

THERE CAN BE NO
SPORT OR PEACE
UNTIL WOMEN
HAVE THE VOTE

VOTES
FOR
WOMEN

Suffragette City: Spatial Knowledge and Suffrage Work in Bath, 1909-14¹

Cynthia Hammond

Introduction: Beyond the Garden

On a late autumn Sunday afternoon in 1909, suffragist Mary Blathwayt (1879-1961) made an uncharacteristically short entry in her daily journal: 'have not been beyond the garden today.'² One might think of this Sunday as a pause in the rounds of activity in which this busy young woman was otherwise engaged, and likely it was, comparatively, a day of rest. But Blathwayt was referring to the generous lawns, flower beds, and arboretum found at her family home, Eagle House in Batheaston, a small suburb on the north-eastern periphery of Bath, Somerset. These grounds – this 'garden' – were one of several nodes in a vital circuit of suffrage activity in Bath in the years leading up to World War I, activity that made this village on the eastern reaches of Bath a key site in local, pre-war, feminist activism [fig. 1].

If Mary Blathwayt did no more than walk through the lower garden and gaze at the late autumn flowers that she and her mother had grown – white, green, and violet, the official colours of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) – she continued to participate, visually, in a field of political action. If she walked to the upper reaches of the garden, where the family and their gardeners had planted conifers and holly bushes in honour of women who fought for the vote, the 'suffragettes' wood', she would have immersed herself in a site of remarkable symbolic intensity. And if her movements that day kept Blathwayt mostly inside, there too she would have been immersed in the visual and material culture of suffrage work: admiring photographs that her father had taken of visiting suffragettes; writing letters to fellow suffrage workers, doing up accounts for the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), or mending her green and white dresses, custom-made for suffrage processions.³ As the day came to a close, Blathwayt would have planned



fig 1: Portrait of Mary Blathwayt, 1911. Photograph by Col. Linley Blathwayt
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

Facing: Detail of specimens of the luggage labels left by suffragettes at Bath Golf Links.
March 3rd, 1914

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

with her parents whether she would take a tram into central Bath to greet the next suffragist visitor, or drive with her father. These visitors were often women who had recently been released from prison, and were in need of rest or even medical care.⁴

What might seem like a passing entry in a private diary thus can lead the reader directly to the larger spatial context of Edwardian feminism in the city of Bath.⁵ In my previous work on the relationship between the city of Bath and early-twentieth-century women, I concentrated on the creation and significance of the Batheaston arboretum, and the beautiful collection of photographs that, having survived the arboretum's destruction in the 1960s, remain almost the only trace of that singular landscape.⁶ What remained unexplored in my study, however, was the question of how early twentieth-century feminists used the larger space of the city for their cause. Beyond the garden, then, this essay seeks to make visible the spatial nature of suffrage

activism in Bath. My goal is to understand how women, in search of the vote, deployed the built environment of Bath: its landmark buildings, private homes, city streets, and its centre and periphery as part of their daily movements on behalf of women's suffrage.

The group of mostly women and some men that fall under the broader, pro-suffrage rubric in Bath prior to World War I was not homogenous. In addition to their political differences (there were by 1913 seven different pro-suffrage societies in Bath),⁷ women's suffrage workers were different in terms of class and age⁸ as well as gender. They also differed in their spatial relationships to the city. While a number of key figures were born in or made Bath their home, such as Mary Blathwayt, many others journeyed to Bath for symbolic or strategic purposes. Some stayed for a few hours or a day to give a lecture, while others criss-crossed the city every few hours, or the region, via Bath, every few days, such as Blathwayt's friend and frequent collaborator, Annie Kenney (1879-1953) [fig. 2]. Such journeys are themselves telling of the intensity of suffrage work in Bath and environs, but also speak to the interconnections



fig 2: Portrait of Annie Kenney, 28 March 1909.
Photograph by Col. Linley Blathwayt
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

between centres (London, Bristol) and peripheries in the suffrage campaign, and how divisions within the suffrage movement reconciled in a small town. In Bath there is plenty of evidence that militant and non-militant suffrage workers collaborated, supported one another's efforts, and would even stand in for one another when necessary. This sense of collaboration is beautifully manifested in the Blathwayts' arboretum, which despite its hierarchical nature, honoured different kinds of suffrage workers.

Bath is, further, an interesting site for a study of suffrage activism as its population was predominantly female and yet not particularly predisposed to the efforts of the suffragists and

even less to those of the militant 'suffragettes' in the city.⁹ Women constituted 65 per cent of the population in 1911, or 29,971 individuals. That majority was further concentrated between the ages of 20-44, in this grouping, Bath women outnumbered men 2-1.¹⁰ A 1910 poll of more than one thousand women municipal voters in Bath found, however, that only 23 per cent were in favour of having the Parliamentary vote, despite decades of campaigning.¹¹ Bath was not a place, therefore, where suffrage work found a warm reception, but it was a place where the impact of suffrage for women would have been considerable. This essay aims, then, to contribute to the growing literature on the regional character of suffrage work.

Additionally, this essay situates its findings in relation to the history of women's spatial knowledge and practices. There are no primary sources that speak *directly* to women's accumulation, through suffrage work, of spatial capital in Bath. By spatial capital I mean not only familiarity but rather a particular knowledge of a given place, such as a city, and the ability to occupy or deploy various locations within that place to one's own ends, in a way that accumulates power, visibility, or effect. Although the Blathwayt family were prolific diarists, and the content of those diaries is enormously useful, the diaries do not, especially in the case of Mary Blathwayt, tend to recount motivations, reflections, or even opinions.¹² But the findings below, and the map that I have created to better understand women's suffrage work in Bath, collectively tell a fascinating story of sophisticated local knowledge and intelligence, likewise wit, courage, and bravado. They also speak to a broad range of spaces and locations in which these characteristics were practiced.

Understanding *where* suffragists and suffragettes worked illuminates the diversity of political positions among suffrage workers in Bath. Likewise, primary sources make clear that suffrage activists relied on their collaborators' and their audience's spatial knowledge of Bath, its spatial-symbolic register, for the effect and impact of their actions.¹³ Geographer Caroline Knowles draws from 'mobilities' scholarship and spatial theory, which together see 'urban space and lives as co-productions so that people and places are made through the everyday social activities of urban citizens.' In particular, Knowles privileges the journey as an act by which 'city dwellers speak the city' and 'walk stories.'¹⁴ What is significant about the journey is that it connects places on an itinerary, 'bringing them into a network of coming and going, so journeys are the very social practices that connect and constitute space.'¹⁵ Points of arrival and departure are resonant, as are the means by which journeys are made, and the nodes within a journey: all speak to issues of access, class and power.

If place, network, and journey are significant, so too are the material objects that made the suffragists' journeys with them, enabled these journeys, or were left behind as a mark of their presence. Firstly, I discuss the sources and methods used in generating my map of suffrage work in the city of Bath, 1909-14. Then, I analyse the map for what it can communicate, broadly, about the geographical scope and classed nature of this work, touching upon the local contours of suffrage activity in Bath, in relation to major phases or moments in the national picture. Lastly, the essay divides into four brief motifs, 1) the Window, 2) the Bicycle, 3) the House, and 4) the Luggage Tag. They engage the reader in a journey perhaps not always of an individual suffrage worker, but of an object or piece of technology that speaks to the routes, access, and points of denial facing a suffragette in the city of Bath. Here, I address the *movements* of bodies, objects, and boundaries. Together, these suggestive but also concrete motifs speak to the relation of spatial knowledge and suffrage work in Bath, which I cannot resist designating 'Suffragette City.'

Sources and Method

A central focus is the review of Mary Blathwayt's daily diaries for the years in question, focusing on her entries from January 1st 1909 to December 31st 1910 and, more sporadically, those of her mother, Emily Blathwayt (1852-1940). The years 1909 and 1910 were important for Mary Blathwayt and the movement. During this period she removed herself from active campaigning in Bristol, where she had lived and worked with Kenney, turning her energies to the local effort. The WSPU had begun searching for a suitable storefront in Bath as early as March 1909.¹⁶ Mary Blathwayt was instrumental in setting up and, after its inaugural event on September 14th 1910, running the shop at 12 Walcot Street. Her diaries are a wonderful record of the creation of this unique, feminist space within the city, but they also provide a wealth of information about the comings and goings of the many visitors to Eagle House, and the locations where suffrage work took place in Bath. Cumulatively they create a vivid impression of the intensely social, peripatetic, and detail-oriented life of a busy worker for the cause. While Mary Blathwayt's family frowned upon militancy, she did not – that she recorded – participate in the destruction of public and private property, which was an increasingly controversial feature of suffrage work in Bath, 1909-14.



fig 3: Full view, Suffragette City map (Google), created 2012, also accessible as an interactive map via <http://goo.gl/maps/kdpS>

To learn more about militant and non-militant action in Bath, as well as the political shifts that often inspired them, I depended upon the city's daily and weekly print media, 1908-14, especially the daily edition of the *Bath Herald*, 1910-11.¹⁷ I collected over 125 articles, letters, editorials, and a handful of advertisements regarding women's suffrage. Although Bath newspapers did comment upon major events elsewhere, such as the famous London suffrage procession of June 18th 1910, the majority of these items detail local events. These sources, alongside historic maps, photographs, and useful local publications such as the *Bath Directory* and Ordnance Survey maps, helped me to translate the details of feminist spatial activity

in early twentieth-century Bath into what survives of the city today.

