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Chapter 1: Introduction

The story of the campaign for votes for women in the United Kingdom has for the most part been told from the point of view of the leadership – of both the constitutional and militant campaigns – and from a London-centric perspective. In her introduction to the papers of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women’s Suffrage, written in 1980, Elspeth King noted that those searching for references to Scotswomen or events in Scotland in the histories of the suffrage movement would find very little information: “If Scotland is mentioned at all, it is usually in the context of a flying visit by one of the Pankhurst family. The women’s suffrage movement in Scotland has been ignored by academic historians and popularisers alike.”¹ Despite the fact that the decades that followed saw ground-breaking research on this very subject, including King’s own chapter on the Scottish women’s suffrage movement in Breitenbach and Gordon’s *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society, 1800-1945*² and Leah Leneman’s important books, *A Guid Cause*³ and *The Scottish Suffragettes*,⁴ scholars were still noting the dearth of research on the subject. Leneman wrote, “So far, the story of the fight for the vote in Britain has been told almost exclusively from the point of view of the metropolitan leadership” while in 1997 Esther Breitenbach argued that work on Scottish women, as a whole, is still “curiously rare”.⁵

In recent years, however, this approach has been tempered by studies from the perspective of the regions or the rank and file. A study of working-class suffrage workers in Lancashire by Jill Liddington and Jill Norris in 1978 was ground breaking in this regard⁶ and was followed by other studies of how region, class and religion impacted on women’s engagement with the suffrage movement. In Scotland such studies might be small-scale, such as Lindy Moore’s study of the WSPU campaign in the 1907 Aberdeen by-election,⁷ my own work on political letter-writing in the same city⁸ and Marsali Taylor’s study of women’s suffrage in Shetland,⁹ or much wider in focus, for example Megan Smitley’s work on the intersection between the

Scottish temperance and suffrage movements.¹⁰ Jacqueline deVries¹¹ calls this new focus the “politics of location” and notes how the arrival of Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) organisers in the villages and towns of Scotland, Ireland or Wales might sometimes do more damage than good since local and regional economies and cultures shaped the local suffrage movement in different ways to those attempting to be imposed by the leadership in London. As will be seen, this was certainly true for Scotland, and local leaders could find themselves removed from office by Emmeline Pankhurst if they tried to work within their own political contexts and did not tread the WSPU line. DeVries’ review of new scholarship on women’s suffrage in Britain, published in 2013, argues that the field of suffrage scholarship is still vibrant and popular. Her section on the “politics of location” suggests that the study of regional dynamics is one of the clearest trends in suffrage scholarship. Interestingly, however, although she gives examples of Welsh and Irish studies, deVries makes no mention of any specifically Scottish studies.

In 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 exchanges in the press between Purvis and Pugh on their different assessments of the Pankhurst women.¹² Thus a renewed focus on the campaign for women’s suffrage outside London, indeed outside England, offers a useful corrective to the Pankhurst- and London-focused histories of recent years. In particular, we can investigate how women in the regions were invigorated and activated politically by the campaign for votes for women in much the same way that the recent Scottish independence referendum enlivened and mobilised new female political forces in the country.

Scotland was an important focus throughout the campaign for the vote, particularly because several senior figures in the Liberal government held seats in the country: Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who was Prime Minister 1905–08, served as the MP for Stirling Burghs; the anti-

suffragist Herbert Henry Asquith (Prime Minister 1908–16) held the seat of East Fife; and the 1908 by-election in Dundee that returned Winston Churchill as the city's MP was one of several contests that attracted the leaders of the suffrage movement north in that year. In addition, the militant society that broke away from the 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 and the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage were based in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Thus a study of the Scottish press allows us to hear arguments on the subject of women's suffrage from different voices based outside the London leadership of the main suffrage societies, and a focus on the Scottish experience contributes to a wider and more nuanced picture of both the women's suffrage movement and the wider history of women and politics in Scotland.

The comparatively limited amount of research conducted on the suffrage campaign in Scotland is matched by the limited amount of research on the history of the Scottish media as a whole, outside histories of specific newspapers. Liam Connell points out how surprising this is, considering the frequent claims made about the country's media patterns helping to preserve Scottish distinctiveness.¹³ Even in the twenty-first century, and with the decline in print sales brought about by the Internet revolution, newspaper reading in Scotland is marked by close regional identification, with Glaswegians preferring the *Herald* while those who live in Edinburgh read *The Scotsman*, plus strong competition from regional titles such as Aberdeen's *Press & Journal* and Dundee's *Courier*.¹⁴ At the start of the twentieth century the ability of the provincial press to create a sense of local identity and attachment, for working-class readers in particular, cannot be overestimated.¹⁵

In common with newspapers throughout the UK, the nineteenth-century Scottish press benefited from the repeal of the three 'Taxes on Knowledge' with the removal of Advertisement Duty in 1853, Newspaper Stamp Duty in 1855 and Paper Duties in 1861.

