Landscapes of Violence: Sites and Spaces of the Women's Social and Political Union, Contested Labels of Conflict, and Female Acts of Violence

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Abstract

Through the development of an entirely unique and interdisciplinary approach combining theories and ideas from phenomenology, psychogeography, and conflict archaeology, this thesis investigates the landscapes of the militant suffragettes of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) across two cities, Manchester and Glasgow. Using landscape surveys of the two cities examining the spaces and sites relevant to the suffragettes and their militancy, this project explores ideas of gender, experience, and conflict through the lens of the suffragettes.

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Author's Declaration

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I certify that the thesis presented here for examination for a MPhil degree of the University of Glasgow is solely my own work other than where I have clearly indicated that it is the work of others (in which case the extent of any work carried out jointly by me and any other person is clearly identified in it) and that the thesis has not been edited by a third party beyond what is permitted by the University's PGR Code of Practice.

I declare that the thesis does not include work forming part of a thesis presented successfully for another degree [unless explicitly identified and as noted below].

I declare that this thesis has been produced in accordance with the University of Glasgow's Code of Good Practice in Research.

I acknowledge that if any issues are raised regarding good research practice based on review of the thesis, the examination may be postponed pending the outcome of any investigation of the issues.

Signature:

Date: September 25, 2025

Definitions/Abbreviations

ECPR	European Consortium of Political Research
ILP	Independent Labour Party
IRA	Irish Republican Army
JSO	Just Stop Oil
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MP	Member of Parliament
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
UK	United Kingdom
WFL	Women's Freedom League
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union

Chapter 1 Introduction

The campaign for women's enfranchisement in the United Kingdom (UK) took place over the course of a century of protest, world war, and the turn of a new century. This campaign was highly successful, reflecting an important change in the political atmosphere of one of the world's leading states when women were finally granted the vote (in an initial limited capacity) in 1918. There were a myriad of actors involved in the British suffrage campaign both in support of and actively working against women obtaining the vote. It was a diverse movement incorporating women of multiple classes and racial backgrounds, including working-class women, middle-class wives and widows, elite women, and women of colour.

The focus of this research project is on the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), whose campaign took place across the UK in the decade leading up to the First World War, between 1903-1914. This project seeks to explore gendered experience, as understood by the suffragettes and by myself as the researcher, and conflict, in terms of the acts of the suffragettes and broader investigations of female conflict and society's responses to it. The research project introduces and utilises an interdisciplinary methodology to unlock further insights into the machinations of the militant suffrage movement while also connecting their experiences to those of other women across time.

This project has four discrete yet interconnecting aims: (1) the creation and development of a new methodology crafted from three distinct and different fields: phenomenology, psychogeography, and conflict archaeology, and informed by political science and terrorism research; (2) to demonstrate the value of this methodology to the fields of suffragette history and conflict archaeology; (3) to bring diverse fields into dialogue, presenting opportunities for enhanced collaboration; and, (4) to explore female violence and society's discomfort with that through the lens of the WSPU suffragettes and the memorialisation of their campaign.

1.1 Context and Background

The British women's suffrage campaign has its roots in the reform movements of the nineteenth century (Smith 2009, 3). These movements organised and took action to encourage the successful prospect of women's enfranchisement, coupled with the expansion of political parties and their resulting incorporation and involvement of women (Cowman 2012, 273). The submission of an amendment changing the word "man" to "person" in "the first women's suffrage bill" accompanied by a petition by John Stuart Mill to Parliament in 1866 is widely considered to be the origin point for the coordinated effort of the British women's suffrage campaign (Smith 2009, 4; Cowman 2012, 274). However, this amendment subsequently failed, with those who opposed women's suffrage arguing that women were not interested in having the right to vote, an opinion which helped inspire the movement working for the enfranchisement of British women (Mayhall 2003, 15; Cowman 2012, 274).

Those involved in the women's suffrage campaign in Britain are commonly divided into two camps – those who supported the campaign through what has been termed "constitutional methods" and those who used militant tactics (Cowman 2012, 276). These two differing avenues of action, constitutional and militant, are often used as a binary to draw distinctions between different groups, as well as to highlight the differences between the methods through which their various supporters campaigned for the vote (Smith 2009, 19). However, overlaps and parallels between groups were more common, and relations more cordial than often believed and reported on (Smith 2009, 19). Three of the major societies that operated in the Edwardian period campaigning for women's enfranchisement included the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), the WSPU, and the Women's Freedom League (WFL). Even within the militant organisations, methods were not singular, instead shifting between violent and non-violent approaches and policies, due to varying understandings of the "law's underlying authority", personal choice, and tactical recognition of which was most advantageous in specific moments (Mayhall 2003, 99).

The WSPU increased their militancy over the course of the main decade of their activity, between 1903-1914, and this escalation is often attributed to the

suffragettes' interpretation of the previous failures of the constitutional approach (McInerney 2025, 137). These women "used their bodies to lay claim to public space" and countered the gendered denial of enfranchisement and political participation from women through physical, performative acts of militancy (Mayhall 2003, 46; McInerney 2025, 134).

The WSPU originated in Manchester and was founded by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters, Christabel, Sylvia, and Adela, in October 1903 before moving its main headquarters to London three years later (Smith 2009, 28; 31). What is widely considered as the first instance of suffragette militancy occurred in October of 1905 at a meeting in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester (Purvis and Holton 2000, 18; Mayhall 2003, 38; Cowman 2012, 276; Rosen 2013, 49; Pederson 2017, 46). Two members of the WSPU, Annie Kenney and Christabel Pankhurst, caused a disturbance by questioning the Liberal Party about whether they "intended to give votes to women", which led to the arrest of both women (Purvis and Holton 2000, 18; Mayhall 2003, 38; Cowman 2012, 276; Rosen 2013, 49; Pederson 2017, 46). The early forms of militancy performed by the WSPU, stemming from this initial occurrence, involved tax-resistance and public disturbances, such as heckling political speakers and interrupting meetings, and were geared to provoke attention and publicity through orchestrating the arrests of the suffragettes, who then refused to pay fines and instead were sent to prison (Smith 2009, 29; Pederson 2017, 46-47).

While there is broad consensus that the militancy of the WSPU was initially "revitalizing" for the suffrage campaign, the intensification of their tactics in the later years is considered by some historians to have become an obstacle to their endeavors (Smith 2009, 28; Cowman 2012, 278). The debate regarding whether militancy impeded or helped the cause of female enfranchisement has been persistent throughout the historiography, with no consensus still to emerge.

The timeline of WSPU militancy is often organised into three "phases" (Smith 2009, 30). The initial stage frequently included further instances of the suffragettes disrupting and disturbing meetings in order to garner support from the public for women's enfranchisement (Smith 2009, 30). The next 'phase' of militancy came in 1908 when the WSPU worked to force the government to

recognise and legalise women's suffrage through increasingly violent acts (Smith 2009, 30). These threats involved acts such as window-breaking, attacks against property, and acts of violence towards government officials, specifically those who were anti-suffrage (Smith 2009, 30). The final 'phase' of militancy is generally considered to have begun in 1912/1913 with the introduction of the use of arson; attacks on letter boxes, artwork, telephone, and telegraph wires; the setting off of bombs; and continued attacks to property (Mayhall 2003, 107; Smith 2009, 30-31; Cowman 2012, 277).

The WSPU, as a militant organisation, was under the leadership of the Pankhurst women who operated in an autocratic manner intending to control most, if not all, of the militant action the organisation perpetrated (Bearman 2005, 379; Smith 2009, 34). The WSPU considered itself "like an army", where the lower ranks were required to listen to and respect the decisions of leadership, especially those of the Pankhursts (Smith 2009, 34; Cowman 2012, 277). Christabel Pankhurst was considered the "Union's Chief Organiser and supreme tactician" and the mastermind behind the WSPU's militancy (Purvis 2019, 1201). She has been perceived as responsible for coordinating a militancy offensive during the last two years of WSPU activity, "the likes of which Britain had never seen before and hasn't experienced since" (Riddell 2018, 150). While the autocratic nature of the WSPU in London seems undeniable, local branches and groups further from the London headquarters operated much more independently (Leneman 1995, 218). This, however, resulted in tensions between the headquarters of the WSPU, and smaller, individual branches and members in the regions who sought more independence from the commands of the leadership (Pederson 2017, 104-105).

The outbreak of war in 1914 dramatically affected the women's suffrage campaign and led to the WSPU ending their campaign against the government and refocusing instead, with patriotic and nationalist fervour, on recruitment for the war (Smith 2009, 60; Cowman 2012, 279). In 1918, the Representation of the People Act was passed, enfranchising British men and "women over the age of thirty who met certain residency or property qualifications" (Cowman 2012, 285; 273). However, even though this legislation was successful, the level of suffrage granted to women in 1918 would not have been considered satisfactory by

suffragists and suffragettes before the outbreak of war four years prior (Mayhall 2003, 134). It took another ten years (1928) until the Second Representation of the People Act was passed which enfranchised men and women over the age of 21 (Mayhall 2003, 139).

1.2 Introduction to the Research Methodology

Significant research has been produced regarding the British suffragettes within women's and gender history and British history, however, the application of a new, interdisciplinary methodology connecting three distinct approaches, not before used to investigate the suffragettes, seeks to reveal new understandings of their experiences. Through approaches pulling from feminist thought and research, a primary tenet of this research project is to prioritise the investigation of the experiences of women over those frequently posited as the norm, those of the traditionally constituted 'neutral' lens of men (Downs 2018, 103).

1.2.1 Research Questions and Methodology

There are four overarching research questions to be answered within this project: (1) how did the landscapes and spaces in which the militant suffrage campaign unfolded, specifically in Manchester and Glasgow, impact the lived experiences of suffragettes between 1903-1914?; (2) how has the militant suffrage campaign been memorialised in this landscape and what does this reveal about memorialisation practices related to the suffrage campaign?; (3) what can the approaches and methodologies of conflict archaeology bring to the study of women's reform and protest?, and; (4) what can a focused study on the experiences of militant suffragettes reveal about contentious terminology applied to female militants and combatants?

With these four questions guiding the research, this project seeks to utilise surveys of militant landscapes and sites in the UK to begin to bridge a clear gap in conflict archaeology of studies on women, especially done by a woman. It also brings the concept of a gendered landscape to conflict archaeological investigations, something that should be a priority in the field. The project draws together three approaches to create the methodology used to answer the

above questions, a conflict archaeology that is explicitly feminist, and feminist phenomenology and feminist psychogeography, hopefully encouraging further collaboration within these fields and suffrage history in the UK.

1.2.2 Source Base, Positionality, and Language

1.2.2.1 Source Base

The source base that underpins and inspired this research project is the British women's suffrage movement, specifically the suffragettes of the WSPU. The most frequent understanding of the women involved in this movement is that they were white and middle-class. However, this impression belies the reality of the more nuanced class and racial composition of the campaign.

While the campaign was not a highly racially diverse movement, there has been excellent research conducted by other historians on the intersectional experiences of the women of colour within the suffrage movement. The most notable and famous woman of colour within the WSPU was Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, daughter of the deposed Indian maharajah, who grew up goddaughter and favourite of Queen Victoria (Baker 2020, 78). Duleep Singh held a highly unique position as an elite Indian woman fighting for female enfranchisement in the UK reflecting the complex dimensions of racial identity within the suffrage movement and the British empire.

The diverse class make-up of the British women's suffrage campaign has been investigated by prominent suffrage historians since the 1970s (Schwartz 2020). This vital work has expanded our understanding of the suffragettes as 'middle-class' by exposing the reality of the many working-class women who were involved in the movement, protesting alongside the middle-class women as domestic servants and industrial working women (Schwartz 2020, 119).

The physical source base for this research project are the landscapes of Manchester and Glasgow, two cities centrally important to the WSPU. Manchester is significant to the WSPU as the site of its foundation and early years of activity. Manchester was also a stronghold for suffrage activity in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as the home to the WSPU and the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage (Crawford 2006, 2). The

choice of Glasgow to compliment Manchester as the other case study emerged from a few considerations. Both Manchester and Glasgow have industrial roots, and both had ties with the Independent Labour Party (ILP) which was intertwined with the WSPU in its earlier days (Pederson 2017, 143). As well, it is important to include the survey of a Scottish city to highlight the diversity of the nationalities of women involved in the WSPU and wider suffrage campaign. The Scottish suffragettes were vital in the movement but remain less prominent than their English counterparts and selecting Glasgow as a survey location for this project seeks to remedy that (Leneman 1995).

1.2.2.2 Positionality

My positionality as researcher is important to discuss in this research project especially in the context of the research method of landscape surveys undertaken by myself and through the lens of my experience. Positionality refers to "a researcher's worldview and standpoint when conducting research", involving, but not limited to, race, personal experiences, gender, class, and sexual identity, and can have a significant impact on the research produced (Yip 2023, 222-223). I practiced a reflexive approach throughout the research project, especially during the surveys and the writing up, aware that my "sense of self" and positionality were central to the research method and practice requiring analysis of my "own experiences" (Yip 2023, 223).

Positionality requires the self-reflection to understand individual categories of difference, and intersectionality "refers to the interaction" between those differentiating characteristics (Davis 2008, 67-68). Reflexive intersectional feminism requires the researcher to be aware of power dynamics and their own position within that. My personal positionality as a white, bisexual, middle-class woman affects my research, including what I chose to research, the methodology and results of the research.

1.2.2.3 Language

In considering the gendered language throughout the research project, I use the word 'women' as a category of analysis, in investigating the gendered experiences of the suffragettes within their militant landscapes. However, the

category of 'women' is an unstable one due to its contradictory nature "where one must create *unity* (a category of women) without denying *difference* among its members", requiring explicating for its use here (Goldenberg 2007, 140). The category of 'women' is frequently discussed and analysed within feminist and gender research, with some arguing for the validity of it as a line of questioning and identity, and others concerned about its problematic ethnocentrism and "generally simplifying tendencies" (Gunnarsson 2011, 25; 28). Gender as "a central analytic category" and when used in association with the category of 'women' can exclude and isolate marginalised women while centering "white middle-class privilege" (Goldenberg 2007, 140). It is a category of analysis that is contingent and contextual. Those that support its use reflect on how "we need [the category of 'women'] to denote women's specific relation to a gender structure" which is what I aim to do within this thesis by investigating the relationship of women, specifically the suffragettes, through the lens of my own positionality, to the gendered structures, both physical, experiential, and metaphorical, within landscapes and space (Gunnarsson 2011, 34).