Part of my process has been to map this activity, with a view to understanding tendencies and patterns within this brief but potent period in Bath's feminist history. Using open-access mapping technology, I created an online, interactive map under the title of this essay,¹⁸ identifying suffrage activity according to colour-coded location types [fig. 3] - <http://goo.gl/maps/kdpS>: these include private homes, public buildings and spaces such as streets and squares; landscapes and gardens; repeated itineraries and notable, singular journeys

within Bath's cultural landscape of suffrage activism. Each location marker may be clicked for a pop-up window that identifies the site, explains its inclusion, and provides source material where quotations or paraphrasing has been taken from primary documents. In some cases, suggestions for further reading are provided, if a secondary source is known to have treated the events that took place at this location. In all but a handful of cases where buildings appear to have been demolished or an incomplete address was given, this cartographic exercise proved to be an effective register of key sites, and suggestive of the places where suffrage work was most resonant or recurrent in the city.

The Scope of Suffrage Work in Bath: Intensities

Even in its static form, the map generates some preliminary observations, primarily that the spatial scope of suffrage work in the city was broad; taking in its north-eastern extremity (Northend, Batheaston), its eastern limit (Bathford), its south-western point (Odd Down), and its western termination (Weston). It is clear that in 1911 suffrage work in Edwardian Bath exceeded the electoral limits of the city.¹⁹ At the same time, however, there was a concentration of suffrage work towards the centre of Bath, particularly in the north-south axis between the Assembly Rooms [fig. 4] and the Guildhall, two of Bath's most significant sites of public and political gathering in the early years of the twentieth century. Here, suffrage events were often ticketed or sought a financial donation. Within this axis there is a further intensification in the Y-shaped pattern of streets incorporating Walcot Street, Broad Street, Northgate and High Streets, where several suffrage societies kept public offices between 1919-12. Near the groin of the Y, at the Post Office, is a further clustering of points of interest, to which I will return below.

In addition, there are two, secondary axes of activity, both running roughly east-west. The first is a loose conglomeration of public and private buildings and spaces, stretching westwards from Pulteney Gardens, through Great Pulteney Street over Pulteney



fig 4: Interior, Tea Rooms, Assembly Rooms, after restoration, 1938. Photograph by George Love Dafnis.

Bath in Time - Private Collection

Bridge, and moving through The Corridor, a covered Victorian shopping arcade, towards two public spaces, Kingsmead Square and the

Sawclose, where suffragettes held open-air meetings free of charge. An unbroken yellow line denotes the other secondary axis, running east-west from Batheaston to Walcot, where it moves southward into central Bath, terminating at the railway station. Colonel Linley Blathwayt (1839-1919), Mary Blathwayt's father, took this route almost daily in the family car when driving from Eagle House to Bath Spa Railway station, noted on the map with a yellow icon [fig. 3].²⁰ The station links Bath to the surrounding region and beyond; suffragettes, suffragists, and on occasion anti-suffragists²¹ from other cities and towns to speak at the Guildhall, the Assembly Rooms, to address an 'At-Home' meeting in a private house, or to plant a tree or holly in the Blathwayts' arboretum.

The Scope of Suffrage Work in Bath: Class

Beyond this general snapshot, the map conveys another tendency regarding public and private space. 'Public' is for the purposes of this project broadly defined: churches and meeting spaces with regular opening hours, such as suffrage shops and offices, are considered 'public' as are commercial and retail venues normally open to anyone able to pay. The exclusions of such spaces along class lines should be noted, likewise the fact that not all pro-suffrage meetings and events were free to the public. Mary Blathwayt notes on October 27th 1910, for example, that the total collected in ticket sales for Mrs Pankhurst's lecture at the Guildhall that afternoon was £5-16-0. A ticket from the event in question, gives the price of one shilling. This price would have

been out of the range of most working women and men in Bath, and may indicate the kind of audience sought for events in such prestigious locations. [fig. 5]²² This tendency is not directly evident in the mapping described here; however another form of classed spatial activity is visible through the map. Readers will find a proliferation of violet icons outside the central core of concentrated activity. These indicate private homes, where a variety of activities on behalf of women's suffrage took place, such as 'At-homes', letter-writing campaigns, planning and membership meetings, musical or

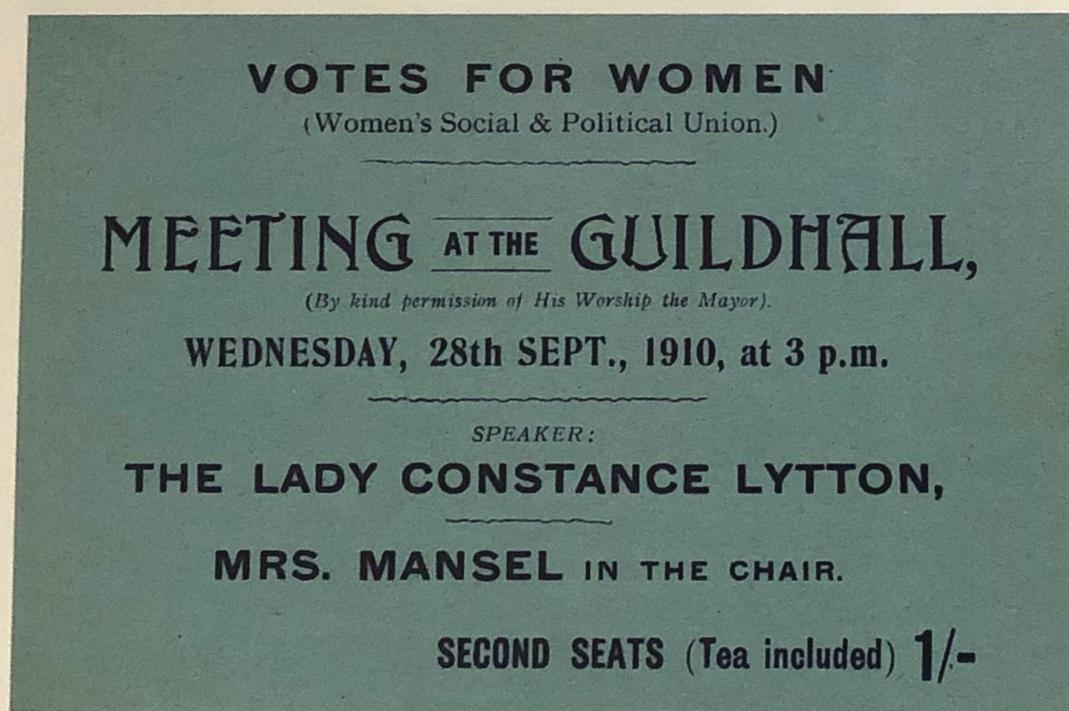


fig 5: Ticket to Suffragette Meeting at the Guildhall, 28th September, 1910

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

dramatic rehearsals for up-coming events, and the all-important social calls that reinforced commitments and allegiances. The map's details reveal that these homes had elite addresses, including the Circus and the Royal Crescent, and in the newer and more fashionable neighbourhoods of Bathwick, Widcombe Hill and Lansdown. No private homes in the working-class districts of Twerton, Oldfield Park, or lower Weston were mentioned as sites of pro-suffrage

activity in any of the sources consulted. The slum districts of Corn, Milk and Avon Streets seem to have been overlooked, save one journey by 'decorated wagonette' along the heavily industrial Lower Bristol Road on polling day in 1910.²³ The Dolemeads, the purpose-built, anti-slum project located due east of the Bath Spa railway station, appears to have been wholly ignored.

The map I have produced is possibly skewed by two factors. Firstly, Mary Blathwayt, was a devoted WSPU member until she resigned to please her family in 1913. Her diary therefore registers her immersion in the more militant world of that organisation. Secondly, local newspapers clearly relished the spectacle and outrage of the more militant WSPU. Reporting, for example, on a meeting of the Bath Liberal Women's Association, which was pro-suffrage but anti-militancy, one writer dutifully summarised the speeches but revealed his true feelings when he observed that, 'the proceedings were brightened considerably by an excellent musical programme.'²⁴ Even if Bath newspapers were, editorially, opposed to militancy,²⁵ there is little doubt that accounts of window-smashing sold papers. Reporters delighted in their time with militants, who confounded expectations and were often entertaining, as shall be seen below in my discussion of the WSPU's evasion of the Census in 1911. But, taking into account these potential imbalances, my mapping of the women's suffrage movement in Bath supports what historians have observed elsewhere. Where the WSPU undertook campaigns, there was a tendency to direct resources to middle- and upper-class women, and not their working-class counterparts.