Newspapers were thus able to lower their purchase price and enjoy a growth in advertising revenues, and the late nineteenth century saw a great expansion in numbers and circulations of newspapers in Scotland. Literacy rates had improved since the passing of the 1872 Education Act, which brought in compulsory education for all children between the ages of five and thirteen, widening potential readerships to include the educated working classes. Hutchison argues that literacy rates – amongst men and women – were higher in Scotland than in England during the later nineteenth century and that participation in education at higher levels was also more frequent, thus readership percolated further down the social scale than in England.¹⁶ Cities such as Aberdeen and Dundee were able to support more than one local newspaper, catering to different demographics and political interests. Unlike the situation today, at the start of the twentieth century there was no Holyrood Parliament or Scottish government for the Scottish newspapers to discuss. Connell argues that, for these reasons, there was a limited amount of stories that were relevant to the whole of Scotland and few news stories during this period can be thought of as truly national.¹⁷ Therefore, he argues, Scottish newspapers tended to focus either on local affairs or British-wide stories, particularly events happening in London. However, Hutchison suggests that the distinctiveness of Scottish institutions, such as the law, religion and education, meant that Scottish newspapers were able to provide a forum for debate on such matters that was not found elsewhere in the country.¹⁸ Whichever side of the argument you find more convincing, it is clear that some editors aspired to make their newspaper the national Scottish title. In Aberdeen, for example, the editors of the conservative *Aberdeen Daily Journal* were determined not only to make their newspaper the pre-eminent newspaper in the north-east, in the face of strong competition from the more liberal *Aberdeen Free Press*, but William Maxwell, editor from 1910, was also keen to compete with *The Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald*. This desire to develop a provincial newspaper into a national one meant more coverage of national news (both Scottish and British). The Scottish press also benefited from

the limitations of the railways. Whilst English provincial newspapers started to lose their readerships to the London-based morning newspapers, which could now be sent throughout England by early morning trains, it was still difficult for newspaper trains to reach Scotland in time to compete with home-grown morning newspapers and therefore Scottish newspapers had a long breathing space in which to build up customer loyalty.¹⁹ Improvements in technology also helped the expansion of provincial newspapers, which were now able to rely on Reuters for the provision of cheap foreign news and reports from London, sent through the telegraph wires either by their own “London correspondent” or – for smaller newspapers – by the Press Association, established in 1868.

The period covered by this book was an extremely important time in the development of the mass media in Britain. A new type of newspaper, exemplified in Scotland by the *Daily Record*, established by Alfred Harmsworth in 1895, appeared for a new mass readership. These mass-market dailies soon passed older newspapers such as *The Times* in terms of sales because of the sensationalist nature of their reporting and the “human interest” stories offered. For such newspapers the activities of the suffragettes offered exciting possibilities. Donald Matheson argues that the period also saw the birth of a new news discourse, as “the public sphere, in Habermas’ terms... shifted from the coffee house to the news page”.²⁰ He argues that during this period the news moved from a pre-modern text, which was merely a straight-forward reporting of events, with no attempt at interpretation, to a journalistic discourse where “information from external texts was now severely edited, summarized and contextualised by the newspaper, and was thus translated into a single news style”.²¹ No longer did reporters merely transcribe speeches or report news as it happened. Instead, they reworked material into stories, offering interpretations and descriptions, using interviews, previous news stories, decked headlines, introductory paragraphs and even photographs to weave together a range of voices into one. Sketch-writers might be used in addition to straight news reporters in order to

present a story from a new angle. By covering – or ignoring – a particular subject, newspapers influenced what their readership was thinking about. Editorials or “leaders” helped to form public opinion by presenting their readership with one over-arching point of view on a subject such as women’s suffrage over a period of years.

