffrage. After a time, though, Hannah felt forced to leave the organisation, believing that her nerves couldn't cope any more with militant protest.

Although she stayed interested in the suffrage cause, Hannah now focused her attention on working for the Manchester branch of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), which campaigned to improve workers' lives. Years later, in 1924, she was elected a member of the Manchester City Council, after

being nominated by the ILP. She worked as a councillor for 11 years, helping on the pensions and public health boards. She later wrote that her proudest moment as councillor was the opening of a public wash house, which she had campaigned for to help make working-class women's lives easier. For her contribution to the city, she has been described as 'an inspiration for us today' on the About Manchester website.

Lesson 3:

Case studies

Princess Sophia Duleep Singh (1876–1948)

Sophia was one of eight children born to an Indian prince – Duleep Singh. She, like all her brothers and sisters, was born in England, where her father had lived ever since he had been forced from his position in India by the British. Her father was friends with Queen Victoria and Sophia became her goddaughter. Queen Victoria gave Sophia her own set of rooms at Hampton Court Palace.

As a young woman, Sophia travelled to India in secret. There she met her Indian relatives and realised what the British had taken from them. She experienced racism and poverty and witnessed the suffering of many Indian people under British rule. The experience changed her; she returned to England determined to fight for Indian independence and equality more widely.

After returning to England, she joined the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1909. She became an energetic and high-profile campaigner for the suffragettes; she sold *The Suffragette* magazine outside her lodgings at Hampton Court Palace and chaired and addressed a number of suffragette meetings. She also helped fund the cause, through gathering subscriptions and carrying out an auction of her belongings.

Most famously, she took part in the 'Black Friday' march in 1910, in which 300 suffragettes marched to the Houses of Parliament. Sophia was part of the leading group, including Emmeline Pankurst, who tried to meet with the prime minister. He refused to meet them and so the demonstration continued. The suffragettes soon faced awful insults and violence from local police and onlookers. When Sophia saw one police officer pick up a woman and throw her on to the pavement, she immediately dashed over and forced the police officer to let her go. Not content with this, Sophia later launched a letter-writing campaign against the police officer involved.

As well as being part of the suffragettes, she joined the Women's Tax Resistance League. The group's slogan was 'No Vote, No Tax' and the group refused to pay their taxes to protest the fact that women couldn't vote. On several occasions Sophia refused to pay the required licence fees for keeping her precious championship dogs and, when she was fined as punishment, she then refused to pay the fine. Her diamond ring, pearl necklace and gold bangle were thus seized as punishment. Sophia's activism greatly frustrated the British government but she was never arrested, probably because it would be too risky for them to arrest an Indian princess.

Throughout her life, Sophia campaigned for other causes as well as female suffrage. During the First World War, she worked for the Red

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Cross as a nurse, tending wounded Indian soldiers at Brighton hospital. After the war, she arranged a flag day in honour of the Indian troops who fought in the war, which shocked people in both Britain and India.

Often wearing a small yellow and green badge with her motto 'Votes for women', she brought publicity to the cause of female suffrage in both Britain and India. Shortly before her death, she described her life's purpose as 'the advancement of women'.

Lesson 3:

Case studies comparison table

	Background: Class? Early Life? Other campaigns?	How did she contribute to the campaign for female suffrage? Which organisation was she part of? What role did she play?	What did she achieve? Did she achieve something for the suffrage campaign, or something unusual for women at the time?	Why should her campaign be commemorated? Which of my 'statue' criteria apply?
Elizabeth Garrett Anderson				
Selina Cooper				
Hannah Mitchell				
Princess Sophia Duleep Singh				

Lesson 4:

Database questions

Whose suffrage campaign story should we commemorate with a statue?

As you study the database, you might like to try to to find:

2. someone from the same background as you
3. an ordinary story
4. an unusual story
5. an inspiring story

You won't have a chance to look for all of these things, so choose one that you think might be most important.

Not everyone will find suffrage campaigners who are from the same area or background.

There are some questions that might help you think about

If a suffrage campaigner's story is really typical or ordinary, does that make it worthier of remembering with a statue?

1. someone from the same area as you

these issues.

How do you feel about the stories that you have found?

- If a campaigner is from the same place, or background, as you, does it change how you feel about them?
- Should it? (Think about Hawkins' statue in Leicester, or Pankhurst's in Manchester.)

If a suffrage campaigner's story is really unusual, does that make it worthier of remembering with a statue?

- Why? (Think about Fawcett in Parliament Square, or Hawkins or Pankhurst.)
- Why? (Think about the Monument to the Women of World War II.)

1. Someone from the same area as you

You might find it helpful to think about the following questions:

- Where are you 'from'?
- Is this the same as where you live?
- Do you feel like you are 'from' many places?
- Do you feel that you are 'from' nowhere at all?
- Are you 'from' an area, a village, city or town, or a region? For instance, if you live in St Pauls in Bristol, are you 'from' 'St Pauls', 'Bristol', 'the West Country' or somewhere else?
- Are there any suffrage campaigners 'from' your area?
- If a suffrage campaigner is 'from' the same town as you, but is much richer or poorer, are you two 'from' the same place?
- How does it make you feel about the suffrage campaigners if they are, or aren't, from your area? Does it matter to you? Should it matter to anyone?

2. Someone from the same background as you

You might find it helpful to think about the following questions:

- What would you say is your 'background'?
- Many, many things shape who we are. Some of these things include the religion, gender, class, race, nationality and experiences of the people we live with and around.
- Are there suffrage campaigners who you feel have a similar 'background' to you?
- If there are, or aren't, does it change the way you feel about them?