Elizabeth Crawford observes, 'the WSPU never fell into the political trap of aiming to enfranchise all women.' After 40 years of active campaigning, women were still fighting stereotypical perceptions about womanhood. Crawford summarizes these stereotypes: 'Women



fig 6: Sawclose. View looking towards Westgate Buildings c.1912. Photographic postcard.
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

were, if middle-class, too noble, too sensitive, or too frivolous, and if working-class, too ignorant to cast a vote.' The other great fear over the notion of all women becoming enfranchised was that as a demographically larger group than voting-age males, they would overwhelm the electorate, control the House of Commons, and thus the future of England. A strategy of seeking limited female enfranchisement in this context is thus less elitist than it initially appears.²⁶ Nevertheless, class prejudices do emerge in this study of Bath, and these were spatially specific. Locations where the richer and poorer inhabitants of Bath encountered one another are points of intensity on the suffrage map. The aforementioned public spaces of the Sawclose and Kingsmead Square were located, for example, a walking distance from the slum and industrial districts of Edwardian Bath. [fig. 6] Such proximities likely inspired the choice of venue, but they also became part of the effect of these events for organisers. Mary Blathwayt, rarely one to offer an evaluative comment, wrote on June 11th 1910 of an un-ticketed public meeting in the Sawclose, 'The crowd was a very low class one, + rather noisy. But we made ourselves heard.'²⁷

Gender, Space, Exclusion and Resistance

The Central Skating Rink at the Pavilion, North Parade Road, was another site of intensity, both for class prejudice on the part of suffrage workers, but also as a site where gender divisions and exclusions were powerfully enacted in what was, generally speaking, a public space [fig. 7]. Bath's Rink was host to a major event that speaks to the growing polarisation around women's suffrage between 1909-14. Located virtually on the dividing line between the richer Bathwick residents to the north, and the poorer residents of Dolemeads to the south, the Rink was an ideal location for a government seeking to consolidate its support across what they hoped would be a much wider electorate within the year. But that desired electorate did not include women. In 1911 the so-called 'Conciliation Bill' was up for its third reading in the House of Commons; if successful, it would have enfranchised approximately one million British



fig 7: Bath Central Skating Rink (Bath Pavilion, on North Parade), built 1910

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

women. Unexpectedly, however, in early November the Government dropped a bombshell. They planned to introduce a 'Manhood Suffrage' bill that would enfranchise all men above the age of 21, bringing the electorate from just over seven million male voters to eleven million.

Dismayed, women's suffrage workers recognised immediately that even if the Conciliation Bill still passed, their one million voters hardly would have the impact they had originally anticipated if the Manhood Bill moved through ratification as quickly as senior Liberals promised. They further doubted that a massive, male electorate would

support the granting of the vote to any women at all. The Bath chapter of the WSPU saw the move to introduce the Manhood Suffrage bill as a direct attack on their efforts for political equality. Mildred Ella Mansel (1868-1942), WSPU organiser for Bath, observed that the government might just as well have said, 'We don't want to give any votes to women, we will give more votes to men!'²⁸ Mere weeks after the government's devastating announcement, the Liberal Federation advertised their Bath stop on their regional tour, in the Central Skating Rink on November 24th. Their large advertisement in the *Bath Herald* could only have added salt to the wound: 'Owing to the limited space and the tremendous demand,' it read, 'the Federation have decided that apart from the delegates, **Men ONLY can be Admitted.**'²⁹ The Manhood Suffrage bill, women's suffrage workers knew, was going to be discussed at this rally, as would votes for women. Yet women had been excluded from the very space in which these crucial issues were going to be explained and debated. There could have been no clearer indication that the Government had no intention of making political space for women in a larger sense. The Rink became an opportunity for Bath's activists to speak and act out.

Three days following Cabinet Minister David Lloyd George's address to a large crowd assembled inside the Skating Rink, the *Bath Herald* published a long article titled, 'Suffragettes and Mr Lloyd George: "What we Did and Why we Did it."' ³⁰ A weary but triumphant Leonora Tyson (1884-1959), Secretary of the Streatham, London, WSPU, addressed a group of supporters at the Assembly Rooms. She described how, in the days leading up to Lloyd George's speech, 'she could not help smiling to herself, while watching the great preparations which were made to protect this Liberal gentleman' from a group of women who purportedly could not be trusted with the vote. But suffragettes had preparations of their own, including 'taking a house' near the Rink, and climbing to its roof. From that elevated position, she and her female collaborators (including Annie Kenney and 23-year old Mabel Capper) did everything in their power to rile the male crowd assembled outside the rink, so that the shouts of that crowd would disrupt the proceedings within. Tyson believed:

... that the crowd was very much impressed by the fact that they were on top of the house, where the shouts, whether in favour or against them, could not do them the slightest injury. They then left the house by creeping along the coping until they came well outside the house, and then they crawled down and over an adjacent garden, and made their way home. The police afterwards came into the house, and must have been astounded to see there was no one there. Did they imagine the Suffragists were going to wait until the crowd came up and did their sweet will upon them ... ?³¹

This was not the first time that suffragettes had carried out acts of daring and ingenuity via the built environment. In May 1909, WSPU members Vera Holme (1881-1969) and Elsie Howey (1884-1963) astonished those assembled for a taxation meeting inside Colston Hall, Bristol, by calling out "Votes for Women!" from inside the hall's organ, where they had hidden overnight.³² The spatial appropriation of city streets by suffragists and suffragettes in massive, planned spectacles is one of the best-known aspects of the early-twentieth-century suffrage campaign. But events of this nature were relatively unknown in Bath. Certainly the suffragettes' sense of political urgency conjoined with a very precise spatial awareness of Bath, leading them

to strategically define the best place to carry out their plan, and to devise a conceptually elegant (if physically awkward) means of escape. Women shouting from rooftops, crawling along copings, and escaping angry mobs through back gardens, was almost unimaginable in this quiet city, where 'lady smokers' were enough of an aberration from feminine ideals that they inspired alarmed newspaper articles.³³

But it was not the rooftop occupation during the Skating Rink rally that captured the press's most attentive reportage of that day. Instead, it was the work of Mabel Capper (1886-1956), visiting from London in order to disrupt Lloyd George's progress through the west country. As the *Bath Herald* recounted in the November 25th 1911 daily edition, Capper was 'charged with damaging four panes of glass in the windows of the New Bond Street Post Office, value £4' on the night November 24th. 'Miss Capper,' observed the reporter of her arraignment the following day, 'a good-looking young lady, was attired in green, and wore a Suffragette badge. She pleaded "Guilty" in a clear voice.'³⁴ Leonora Tyson told her audience that 'Miss Capper was ... sentenced to a month's imprisonment for breaking a Post Office window in protest. But the men who smashed the windows of that private property for no reason at all, were not sent down for a month. It appeared as if men could smash as many windows as they liked.'³⁵

Objects and Journeys: A Suffrage Cartography in Four Motifs

I now examine aspects of 'suffragette city' that static points on a two-dimensional map cannot communicate fully, on their own. These include passages and movements in the city, journeys taken once or often, and points of intensity that speak to the complexities within suffrage work in Bath. Drawing upon Knowles' model described above, as well as actor-network-theory, which assumes that material objects can inspire or enable humans to act,³⁶ the final section considers, in loosely chronological form, four motifs. These motifs suggest the itineraries of objects, and the effect of buildings and places that were an essential part of suffrage work in Bath prior to WWI.

The Window

Suffrage activity in Bath 1909-14 was marked by the tension between accepted modes of feminine decorum and what was, for many, a decidedly unladylike use of public space.³⁷ Crawford notes of Bath resident and member of the pro-suffrage Bristol and West of England Society, Liliash Sophia Ashworth Hallett (1844-1922) [fig. 8], 'it required considerable courage [in the 1870s and 80s] for a woman to sit on a public platform and actually to speak from one was regarded as almost indecent.'³⁸ One generation later, Bath was still deeply shocked when, according to Police Constable Brown, he came past the sub Post Office in New Bond street, a few hours after the Liberal rally ended, only to find a young woman 'wilfully breaking panes of glass with [a] hammer.'³⁹ Capper defended her protest as a political gesture, in retaliation for the exclusion of women from the Rink: 'as they were refused admittance to the meeting where Mr Lloyd George was making a statement on woman suffrage she, as a voteless woman, took the only means for protest and smashed Government property.'⁴⁰ The window-smashing

incident shocked Bath. Local newspapers recalled it on several occasions, even as late as July 1912, when the *Bath Herald* reported on a hatchet being thrown by suffragettes into a carriage containing Prime Minister Herbert Henry Asquith and the Home Secretary, travelling in Ireland.⁴¹ This example of militancy, far removed from Bath, brought the spectre of Capper's gesture into the foreground once more. For Bath, the four broken panes of glass in New Bond Street spoke directly to the thousands of smashed windows across the country at the height of militant action.

My interest in Capper's window-breaking has to do with its location in Bath. This Post Office was, as Capper observed, Government property and thus, a logical site for her act of civil disobedience. As noted above, the Post Office was found at the junction of several streets in central Bath, including Walcot, Broad, Northgate and New Bond Streets [fig. 9].⁴² The suffrage map shows that four women's suffrage societies located their public offices and shops near this junction. In 1908 the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) had a shop at 22a Broad Street, near the YMCA, while by spring 1912 their all-male counterparts, the Bath Men's League for Women's Suffrage, would take a space closer to the Guildhall at 3 Northgate Street, perhaps a five minute walk downhill. The WSPU shop was approximately equidistant from the Men's League offices at 12 Walcot Street (a location that no



fig 8: Suffragettes Edith Wheelwright and Lilia Ashworth Hallett in the Suffragette's Wood, 1911
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

longer corresponds to present-day mapping, but was slightly north of St. Michael's without-the-walls) and opened in the autumn of 1910 [fig. 11].