This was also a period that saw the appearance of the “woman’s page” in many newspapers. Reliant on advertising, needing editorial to support advertisements from the newly established department stores and other retailers of fashion, and becoming aware of a growing appetite for news and opinions on “women’s issues”, many of the newspapers in this study had established women’s columns or pages by the early years of the twentieth century. This was in direct contrast to the previous century when women’s activities, apart from mentions of murders or assaults, were mostly invisible in the press.²² These women’s pages defined women’s concerns conservatively, placing them within the domestic sphere and focusing on home-making, motherhood, and appearance.²³ However, as we will see, reports of “at homes” where the question of the enfranchisement of women was discussed might also be included on these pages.

These newly established women’s pages tended to be written by “female correspondents” or “woman journalists”, who were rarely named or given coy pseudonyms at the top of their columns. Although the career of journalist was beginning to open to women, the woman journalist was not usually expected to cover the same stories as men. As an article entitled “What It Means to be a Lady Journalist” in *The Young Woman* made clear in 1900: “It is Fashion, no doubt, which created the lady journalist.... It must not be imagined that the lady journalist does exactly the same kind of work as the mere man.... It must be distinctly understood that woman’s work in journalism is essentially the feminine side.”²⁴ In 1900, the Society of Woman Journalists had only 69 members. Two years earlier, Arnold Bennett had written in *Journalism for Women* that Fleet Street had two species – journalists and women

journalists – and that the one was about as far removed organically from the other as a dog from a cat.²⁵ William Wallace, editor of the *Glasgow Herald* until 1909, apparently set the table aroar at a staff dinner by suggesting that there would one day be lady reporters or even sub-editors employed by the *Herald*: ‘It would add ten years to my life if every night I could approach some fascinating creature in *mousseline de soie* or *crepe-de-chine* and say – ‘My dear Miss A, I should be glad if you would write a sparkling article on the Constitution of the Clyde Trust, or the Bank rate, or the Unrest in the Balkans’.’²⁶

This does not mean, however, that women’s writing could not be found in newspapers outside the women’s page, or that women did not read all pages of the newspapers. Caroline A. I. Phillips wrote for the conservative *Aberdeen Daily Journal* during the first two decades of the twentieth century whilst also organising the Aberdeen branch of the Women’s Social and Political Union, and had to be warned by the editor to retain her objectivity and not mix her political opinions with her reporting. Nonetheless many of these women journalists were also asked to turn their hand to reporting on the growing woman’s suffrage movement, offering eyewitness reports of meetings and marches – and the enthusiasm and pleasure that some of them felt at these events is evident in their reports. There is also some evidence that the reports submitted by these women might be used by editors to provide a comparative point of view to that of the main newspaper. A letter to the *Motherwell Times* in 1914 claiming to come from a woman journalist described how she had been asked to write on a local suffragist meeting by the editor of a newspaper whose politics were Tory. “After fumbling over the ‘proof’ he had given for a minute or two, my conscience—a fairly accommodating organ as a rule—smote me, and I blurted out: ‘I can’t do this.’ ‘Why?’ asked the editor in surprise. ‘Because,’ I said, ‘I believe women ought to have votes.’ ‘But, lorblissus!’ cried the editor, ‘that’s just what we want you to say!’”²⁷ It is surprising, then, to note the limited amount of research by historians of the twentieth-century political press on the subject of women’s suffrage.²⁸

One of the reasons for the lack of research into the Scottish women's suffrage movement is the sparseness of historical records. Therefore the use of supplementary materials such as newspapers can offer a new angle on this problem, particularly given the digitisation projects of recent years that have made them more accessible to the researcher. Newspapers offer a key source for the history of the woman's suffrage movement in Britain, which is not surprising when the importance of the press to the WSPU in particular is considered. The first act of militancy occurred in October 1905 when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney, a working-class mill-hand from Yorkshire, disrupted a Liberal meeting in Manchester by heckling the speakers and were arrested after Christabel – legally trained and therefore knowledgeable about what she needed to do to be arrested and charged – spat at a policeman. Faced with the payment of a fine or a short prison sentence, both opted to be imprisoned. The resulting coverage in the press was an educational experience for the leadership of the WSPU and it adopted these new “tactics” of interrupting meetings and refusing to pay fines in order to gain maximum publicity for the cause. Arguing that the suffrage question had been ignored by the press until that moment, Christabel stated: “Where peaceful means had failed, one act of militancy succeeded and never again was the cause ignored by ... any ...newspaper.”²⁹ The move of WSPU headquarters from Manchester to London also facilitated national press coverage of the “suffragettes” – a term coined by the *Daily Mail* during the general election of 1906 to distinguish the militants from the constitutional suffragists.