1.3 Summary of Next Chapters

The following seven chapters explore, in more depth, the methodology and literature informing the project, the two case studies and subsequent analysis, an exploration of the labels of violence, and a conclusion, drawing together each argument, highlighting relevance and importance beyond this thesis. Chapter 2 will provide an in-depth review of the literature regarding the suffrage movement, terrorist/political violence studies, and conflict archaeology and gender history. By overviewing and introducing the prominent literature within these fields, this chapter shows what each brings to this project and how my research is situated within. The third chapter focuses on methodology and theory, introducing each distinct source of theory that informs and shapes the interdisciplinary methodology created for this project, before walking the reader through how to adapt and apply the methodology to their own research, highlighting its reproducibility. By presenting the innovative methodology and its origins in depth, Chapter 3 argues for each individual theory's inclusion in the overarching methodology developed for this project.

Chapters 4 and 5 overview the fieldwork undertaken in Manchester and Glasgow, exploring the specific routes taken, what was seen, experienced, felt, understood, and hypothesised. Including photographs taken, these two chapters are narrative in nature as I walk (bringing the reader along with me) through the two cities and the spaces within them that are relevant to the suffragettes. By reciting the experiences I had during each survey, these two chapters preface the following chapter, in introducing the themes and ideas more thoroughly analysed and investigated in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 analyses the fieldwork outlined in the two previous chapters highlighting themes such as investigations of tactical analysis, experiences of geography of fear, the memory-scape of the suffragettes, and analyses of physical landscapes. In this chapter, I also introduce reflexive thematic analysis which was used to identify and draw out themes from within the transcriptions of my fieldwork to organise the subsequent analysis.

Chapter 7 explores the discussion and use of contentious terminology as applied to the suffrage campaign, specifically that of ‘terrorism’, ‘political violence’, and ‘militancy’. This discussion is vital in an investigation that specifically chooses to approach the suffragettes as both militants and women without participating in the long-held argument of the value and efficacy of their militancy. The final chapter, Chapter 8, draws together the conclusions of the analytical research process and identifies future areas of growth within this research framework.

1.4 Conclusion

The inspiration that led to this research project emerged from a few different drivers, personal, political, and academic. One of the initial motivations for this project drew from my own experiences of public spaces and the injustices women experience that are central and unique to being a woman. The focus on women’s experiences in public spaces over time, tracing them from the period of the suffragettes to modern day women’s experiences highlights just how little has changed in terms of women’s safety. It is imperative to address and bring to the attention of non-female readers the ‘geography of fear’ that women have when walking in public spaces that (most) men do not use/have/understand or

sometimes not even know about. (Most) men do not experience spaces in the same ways that women do, and it must be a priority to discuss this openly and create a space for change.

There is also a clear need to investigate the suffragettes through the lens of conflict archaeology, with a focus on their militancy as integral to the WSPU and its identity. Within conflict archaeology, it is imperative that the discipline begin addressing gender within its research aims, as nearly all current and historic research in conflict archaeology is focused on men, whether intentionally or simply because the overlying assumption tends to be that men are the sole participants in conflict. This project seeks to demonstrate the potential for a feminist conflict archaeology that not only highlights non-male actors involved in conflicts, but embraces feminist research ideals and facilitates interdisciplinary dialogue.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This research project involves references to and the inclusion of multiple diverse fields, resulting in a highly interdisciplinary project requiring familiarity with varied subjects, including British suffrage historiography, political science and terrorism research, conflict archaeology, the archaeologies of activism and resistance, and gender history. In undertaking a broad review of these fields, I located gaps and points of overlap, identifying where each field could act in dialogue with the other. This then influenced the methodology and conclusions of the research project as related to how each field interacts with each other and where my research fits within.

There were three specific characteristics that emerged from the initial broad reviews that informed and guided the goals and questions of the more directed literature reviews and this research project as a whole: masculinist perspectives within British suffrage historiography which sought to deny the legitimacy and efficacy of the militant campaign; scholarship reflecting on female violence and its definitions; and considerations of feminist thought and investigation in conflict archaeology, including a brief discussion of the archaeologies of activism and protest. These tie together to present background for the development of this specific research project, centred around considerations of women's ability to be violent and how that has been represented.

2.1 The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain

Suffrage historiography began developing while the campaign was still ongoing, with prominent members of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), such as founder, Emmeline Pankhurst, and one of her daughters, Sylvia Pankhurst, publishing "early militant histories" in 1914 and 1911 respectively (Holton 2000, 19).

In 1928, Ray Strachey, a suffragist who was part of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), published *The Cause*, "the last major history written from the constitutionalist perspective" by a member of the campaign; this marked the beginning of the trend of hyperfocus on the militant aspect of the movement which characterised much of twentieth-century

suffrage historiography (Dodd 1990, 129; Holton 2000, 17). In 1931, Sylvia Pankhurst published another history, *The Suffragette Movement,* which reflected the fractured relationships between her immediate family and "became the authoritative reading" on the WSPU and Emmeline Pankhurst for many subsequent historians (Purvis 2002, 3).

This same period saw the publishing of George Dangerfield's, *The Strange Death of Liberal England*, in 1935, believed to be "among the first and most influential of the masculinist histories" (Holton 2000, 22). Sandra Holton discusses the "masculinist school" of suffrage historiography as being influenced by the legacy of early suffrage history and one which viewed the suffragette movement as "a deviant, marginal, and even dangerous aberration from the established" based on "gendered assumptions about what properly constitutes 'political' activity" (Holton 2000, 22).

Also included in these 'masculinist histories' are Martin Pugh's *The Pankhursts* (2002) and Brian Harrison's chapter, "The Act of Militancy: Violence and the Suffragettes, 1904-1914", in a larger volume of his work published in 1982. Harrison's work differs from the previous entries in the school of masculinist histories of the suffrage movement in that it is not sardonic, so falls into what Holton terms as "liberal-masculinist", avoiding the "sardonic mode" of those before him yet is still incapable of completely leaving behind negatively "gendered perspectives on political practice, most notably in analyses of women's militancy" (Holton 2000, 24).

Harrison seeks to identify the particular reasoning for why women turned to militancy in the suffrage campaign, making broad generalizations in regard to this (1982, 32). He denies that "resentment" at injustices faced by women was the cause of suffragettes' turn to militancy as both militants and non-militants felt outrage "at personal ill-treatment"; this is a broad sweep of reasoning as well as a large down-playing of the injustices faced by women that he lists out, including "wife-beating, prostitution, poverty, ignorance, unemployment, [and] indignities" of all imagination (Harrison 1982, 33). He also states that Emmeline Pankhurst and Millicent Fawcett were "happily married, relatively affluent and emancipated women" in the context of discussing how people turn to revolt, almost as if these three factors would have discounted any other difficulties

faced by women during this period, in leading to their choice to engage in and promote militant violence (Harrison 1982, 33). Holton argues that his condescending writing "interprets suffrage militancy…as a kind of politic pragmatism" that eventually led to a "total loss of political judgement" (2000, 24).

In the latter part of the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, suffrage historiography also began to complicate widely held assumptions, for example, what acts were defined as militancy, understandings of the class composition of the movement, and exposed the reality of the regional bases of the WSPU, including that of Scotland, and their relationships to the London headquarters (Leneman 1995; Leneman 2000; Mayhall 2003; Bearman 2007).

There also emerged more works focused on histories of the suffrage movements in Britain, Ireland, and Europe, highlighting a trend of the period in seeking to provide more specific histories of the movement. E. Crawford's two guiding texts, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide, 1866-1928* (2001) and *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain and Ireland: A Regional Survey* (2006), both provided important contextual details regarding key figures and sites specific to Manchester and Glasgow to inform the surveys.

Shifts in the historiography in more recent years have sought to highlight some of the less-known, individual members of the movement. Diane Atkinson's 2018 work exploring the lives of multiple 'remarkable' suffragettes, *Rise Up Women: The Remarkable Lives of the Suffragettes* provides an in-depth exploration of some of the more obscure and less famous members of the WSPU. As well, Fern Riddell's work, *Death in Ten Minutes: The Forgotten life of Radical Suffragette Kitty Marion* (2018), looks at the life of Kitty Marion, one of the suffragettes heavily involved in the most violent part of the WSPU's campaign.

In 2019, June Purvis and Crawford touched upon the debate regarding the efficacy of militant activity in the overall campaign, asking in a debate of opinions, "Did Militancy Help or Hinder the Granting of Women's Suffrage in Britain?". Crawford argues that militancy was "invaluable" before 1908, when the window smashing campaign began, but afterwords "was not a real hindrance…while at the same time being irrelevant" (2019, 1222). Purvis,

however, is adamant in her argument that militancy did help the eventual enfranchisement of some women in 1918 (2019, 1200).

This overview of influential literature in the historiography of the British suffrage movement reviewed many of the works that informed my research project and its aims, including the masculinist perspectives of Harrison and Pugh. These works inspired, in part, the framing of the suffragettes as actors of political violence to highlight the legitimacy of their movement and move away from the debate of its efficacy.

2.2 Women, Political Violence, and Terrorism

In reviewing the relevant literature regarding the British women's suffrage movement, something significant that struck me was the consistent use of the term 'militancy' without consideration and inclusion of other relative terms, such as political violence and terrorism, to describe the acts of the suffragettes. This inspired a research tangent into labels of conflict, including terrorism, political violence, and militancy, especially focused on women as actors within these acts and labels of violence. This discussion will be further expanded on and explored in Chapter 7, while the following section focuses on a brief overview of the scholarship reflecting on women involved in forms of politically-motivated violence, the potential for interdisciplinary overlap here, and the gaps my work seeks to fill.

This part of the research focused on surveys of literature from political science, terrorism and political violence studies, and international relations. In an aim to understand the political, social, and cultural understandings of terrorism, general reference works such as select chapters by A. Schmid in *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism* (2011), chapters in *The Historical Dictionary of Terrorism* (2009), *The History of Terrorism*: *From Antiquity to Isis* (2016) and in *The Cambridge History of Terrorism* (2021), and a wide number of survey texts from leading terrorism and political violence journals were reviewed.

One of the most glaring inconsistencies within the field's survey texts was a lack of a specific focus on and inclusion of women as agents of violence, rather than as passive victims. However, there have been a few important, recent

monographs on women as 'agents' of violence, not as victims and passive actors. This includes Miranda Alison's work, *Women and Political Violence: Female Combatants in Ethno-National Conflict* (2009) and Paige Whaley Eager's volume, *From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists: Women and Political Violence* (2008).

Eager's book opens with the goal of investigating "how structural, ideological, and individual factors" affect the choices made by women involved in political violence, as opposed to simply continuing the more frequent line of research, which singularly focuses on identifying a "general theory of why women engage in political violence" (2008, 10). Eager's choice to focus on the particularities of women involved in political violence has informed this research project, in situating the militant suffragettes as political and militant actors in their own right rather than trying to argue against or for their violence (Eager 2008, 10). Eager also discusses the language of terrorism and political violence, an interesting discussion that will be further explored in the seventh chapter of this work. Political violence, similar to terrorism, has been defined by multiple authors, researchers, academics, political scientists, military historians, etc. and therefore no one definition has been universally accepted, which contributes to the difficulty of defining acts of violence that involve political aims (Eager 2008, 10). Eager also surveys the historical research that has taken place investigating women involved in political violence and the difficulty society seems to have with reconciling women with acts of violence (2008, 11-12). The conclusion of the work states that by highlighting case studies across time and geography, women's involvement and agency in political violence cannot be explained away at a high level but instead, similar to men, need to be investigated individually for each specific case (Eager 2008, 271).

Alison's work focuses on a particular aspect of women's involvement in political violence, women as "combatants in ethno nationalist movements", but highlights that the motivation behind this research includes a desire to move the focus of research investigating "women, gender and armed conflict" away from "women as victims" and towards "women as agents of political violence" which has been sorely overlooked (2009, 2). Within the specific focus on ethno-nationalist violence, Alison shows that the common perception is of women as "victims, and only victims, during armed conflict" when the reality is that many

women participate, perpetuate, and perform acts of violence (2009, 2). Alison discusses the idea of 'Women as Peacemaker' that continues to persevere throughout common thought as highly contradictory to the reality of women who become involved in conflict and political violence (2009, 2-3). Alison also touches upon the complicated debate surrounding terminology related to political violence and conflict and states that they agree with the difficulty in defining terrorism considering its multiple definitions and the negative connotations of the word (2009, 3-4). They chose to use the "relatively neutral term 'combatant'…and actively avoid the word 'terrorist'" as they argue that it is often used when "an author disagrees with the aims of a particular group" and more 'positive' terms "are used for groups the author has more sympathy with" such as, 'freedom fighter' or 'guerrilla' (Alison 2009, 3-4). Similar to Eager, Alison does not seek to generalize experience across all women involved in conflict and political violence, but instead to "contribute to advancing our thinking on women's involvement in non-state military groups in ethno-nationalist mobilizations", a highly specific area of research (2009, 34). They seek to add further literature to a subject that has been insufficiently examined, while simultaneously "utilizing the voices and beliefs of women who have been consistently ignored" (Alison 2009, 33).

Eager and Alison both highlight that it is vital that researchers and the public alike, work to engage with "the full range of women's responses to and roles in war in varied contexts, especially as combatants" to understand the full picture of "human conflict" (Alison 2009, 3). Including the experiences of women is an important step in ensuring that all of humanity is researched in conflict studies, not just men.