Also visible on the suffrage map is the point where the walks between these three offices and shops would have converged: the very same Post Office where Capper left her mark in late autumn, 1911 [fig. 9]. What is not as immediately visible is the confluence on this site of tensions over militancy among pro-suffrage women. When Capper wielded her hammer against the Post Office windows, she also succeeded in attacking the very same building that the NUWSS had just occupied the

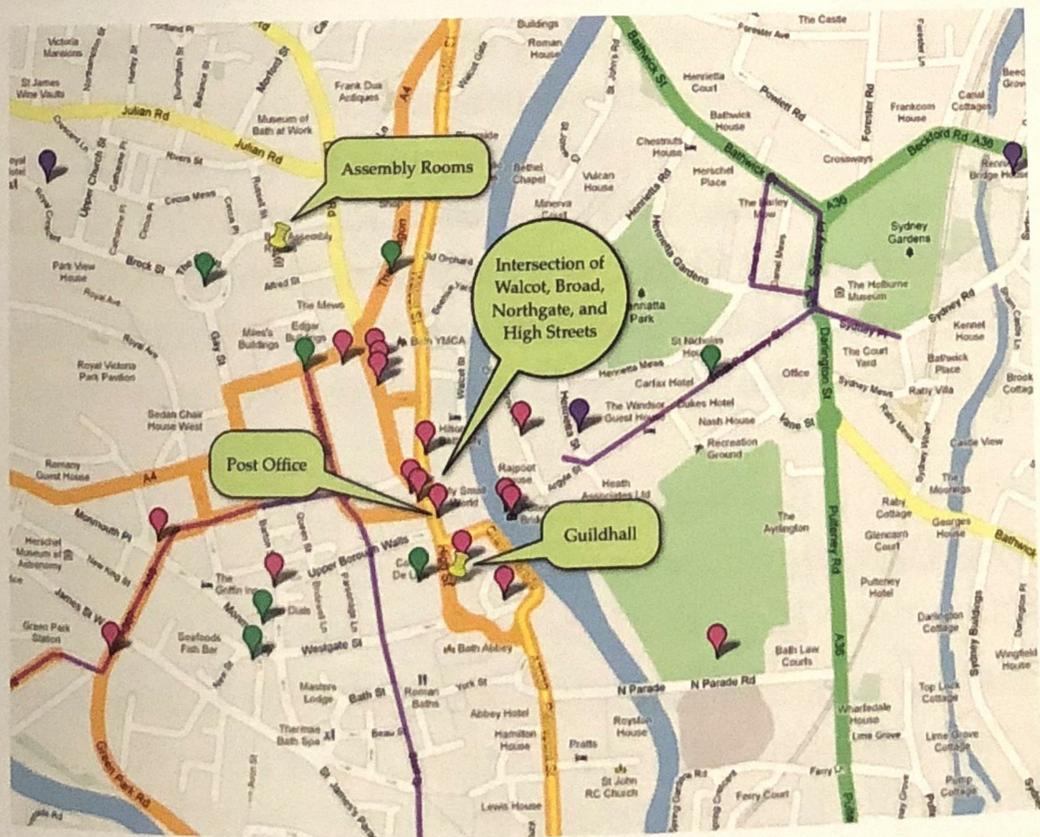


fig 9: Detail from the Suffragette City map (Google), created 2012, also accessible as an interactive map via <http://goo.gl/maps/kdpS>



fig 10: St Michael's Without the Walls, showing the former Bath Post Office chambers on New Bond Street to the left, 1904

Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

within a few months of this statement, so close to the Post Office, was an attempt to consolidate, spatially, the non-militancy of this very small part of Bath, and to forestall any other violent action that might emanate, literally or figuratively, from the WSPU offices nearby.

2) The Bicycle

Physical vitality is not usually associated with suffragists and especially not suffragettes, whose public image remained, until recently, strongly tethered to their hunger strikes and physical maltreatment through force-feeding in prison.⁴⁵ Although she never went to prison, Mary Blathwayt suffered nervous tension and eye problems, apparently as a result of her hard work for the WSPU in 1908 and 1909.⁴⁶ Her mother, Emily, certainly did not see her daughter as having any particular physical potency. She wrote in her diary of March 14th 1911, [Mary]

month before. The October 12th 1911 edition of the *Bath Herald* reported on the opening of the NUWSS new offices in the Post Office Chambers, New Bond Street. The article included the opening hours: 'from 11 to 1, and from 3 to 5. On Thursdays and Fridays it would be open in the evenings also.'⁴³ Thus it is very likely that the offices of this non-militant suffrage society were open when Capper began to smash the building's windows. Inadvertently perhaps, Capper made the NUWSS the object of the very kind of action its members continually sought to discredit: a militant attack. Perhaps it was this acute proximity to militancy, and fears of an almost inevitable association between action and site, that prompted the Bath Society for Women's Suffrage (closely allied with the NUWSS) to publicly deplore militancy a few days later, in a document issued to the *Bath Herald* for printing. In it, the authors declare, 'such outbreaks injure women far more than anyone else, and that they are organised by one Suffrage Society only, and discountenanced by our own union.'⁴⁴ Perhaps the opening of the NUSWW affiliated men's offices

is what her grandfather called "powerfully weak."⁴⁷ Yet Mary Blathwayt's packed schedule, expertise in organisation, and remarkable commitment to the cause and spaces of suffrage may be found in a great number of her diary entries. She does come across as a timid person, not one to generate the legendary excitement and attraction of other, more charismatic suffrage workers. Mary herself comments on her struggles as a public speaker, and often notes her failure to sell the WSPU newspaper, *Votes for Women*, in comparison to her compatriots.⁴⁸ And one day, when attempting to sell flowers in the suffrage colours in Milsom Street to raise money for the WSPU, she notes sadly, 'I had

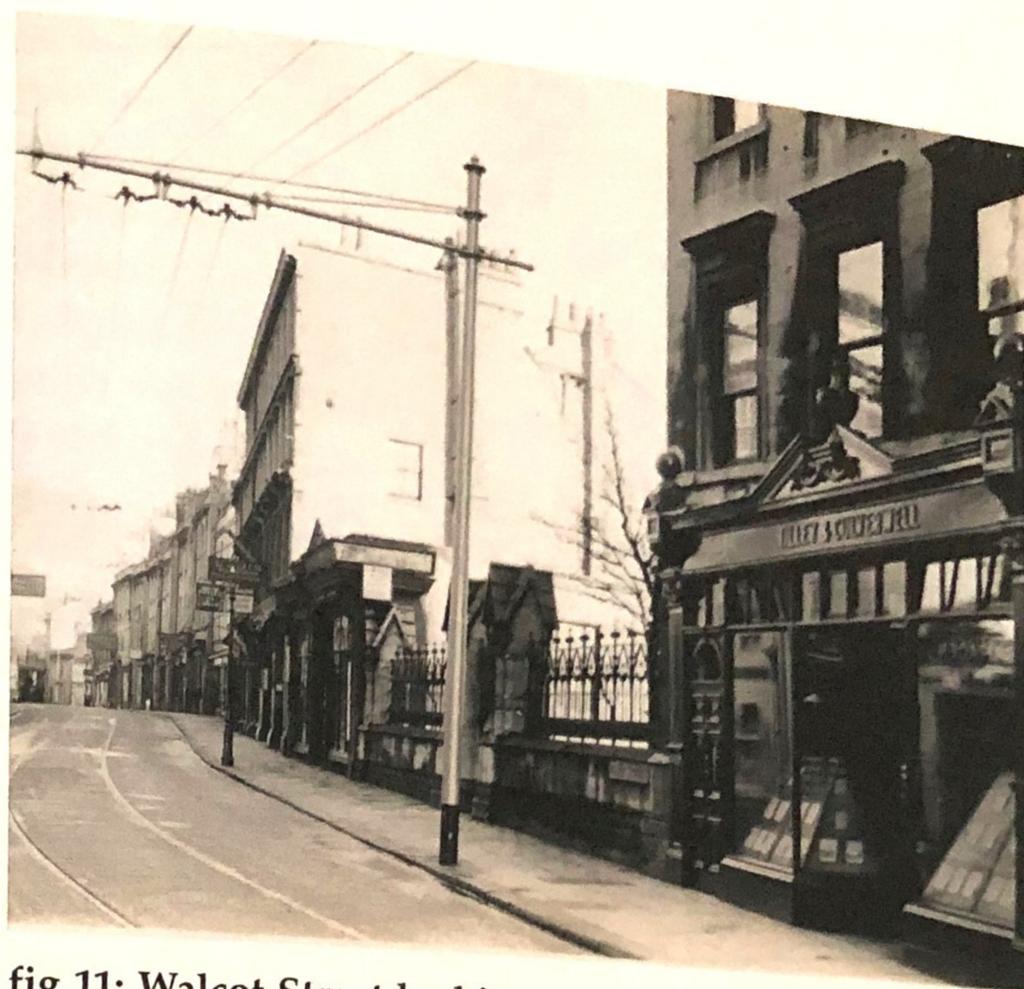


fig 11: Walcot Street looking north, with the entrance to St Michael's Cemetery, 1936. At the end of the railings is No. 12 Walcot Street, the former headquarters of Bath's WSPU.
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

to let a great many flowers go for a penny or people would not buy them.'⁴⁹

A striking feature of Blathwayt's daily diary is the frequent mention of apparently mundane articles such as her watch and her umbrella, both of which are cherished and, when lost or broken, occasion comment. But there is another object that has an even greater status in Blathwayt's life: her bicycle. The first mention of the bicycle is on February 17th 1909, not a time of the year when many would choose to cycle, but Blathwayt notes, 'This morning I bicycled into Bath.' Later that spring, Blathwayt accompanied her neighbour, militant suffragette Aethel Tollemache (1875-1955) on their bicycles to the Guildhall, taking ivy and vases in their baskets to decorate the platform for a event the next day. The bicycle continues to be used in 1909 and early 1910, mostly for trips to Tollemache's home, nearby Batheaston Villa. In the summer and autumn of 1910, however, there is a dramatic increase in Blathwayt's use of the bicycle. Her primary destination is the 'Votes for Women' shop, as she calls it, in central Bath. Tuesday, September 27th 1910 was a typical day for this 31-year-old woman:

I bicycled into Bath this morning. Miss Perkins opened the shop. I finished getting the literature ready for the meeting. Counted out some of the tickets. Had dinner + tea in the shop. This evening distributed handbills in Milsom Street. Bicycled home. ...

The distance between the shop on Walcot Street and Blathwayt's home in Northend, Batheaston, is nearly 3 miles, and much of the journey homewards would have been uphill. That autumn, Blathwayt made this gruelling journey almost every day, apparently with relish, even when her day was quite literally full from morning until late at night; evening events

normally began at 8pm. Even in the absence of declarative statements, these were clearly happy days. Although her parents were supporters of her work for the cause, and indeed initiated a number of projects of their own, the autonomy produced through the shop is evidently part of Blathwayt's pleasure. Blathwayt's daily journeys on bicycle to multiple destinations at the end of a long, tiring day, were worthy of comment. Perhaps it was the exhilaration of this autonomy, or the renewed purpose of the shop, or even the simple benefits of vigorous exercise: whatever the reason, Blathwayt begins to note her aptitude with people, particularly with selling shop items and encouraging new membership. On October 4th 1910, a month after the shop opened, Blathwayt records happily:

... This evening I went into Bath ... I took some strawberries to the Shop + sold them to a lady for 6d + also sold a 9d box of the Tollmaches' home made sweets. The lady took a membership card away with her. I arranged the flowers in the window. Neither Mrs Moger or Aethel had sold any thing all day.

The bicycle is a minor actor in the overall geography of feminist activism in pre-WWI Bath. But it does appear to have enabled this young woman, temporarily perhaps, to take greater charge of her daily movements, fortify her personal liberty, and to become a slightly different person, one who had greater ability to enact political change. These are all qualities that the suffrage movement wished to reinforce for women across a more explicitly political spectrum, but in the case of Mary Blathwayt and her frequent journeys on bicycle to and from central Bath, they became a reality, even without the vote, in the autumn of 1910.

3) The House

Eagle House, where Mary Blathwayt lived with her parents for most of the period in question, is likely the best known building in Bath in terms of suffrage history, and indeed it was a veritable hub of activity prior to WWI. But as the suffrage map indicates, at least ten other private homes were the site of multiple or singular events of significance to the women's suffrage movement. Whether these events were proactive, such as the use of Miss Johnston's home in the Royal Crescent in the winter of 1910 as a place to meet and rehearse suffrage songs for an upcoming event, or destructive, such as the burning by arson of Westwood Lodge in the exclusive neighbourhood of Lansdown Hill in December 1913,⁵⁰ that they took place in or deployed private homes had a particular charge in Bath, where the self-image of the city is closely tied to its iconic, predominantly residential architecture.⁵¹ The third motif is also a private home that, like Westwood Lodge, is located on Lansdown Hill. This is where some of Bath's most famous and beloved works of Georgian architecture may be found: Somerset Place (John Eveleigh, begun 1790), a crescent which gives an southerly aspect over the centre of Bath, and Lansdown Crescent, designed by John Palmer, 1789-93 [fig. 12]. These graceful, neo-classical crescents, set high above the denser and more socially mixed parts of the city, signified an ideal of what Bath had achieved culturally and socially in its Georgian heyday. In the spring of 1911, the year of the census, WSPU organiser for Bath, Mrs Mansel took a one-week lease on

12 Lansdown Crescent, a building that she and a group of unnamed women would occupy for one night: Sunday, April 2nd.

As in Bath, suffrage groups across the country were gearing up for a major boycott of the census process as a means to thwart what they saw as the government's continuing intrusion into women's lives. Without constitutional recourse, they felt, women would have no control over the decisions the government might make with the information they were planning to collect.⁵² To avoid the census, women gathered in skating rinks, restaurants, schools, theatres, and private homes such as 12 Lansdown Crescent. Mrs Mansel furnished the empty house with the help of an unknown number of suffragettes. In an early form of embedded journalism, a reporter was invited to witness the events, which were recounted, rather admiringly, in the April 3rd 1911 edition of the *Bath Herald*. Obviously delighted to partake in an all-night event of civil disobedience in the company of women, the reporter applauded 'the simplicity of the plan' in his article entitled, 'The Great Coup':

There was nothing illegal ... [in] obtaining a house and becoming the tenant for a week. Receiving a number of lady visitors was no crime. The events of the night, music, speeches, readings, and sleeping, offended against no laws. No offence, indeed, was actually committed until the 'head of the house' made a false return to the enumerator who called for the census paper today ... the visitors, who are termed the 'evaders', could not be touched by the long arm of the law, even if their identity were established. And the damage would have been done, for by the time the call was made they would all have returned to their several homes ...⁵³

After commenting favourably on the furnishings, speeches, and refreshments, the author observed that the 'night was entertaining and pleasant, and the programme was well varied.'⁵⁴ Of her experiences in Lansdown Crescent, Mary Blathwayt wrote, 'We had a charming room to hold our meeting, beautifully decorated and very comfortable.' Blathwayt gives the number that doubtless the reporter was urged not to reveal: 'There were 29 of us.'⁵⁵ But the reporter is more detailed than Blathwayt when discussing the great distances that some women had chosen to travel in order to participate in the evasion: 'They had come from far and near.



fig 12: Lansdown Crescent, Bath c.1916. Coloured sketch by Sylvia Gosse

Bath in Time - Holburne Museum, Bath

One lady had walked seven miles in order to take part; one had driven 10 miles, and they came from all over the city.' The *Herald* reporter also commented on the decor: 'the bareness of the walls effectively [was] broken by tastefully arranged tufts of foliage. Over the fireplace was a suffrage banner, and, in pride of place on the mantelpiece, for all to see, the fateful census paper which was going to mar the accuracy of the Bath figures.'⁵⁶ The author also recounted how, despite the provisions made for sleeping, 'astonishingly few took advantage ... the 'evaders' found it quite easy to remain up; the excitement sustained them, and there was the primitive feeling abroad that they could go to bed any night, but might not have the opportunity to take part in such a meeting again.' Certainly the authorities knew that 12 Lansdown Crescent would be the site for this act of resistance. The reporter and the evaders both saw that detectives were watching the house from the end of the road.⁵⁷

The 29 suffragettes successfully avoided the census, and greeted the dawn together with the reporter and the detectives, if with different feelings. By welcoming an outside witness into their temporary home, the women's suffrage movement invited the wider Bath community to reflect on the deeply-engrained tradition of associating femininity with a purportedly domestic realm, and showed, instead, how that very realm could be the site of radical, yet still 'entertaining and pleasant', political resistance.

4) The Luggage Tag

In stark contrast to the convivial events of April 2nd 1911, much of the remaining story of suffrage work in Bath is one of heightened tensions and violence, both against suffrage workers,⁵⁸ and on the part of suffragettes themselves: arson increased during these years, also hot tar attacks on letterboxes, and false fire alarms.⁵⁹ By April 1913 Emily Blathwayt, Mary Blathwayt's mother, writes, 'I am glad to say [Mary] is writing to resign membership with the WSPU. Now they have begun burning houses in the neighbourhood I feel more than ever ashamed to be connected with them.'⁶⁰ As opinions over militancy intensified, divisions among the pro-suffrage community in Bath began to show. The Blathwayts' more radical neighbours, the Tollemaches, stepped up their work and reduced what had been near-daily collaboration with Mary Blathwayt. Her mother, observing with no pleasure the destruction of Westwood in Lansdown in late December 1913, writes, 'of course one naturally suspects the Tollemaches.'⁶¹

I too suspect the Tollemaches in the case of the luggage-tag incident at the Bath golf course in the spring of 1914. Known informally at the time as the 'Sham Castle links', the Bath golf course was built in close proximity to the eighteenth-century sham or faux castle front on the western slopes of Bathampton Down. The Bath Golf Club first opened in the 1880s. At that time, a separate course 'for ladies' was situated to the north of the men's course. Over time, however, as demand for the men's course grew, 'the changes involved encroachment upon the ladies' course.' During this time 'the best' female players would be allowed onto the men's course, but it was not until after women got the partial vote, in fact, that 'ladies were finally admitted to Bath Golf Club' in 1920.⁶²

The years of the encroachment of the men's course on the women's space were also the years of the most extreme militancy of the women's suffrage movement in Bath and elsewhere. On Monday, March 4th 1914, local papers reported on a strange act of vandalism on the men's course.⁶³ The *Herald* wrote:

Suffragettes on Bath Golf Links.

