Women played a critical role in the defeat of the concession. In the Shiraz protests, a woman and her young daughter were killed by government forces. It is said that even the women of the royal court refused to serve water pipes to their husbands. In his book *Tahrim-e Tanbakoo, Avvalin Mogavemat-e Manfi dar Iran* ("The Tobacco Boycott, the First Passive Resistance in Iran," published in Persian by Jibi Publication House in 1982 in Tehran), Ebrahim Taymouri writes:

Women's perseverance in this movement was such that when the ban on tobacco was announced, they led the protestors who were marching toward Naser al-din Shah palace. As they passed through the bazaar, the women closed down the shops.

One woman who played a leading role in the Tobacco Boycott was Zainab Pasha. Born in Tabriz, she was also known as Žainab Baji or Deh-Bashi Žainab. She invited men to join in the fight against the oppressors. During a conversation with a group of men she is said to have declared, "If you men do not have the courage to punish the oppressors... wear our veil and go home. Do not claim to be men; we will fight instead of you." (For a man to wear a veil was, and still is, considered one of the most degraded expressions of weakness and timidity.) She then took off her veil and threw it at them, an utterly courageous act for that era. Zainab Pasha was also an excellent organizer of women, whom she encouraged to take a stand on issues. During the boycott, she even led groups of armed women who would shut down shops that had reopened under government threat.