These two empirical studies are examples of a small but growing field of researchers focusing on women's involvement in conflict, thus informing my project by providing excellent examples and frameworks through which to investigate and understand women's participation in conflict and society's reaction to it. Eager chooses to look at political violence and case studies of violent women within five overarching themes: left wing political violence, right wing political violence, wars of national liberation, ethnonational political violence, and suicide bombings, highlighting diverse examples of women of

different political persuasions and their involvement in political violence and conflict. Alison's book is limited specifically to the review of women's involvement in ethno-national conflict and includes two case studies: that of Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka. Both these works remain focused on gender, war studies, armed conflict, feminism, etc, however, neither, nor the other literature within political science reviewed, engage with archaeology or conflict archaeology in their research, leaving a wide gap for my research project to fill.

2.3 Conflict Archaeology and Gender and Women's History

One of the initial inspirations for this research project was the lack of research within the field of conflict archaeology about women, initiated by women, and undertaken by women. As a female graduate student in a conflict archaeology course, I did not see myself reflected in the content I was studying, which inspired my MSc dissertation. As part of that dissertation, I completed a survey of article titles of the only academic journal solely related to conflict archaeology, the *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*, to determine how many articles were written about women and conflict (Carver 2023, 3). At the time of that dissertation, in the summer of 2023, there had been 17 volumes of the journal, adding up to over 160 articles (Carver 2023, 3). Out of those articles, there was only one about women's participation in conflict, written by Stephanie Selover, titled "Weapons, Warfare, and Women: The Dangerous Lives of Early Bronze Age Women in Central Anatolia" (Carver 2023, 4). This highlights a clear gap within the field of conflict archaeology regarding women's involvement in conflict as actors. The research project outlined in this thesis aims to start rectifying this gap especially through the intervention of gender and women's history. By introducing dialogue between these two fields, considerations of feminist thought can more influentially determine and guide avenues of research within conflict archaeology. It is also important to briefly mention the archaeologies of resistance and activism in this section, as they are integral to our understanding of how archaeologists incorporate and utilise their work to enact change, especially when investigating communities, groups, and peoples whose lives revolved around protest and activism, such as like the WSPU.

2.3.1 Gender and Women's History

The field of women's history developed in the 1960s and 70s, influenced by "second-wave feminism and…sexual liberation movements" (Downs 2018, 101; 102). The revolutionary origins of women's history directly impacted future gender studies and history, specifically through its nearness "to social and political movements" (Downs 2018, 101). Laura Lee Downs' chapter on gender history in the edited book, *Debating New Approaches to History,* explores this field, what it aims to offer to historical studies, and prominent debates within the discipline (Downs 2018). In this chapter, Downs explores how gender history developed from within women's history, now focusing on "the shifting constellation of relations between men and women" and how conceptions of femininity and masculinity have developed and fluctuated throughout the years (Downs 2018, 102). Women's history, instead, studies "women as a social group" (Downs 2018, 102). There have been tensions and debates between the two fields, interplayed with conceptions of poststructuralism's ability to present history studied through the lens of the Other. These debates have impacted and fashioned gender and women's history as it exists now, and include discussions about the "term 'identity'", the "personal and political significance of identity", and "'traditional approaches'" as opposed to those from poststructuralism (Downs 2018, 101).

Gender, as a concept, reflects the "idea that there are both biological and social" aspects "to the sexual identities of women and men"; a great deal of our understanding about being a man or a woman "is shaped by particular cultural, legal, and social practices that determine the behaviours, hopes, and expectations of individual" people (Downs 2018, 102). This also lends itself to the assumption that the ability to construct 'men' and 'women' as social and political categories is based on and in social applications as opposed to unchangeable "dictates of nature/biology (Downs 2018, 102). Gender as a category of historical analysis has been the source of significant debate and discussion; Joan W. Scott's 1986 article, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" begins with an initial overview of the use of 'gender' in the 1970s and 1980s by feminists seeking to reject "the biological determinism implicit in the use of such terms as 'sex' or 'sexual difference'" and involve the scholarship of women as a transformative tool forcing "a critical reexamination"

(1986, 1054). Scott defines gender through two "propositions", the first being that "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes" and the second, that "gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (1986, 1067). These propositions situate gender as a category of analysis for historical research. Over two decades later in 2010, Scott revisited their earlier work in "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis?", exploring changes within the world and scholarship since 1986, including the dissemination of feminist thinking and political campaigns focused on "subversive implications of "gender"" (2010, 8). In this updated essay, Scott discuses 'women' as a category and updates how gender is still a useful category of analysis "because it requires us to historicize the ways sex and sexual difference have been conceived" (Scott 2010, 13). The meanings of the "language of gender" become a question of analysis to understand how they were "established, what they signify, and in what contexts" (Scott 2010, 13).

Another important and central tenet to feminist research and gender history is intersectionality, as introduced in Chapter 1. Intersectionality is the idea that men and women "stand at the confluence of multiple social forces" and are not singular categories but are instead affected by differentiating characteristics such as religion, gender, disability, race, and class, among others (Downs 2018, 102). An example of how intersectionality is used in gender history is in discussing and redressing how "the experiences and struggles of women of colour fell between the cracks of both feminist and anti-racist discourse" (Davis 2008, 68). Intersectionality works to bridge the tension and gaps between identity politics and social justice, for example, as Kimberle Crenshaw discusses in her 1991 essay, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color", violence against women is not solely moulded by gender but is also impacted by other aspects of who they are, including class and race (1991, 1242).

Using a gendered approach to investigate history offers "an awareness of what the world looks like from a perspective other than that of dominant white males"; this can also, and should be, applied to conflict archaeology as well (Downs 2018, 103). This 'awareness' is central to this research project, situating it firmly within the field of gender and women's history and highlighting how

important interdisciplinary dialogue is to better inform research methodologies and results. Gender and women's history characterise the overarching research methodology of this project, supporting the inclusion of feminist theory into the phenomenological, psychogeographical, and conflict archaeological approaches that combine to create the methodology.

2.3.2 Archaeologies of Activism, Protest, and Resistance

The intertwining of archaeology and activism has been well noted in scholarship and duly included in multiple fieldwork investigations (refer to Marshall et al. 2009; Peters et al. 2018; Schofield 2022; Cowie and Britt 2024; Casimiro and Pacheco 2024; Pacheco and Casimiro 2024; Laluk 2025; also refer to the thematic issue of Archaeology, Activism and Protest in the *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* for further papers). This field includes both examples of "contemporary archaeologies of protests and activists events to archaeological projects that are – in and of themselves – acts of activism and protest" (Cowie and Britt 2024, 1000). Considerations of "critical, emancipatory, feminist, queer, Black and Indigenous archaeologies" are also often included within this overarching field focussing on activism, protest, and resistance (Cowie and Britt 2024, 1006). Examples of archaeological investigations of sites of protest and activism include that of Greenham Common in the UK, and the Nevada Test Site and "resistance to [the crude oil pipe" Line 93" in the US, to name only a few of many (Marshall et al. 2009; Schofield 2022; Rybka 2025, 857).

Part of the importance of archaeology including and being actively involved in activist efforts relates to our ability as archaeologists "to amplify marginalized voices, challenge oppressive systems, and foster meaningful change" (Casimiro and Pacheco 2024, 825). Engagement with communities and presenting histories accurately and respectfully is paramount, with a focus on collaboration and community (Casimiro and Pacheco 2024, 829).

The inclusion of gender studies and "feminist research practice[s]" within archaeology ties closely with activist archaeology in working against gendered discrimination and inequality (Marshall et al. 2009, 226; Casimiro and Pacheco 2024, 830). This tenet of activist archaeology lies at the heart of this thesis and

its focus on an organisation dedicated to female enfranchisement as well as important discussions of ‘geographies of fear’.

2.4 Conclusion

Through an intensive review of literature from multiple relevant disciplines, areas of overlap, gaps, and potential points for interdisciplinary dialogue were identified within suffrage historiography, political violence and terrorism research, conflict archaeology, and gender and women’s history. Within suffrage historiography, the review highlighted pervasive debates, including masculinist interpretations of the suffragettes’ ability to be violent and questions of the efficacy of their militancy campaign. This inspired the framing of my research questioning to situate the suffragettes’ political violence at the centre of my understanding of their landscapes and experience. It also supported the inclusion of political science and terrorism scholarship to understand how the suffragettes’ acts of political violence fit within broader research in this field and to show how interdisciplinary dialogue between the two fields is beneficial for further research potential. This also led to the development of the research question focused on contentious labels of violence perpetrated by women and the suffragettes. Lastly, the discussion of how little research has been focused on female subjects within conflict archaeology highlights the need for the inclusion of gender and women’s history scholarship within the field. This underpins the intentions of this feminist research project and clearly demonstrates the potential for research to be undertaking tying together each of these differing subjects.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Combining approaches from psychogeography, phenomenology, and conflict archaeology, the methodology developed for this thesis seeks to explore the spaces and sites in which the militant suffragettes lived, worked, and protested, and in which they have subsequently been (or not been) memorialised. By space, I am referring to a larger, grouping of points within a landscape and by site, a more specific point in a landscape, for example the specific structures and locations related to the suffragettes explored in the following two chapters. By applying and utilising gender theory and combining feminist phenomenology, psychogeography, and conflict archaeology, the research method developed and discussed below seeks to turn away from the traditional "neutral white European privileged male subject" towards a focus on "embodied subjects" (Fielding 2017a, ix; viii; Arnold 2018, 3).

Linking and exploring theories and approaches from multiple fields, the interdisciplinary methodology allows for an innovative exploration of militant suffragette landscapes. It engenders a research practice that incorporates theories of landscape and experience, gendered power and history, as well as an inclusion of conflict-focused archaeological theories. Utilising considerations from multiple fields allows me access to broader thought practices and a more inclusive and interrogative study throughout my fieldwork and analysis. However, this methodological creation also presents challenges in that it combines competing theories that can be difficult to balance during the fieldwork, while its innovative nature makes referencing similar examples difficult.

The use of methods from approaches such as psychogeography, autoethnography, and phenomenology, which are inherently subjective and based on reflexive analyses, leads to difficulty in reproducing the research. Each researcher will end up with and/or receive different results dependent on a variety of factors unique to themselves. However, the methodology and practice can be reproduced and repeated, and should be by other researchers, both men and women, to gather a broader array of research and results that can be compared to draw out further conclusions.

Each of the broader methodologies and theories described below contributed to the development of the overarching research methodology. This chapter explains what the methodology/theory is, how it is applied or adapted for the purposes of this research method, and explores the key critiques. At the end of the chapter, the reproducibility of the research method is discussed as well as why each methodology was chosen and how they could be applied to other investigations.

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1 Phenomenology

The roots of phenomenology are within philosophy, emerging from scholars such as Martin Heidegger, Edmund Husserl, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (Thomas 2006, 43-44). However, the thread of phenomenological inquiry that has inspired this research deviates from these philosophical origins (Thomas 2006, 43-44). Instead, it draws upon work which has applied phenomenological methods to archaeological study. Christopher Tilley's publication of *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Paths, Places and Monuments* in 1994 was key to instigating this use (Thomas 2006, 54; Barret and Ko 2009, 276). The basis for Tilley's work was new considerations of space including a view of how space was a "medium" in which action takes place, as opposed to "a container"; space as "socially produced" and consistently linked to human agency (1994, 10). He describes this view of space as an alternative to the more "scientific" understanding of space which understands action and space as "conceptually and physically separate" (Tilley 1994 7; 9). The understanding Tilley adopts of space is one that is dependent on the individual and how they experience it, centring experience of space in relation to key differentiating characteristics such as gender, class, race, age, among other identifiers (1994, 11). Tilley summarises the shift as a transition from the scientific, the abstract, the "geometrical universal space" to a basis of space in ontology, structured within the differences "of human experience and action in the world" (1994, 11). The phenomenological approach espoused by Tilley focuses on human experience as central to an understanding of space.

Tilley defines the essential concern in the use of phenomenology as how people embody, "experience and understand the world" (1994, 11). Embodiment is

fundamental in phenomenological practice, focusing on peoples' tangible presence in the world. Phenomenology as a practice, according to Tilley, focuses on how things are experienced by a person and the descriptive understandings they apply to things (1994, 12). The focus on space is pulled from the understanding that space is a relationship that exists "between things or places" and is created and produced, and therefore can be used to extract meaning (Tilley 1994, 17). Tilley describes the philosophical understandings of phenomenology as developed by Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, which are used as the bases for his approach. However, in the forthcoming research, I focus on Tilley's approach as the basis for my research practice subsuming its philosophical and abstract origins from the above-mentioned scholars into Tilley's overarching practice (1994, 12-14).

The application of phenomenology to archaeology combines "investigating the impact of…change on our present-day perceptions" while also interrogating the "more constant aspects of site locales and landscapes" (Hamilton et al. 2006, 32). Most phenomenological research has been focused on pre-historic landscapes and monuments, especially within the British Isles on "highly visual, monumental and mostly ritual sites", investigating through sight and what can be seen in rural, Neolithic landscapes (Hamilton et al. 2006, 33).

Tilley's work explicitly focuses on examples in southern England and south Wales, specifically Mesolithic and Neolithic sites (1994, 71). The application of phenomenological research in archaeological practice to more modern landscapes has yet to emerge as its own thread of inquiry. One example of landscape archaeological study that includes investigation of a more recent site is that of James Bond and Kate Tiller of Blenheim Park in 1987 (Darvill 2006, 65). Whilst recognizing the difficulties in attempting to walk through and experience an urban landscape in an attempt to investigate the suffragettes, it has already been shown that there is potential for this work (Carver 2023). The benefits of this practice will show that urban landscapes can be investigated to pull out cultural understandings of these rapidly changing spaces. As well, gendered sites within urban landscapes offer a rich avenue of exploration that can be more thoroughly addressed through this methodology. The approach that is utilised in the research practice of this investigation draws on phenomenological concepts

but differs from "traditional" philosophical phenomenology by focusing on concrete embodied experiences as well as that which was practiced and introduced to mainstream archaeology by Tilley in the 1990s through consideration of gendered and more recent space and conflict tactics (Thomas 2006, 54-55). Another difference between this research and Tilley's original application of phenomenology to archaeological research is his focus more on the natural landscape, whereas this research takes place solely in heavily urbanized areas (i.e. Manchester and Glasgow) and therefore instead focuses on (hu)manmade structures and sites and their interactions with the suffragettes.