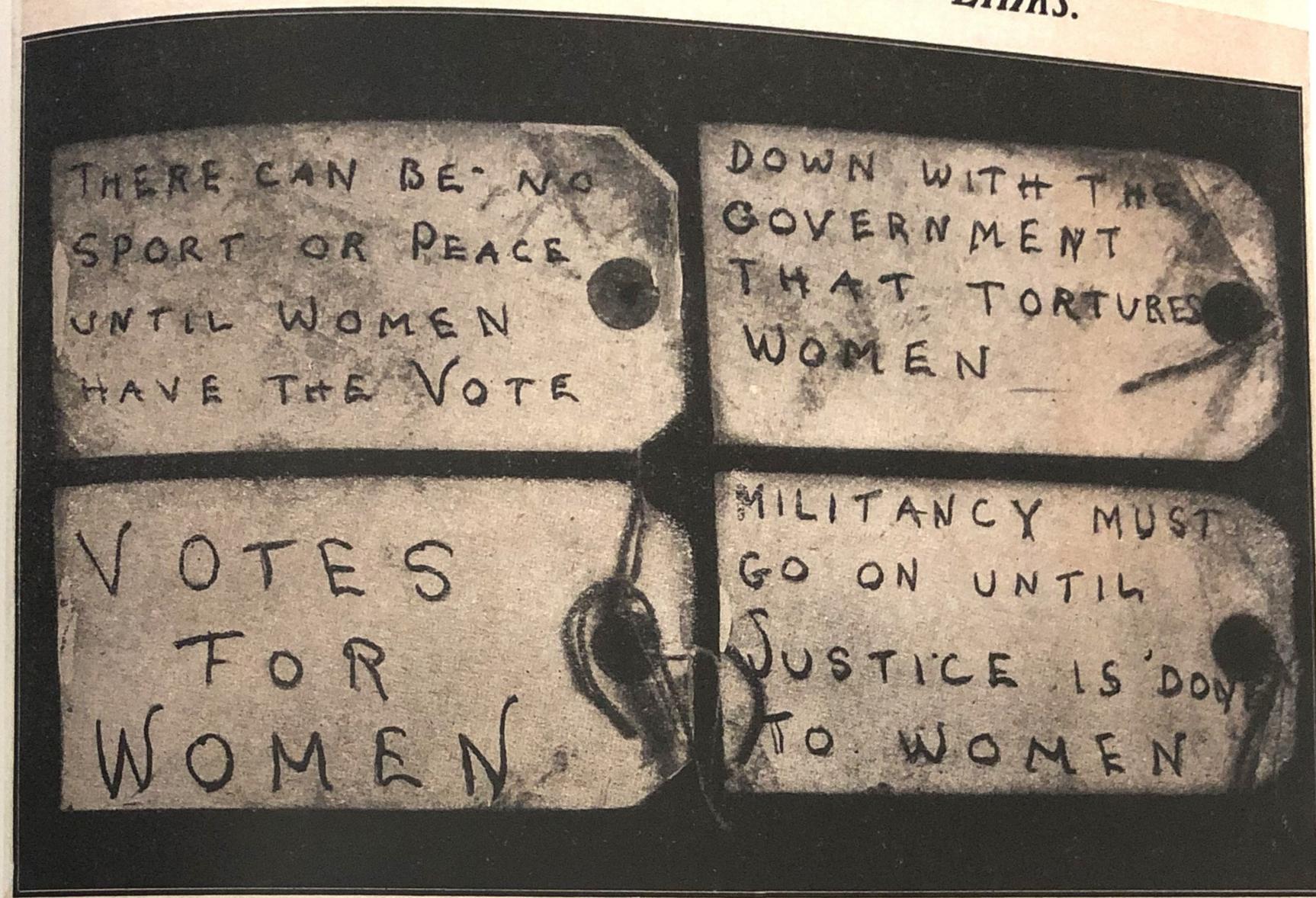


fig 13: Specimens of the luggage labels left by suffragettes at Bath Golf Links. March 3rd, 1914
Bath in Time - Bath Central Library Collection

The Sham Castle links were selected last night for wanton damage by suffragists ... The first discovery was made by a green-man in the employ of the Bath Golf Club ... He discovered that the 15th green, which is near the bridle path on Hampton Down, had been damaged. Between 30 and 40 holes were found in the green, and caustic soda had been scattered about, causing the grass to be discoloured. Further investigation revealed the fact that the 14th green and the 5th had also been similarly treated and very badly cut up.⁶⁴

The *Bath Chronicle* provided further details through a photograph, quite rare in the press at this time except for coverage of sporting events, weddings of the peerage, or major political figures [fig. 13]. The image shows four paper luggage tags, slightly battered, with handwritten texts on each in capital letters. The caption to the photograph reads: 'Specimens of the luggage labels left by suffragettes at Bath Golf Links on Tuesday, last week, after their night raid when the turf and a number of greens was [sic] cut up. The labels were attached to the flags on the mutilated greens.'⁶⁵

The writing on the four tags shown is clearly legible in the photograph, and the tags appear to have been inscribed on both sides. The texts read:

There can be no sport or peace until Women have the Vote'
'Down with the government that tortures Women'
'Votes for Women'
'Militancy must go on until Justice is done to Women'

Clearly relating these slogans to the place of sport where they were placed, the authors of this action must have wished to particularly target the well-heeled gentlemen who would have frequented the Bath Golf Club prior to WWI, the very same gentlemen who, in their appetite for their sport, had taken what had previously been available to women. (No doubt the parallels between this injustice and the withdrawal of the vote from women in the previous century were evident to those who visited the course that night.) But knowledge of the Bath Golf Club, even exclusion from it as a former female player, would have been specific to an equally well-heeled class of woman. The Tollemache sisters lived in a stately villa in Batheaston, like Mary Blathwayt, and while they did not leave diaries or any written legacy, by all accounts they did not work for a living. They were avid vegetarians, talented musicians, wonderfully creative in their radicalism,⁶⁶ and their names can be found over and over in the pages of Mary and Emily Blathwayt's diaries. They were at leisure to be fully devoted to their cause. When Grace Tollemache (dates unknown) served a prison sentence for breaking windows in London in 1912, Emily Blathwayt wrote drily, 'I wonder if she will come out madder than when she went in.'⁶⁷

Someone was definitely mad, or angry, when they approached the Bath golf course on the night on March 3rd 1914. But whoever undertook the vandalism was also possessed of very specific spatial knowledge Bath in addition to some materials that spoke directly to gendered, spatial experience. The attackers, moving at night most likely through back roads and the unlit bridle path, knew exactly where to go to leave their literal mark in the tenderly cultivated turf; the fifteenth green mentioned in the first report was close to the former division between men's and women's spaces. The unwanted visitors to the course had also carried with them a sufficient quantity of caustic soda, a common and inexpensive household cleaning agent, one that would have been readily available and perhaps not missed in a large home with many rooms to clean. None of these details points unequivocally to Aethel or Grace Tollemache, but none points away from them, either. It is not so much my intention, however, to identify the actors in this unique act of political mischief in pre-war Bath as it is to think about the journeys that this act brings, tangentially, into representation. And in this sense it is the luggage tag that speaks most powerfully of the spatial capital of suffragettes prior to WWI.

One of the most remarkable aspects of my research has been to discover the intensity and frequency of suffrage-related travel in Edwardian England. My survey of Bath has provided rich evidence of an incredible mobility, not just of women, but also of objects, clothing, and printed materials. Packages of laundry and literature were in constant movement between houses, neighbourhoods, cities, regions, and even countries. It was not uncommon for Mary Blathwayt to travel to Bristol and back in order to consult with another WSPU member during a busy day that included seeing other suffragettes off, from Bath's two railway stations, on their own journeys.⁶⁸ For Blathwayt and other more mobile suffrage workers like Annie Kenney or Mrs Mansel, the luggage tag was an ordinary but necessary object, one that identified property, terminus, and less explicitly but no less powerfully, vocation. For any active suffrage

worker, the luggage tag, inexpensive and sold in bundles at any stationary shop or post office, would have been readily to hand. It also offered the familiar practicality of something that could be attached to something else, to signal ownership, and to show the next destination. In calling for 'Votes for Women' on the Bath Golf course, the anonymous luggage tags found in March 1914 sent a clear message. It was high time for Bath to get on board.