This study builds on my previous work on women's correspondence to Aberdeen newspapers 1900–1918. My early research using newspapers took place in archives and libraries, carefully turning the yellowing pages of the newspapers and laboriously copying out by hand (and in pencil) the relevant material. The task of the historian has been made easier in recent years by the digitisation of newspapers, meaning that access and search facilities are much improved. I have therefore been able to access newspapers from throughout Scotland for this book via

digital resources such as the British Newspapers Archive and *The Scotsman Online*, which has allowed me to amass a much greater number of texts in a comparatively shorter time. My main focus has been on the Scottish mainland – for those interested in the press and the suffrage campaign in Shetland, Marsali Taylor makes good use of newspaper sources in her *Women's Suffrage in Shetland*.³⁰ However, as Adrian Bingham warns in his useful review article on the use of digitized newspaper archives, such easy access brings its own issues.³¹ For example, scanning and character-recognition problems can hamper digital searches and, more problematically, results can be separated from their original page, meaning that contextualisation is lost. I have guarded against this problem as much as possible by reading articles within their original page and also noting, for example, the order in which letters to the editor are printed. Some sources, such as the *Aberdeen Free Press* and the *Glasgow Herald*, have not been digitised, either fully or at all, and so these were accessed via the more traditional route of visiting archives. In addition, it should be pointed out that the de-contextualisation issue is not one that is unique to digitised sources. I have also been able to make use of collections of press cuttings held at libraries and archives around the country. Some of these collections were made by archivists or others interested in the suffrage movement in Scotland, but others were made by contemporaries, such as the press cuttings kept with the papers of Chrystal Macmillan in the Scottish National Library. Such press cuttings – by their own name – have been clipped out of their original pages and therefore have also lost immediate contextualisation, although may have gained other types of contextualisation by being placed in such collections. It should be noted that similar press-cuttings collections were made by the suffrage societies themselves. John Mercer points out that all the major suffrage organisations established press departments – or at least press secretaries – to monitor press coverage, liaise with newspapers and despatch articles, opinion pieces or letters to the editor to the press.³² Whilst it was initially the WSPU that was at the forefront of such engagement with newspapers,

other suffrage societies soon followed suit when they realised how beneficial press coverage of the demand for the vote could be – and also that there was a need to get constitutional voices in the press as well as militant ones. The minute books of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, held at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, offer a fascinating glimpse of one suffrage association's growing acceptance of the need for engagement with the press.

Previous studies of the British suffrage movement have used press coverage as source material, although most have focused on national, London-based newspapers with little reference, if any, to newspapers outside London apart from the *Manchester Guardian*. Katherine E. Kelly's analysis of newspaper coverage of the suffrage processions in London between 1906 and 1913 points out that the London dailies not only reported these events in detail but also provided photographs, thus increasing the visibility of suffrage workers, both in the metropolis and the wider country, and providing a pictorial narrative of the changes in the tactics of both suffragettes and suffragists during the decades.³³ She argues that the press and the suffrage movement were symbiotic: through collaboration, the suffragettes gained visibility and the press provided its readership with spectacle and modernity. However, she also points out that, while press coverage could be enthusiastic, sometimes it was more curious than positive, focusing more on the response of the crowds to the marchers than the cause itself. Krista Cowman and John Mercer have also used the national press as source material in their investigations of mainstream press coverage of the WSPU, while Ragnhild Nessheim's study of British newspapers' discussion of the debates surrounding women's suffrage has described the influential role of press opinion in the suffrage movement.³⁴ Jane Chapman's study of gender, citizenship and newspapers argues that changes in editor or proprietor could lead to changes in a newspaper's attitude to women's suffrage and, indeed, that female journalists

could also change opinion on the issue. She also notes that many once-sympathetic newspapers later turned against militant tactics.³⁵

One of the issues faced by early suffragists was how to get their campaign into the newspapers. The “newsworthiness” of a story depends on a number of different variables or “news values”. These values were first identified by Galtung and Ruge in their analysis of the selection of foreign news stories in the Norwegian press in the early 1960s.³⁶ While their taxonomy of news values has been updated for the contemporary press, for example by Harcup and O’Neill in 2001,³⁷ the basic essentials of what makes a story more likely to be selected for coverage by newspapers have stayed the same, and can be useful tools in examining the growth of press interest in the suffrage campaign. News values are the key news factors that increase the likelihood of a story achieving press coverage. Of relevance to the suffrage campaign discussed in this book are news values such as conflict, entertainment, proximity, negativity and elite persons. As Katherine E. Kelly has described, the newspapers and the suffragettes established a symbiotic relationship in which the press sold newspapers and the suffragettes achieved publicity. The suffragettes offered the potential of stories about violent conflict, criticism of elite persons such as politicians and entertaining descriptions of meetings and demonstrations. As the suffragette movement arrived in Scotland, the proximity of these events to the Scottish newspapers’ readers became important, as did the negative impact of suffragette militancy on public and private buildings. This book also argues that the suffragettes offered more modern news values such as celebrity since the coverage of these women often focused on their appearance, families and personalities, and emphasised their connections to elite persons such as members of the aristocracy and actresses.