Due, in part, to phenomenology's origins within philosophy and its associations with "sensory experience", Tilley's adaptation of it, and subsequent uses by other researchers, for archaeological purposes has had its share of critiques (Hamilton et al. 2006, 31). Joanna Brück explores some of these in their review essay, "Experiencing the Past? The Development of a Phenomenological Archaeology in British Prehistory", discussing one of the major concerns with the use of phenomenology in archaeological method: the difficulty present-day researchers have in proving that the "relationships identified" within the landscape using phenomenological practice, "were indeed considered significant in the past" (2005, 51).

Another critic, Andrew Fleming has written three different critiques of Tilley's approach to phenomenology and its use by him and subsequent researchers. He argues that even though Tilley's approach has promise, the way the field data is considered and examined leaves room for questions and that it has not added anything to how archaeologists can better understand the Welsh Neolithic and their "sacred geography" (Fleming 1999, 119). Fleming's critique of what Tilley did with phenomenology as applied to field archaeology is that he used writing techniques that are highly performative in a project which Fleming argues "is essentially and necessarily investigative" (Fleming 2005, 931).

He argues that his investigation used a contentious method of research that claims to be "experiential, thickly descriptive, and 'human'" but was actually, in Fleming's opinion, speculative, not replicable, and the antithesis of "empiricism, logical positivism and critical scepticism" (Fleming 2005, 931; 930). In all, his critique of the research methods developed within landscape

archaeology that seek to focus on, in his words, the "people in…landscapes [which] were non-existent", are that these methods generate "highly questionable results" and "are problematic in operational terms" (Fleming 2006, 267; 276-277; 279).

Other critics include authors, J. Barrett and I. Ko who, in their article, "A Phenomenology of Landscape: A Crisis in British Landscape Archaeology", agree with Fleming's critique and argue that the research produced since Tilley's pioneering work was unsuccessful in developing "a credible body of historical knowledge" (2009, 276).

While Fleming, Brück, Barrett, and Ko are not wrong in their claims that phenomenological approaches to archaeology are experiential, I believe that they fail to see the potential of more imaginative and performative approaches that introduce new ways of looking at landscapes. Their critiques rightly question how successful phenomenology can be based on its difficulty to replicate and how it is reliant "on rhetoric, speculation, argument by assertion" (Fleming 2005, 930). Fleming also critiques post-processual landscape archaeology as a whole, and its turn to approaches based on experience and interpretative texts (2006, 267). However, I believe that phenomenological approaches have the ability to extend our understanding of the lives of the people we study, through what might be deemed tenuous, but could also be considered humanist, approaches. In my reading of Tilley's work, I found his arguments refreshing and unique within landscape archaeology; and while some of his claims seemed a bit far-fetched in that he presented them as well-substantiated, I do think the broader impact of his methodology on how archaeologists view the landscapes he researched is positive and that phenomenology remains a worthy methodology to apply to archaeological investigations, within reason. The focus on human experience and embodiment that Tilley's work has encouraged, is an important shift within archaeology that centres people within the materials and landscape we study. It is vital that as archaeologists, and historians, we continue to prioritise the people we study, along with attempts to understand their experiences and the nuances of human life across time. Tilley's work, and the inclusion of phenomenological theory in

archaeology, helps to bridge the gap between scientific fact and humanist interpretation to present more full studies of past human life.

3.1.1.1 Feminist Phenomenology

Within phenomenology, there has been a growing body of literature and research that has emerged over the past three decades focused on feminist thought. Feminist phenomenology can be generally described as using phenomenology within gender studies and feminist theory (Stoller 2017, 330). While it has grown significantly as a field in the past thirty years, the ideas behind feminist phenomenology extend back into the first half of the twentieth century. Simone de Beauvoir is considered to have been significantly influenced by phenomenology, and her work, *The Second Sex* (1949), has the potential to be considered an early example of feminist phenomenology due to her advancement of feminist thought and the inclusion of phenomenological influences; however, as the term 'feminist phenomenology' did not yet exist, it can only serve to be called that in retrospect (Fisher 2000, 1-2; Fielding 2017a, viii; Stoller 2017, 329). De Beauvoir's innovative work encouraged the feminist thought to extend into "a variety of institutions, spheres of activity, and socio-cultural discourse" (Fisher 2000, 2). Other female authors are also credited for their work in centralising embodiment in discussions "of woman's place in society, politics, and philosophy", including Edith Stein, Luce Irigaray, Iris Marion Young, and Hannah Arendt (Olkowski 2017, 4; Gardiner 2018).

The recent growth and development of feminist phenomenology can be traced to a conference held in 1994, organised by Linda Fisher and Lester Embree, that is considered to be the foundational event for "institutionalized feminist phenomenology" (Stoller 2017, 331). Fisher and Embree, in their work, *Feminist Phenomenology*, argue that the relatively slow embrace of feminist thought by phenomenology can potentially be explained by a belief that the two are "incompatible" (2000, 2; 3). Some feminists argue that there is an absence of gendered analysis and sexual difference in phenomenology as well as a vacuum of discussions of specifically women's experiences (Fisher 2000, 3). The caution with which phenomenology was investigated by feminists was due to phenomenology being reproached for entitling "a genderless, neutral transcendental subject" (Fielding 2017a, viii). But that "genderless, neutral

transcendental subject" is also presented "as the neutral white European privileged male subject" and considered within traditional phenomenology to be "the locus of reason" problematically combining the idea of a neutral figure with that of a white, European man (Fielding 2017a, viii; ix). Feminist phenomenology is centred around the understanding that experience is lived in a variety of ways, highlighting the need to call attention to the experiences of the Other, whether that be people of colour, those with disabilities, the elderly, or women, as my research aims to do (Fielding 2017a, vii).

Within archaeology, phenomenology has yet to be applied. The focuses of some of the more influential works within this field: Fisher and Embree's edited book, de Beauvoir's work (as translated by Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier in 2009), *Rethinking Feminist Phenomenology: Theoretical and Applied Perspectives* edited by S. C. Shabot and C. Landry, and *Feminist Phenomenology Futures*, edited by H. A. Fielding and D. E. Olkowski, are on the philosophical frame of phenomenology (Fisher and Embree 2000; de Beauvoir 2009; Fielding and Olkowski 2017a; Shabot and Landry 2018). Therefore, it was necessary to adapt feminist phenomenological theory to archaeological landscape study to incorporate it into my research method. One of the important applications of feminist phenomenology to this research is to centralize the experience of the suffragettes, as women involved in militancy and conflict, in the historical and (conflict) archaeological narrative. The application and use of feminist phenomenological methods and approaches to this research are an attempt to highlight the experiences of the suffragettes within a modern landscape that is embedded with feminist history (Fielding 2017b, 105). The suffragettes, especially as they embarked upon a significantly escalated militant campaign, did not fit within the "'normal' structures" and expectations of women in early-twentieth-century Britain and thus studying their experiences through the lens of feminist phenomenology will offer researchers further insight (Fielding 2017a, xi).

Philosophically, feminist phenomenologists believe that utilising feminist phenomenology in understanding the world will enact change (Fielding 2017b, 105). One of the important reasons for the inclusion, and in fact centralisation, of feminist phenomenology in this interdisciplinary, multi-methodology

approach, is to reflect the need for change and how the normal "subject" of phenomenological research has only reflected one type of person (Fielding 2017a, ix; 2017b,105). Fielding and Olkowski highlight that one of feminist phenomenology's most important aspects is its attention "on the political and change" (Fielding and Olkowski 2017b, xxxii).

Tilley applies feminist thought to his use of phenomenology in *A Phenomenology of Landscape* by highlighting a significant gap in theories of phenomenology, that "the experience of these places is unlikely to be equally shared and experienced by all, and the understanding and use of them can be controlled and exploited in systems of domination" (Tilley 1994, 26). As the focus of Tilley's research is on prehistoric landscapes, so is the application of this statement, but the thread of feminist theory remains and is an important tenet of the phenomenological theory adapted and used in this research – a prioritisation of understanding space and place as unequal and the potential and likelihood of their use in the pursuit and maintenance of control and power (Tilley 1994, 26).

3.1.2 Psychogeography

Psychogeography is a fluid concept, involving processes and methods relevant to psychology, space, and geography, studying "the signification and experience of the visual world and urban environments" (Bridger 2013, 285; Eldar and Jansson 2022, 342). It is distinct from phenomenology in its more psychological, radical origins as opposed to the philosophical basis of phenomenology and its heavy focus on experience and being-in-the-world. Guy DeBord, a member of the Situationist International group responsible for its flourishing, described psychogeography as "the 'study of the specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behaviours of individuals'" (Coverley 2006 as cited by Kelly 2020, 726; Sidaway 2022, 550).

The origin of psychogeography stems from the Situationist International group in Paris in 1957-72, a collection of progressive writers, poets, and artists who were "concerned with how environments affect how people feel and behave" (Bridger 2013, 286; Kelly 2020, 724; Sidaway 2022, 550). Significant to their movement was the pursuit of radical change and they strongly criticised urban gentrification and were opposed to capitalism and party politics (Bridger 2013,

286). Situationists developed a practice known as “the dérive” which was a specific manner of “walking for the purpose of exploring the impact of urbanisation” and subverting habits in how environments are normally experienced (Bridger 2013, 286). Psychogeography’s roots within the Situationist movement reflect the initial motivations for the practice, which were not scientific in origin and so in my research, the application of psychogeographical methods focuses on its more investigative practices such as “explorations of difference and embodiment in the city” (Arnold 2018, 4).

The political intentions of psychogeography’s roots have shifted recently to focus more on “cultural revolution and exploration” and away from the radical roots of psychogeography which were focused more on urban investigations of gentrification and forgotten spaces and playful explorations of city landscapes (Bridger 2013, 286; Eldar and Jansson 2022, 342). However, Alexander Bridger’s article, “Psychogeography and Feminist Methodology”, argues for an approach reflective of the Situationist origins of psychogeography, that produces leading-edge data through the use of original methods, which is what I seek to do in applying psychogeography to my overall methodology (2013, 286). These innovative methods include “an explicitly gendered focus” which is a deviation from more traditional psychogeography but is central to the methodology proposed in this research project (Bridger 2013, 290). In contributing to the redress of bias within psychogeography towards the “male gaze”, researchers, including myself, are seeking to “study men **and** women’s experiences” and “to challenge gendered inequalities in society” (Bridger 2013, 287; emphasis added). Bridger also argues that utilising psychogeography in an academic pursuit of feminist research contributes to the originality of feminist psychogeography in that it is a departure from more traditional research methods (2013, 290).

Recent literature on psychogeography discuss its masculinist tendencies (Bridger 2013; Arnold 2018; Eldar and Jansson 2022; Sidaway 2022) which is an important conversation and one that frames the recent trend of feminist thought within psychogeography and even the development of a specific feminist psychogeography as encouraged by Bridger. ‘Walking’ as a part of the psychogeographic practice also has problematic origins, in that it is traditionally oriented through the “male gaze” which uses the city as a source of “pleasure

and the spectacular" and retains "a masculinist bias" lingering from the Situationists (Bridger 2013, 286; Arnold 2018, 3). Bridger argues for the inclusion and reference to "embodied subjectivity" in developing a feminist psychogeography, and that gendered subjectivity is vital in understanding "embodied experience" (2013, 287). The feminist psychogeography promoted by Bridger seeks to understand how "the nature of places" impacts the "structure and content of gendered experience of place" and, subsequently, "how our gendered experiences and behaviours" impacts those same places (Bridger 2013, 288). In their discussion of a methodology for feminist psychogeography, they define it as prioritising a gendered analysis of "men's and women's experience of social spaces" (Bridger 2013, 290).

In applying it to my methodological practice, psychogeography is utilised to explore the relationship between time and experience in relation to the militant suffragettes and myself, as the researcher, and how the spaces in which they enacted militancy affect both in turn (Kelly 2020, 724). The memories stored within sites are not just personal but political in nature as well, as how space is organised "is a 'symptom' of political culture" reflecting gendered politics and power (Kelly 2020, 725). I apply feminist psychogeographical methods to my research in the sense of investigating urban spaces, specifically those relevant to the militant suffragettes, and trying to consider their experiences within these spaces as well as my own. The application of this methodology will allow me to consider and understand "women's political experience of places…and how…women think about and experience social environments" (Bridger 2013, 294). Key to my research process is focusing on my own "role in the research in relation to embodiment and 'gendered subjectivity'" (Bridger 2013, 294). In particular, I seek to use the feminist psychogeographical method introduced by Bridger which interrogates gendered presumptions by explicitly "exploring how men and women experience and use environments" (2013, 295).

Psychogeography also faces critiques in its application to research as a methodology worth using. In their article, "Psychogeography: Walking Through Strategy, Nature and Narrative", James Sidaway cites Erik Swyngedouw's complaint that psychogeography has become "aestheticized" and what was once "revolutionary, anti-establishment, anarcho-marxist and radically

transformative" is now respectable (Swyngedouw 2002, 153, as cited by Sidaway 2022, 551). This is a similar comment on the usability of psychogeography as a method, to that of Emma Arnold who, in their article, "Aesthetic Practices of Psychogeography and Photography", briefly discusses the problematic use of psychogeography as a scientific method of research when the Situationists were, instead, artistic individuals with politically motivated aims and purposes (2018, 4). Their comment centres around the potential illogical use of "the dérive" in pursuit of answering "a specific research question" when the roots of psychogeography, walking, and "the dérive" are in "radical and historic politics" and that the practice has "ludic, subjective, and unpredictable qualities" (Arnold 2018, 4).