Conclusion: To Find for Ourselves Our Own Place

In November 1912, one year after the contentious Liberal rally, organisers chose the Central Skating Rink on North Parade as the location for a talk by WSPU leader Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928). Doubtless the planners of this event chose to symbolically re-appropriate the building that had been the site of the Government's most audaciously anti-suffrage gesture in Bath. It was likely obvious to Bath's citizens as well that claiming this generous space for women's interests and concerns was a direct rebuttal to that event, for, as Emily Blathway recounted in her diary, assembled outside the building 'was a dense crowd and boys throwing fireworks into it.'⁶⁹ The violence that followed Mrs Pankhurst's lecture did not stop both Emily and Mary from judging the event to have been a great success.⁷⁰ The spirit of confidence that pervades accounts of this famous visitor's time in the Rink is perhaps best summed up in an exchange that took place between Mrs Pankhurst and a local, non-militant male supporter of women's right to vote. John Wynne Jeudwine (1852-1928), barrister, author and neighbour to the Blathways and the Tollemaches took the opportunity of Mrs Pankhurst's presence to call into question militant methods, and to underscore the direct thread between militant activism in Bath and elsewhere. Following her speech, he asked, "Are you aware that the Bath Men's League for Women's Suffrage was strangled at its birth by the women who broke windows in Bath and London?" In calm reply, "Mrs Pankhurst remarked that it must have been a very weakly infant."⁷¹ What a far cry from the early discourse of women's suffrage this statement must have seemed. In this quick quip, the carefully cultivated image of women organising 'At-Home' meetings in tidy parlours, asking for entry into political life on the basis of their excellence as mothers and wives, vanished. Surely the setting for the quip, the very same vast stage that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stood upon a year before, underscored the powerful shifts that had taken place since the beginnings of the radical suffrage campaign in the city.

But it is not the words of this famous suffragette that conclude this essay. I prefer to direct the reader into the suffrage map, to an event of far more modest proportion: in the weeks following the earlier meeting at the skating rink, when suffragettes had heckled their opponents from their rooftop safety. In the Assembly Rooms, which saw so much feminist activity, virtually every week, in Edwardian Bath, a woman named Mrs Montague addressed her audience. She was the secretary of a WSPU chapter in Exeter. She had journeyed to Bath for the day, and was 'a well-known West country supporter of the women's cause.'⁷²

Mrs Montague spoke on the topic of 'Women's Place in the World', her words suggesting the intelligence, resilience and insight that must have been alive in many towns and villages across England, where so much of the battle for the right to vote, to count as citizens, took place. 'What we are fighting for,' affirmed Mrs Montague, 'is the right to work out our own salvation in our own way.'

We demand the right to try experiments and claim the right to all paths of labour ... We demand the right to make failures and success. We ask to be allowed to work our own evolution, and find out for ourselves our own place in the scheme of evolving humanity. We do not want power over men, but power for ourselves. We are human beings first, and women afterwards.⁷³

What has emerged from my mapping of women's suffrage work in Bath is a powerful image of politicised spatial activity, work, actions, events and patterns that served to remake the city, or parts of it, into a co-actor for women's rights. It also reveals something akin to what Mrs Montague called for in her consideration of women's 'place'. Rather than insisting on the rightness of one spatial or political sphere over another, Mrs Montague presented the idea that a world of political equality is not one in which women are infallible. Rather, she clarified that women deserve in all places and spaces to engage in a spirit of experimentation, to make mistakes, to try new things, to learn and judge for themselves. Above all, she said to her audience of Bath women, "we deserve to find for ourselves our own place." While neither the suffragists nor the suffragettes of pre-war Bath built any works of stone and mortar in this city of great architectural significance, they did transform and occupy its built spaces, effecting small but potent changes, using the city in ways it had never been used before. In short, women's suffrage workers staged their battle for political self-determination in and with Bath's built environment in the years before WWI. And in so doing, they created their own place: a veritable suffragette city.

Notes

- 1 My thanks to Professor Graham Davis for encouraging this topic, Dan Brown for his assistance with the images for this paper, the staff at the Bath Central Library and the Gloucestershire Archives for their help with my research, Thomas Strickland for edits and comments, and Dr Elaine Chalus for sharing her forthcoming work on historical women, diaries, and urban space. I owe particularly warm thanks to Anne Buchanan, Local Studies Librarian of the Bath Central Library, for making the original newspapers available for consultation.
- 2 This landscape is detailed in my book, *Architects, Angels, Activists and the City of Bath, 1765-1965* (Ashgate, 2012), which builds on the scholarship of June Hannam, 'Suffragette Photographs,' *The Regional Historian: The Newsletter of the Regional History Centre, The University of the West of England* 8 (2002): pp.17-19, and Beatrice M. Willmott Dobbie, *A Nest of Suffragettes in Somerset* (Batheaston Society, 1979).
- 3 All these activities are noted, most repeatedly, in the diaries of Mary Blathwayt, January-December 1909, and January-December 1910.
- 4 Many suffragettes visiting Eagle House were in need of rest, but in one case – Jennie Kenney (dates unknown), sister of Annie Kenney – had an operation at Eagle House. Mary Blathwayt, July 4th 1910.
- 5 I am using 'Edwardian' to include the years following Edward VII's death (1910), up until the start of World War I in 1914.
- 6 The collection of over 250 images was digitised in the early 2000s. Low-resolution versions of the images are freely available via the online photographic archive, Bath in Time, www.bathintime.co.uk.
- 7 The Bristol and West of England Society (founded 1868), with active members in Bath, was the longest-standing of these; in terms of its non-militant approach and non-party efforts it overlapped with the Bath Society for Women's Suffrage and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. See Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866-1928*, (Routledge, 2001) p.259, and Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain and Ireland: A Regional Survey* (Routledge, 2006) p.137. In addition, the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, the Church League for Women's Suffrage and of course the Women's Social and Political Union were all active in Bath in the years leading up to WWI.
- 8 Annie Kenney famously had worked in a cotton mill in Lancashire before working for the WSPU, but did not agree with the WSPU's characterisation of her as 'the Suffragette Mill Girl.' Crawford (2001) p.313. Nevertheless, Kenney's financial circumstances did not resemble those of Mary Blathwayt, who did not need to work. Kenney, Blathwayt, and Clara Codd, another Bath woman active in Bath suffrage work, were in their early 30s at the start date of this study, 1909, and were not unusual in this respect. However, Mabel Capper, discussed below, was only 23 when she made her mark as a suffragette in Bath. To my knowledge the oldest of the local (non-militant) suffrage movement in 1909 were Liliash Ashworth-Hallet (65) and Colonel Linley Blathwayt (70).
- 9 'Suffragist' is often used as a blanket term by historians to include all those actively in favour of women's emancipation during this era. In Bath, newspapers generally used this term in the same way, but between 1909-14, as militancy gained in intensity and in public disapproval, non-militant pro-suffrage women began to insist upon the distinction, such as Emma Edbrooke Webb, who on November 23rd 1911 wrote to the editor of the *Bath Herald* (daily), saying

'although I am keenly anxious for women to have the privilege of Parliamentary suffrage, I am no 'Suffragette,' neither does our Bath Women's Liberal Association contain one ... Most of us very much dislike the militant tactics', p.7.

- 10 Statistical information from the University of Portsmouth, 'Historical Statistics' for Bath CB/MB, Somerset, England, *A Vision of Britain Through Time* (web), 2009 < http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit_page.jsp?u_id=10196930# > (Accessed June 15th 2012).
- 11 'Bath and Votes for Women: Result of a Canvass', *The Bath Herald* (November 28th 1910): 4. Women householders in Bath had the municipal vote by this time, as they did elsewhere in England.
- 12 Other scholars have noted this point; see Willmott Dobbie, p.9. June Hannam suggests that these diaries provide, nonetheless, valuable information. See 'Suffragettes are Splendid for Any Work: The Blathwayt Diaries as a Source for Suffrage History', in *A Suffrage Reader: Charting Directions in British Suffrage History*, ed. Claire Eustance et al. (Leicester University Press, 2000) pp.52-68. Blathwayt's diaries provided valuable details such as precise numbers (of *Votes for Women* sold, for example), times (of trains leaving or arriving for destinations where other suffrage work would be carried out), and costs (of furnishing and running the WSPU shop).
- 13 Other scholars have noted the close relationship between gendered identities and city spaces. Elaine Chalus understands elite women's relationships with one another through the expatriate British and cosmopolitan spaces of eighteenth-century Nice in 'Place, Space and Gender in *Le Monde cosmopolite: A Female Household in Nice, 1855-7*' forthcoming, while Jane Rendell explores the mutually constitutive character of early nineteenth-century London building types, such as assembly rooms and opera houses, and the growing female middle class in *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London* (Athlone Press, 2002).
- 14 Caroline Knowles, 'Cities on the Move: Navigating Urban Life', *City* 15.2 (April 2011): p.137.
- 15 Knowles, p.137.
- 16 Mary Blathwayt, March 27th 1909.
- 17 Bath's newspapers have a rather labyrinthine genealogy; not all have been saved or microfilmed. The *Bath Herald* is held in remote storage in its original leather binding, and the daily version of this paper is only available for 1910 and 1911; the weekly edition may be consulted for the other years covered in this essay. The weekly *Bath Chronicle*, another popular paper of the era, was consulted via the 'local index', a partial subject record of items and articles in local papers held in microfilm format. The *Chronicle* was consulted on and around the dates of major events as described in the diaries of Mary and Emily Blathwayt.
- 18 The interactive, re-scalable map may be found at the following url: <http://goo.gl/maps/kdpS>.
- 19 The June 3rd 1911 edition of the daily *Bath Herald* includes a map of the electoral districts within Bath; of the districts mentioned, only Odd Down is not included within the boundary of Bath.
- 20 The frequency of these journeys would diminish in 1913, by which time both Emily and Mary Blathwayt had resigned from the WSPU.
- 21 A scrapbook in the Bath Central Library collection includes a newspaper clipping from 1908, detailing the visit of anti-suffragist Mary Dickens, granddaughter of the writer Charles Dickens, to Bath. Boodle Vol 30, p.44.
- 22 Graham Davis and Penny Bonsall note that 'as late as 1911 the largest single occupational group of women in Bath was the domestic service category', not a particularly well-paid profession p.201. 'On the eve of the First World War', Davis and Bonsall continue, 'a