Suffrage organisations in the UK did not rely only on the mainstream press to make their claims known to the interested reader. The WSPU certainly saw its own newspapers as a necessary corrective to some of the coverage of the organisation in the mainstream press. Most of the

larger associations produced newspapers of their own – the WSPU’s *Votes for Women* and later *The Suffragette*, the WFL’s *The Vote*, the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies’ (NUWSS) *The Common Cause* and later the East London Federation of Suffragettes’ *Women’s Dreadnought*, established by Sylvia Pankhurst – and scholars have made good use of these as source material. Jane Chapman, for instance, has examined the relationship between the WSPU and the department stores whose windows they smashed and yet whose advertising they continued to carry in their newspapers.³⁸ Scholars such as Maria diCenzo and Simone Murray have positioned the women’s suffrage press within histories of the wider radical press, with diCenzo also investigating the experience of the ‘newsies’, who bravely stood in gutters to sell *Votes for Women* on the street.³⁹

Press coverage of women’s suffrage has also been undertaken by scholars outside the UK, such as Linda J. Lumsden’s analysis of press coverage of the 1913 National Suffrage Parade in Washington DC⁴⁰ and Elizabeth V. Burt’s analysis of the Wisconsin press.⁴¹ Burt’s analysis of ten Wisconsin newspapers agrees with Chapman that, far from representing a united front, the mainstream press could represent a diversity of voices on the subject of woman suffrage, influenced by the personal positions of editors, political affiliations, the demographics of their readers and the sources of their stories. Of particular relevance to this study, she found that newspaper coverage of the suffrage issue did not depend on the size of the newspaper, and that smaller newspapers might in fact devote just as much, if not more, space to original stories on women’s suffrage than larger ones.

This book does not claim to be the product of a complete study of all Scottish newspapers’ coverage of the woman suffrage issue. Such a review would take a lifetime. Neither is the aim to produce a history of the women’s suffrage movement in Scotland, which has already been admirably achieved by previous writers, particularly Leah Leneman. Instead, the aim of the book is to investigate the engagement of campaigners for women’s suffrage with the press in

Scotland. It traces changes within the suffrage campaign in Scotland and focuses on how Scottish women – both those in favour and those opposed to votes for women – used the mainstream press to step into the public sphere in order to debate the suffrage issue. While there have been studies of the suffrage press, this book focuses on the regional mainstream press in Scotland, its reporting of the suffrage campaign and the way campaigners from all sides of the question engaged in vigorous debate through the agency of the press. Letters to the editor allowed debate about the issue from a variety of different viewpoints, and constitutional parties such as the NUWSS learned from the militants the value of some of their tactics, increasing their own public demonstrations and media coverage.

In particular, this book uses material taken from Letters to the Editor columns in Scottish newspapers. Letters to the editor of a newspaper can provide researchers with a useful “thermometer” with which to measure the amount of “heat” – in terms of critical debate and discussion – a particular issue is arousing in the locality.⁴² Research into the contents of correspondence columns in local newspapers can offer a different perspective from which to approach issues usually examined on a national basis. Before the advent of the internet these columns were one of the few arenas available for public discussion by regular citizens and might be seen as a key institution in the formation of the Habermasian public sphere.⁴³ Letters to the editor of either your local newspaper or an institution such as *The Times* allowed a reader to argue his or her case in the wider court of public opinion. Alison Cavanagh, for example, uses letters to the editor of *The Times* in the 1880s as evidence for the changing cultural status of the press during the late nineteenth century and the growing mediatization of society. She argues that some of the letters to *The Times* are early evidence of the integration of the media and everyday life as the media, in this case newspapers, became ‘go-between’ institutions, arbitrating and translating between other areas of social, cultural and economic life.⁴⁴