While these are valid observations of the potential unsuitability of psychogeographic methods in scientific research, I consider these characteristics as beneficial in pursuit of more open-ended research questions that focus on experience and landscape. Investigations of the suffragettes' and women's experience in space are politically charged subjects and applying a method of walking in space that has its roots in subversive, radical politics, I argue, is suitable for such a research project. The concept of a 'geography of fear' plays a key role here in how public spaces are understood by women differently than men and the political discussions of male violence against women in these spaces (Valentine 1989, 385). The geography of fear refers to how women link male violence with specific landscapes leading to significant impacts on how women navigate and use public spaces and is a heavily politicized topic (Valentine 1989, 385). Female victims of male violence in public spaces are made to feel at fault for not considering the geography of fear in their choices (Valentine 1989, 385). In their article, "The Geography of Women's Fear", Gill Valentine writes about a specific example where a woman, Deborah Linsley, was brutally murdered in an empty train and was duly seen to be at some level of fault for her own murder by the media and police due to her putting herself in a vulnerable situation (1989, 385). Revisiting and considering the political roots of the Situationists throughout the research practice will play a central role in the gendered considerations of embodiment throughout this project.

3.1.3 Conflict Archaeology

Conflict archaeology emerged as a discipline in its own right, from within battlefield archaeology, in the early 2000s with the 'Fields of Conflict' conference held in Glasgow (Pollard and Banks 2005, iv). Before the conference, the archaeology of battlefields existed within the broader discipline of archaeology, with important examples such as Edward Fitzgerald's investigation of the battle of Naseby in the 1840s, Peter Newman's work at Marston Moor in the 1970s, and probably most significantly, Douglas Scott and Richard Fox's investigation of the Battle of Little Bighorn in the United States in 1983 (Pollard and Banks 2005, iv; Banks 2020, 192; 193). The research work undertaken at the site of the Battle of Little Bighorn resulted in a field technique and methodology that was explicitly proven to be successful for the archaeology of battlefields, inspiring further interest in the field (Scott and McFeaters 2011, 109; Roymans and Fernández-Götz 2017, 3; Banks 2020, 193-194). The importance of landscape in battlefield (as it was known at the time) archaeology was also shown in Glenn Foard's work at Naseby where he adapted the methodology developed at Little Bighorn, but focused more specifically on reestablishing the landscape of the battle (Banks 2020, 194).

Conflict archaeology, as a discipline now, "is the study of human conflict in the past through largely archaeological means" encompassing multiple areas including and beyond battlefields (Banks 2020, 192). Under the umbrella of conflict archaeology is the study of "archaeological phenomena" that includes, but is not by any means limited to, "defensive works, military camps, military infrastructure, landscape of war" (Roymans and Fernández-Götz 2017, 1-2).

Landscape is an important avenue of research in conflict archaeology (Roymans and Fernández-Götz 2017, 3; Scott 2023, 18). The use of 'terrain analysis', or 'KOCOA', a "modern military operations analysis tool", within conflict archaeological study allows researchers to work "to understand what participants could see", as applied most frequently to battlefields; I believe it can be applied, as well, to the militant landscapes of the suffragettes (Scott and McFeaters 2011, 115). The acronym, KOCOA, breaks down into "**k**ey terrain, **o**bservation and fields of fire, **c**over and concealment, **o**bstacles, and **a**venues of approach" (Scott and McFeaters 2011, 115; emphasis added). By using these

terms to interpret conflict landscapes, researchers can work to understand "the meaning given to a landscape and the events that transpired on that landscape" (Scott and McFeaters 2011, 115).

Understanding how the landscape affected choices within conflict, specifically the actions of the militant suffragettes, is a central theme of how conflict archaeology approaches to studying the landscape are applied within my research. This connects with broader themes in conflict archaeology and the understanding that landscapes (battlefields are most often used in this context) impact the conflict that occur within them and that that can be understood through the use of conflict archaeological methods. There is a sort of reciprocity between how the landscape impacts those who walk within it and how the actors (in this case the suffragettes and myself) impact the landscape.

The methodology can also incorporate the embodiment of those involved in conflicts that took place in modern spaces, enlarging the common understanding of conflict archaeology that is frequently limited to battlefields and more traditional conflict spaces. As written in the manifesto to the first volume published of the *Journal of Conflict Archaeology*, conflict should be considered "in its broadest possible sense, providing a vehicle for a wide variety of approaches, promoting diversity and a holistic outlook" (Pollard and Banks 2005, vi).

3.2 Gender Concerns

Each of these methodological approaches that have been combined to create this innovative and fresh approach are historically primarily masculine and focused on the male gaze. This is highly problematic and counterproductive, leading to the inclusion of gender history and women's studies theory into the methodology to counteract this. Gender history offers a substantial amount to historical studies and is used in this methodology to focus analysis on gendered experience (Downs 2018). Its historical origins in activism and second-wave feminism encourage its continuing proximity to political movements and change, as seeks to be done in this research project (Downs 2018, 101).

Phenomenology is a masculinist philosophical methodology that held the ideal subject as a neutral genderless figure, but that ideal subject is actually presented "as the neutral white European privileged" man (Fielding 2017a, viii). So, the use of a specifically feminist-oriented phenomenology within this research method is key to ensuring that my research highlights those other ways of living, specifically those of women, particularly the suffragettes and myself, as representations, to a degree, of women's lived experiences (Fielding 2017a, vii). Psychogeography, while recently experiencing feminist developments and having its origins in political movements, also still holds masculinist tendencies, and prioritises the masculine bias and gaze (Bridger 2013, 286). This requires the psychogeographical methodology adapted into my overarching methodology to focus on feminist considerations, specifically examining gendered subjectivity and embodiment throughout the fieldwork. Conflict archaeology is the methodological approach least inclusive of women, with the majority of research being created focusing on men's contributions to conflict throughout history, either ignoring the women or treating them as passive actors, relegating them to historically traditional roles in conflict. A conflict archaeology that is explicitly feminist still needs to emerge, but this research project seeks to begin remedying that gap. By taking a categorically gendered analysis of the suffragettes' conflict landscape, this methodology encompasses methods of conflict archaeology while focusing specifically on those actions by women.

Prioritising the perspective of women, specifically and as opposed to that of white men, centres the focus on gendered experience, which is needed when utilising methodologies whose problematic focus on men are so prominent.

3.3 Research Method and Practice

This section explores the step-by-step process and techniques by which this research has been completed (Alison 2009, 11). Combining the theoretical practices discussed above has led to a comprehensive methodology and subsequent research method and practice. The research practice began with "desktop study", where key sites of militancy enacted by the suffragettes were identified for both case study locations (Grant, et al. 2008, 4). Key sites include spaces of demonstration, protest, office spaces, sites of memorialisation, places

of militant attacks, and other relevant sites associated with the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) suffragettes.

Sites and places relevant to the militancy of the suffragettes have been 'created' and become known through their political acts and the notoriety attached to them, and in many cases, subsequently forgotten over the course of the past century in favour of other histories, often those of men. The aim of this research is to re-discover them and understand their importance in relation to the experiences of suffragettes, as well as trace the changing experiences of women in space over time (Tilley 1994, 18). The absence of these female narratives within Manchester and Glasgow is a loss and part of this project is aimed at rediscovering and reintroducing their forgotten histories into the landscapes. These comprehensive lists of key sites were used to inform the locations of the phenomenological landscape surveys within the two case study cities, Manchester and Glasgow.

The surveys and walking path were planned using a map of the modern city and organised to take place over one to two days. The choices regarding which spaces to visit and in what order was based on ease of movement around the city for the researcher (e.g. what sites are near each other in location, accessibility, public transportation, weather, etc.). The pre-planned route was used as a guide for doing the surveys to ensure an aspect of unexpectedness and spontaneity, as important to psychogeography, remained. As well, changed routes and extenuating circumstances that become clear while on the survey, can also lead to changes in which order the sites were visited. Part of the idea of psychogeography is allowing oneself to experience and wander around urban areas through a "drift" or "drifting" (Kelly 2020, 726; Sidaway 2022, 550), so not following the mapped routes strictly for the sake of it but instead being influenced by the surroundings and by unexpected encounters was vital and contributed to an exploratory practice of research.

As the research began, on route to the first location, I recorded feelings, energy levels, anticipatory thoughts, and things I noticed in my immediate surroundings. This is the recommended practice to 'level-set' the expectations of the day of fieldwork so that one can recall, when writing up findings, more specifics regarding the day. Once at each site, I recorded my observations, feelings,

ideas, and thoughts, using a list of questions and thoughts I had accumulated using my literature review to inspire observation and thought at each site and in between. These included considering how women experience(d) space across time, the gendered body and how it experiences place and landscape, the gendered "privilege to wander freely in public space", and the importance of "unanticipated encounter[s]", to list a few (Bridger 2013, 288; Arnold 2018, 13; Sidaway 2022, 561). In conducting this fieldwork in the spaces and sites that the militant suffragettes lived, fought, and protested in, I sought to go beyond texts and maps, and understand the spaces through "being there, being in place" as explained by Tilley (1994, 75). In focusing on the experiences of the militant suffrage protestors, this research attempted to identify how the spaces would have felt for the women protesting, the importance of gendered spaces and how these women transgressed those, and the intertwining of gender identities and experiences of space and changes to that across time especially considering the geography of fear. A crucial aspect of this methodology is allowing the landscape to direct the researcher and encouraging the "unanticipated encounters" that reveal deeper meanings and understandings (Arnold 2018, 13). In doing the surveys, photography was a significant part of the research method in that it captures the sites and spaces being seen and experienced in real time, allowing the researcher to reflect upon them retrospectively and, in the writing up, show the reader what is being referred to. Arnold argues that photography is frequently used in "psychogeographic walking" in an attempt to "produce a robust visual record" (Arnold 2018, 5; 13).

The extent of change in the landscapes between the time the fieldwork was undertaken (June 2024, Manchester and January 2025, Glasgow) and the years the WSPU suffragettes were active (1903-1914) is relatively clear due to the focus of this research on more explicit sites and places, as opposed to Tilley's focus on broad prehistoric landscapes. However, he describes a very valid point that remains relevant, that "from a very contemporary perspective…it is…extremely difficult to attempt to envisage…the prehistoric settings" (Tilley 1994, 73); so even though the extent of time passed is a little over a century, in contrast to millennia, it remains difficult to envisage the exact circumstances and images of the early twentieth century during the surveys. One of the key aspects of this methodology, derived specifically from phenomenological

practice, is that insights from the research are groundwork "for hypothesis and argument, rather than a revealed truth" as is often critiqued of phenomenology, and these insights are then analysed for trends as discussed in later chapters (Thomas 2006, 55).

3.3.1 Autoethnography

The research and subsequent write up of the surveys undertaken in this project aim to follow the conventions of autoethnography exemplified by Elizabeth Mackinlay in her outstanding works on autoethnography and feminism, *Critical Writing for Embodied Approaches: Autoethnography, Feminism and Decoloniality* (2019) and *Writing Feminist Autoethnography: In Love with Theory, Words, and the Language of Women Writers* (2022). Autoethnography prioritizes the importance of reflexivity and centering personal experience throughout research undertaken on "cultural experience" (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011, 1). The use of autoethnography in my research practice focuses on centering my experience of public spaces (specifically those relevant to the militant suffragettes) to understand how women experience public spaces. As the research conducted during the two surveys was undertaken by me, the primary researcher, it would be amiss not to explore the benefits of autoethnographic practices in my research, surveys, and subsequent discussion and analyses, as "autoethnography is both process and product" (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011, 1)

In line with the priority of feminist phenomenological practice of enacting change through research, autoethnography seeks to "treat research as a political, socially-just and socially-conscious act" with the final aim of creating "analytical, accessible texts that change us and the world we live in for the better" (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011, 1). Autoethnography not only incorporates but highlights the "innumerable ways personal experience influences the research process" (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011, 2).

The concept of reflexivity is prominent within autoethnography and qualitative research and is vital to this research, as shown in the first chapter. Reflexivity serves to provide "critical reflection on the research process and on one's own role as researcher (Finlay 2002a, 2002b, as cited in Braun and Clarke 2013, 10).

Feminist phenomenology, psychogeography, and autoethnography all require a level of reflexivity within the methods practice, highlighting its use throughout.

3.4 Conclusion

In this research, I seek to understand not only how the spaces utilised and inhabited by the militant suffragettes impacted the choices they made, but also how their experiences were determined by the places and those within them (Bridger 2013, 291). Sites and spaces are important not only due to the historical interest and heritage within them but also because they have become imbued with people's lived experiences and are spaces within which memory is created, maintained, presented, and owned (Kelly 2020, 723; 724). This methodology attempts to focus on and pull out the forgotten and "unspoken histories and experiences" of spaces (Weeks and Byrne 2019, cited in Kelly 2020, 723).

The methodologies and theories explored within this chapter are all, at a high level, different but do share points of overlap. As of yet, however, they have only been tied together through their application to my research. In reviewing the prominent literature for each (feminist phenomenology, psychogeography, autoethnography), a common trend emerges in the recognition of multivocality, that there are "multiple ways of speaking, writing, valuing and believing" and that each of these different ways are important in their own right, highlighting the diversity of landscapes and experience (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011, 2).

Chapter 4 Manchester

This chapter is a narrative retelling of the first of the two surveys completed for this research project. This survey took place over two days, June 26th and 27th, 2024, in Manchester, United Kingdom (UK), and involved sites related to the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) suffragettes and their acts of militancy, including the house where the WSPU was founded, office spaces, and locations of militant acts. Fourteen sites were chosen and visited; the survey was limited to these fourteen due to time, ability to travel, and financial and physical resources. This is not a comprehensive review of all relevant sites and locations in Manchester related to the WSPU and their militant acts, but rather a calculated and particularly designed survey of their activity, framed by ability, time, and circumstance.

As well, some locations that were identified during the preliminary research no longer exist today; buildings have been demolished, burned down, and destroyed. This had the potential to impact my findings, as the omission of certain sites have only left those that were available, restricting the potential for a wider data set, likely influencing my interpretations, considering I only visited a specific, defined list of sites. In Manchester, there were seven initially identified sites that no longer exist, and in Glasgow, there were six. The choice to omit these, while including some sites that have been rebuilt or repurposed, was, in part, due to the availability of information regarding the location of these sites today (if they have been repurposed, rebuilt, or changed). These omissions definitively impacted the overall findings as those sites may have provided unique insights or inspired observations that were not seen due to their inaccessibility.