- 'respectable' working-class family with a head of household in full time employment, at an average age of 'round about a pound a week' found it a constant struggle to make ends meet', p.216. A one-shilling ticket would have been a steep price for such a family. *A History of Bath: Image and Reality* (Carnegie Publishing, 2006).
- 23 Mary Blathwayt, December 5th 1910. This journey is represented on the interactive map with a purple line, originating in Milsom Street.
- 24 'Liberal Women and the Vote: The Coming of the Dawn, Women's Liberal Association Activity', *The Bath Herald* (weekly), (March 9th 1912), p.6.
- 25 The June 25th 1910 edition of the *Bath Herald* contains, for example, an editorial on 'Votes for Women'. The author, moved by the injustice of taxation without representation, writes nevertheless that 'one trembles at the idea of legislative business being controlled by persons of such hysterical temperament as those who have been taking the lead in the recent agitation', p.4. Similar accusations of hysteria, aimed at militant suffragettes, was peppered throughout the press in this period, but Bath newspapers did not generally indulge in the hypersexualisation or demonisation of militant women as was the tendency in London newspapers. See Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-14* (University of Chicago Press, 1988).
- 26 Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide, 1866-1928* (Routledge, 2001), p.727.
- 27 Mary Blathwayt, June 11th 1910.
- 28 'Suffragists and the Government. The Wrecking of the Conciliation Bill. Mrs Mansel's Challenge to Mr Lloyd George', *Bath Herald* (daily), November 11th 1911, p.3.
- 29 Liberal Federation, 'Visit of the National Liberal Federation to Bath, Great Demonstration In the Central Skating Rink, Bath. November 24th, at 8 p.m.' Advertisement, *Bath Herald* (daily), November 16th 1911, p.2. Emphasis in original.
- 30 *Bath Herald* (daily), November 27th 1911, p.4.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Crawford (2001), p.289.
- 33 Earlier that same year, 'lady smokers' seen on a train through Bath inspired a pained article in the *Bath Herald* (daily), May 12th 1911, p.6.
- 34 'Smashing the Post Office Windows; Suffragette in the Dock; Sequel to Mr Lloyd George's Visit: Preferred Prison to Paying Fine: Cheered in Court', *Bath Herald* (daily), November 25th 1911, p.7.
- 35 'Suffragettes and Mr Lloyd George: 'What we Did and Why we Did it.', *Bath Herald* (daily), November 27th 1911, p.4.
- 36 On actor-network theory (ANT) see Bruno Latour, whose book, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, (Oxford University Press, 2005), elaborates on the question of an object's 'agency'.
- 37 See Lisa Tickner, op cit, for her discussion of the suffrage movement using visual and material culture, including art and craft, to negotiate public opinions about feminist work.
- 38 Crawford (2001), p.260.
- 39 'Smashing the Post Office Windows ...'
- 40 'Smashing the Post Office Windows ...'
- 41 'Suffragist Outburst; Arrests in Dublin; Attempt to Burn a Theatre; Serious Police Discoveries', *Bath Herald* (weekly), July 20th 1912), p.8.

- 42 This post office, located at 25 New Bond Street, was one of many "sub" or minor post offices found throughout Bath. Better known today is the old post office, designed by the Office of Works, which was built in 1927 on the same site as the older post office. Michael Forsyth, *Pevsner Architectural Guides: Bath*. (Yale University Press, 2003), p.129.
- 43 'National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies: New Bath Office', *Bath Herald* (daily), October 12th 1911), p.4.
- 44 'Militant Suffragists: Tactics Discountenanced; Statement by the Bath Society for Women's Suffrage', *Bath Herald* (daily), December 2nd 1911), p.5.
- 45 See Jill Liddington and Elizabeth Crawford, 'Women do not Count, Neither shall they be Counted: Suffrage, Citizenship and the Battle for the 1911 Census', *History Workshop Journal* 71.1 (Spring 2011), p.5.
- 46 Mary Blathwayt, January 7th 1910.
- 47 Cited in Willmott Dobbie, p.47.
- 48 When Blathwayt visited Swansea in October 1909, she recounted her struggle to sell issues of *Votes for Women* Sold Votes again this evening ... I have sold 18 Votes today which makes a total of 60 since I have been here. Mrs Dove Willcox who was here before us sold 252. Altogether we have sold 503'. Mary Blathwayt, October 8th 1909. Of a meeting she participated in earlier that year she wrote, 'took the chair ... but spoke very badly'. Mary Blathwayt, July 17th 1909.
- 49 Mary Blathwayt, May 2nd 1910.
- 50 The burning of Westwood, like the smashing of the Post Office windows, garnered lengthy press coverage. See 'Suffragette Arson in Bath: Lansdown Residence Burnt Down; Early Morning Blaze; Militant Literature found in the Grounds; Also a 'Cat and Mouse' Postcard', *Bath Chronicle*, December 27th 1913.
- 51 See Peter Borsay, *The Image of Georgian Bath, 1700–2000* (Oxford University Press, 2000); Ronald S. Neale, *Bath 1650–1850, a Social History; or a Valley of Pleasure Yet a Sink of Iniquity* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981).
- 52 Liddington and Crawford's recent study of the census evasion is an insightful account of the motivations of and divisions among women's suffrage workers in the months leading up to April 3rd 1911, as well as the first attempt to assess the actual extent of the evasion. Not as many women appear to have evaded as would have been expected from accounts of the time. Emmeline Pankhurst, who publicly announced in *Votes for Women* that she had evaded enumeration, did in fact sign a census return, p.11.
- 53 'The Great Coup: Bath Ladies Evade the Census; An All-Night Gathering; How the Time was Spent', *Bath Herald* (daily), April 3rd 1911), p.6.
- 54 'The Great Coup ...
- 55 Mary Blathwayt, April 3rd 1911.
- 56 'The Great Coup ...'
- 57 Mary Blathwayt, April 3rd 1911; 'The Great Coup ...'
- 58 The article, 'Mrs Pankhurst in Bath: Lively Scenes Outside the Rink; Women's War to Go On', describes how an angry mob attacked four suffrage workers (1 man and 3 women) outside the Central Skating Rink on November 7th 1912 after Pankhurst's lecture. One woman was hit on the head by a stone, *Bath Herald*, November 9th 1912, p.4.
- 59 See the diary of Emily Blathwayt, December 1912, for details of this activity, also Willmott Dobbie, p.53.

- 60 Cited in Willmott Dobbie, p.56.
- 61 Emily Blathwayt, December 20th 1913, Diary of Emily Blathwayt, January-December 1913, Blathwayt Family Papers, Gloucestershire Archives.
- 62 'History of the Bath Golf Club', *The Bath Golf Club* (web) www.bathgolfclub.org.uk/history.php (accessed June 4th 2012).
- 63 The *Herald* material was recounted in 'Fifty Years Ago: 4 March 1914', *Weekly Chronicle*, March 7th 1964, while the *Bath Chronicle* photographic and caption material, titled 'Suffragettes on Bath Golf Links' was pasted into Boodle Vol. 30, verso of p.44.
- 64 'Fifty Years Ago: 4 March 1914'.
- 65 'Suffragettes on Bath Golf Links'.
- 66 Mary Blathwayt describes the Tollemache sisters enlisting their dog, Baloo, in fundraising in Milsom Street: 'he had on a white collar which Aethel had made for him, it had on it in green + purple letters 'Please give Baloo something to help the woman's movement. Votes for Women' ... Baloo had a little tin hanging to his neck. A good many people put in pennies'. May 3rd 1910.
- 67 Cited in Crawford (2001), p.688.
- 68 On September 8th 1910, Mary Blathwayt records: 'I went into Bath this morning by tram. Father drove Mary Howey to the Midland Station; I went there + saw her off. Then I went to see Miss Curtis about our shop opening cards, posters + handbills. Went over to Bristol + spent the afternoon with Miss Stewart learning about the way the accounts are now kept. To tea with Mrs Dove-Willcox + Mrs Dugdale. ... I came home [to Batheaston] again this evening'.
- 69 Emily Blathwayt, November 7th 1912.
- 70 See note 58.
- 71 'Mrs Pankhurst in Bath ...'
- 72 'Women's Place in the World: Will Work Out Their Own Salvation', *Bath Herald* (daily), December 4th 1911), p.4.
- 73 'Women's Place in the World ...'