Unlike letters published in newspapers, collections of personal letters have proved a rich source of material for social and cultural historians for many years. Biographers have always made good use of the letters of their subjects, whether those written by them or those they received. Pat Jalland utilised personal correspondence and papers in her work on the wives and daughters of political figures during the Victorian period.⁴⁵ However, such collections of personal correspondence must always be fragmented, dependent on what happens to have survived. Despite the fact that newspaper correspondence offers an opportunity for historians to investigate a complete run of published correspondence, less use has been made of such letters written for publication. This is particularly true when looking at women correspondents, despite the fact that they offer the social historian a particularly valuable source for what Patricia Branca has called the “history of the inarticulate”. In her study of middle-class women during the Victorian period, Branca utilised the letters of women to the editors of women’s magazines, arguing that they offered unique insight into the lives and concerns of a group of women who otherwise left little written evidence.⁴⁶ However, while Branca used women’s letters to magazines – publications aimed specifically at them – there has been less use of their letters to newspapers. Lindy Moore does make use of letters to two Aberdeen newspapers in her study of suffragists’ use of the press during the Aberdeen by-election of 1907⁴⁷ and Leah Leneman’s work on the women’s suffrage movement in Scotland makes some use of Scottish local newspapers to establish a chronological view of events, but rarely mentions letters to the editor.⁴⁸

As far as the suffrage issue was concerned, letters to the press might do more than merely reflect public opinion: they might also affect the chain of events. In March 1912, Almroth Wright, the eminent bacteriologist, wrote a letter to *The Times* on the subject of women’s demand for enfranchisement. This letter was published on the morning of the debate on the Conciliation Bill, which sought to offer a limited amount of political power to women. In the

letter, Wright attributed mental aberrations to the majority of women, and suffragists in particular. Such a misogynistic letter called forth indignant replies from many, including famous anti-suffragists such as Mrs Humphrey Ward, but the damage had been done. Alroth Wright's letter was referenced several times during the debate, which ended in defeat for the Bill and a renewal of violence from the suffragettes for another two years.

This book uses a chronological structure to demonstrate that all sides of the debate — the militant suffragettes, the constitutional suffragists, the anti-suffragists and the ladies' political party associations — increasingly engaged with the Scottish press. It also investigates how Scottish newspapers' coverage of woman suffrage, and the ways in which the Scottish newspapers framed the story of the fight for the vote for women, changed during the period. Newspapers use "frames" to present a series of facts about an issue in order to lead to a particular interpretation of the story. By selecting certain facts and ignoring others plus the use of particular language when discussing a story, newspapers can suggest to their readers how they ought to feel about an issue – or whether they need to consider it at all. Over the period of years investigated by this book, the Scottish press offered a number of different frames through which their readers could perceive the campaign for women's suffrage. At the start of the century what coverage that there was of the suffrage issue in the Scottish press focused on debating the arguments for and against the enfranchisement of women. However, by its limited reporting of the campaign, the press also framed women's suffrage as an insignificant issue that their readers did not have to worry about. By 1907, however, the focus had shifted to the militant actions of the suffragettes and debates on the differences between constitutional and militant suffragism, and between the suffragettes and Women's Liberal Associations. Local newspapers focused on the activities of the militants when they were active in their area by reporting meetings and disturbances, or the activities and arrests of Scottish women, either in their home town or further afield. Frames used by the press during this period focused on the

light entertainment offered by the suffragettes and how feminine they really were. Overall, the Scottish press moved towards a positive attitude towards the cause of woman's suffrage – albeit to be achieved at some unidentified point in the future. Here they were influenced by several arguments offered by the suffragettes, including the need for justice for suitably qualified women and the importance of having a female point of view in governance relating to social and welfare issues. Here the press used a frame offered by the suffragettes themselves relating to the “two spheres” ideal and the different abilities and values of women. However, as the militant campaign became more violent in the years directly before the First World War, and more militant activity occurred in Scotland, newspaper coverage of the sensational stories provided by the suffragettes became focused on violence and “hysteria” rather than on the arguments provided by the campaigners, and disapproval of militancy could be found on both editorial and correspondence pages. The suffragettes were presented as violent hooligans and there was little reporting of the more moderate side of the movement. The outbreak of the First World War immediately brought an end to militant action and the suffrage associations channelled their energies into supporting the war effort – provoking praise from newspapers. However, during the war a more inconsistent picture of the suffragette appeared in the pages of the press, as some become involved in campaigns for peace. The achievement of the vote for some women at the end of the war was greeted with muted satisfaction as women turned their attention to contributing to the re-building of the nation.

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