The survey was split into two days, organised primarily through geographical locations, and ease of travel between locations. Figure 1 is a map of Manchester overlayed with the fourteen sites visited during the two-day survey.

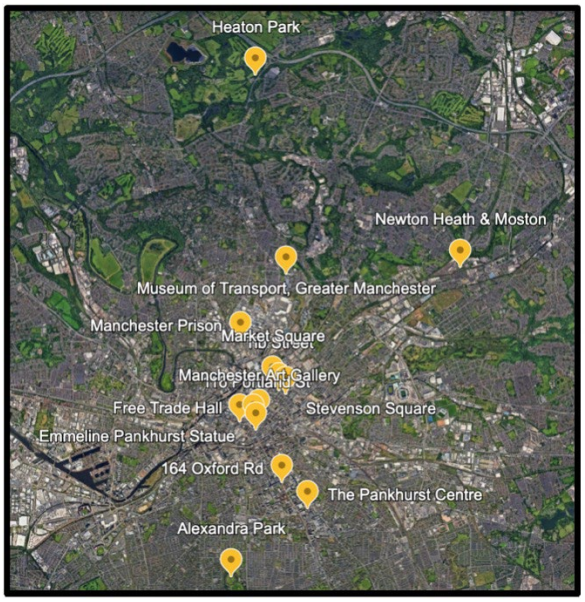

Figure 1 – Map of Manchester Fieldwork

The goal of the survey(s) is to present one understanding of the WSPU suffragettes' experience of space, militancy, and geography, through the lens of my particular experience. This experience is necessarily affected by my positionality as a white, middle-class woman from the twenty-first century. I do not speak for the suffragettes nor wish to impose my experiences onto theirs but instead offer an interpretation of their experiences through the lens of a survey informed by approaches from phenomenology, psychogeography, and conflict archaeology.

4.1 Day 1: Wednesday June 26th, 2024

The first day of my fieldwork survey in Manchester began as I walked from my accommodation to **Heaton Park**. Figure 2 shows the map of the sites visited on Day 1 of the survey and Figure 3 shows, at a high level, the routes I took.

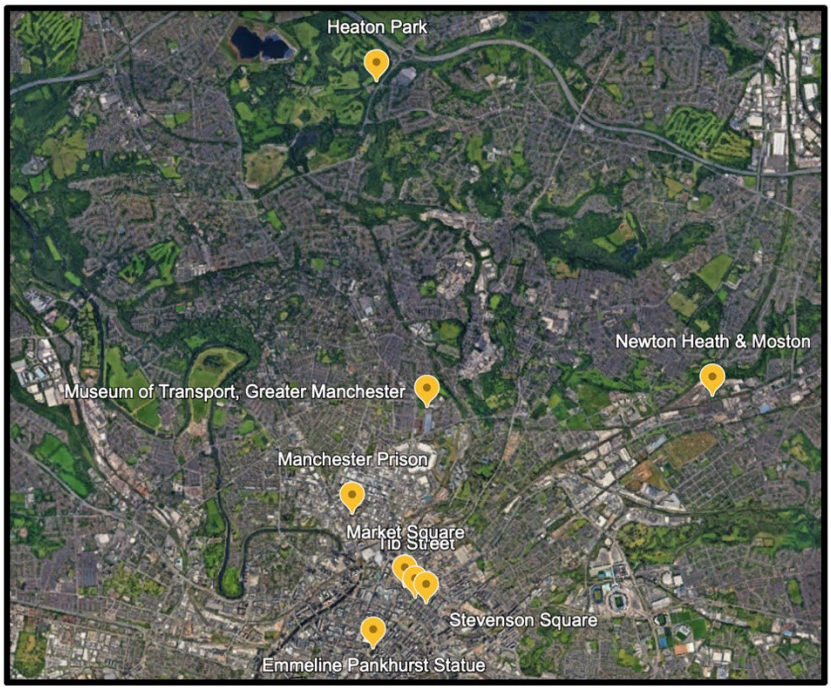

Figure 2 – Map of Manchester Day 1 Fieldwork Sites

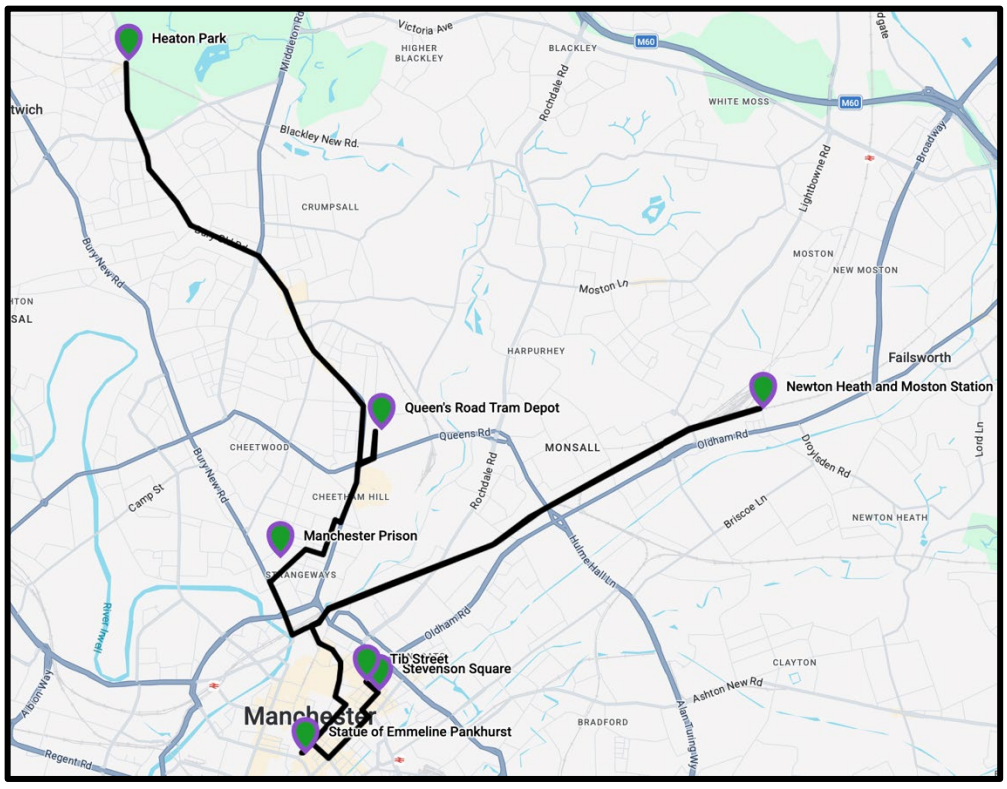

Figure 3 – Map of Manchester Day 1 Fieldwork with Recreated Routes

The three maps throughout this chapter and the next (Figures 3, 19, and 32) that detail the walking routes between the sites were made after completing the fieldwork and are therefore not completely accurate to the actual route taken as they were re-created mostly from memory.

It was a very warm and sunny day as I headed from Manchester City Centre to Heaton Park. During this walk and tram ride, I was inspired to begin thinking about women's unique experience of space. The need to consciously be aware of your surroundings, noticing who is around you, looking at you, following you, even on a bright sunny morning, is pervasive. This experience inspired considerations of the concept of 'geography of fear', which recognises that the way women experience and navigate space is impacted heavily by male violence and its perceived threat (Valentine 1989, 385).

4.1.1 1. Heaton Park

As I was on the tram, approaching **Heaton Park**, I came across a newspaper article discussing how Emmeline Pankhurst stopped a tram at Heaton Park. It seemed almost incredible to have had the courage to step in front of a tram. Earlier in the day I had walked in front of a tram at a crossing and was easily impressed by the size of it, making the act of purposely moving in front of one to stop its movement a frightening thought. It is unclear, due to lack of records, whether this act of militancy occurred at the present-day tram stop for Heaton Park or at the tramway, now discontinued and re-purposed for heritage rides, within Heaton Park itself.

The connection between the act of militancy at the tram stop and Heaton Park is that, following the "great demonstration in Hyde Park, Mrs Pankhurst announced that the WSPU would hold similar demonstrations throughout the country", and "on 19 July [1908] 150,000 came to Heaton Park, Manchester" (Rosen 2013, 109). The same day, Mrs Pankhurst obstructed a tram at Heaton Park (People's History Museum 2025).

Heaton Park is a large park in the north of Manchester and as I walked through, it was very tranquil and quiet. The park itself was not very busy (it was a Wednesday morning) so it was somewhat difficult to initially comprehend and visualise the space as full of women and suffragettes demonstrating, up to the 150,000 as stated by Rosen (Rosen 2013, 109).

Figure 4 – Heaton Park

Something I noticed very early on in the fieldwork survey was my experience of space and geography as I moved around the different spaces of the city, both urban and rural, busy and empty. I currently live near a park and am always cautious of entering the park at night or alone or in quiet sections, etc., so as I walked through Heaton Park, I was thinking about the different ways in which spaces like parks are experienced by men and women especially at different times of the day, in different weathers, and under different circumstances.

As I kept walking, it became easier to visualise the park filled with suffragettes in some of the very large expanses of green fields, especially against the backdrop of Heaton Hall, an eighteenth-century house in the centre of the park (Manchester City Council 2025a). In thinking about using this open space for a demonstration, similar to the highly successful ones held at Hyde Park, the goal behind the choice to use the park seemed clear in highlighting the vast number of supporters of women's enfranchisement. By linking the demonstration in the park to the act of militancy at the tram stop, by disrupting transportation, the WSPU suffragettes showed their tactical knowledge and understanding of what would gain attention and cause disruptions. By utilising different key spaces in cities and nearby landscapes, the suffragettes believed they could further their movement and their goals.

Figure 5 – Heaton Hall in Heaton Park

As I left the park and headed towards the next site, I felt sexualised through looks and stares (from men), which is an incredibly uncomfortable experience. It made me consider the clothes I was wearing, if I was in a safe area, and my surroundings. This was a consistent feeling I was highly aware of throughout both days of the fieldwork.

4.1.2 2. Queen's Road Tram Depot (Museum of Transport)

The **Museum of Transport** is the site of the former **Queen's Road Tram Depot** where a meeting was held by the suffragettes in 1908 (Atkinson 2018, 92). As I approached it, the walk up the street to the museum itself was quiet, not crowded, but in the sense of an unsafe area as opposed to the tranquillity of Heaton Park. The location was secluded, at the end of a long road, past a big bus depot, and immediately I thought that it was not the sort of location I would go to at night. This was interesting considering the suffragette meeting was held in the "moonlight" (Atkinson 2018, 92). According to a 1908 map, the area between where the depot was and the city centre was less developed, contributing to my conclusion of it as a more secluded site (Historical Maps of Manchester 2025).

Figure 6 – View Walking Towards the Museum of Transport

Going into the museum itself, which is located inside the old tram depot, the space is open and airy, and it was easy to see how a meeting could be held here, with space for projecting loud speeches. However, I also wondered about the choice of a space further outside the city centre, if it was chosen as a space that, due to its seclusion, would not be interrupted or impeded by anti-suffragists, the police, or anyone else the suffragettes would not have wanted disrupting their meeting. I wondered as well if that consideration is what led to the meeting being held in the "moonlight" and whether that played a role in the choice regarding location, timing, and site (Atkinson 2018, 92).

Figure 7 – Inside of the Museum of Transport

As I walked through the museum space, there were no mentions of the suffragettes having held a meeting here. On one hand, that makes sense regarding its transient use by the suffragettes, but on the other hand, overall, Manchester played a large role in the suffragettes' movement and after visiting just two sites in the survey, it was already clear that the memorialisation of the suffragettes was minimal.

In considering the space in its intended use, as a tram depot, I contemplated gender in transportation labour in the early twentieth century and if the space would have been a male dominated one, then, as transport labour tends to be now. I noted this in the context of having used public transport earlier that day, and I had only seen one woman but multiple male drivers and personnel. In the Edwardian period, the concurrent labour unrest in the period and growth of trade unions and a clear reluctance on their part to include women in their organisations and even to support their enfranchisement highlights the complexities of gendered labour in the period; this encourages the assumption of a significantly more masculine labour environment in the Edwardian period (Darlington 2020, 471).

4.1.3 3. Manchester Prison (Strangeways)

I walked from the Museum of Transport (the site of the former Queen's Road Tram Depot) to what was once known as **Strangeways** but is now called **Manchester Prison**. It is now a men's prison, but during the suffragette movement, it was a mixed-gender prison, housing suffragette prisoners including Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney (Rosen 2013, 52; Atkinson 2018, 177; Gov.UK 2025). As I walked, I noticed that the area near the prison, also called Strangeways, was one of economic deprivation, and I considered how the prison having been located there for the past century and a half might have impacted that. I was very conscious of the fact that I am a young woman as I walked through the area, and realized that it was not a place I would feel comfortable walking through at night. I also found it unnerving that I was walking towards a working prison with some people inside that were almost undoubtedly incarcerated for sexual and gendered crimes.

Figure 8 – Historic 1900-1910 Map of Manchester with Stars Marking the Locations of the Queen's Road Tram Depot and Manchester Prison (the University of Manchester, n.d.) (Image provided by The John Rylands Research Institute and Library, The University of Manchester)

Figure 9 – Walking Towards Manchester Prison

Something I noted during the walk from the tram depot to the prison was how this research methodology, in terms of physical ability and accessibility, is both a limitation as well as useful in providing insight. The survey requires a great deal of walking and navigating and I was conscious of my health and recent injuries as I moved around the city. This type of research can be limiting to those with accessibility and physical health requirements, making the methodology inaccessible, to a degree. On the other hand, it also highlights the perspectives of those who are disabled, providing insight into another set of subaltern experiences. There were suffragettes within the WSPU who had physical and mental disabilities, and the consideration of their experiences as

well, through the lens of intersectionality, adds yet another dimension to understanding the experiences of the Other. For example, Lady Constance Lytton was an important member of the WSPU, who also suffered from a weak heart and rheumatism which plagued her, her whole life, and resulted in severe health disabilities after several force feedings and prison stays (Myall 1998, 65; 74).

The prison itself is quite a striking structure, with some clearly historic parts. It was surrounded by fences and bars, a closed-off space, inaccessible, and built to keep people in. I was highly aware, as I walked up to the prison building itself, that it was still a functioning prison, making me hyperaware of my surroundings, trying not to draw any unnecessary attention to myself. The surrounding area was very industrial and urban, not much green space, and not the most aesthetically pleasant area. It was an odd feeling walking so close to a prison, as I had never really been so near to one before; I did not want to linger there and moved quickly around the space. I felt a keen sense of observation, feeling like the gaze of the police and CCTV were on me. I had an odd fear that in my taking photos and voice recordings, that there would be CCTV photos or recordings of me, due to the nature of the space I was surveying and its high level of monitoring. I was concerned I looked quite suspicious in my actions, which was an unnerving thought, knowing that I was being surveilled by the state through my presence near the prison. This reminded me of the state's surveillance of the suffragettes in the later years of their activity, especially during the years of the 'Cat and Mouse Act', which allowed the release of suffragettes on hunger strike who were in "a state of poor health" to recuperate on a special license while often being surveilled by police; once they were duly recovered, they would be 'recaptured' and sent back to prison to serve the remainder of their sentences (Purvis 2002, 221; 217). It also connected starkly to the surveillance undertaken by the state of the suffragettes within the prison system itself through "the covert photographing of imprisoned suffragettes" (Liddington 2005, 206). The state surveillance of the suffragettes also links to modern day anti-terrorist state surveillance, highlighting the threat the suffragettes posed with their militant activity, and strengthening the argument that the suffragettes' tactics were indeed highly violent and similar to that of terrorist acts, as further discussed in Chapter 7 (Liddington 2005, 209).

Figure 10 – Manchester Prison

I immediately felt how terrifying and frightening it would be to be inside (as a prisoner or a visitor). Prisons are dominating physical structures representing “a particular type of power”, and in the case of the suffragettes, likely that of the patriarchy (Foucault 2019, 96). I felt able to understand, to a limited degree, what the suffragettes would have experienced being taken into the prison, a man’s space, a space of fear, of imprisonment. This would have been exacerbated by the lack of female representation in the penal system and the police force in the early twentieth century. In looking at a modern map of the building and site (Figure 11), you can also see the design, with its six wings centred around a main concourse, reflecting architectural choices geared to better surveil and isolate the prisoners (Historic England 2025c; Historical Maps of Manchester 2025). The physical organisation of the main building with its central concourse, directly in the middle of six wings, seems to reference the concept of the Panopticon. Designed by Jeremy Bentham, the Panopticon includes “a central point from which a permanent gaze may control prisoners and staff” (Foucault 2019, 102-103). This also connects to my early point regarding surveillance as observation was a key aspect of the Panopticon and was likely a consideration in the design of Manchester Prison (Foucault 2019, 103).

Figure 11 – Bird's Eye View of Manchester Prison (via Google Maps)

Figure 12 – Gates and Fences Around Manchester Prison

The way the space was closed-off made me think about accessibility. Prisons are highly inaccessible, highly regimented, regulated, monitored, and protected. They are very imposing, physical representations of the police, legal, and justice system. It was a stark thought considering the suffragettes that were arrested and imprisoned at Strangeways had no representation within the system that was condemning them. The inequality of the situation is so clear, making their actions, specifically their militant choices, more understandable. The suffragettes were aware that imprisonment and prison sentences were going to be the results of their militancy acts, yet they chose to do so anyway, highlighting their incredible dedication to their cause. By being arrested and subsequently imprisoned, the suffragettes were being taken into a highly gendered space, one run by, created by, built by, and monitored by men. There is an irony to the suffragettes being incarcerated in a space like that, juxtaposed against what they were being imprisoned for – protesting for representation in the voting system – which would, once won, open up the judicial and prison system for women.

4.1.4 4. Newton Heath and Moston Station (Railway Carriage at Newton Heath)

As I left Manchester Prison and headed back into the city centre towards **Newton Heath**, I realized I had walked over 4 miles, before even getting halfway in my fieldwork for the day, reminding me of the physical limitations of this research practice.

Newton Heath was the site of a bomb attack on a railway carriage in 1913 (Bearman 2005, 386). I made my way to this area via the tram, arriving at the Newton Heath and Moston tram stop. It was unclear, due to incomplete archival records, where this attack took place, if it was at the tram stop, or potentially at the nearby train depot, or at the, now closed, railway station.

Figure 13 – Newton Heath and Moston Tram Stop with View of the Tram Stop in the Background

In imagining the act of placing a bomb, with the intention of violent destruction, it is easy to feel the nerves and fear that would have accompanied committing such a violent act. It struck me just how dedicated the suffragettes were to their goals and to the ends which they used to achieve them. They were directly contradicting not only the idea of women as meant for the domestic sphere, but also the socialisation of women as caring and nurturing. While the feelings of the individual suffragettes may have been more complicated regarding the role of women, to those around them, and especially their opponents, they would have been seen as significantly transgressing the norms which I can imagine would have been difficult to do.

In the modern day, the act of bombing railway stations and trains would likely be called an act of terrorism as it both involves the threat and employment of violence (parts of one definition of terrorism) (Morrison 2013, 5 as cited by Windle et al. 2018, 3). The acts of bombing by the suffragettes highlight the high level of violence these women threatened and committed and demonstrates how their activities align with definitions of terrorism.

4.1.5 5. Emmeline Pankhurst Statue

As I was heading back into the city centre from Newton Heath, I stumbled across the **statue of Emmeline Pankhurst**, which I had originally intended to visit the next day. As an unanticipated encounter, the coincidence of coming across the statue unintentionally, had me thinking about the important role of psychogeography in this research practice through encouraging spontaneity and unique insights.

The statue itself is located in a very busy square, St. Peter's Square, but, however, not many people were interacting with the statue as I first arrived. It felt very much part of the scenery at the square. In terms of memorialisation, it is a very beautiful statue in a busy area, a, theoretically, popular location for people to engage with and view the statue. The statue itself presents Emmeline Pankhurst "as a strong, forceful…subject" highlighting the stylistic choices involved in the design of the statue (Hobbs 2021, 435). However, I wondered if it was clear who she was to people who did not get closer to her and see the etchings on the ground that said her name; behind her, etched on the circle of stone around her, was also the WSPU motto 'Deeds not Words'.

Figure 14 – Statue of Emmeline Pankhurst in Manchester

I decided to stand near the statue for a few minutes to gauge the average level of engagement with the statue. As I stood there, a woman came up to take a photograph; two older men looked at the statue and took a picture; a couple with a pram looked at it; and two younger women looked at the statue, took photos, and engaged with it. In contrast with the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst I visited during my MSc project in London, this one in Manchester was clearly getting more engagement, which I put down to its location being in a busy, popular square near to office buildings, hotels, restaurants, and a library.

4.1.6 6-8. Stevenson Square, Tib Street, and Market Square

After the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, I had a break for lunch then resumed my fieldwork, heading towards **Stevenson Square**, a public plaza in Manchester. In this space, WSPU suffragettes, including women such as Emmeline Pankhurst, Hannah Mitchell, and Teresa Billington, gave speeches and protested (Rosen 2013, 52; Atkinson 2018, 30).

Figure 15 – Stevenson Square

Figure 16 – Historic 1900-1910 Map of Manchester with Stars Marking the Locations of Stevenson Square, Tib Street, and Market Square (the University of Manchester, n.d.) (Image provided by The John Rylands Research Institute and Library, The University of Manchester)

The space itself has been renovated, the pavement was newer, and it was a busy area with restaurants, bars, and shopping. It was a space where if a meeting, speeches, and protests were held, it would have caused disruption and likely engaged with a great deal of people. Historically, Stevenson Square was a favoured location for "open-air speakers" and served as "a meeting place and starting point for processions" but became more of a retail and shopping area over time (Manchester City Council 2025b).

Quite nearby to Stevenson Square was **Tib Street**, another location where meetings were held by the suffragettes; specifically, they were on Sunday evenings by the WSPU and the Independent Labour Party (ILP) Manchester branch (Rosen 2013, 39). I was curious about its labour background as a site of ILP meetings.

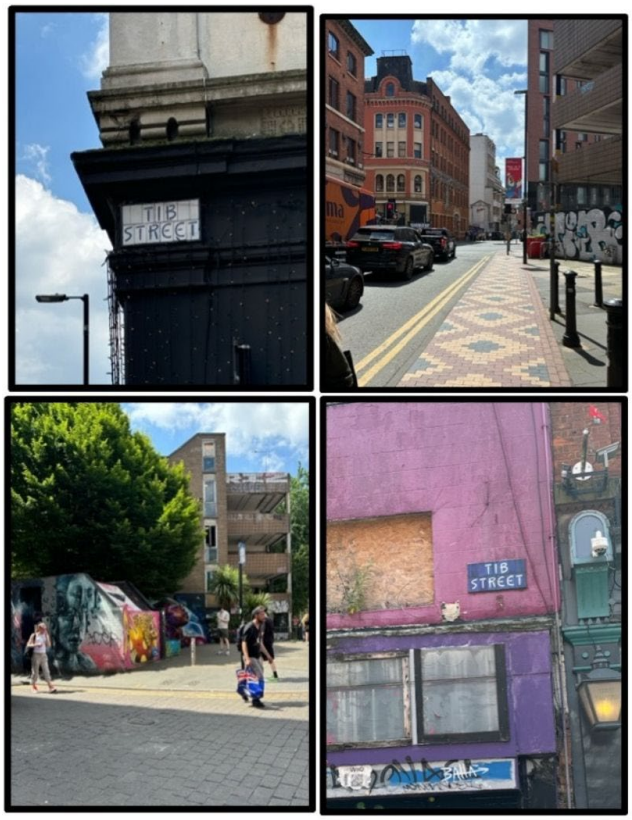

Figure 17 – Tib Street

In the same vicinity as Stevenson Square and Tib Street is **Market Square**. Market Square was another location of WSPU public speaking, specifically, in one example, by Annie Kenney (Atkinson 2018, 22). I did have difficulty identifying exactly where Market Square was, but in walking through where I thought it might have been, in that space, and at Stevenson Square and Tib Street, I was impressed with the confidence it would have taken for the suffragettes to get up and make a public speech, with potential for a hostile crowd or even something more dangerous, including retaliatory acts. Their acts of public protest, especially including that of public speeches, were highly transgressive, subverting "the existing political order" and forcing their "claim to full participation in the Edwardian polis"; therefore, perpetrating these acts would have required a great deal of nerve from the suffragettes (McInerney 2025, 134).

4.2 Day 2: Thursday June 27th, 2024

The second day of fieldwork started off much cooler while still pleasant and sunny outside. I began by heading from my accommodation to the Free Trade Hall. Figure 18 shows the map of the sites visited on Day 2 of the survey and Figure 19, the general routes I took.

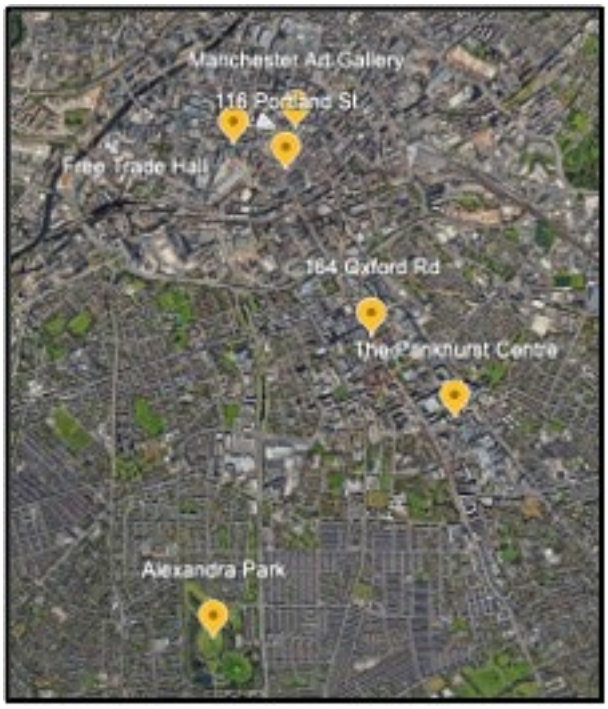

Figure 18 – Map of Manchester Day 2 Fieldwork

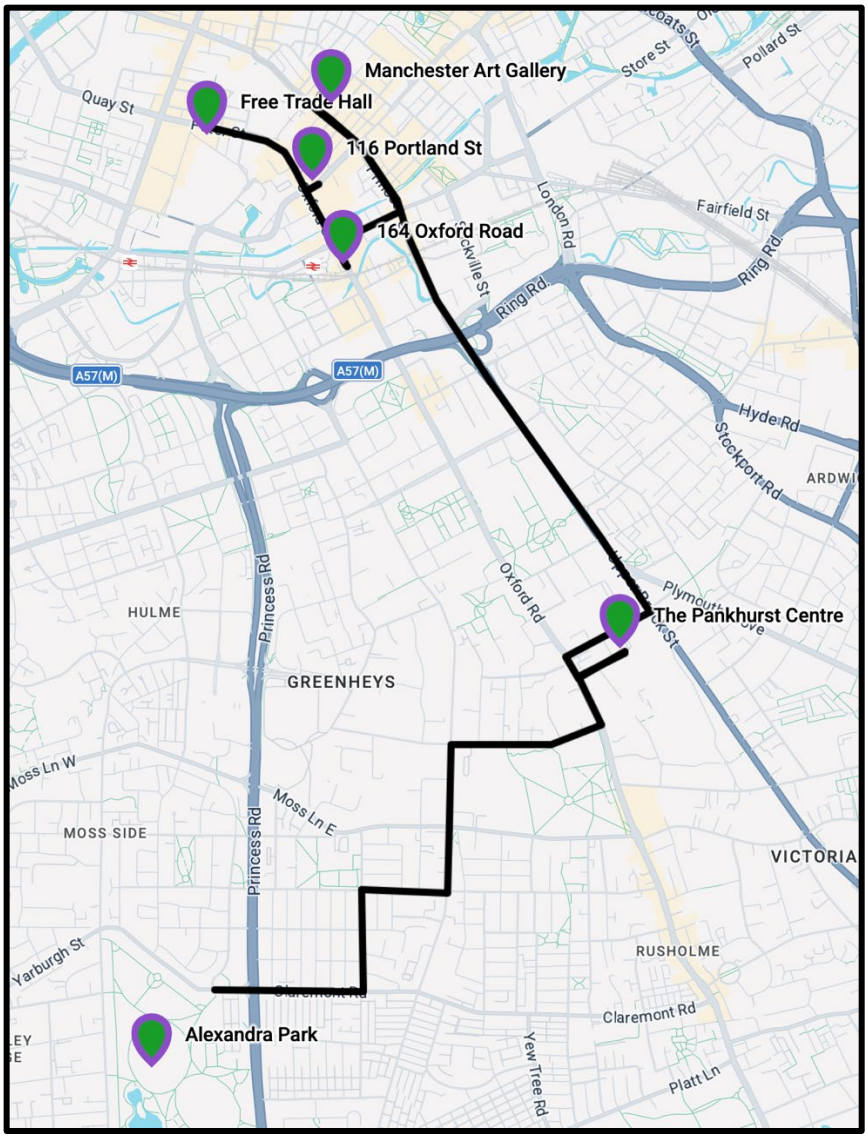

Figure 19 – Map of Manchester Day 2 Fieldwork with Recreated Routes

4.2.1 1. Free Trade Hall

The **Free Trade Hall** in Manchester is widely accepted as the site of the first act of militancy by the WSPU (Purvis and Holton 2000, 18; Mayhall 2003, 38; Cowman 2012, 276; Rosen 2013, 49; Pederson 2017, 46). The building has been repurposed into a Radisson Hotel, but the outside façade is the same as it was in the early twentieth century. It is located on a very busy street, in a public, urban area. The site itself had no memorialisation or plaque to the WSPU on the outside, but there was a plaque for the Peterloo Massacre which had taken place here in 1819.

Figure 20 – Historic 1900-1910 Map of Manchester with Stars Marking the Locations of the Statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, the Free Trade Hall, 116 Portland Street, 164 Oxford Road, and the Manchester Art Gallery (the University of Manchester, n.d.) (Image provided by The John Rylands Research Institute and Library, The University of Manchester)

Figure 21 – The Free Trade Hall

Walking around the site of the Free Trade Hall reminded me of how this research practice differs from more traditional archaeology in that it takes place above ground in a changing city and an urban landscape. These spaces have inevitably changed over the past century (in design, in purpose, in existence, etc.) but are also part of current change with a great deal of construction happening on the same street as the Free Trade Hall. It felt important to note how many spaces within UK cities have underlying history, forgotten underneath the repurposing of buildings, and that part of what makes this research important is in bringing these histories back to the forefront. This intertwines with memory and place and how the two intersect within landscapes, especially in terms of the "selective preservation, construction, and obliteration" of evidence from the past and how it is remembered or forgotten (Van Dyke 2016, 277).

4.2.2 2. 116 Portland Street (WSPU Office)

116 Portland Street served as one of the office spaces of the WSPU in Manchester at the beginning of their activity; meetings took place "in a small room located above a warehouse in Portland Street" (Crawford 2006, 8; Rosen 2013, 31). I was only able to walk along the outside of the space, as the building and its interior have been repurposed. The ground floor of Portland Street now

holds a Boots Pharmacy, a pub, and a casino among other things. The location itself was central, and it was easy to see why this might have impacted the choice of office space.

Figure 22 – 116 Portland Street

4.2.3 3. 164 Oxford Road (WSPU Office)

The office at 116 Portland Street was replaced by a space at **164 Oxford Street**, which is quite near to Portland Street (Crawford 2006, 8). The site is now a pub and there was construction taking place outside the building, with scaffolding covering the front. Both office spaces were within five to ten minutes' walk from the Free Trade Hall, making both locations very central.

Figure 23 – 164 Oxford Street

Thinking about the WSPU's office spaces and the debate over whether their actions can be considered terrorism, the idea that one could rent an office space in central Manchester and plan the sort of attacks the suffragettes enacted without the government's intervention (before the 'Cat and Mouse Act' and the increased level of surveillance), is hard to fathom. The shift to more extreme types of militancy by the suffragettes created more difficulty in maintaining office locations from which to plan their attacks, especially with the introduction of police raids and the active surveillance of notorious suffragettes (Liddington 2005, 204). Nonetheless, modern day terrorism and acts of political violence being planned, then perpetrated from offices explicitly rented for that purpose is unthinkable and highlights some of the more significant shifts in state surveillance over the past 100 years.

4.2.4 4. Manchester Art Gallery

After going to the sites of the WSPU's former offices, I visited the **Manchester Art Gallery** where in April of 1913 suffragettes attacked thirteen paintings (Rosen 2013, 192; Atkinson 2018, 389; Riddell 2018, 4). The paintings attacked included those by Pre-Raphaelites and as such I aimed to visit the gallery that housed them. Unfortunately, timing was not on my side, and none of the five paintings I had previously identified were on display. Interestingly though, the Pre-Raphaelite section of the gallery was the first gallery in the museum I had seen that day that had a member of staff in it. This was more than likely just a coincidence, but it felt ironic considering the level of surveillance set in place after the suffragettes' attacks, with closures of art galleries and other public sites in response to the slashings and attacks on artwork, demonstrating the potential for the suffragettes to have successfully created a wider atmosphere of fear among the wider public, one of the key aspects to the definition of terrorism by Morrison (2013, 5 as cited by Windle et al. 2018).

The Gallery also had signs up highlighting the existence of inequality and how the space of the Manchester Art Gallery is welcome to everyone. This type of messaging is incredibly important and links directly to feminist phenomenology and its consideration of the privileging of the neutral subject, which, in turn, encourages the erasure of experiences of inequality.

Figure 24 – "Inequality Exists" Sign in Manchester Art Gallery

4.2.5 5. The Pankhurst Centre (62 Nelson Street)

After leaving the Manchester Art Gallery, I headed to the **Pankhurst Centre**, which was around a half-hour walk from the city centre, where the two offices, the Free Trade Hall, and the Manchester Art Gallery are located. The Pankhurst Centre is a museum housed in the repurposed home of the Pankhurst family, where the WSPU was founded in 1903 (Rosen 2013, 30).

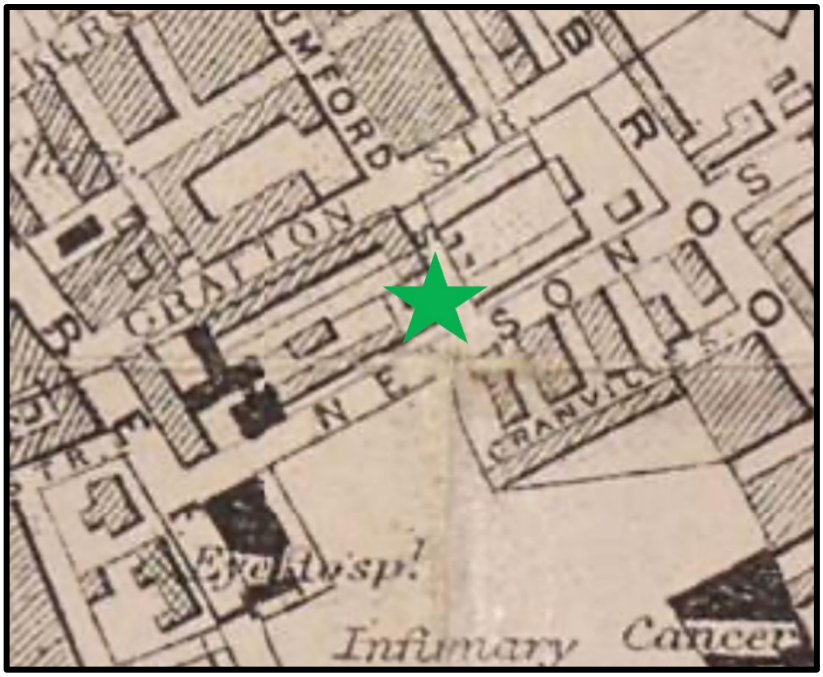

Figure 25 – Historic 1900-1910 Map of Manchester with Stars Marking the Location of the Pankhurst Centre (the University of Manchester, n.d.) (Image provided by The John Rylands Research Institute and Library, The University of Manchester)

The walk from the city centre towards the Pankhurst Centre reminded me again of the perils of being a woman alone in the city. I had felt relatively safe in the daylight of the busy and bustling city centre but as I walked out of the main area

towards the Pankhurst Centre, there were fewer people, and specifically, as I walked down one quieter street there was a man growling at passersby, who ended up walking behind me for a portion of the street, which was incredibly unnerving. While nothing ended up resulting from this experience, it was a reminder of the dangers of gender-based violence, and how it has been experienced by women throughout time; rates of reported cases of gender-based violence had "increased significantly over the course of the late-nineteenth century" (Bates 2016, 5).

The Pankhurst Centre was the original home of the Pankhurst family and was saved by feminist activists in the 1970s and 80s from demolition, with the Pankhurst Museum opening in 1987 (Pankhurst Trust 2025). The museum itself is not very large, as it is restricted to the site of the former Pankhurst home. There are a few different rooms with exhibits and collections related to the Pankhurst women and the WSPU, and a film shown in the second room, talking about the historic inequality between men and women, the WSPU's actions, and the continued inequity between men and women today.

Figure 26 – The Pankhurst Centre

The museum did an impressive job of comparing what has, and has not, changed over the past century, and the museum is decked out in white, purple, and green, the WSPU colours. The room where the WSPU is said to have been founded was the third room as I walked through the museum, and was displayed in a way to replicate what the space would have looked like, likely also reflecting the middle-class status of the Pankhurst family.

Figure 27 – Clippings of News Articles Highlighting Violence Against Women Across Time As Shown at the Pankhurst Centre

Figure 28 – Room at the Pankhurst Centre where the WSPU was Founded

4.2.6 6. Alexandra Park, Cactus House

As I walked to **Alexandra Park** from the Pankhurst Centre, I dwelt on the choices made by the WSPU suffragettes in terms of where and how to take militant

action. In Alexandra Park, the cactus house was the location of a bomb attack in 1913 (Bearman 2005, 388; Riddell 2018, 3). In terms of the attack on the **Cactus House**, I considered the choice of a park space and how that would have likely contributed to their tactical decision making. Being able to sneak in and out of a dimly lit, or not at all lit, park would have likely impacted the choice of perpetrating arson attacks at sites within parks, which was a common scene for suffragette attacks.

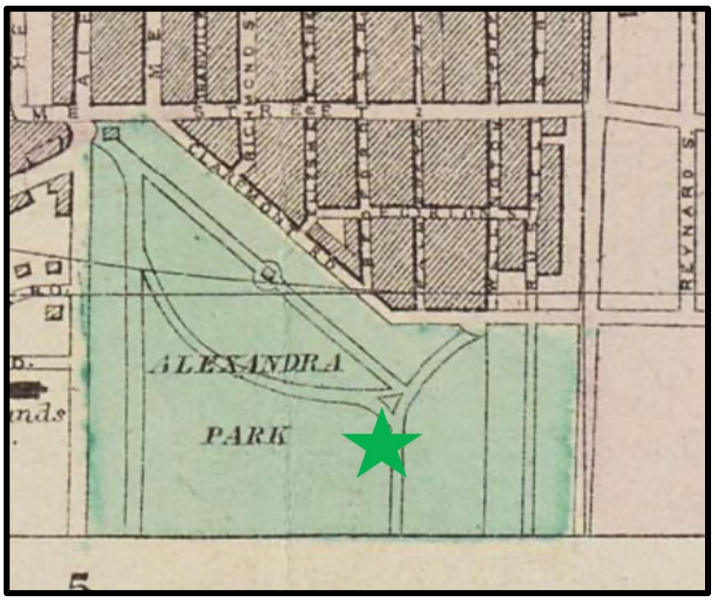

Figure 29 – Historic 1900-1910 Map of Manchester with Stars Marking the Location of Alexandra Park (the University of Manchester, n.d.) (Image provided by The John Rylands Research Institute and Library, The University of Manchester)

As well, parks, especially at night, are spaces that the majority of women would avoid and find dangerous due to the prevalence of attacks, both physical and sexual, that happen in those spaces. However, the suffragettes flipped that narrative on its head, making those spaces dangerous because of women, as opposed to being dangerous for women. This was a consistent narrative of the suffragettes, also felt in galleries and museums due to their attacks on works of art (Fowler 1991, 112-113). The tactical choice of the suffragettes to make spaces dangerous **because of** women connects with understandings of acts of terror where the employment and threat of violence is used to create and sustain an atmosphere of fear (Morrison 2013, 5 as cited by Windle et al. 2018).

Figure 30 – Alexandra Park

In the park itself, there was no sign or map related to the now destroyed Cactus House, which was disappointing, as that would have been a great opportunity for a piece of memorialisation, education, or plaque for historical significance. Alexandra Park was lovely and quiet, a remnant of Victorian parks, but I could also see how at night the space would be entirely different, a scarier, more dangerous place, especially for women.

Chapter 5 Glasgow

Similar to the previous chapter, this chapter is a narrative retelling of the second survey undertaken in this research project. This survey took place over one day, March 18th, 2025, in Glasgow, United Kingdom (UK), and like the Manchester fieldwork, the Glasgow survey focused on sites of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and their acts of militancy, including sites of arson and bombing attacks, disruptions, and office spaces.

Due to my familiarity with Glasgow, the smaller number of sites, and good weather, the survey took place over only one day and was organised by geographical location and proximity to the next site, starting in the Merchant City area of Glasgow and finishing in the West End. Figure 24 is a map of Glasgow overlayed with the ten sites visited. Other sites were considered and not chosen due to the locations being too far outside the main area of Glasgow or because of difficulty identifying the modern-day site.

Figure 31 – Map of Glasgow Fieldwork Sites

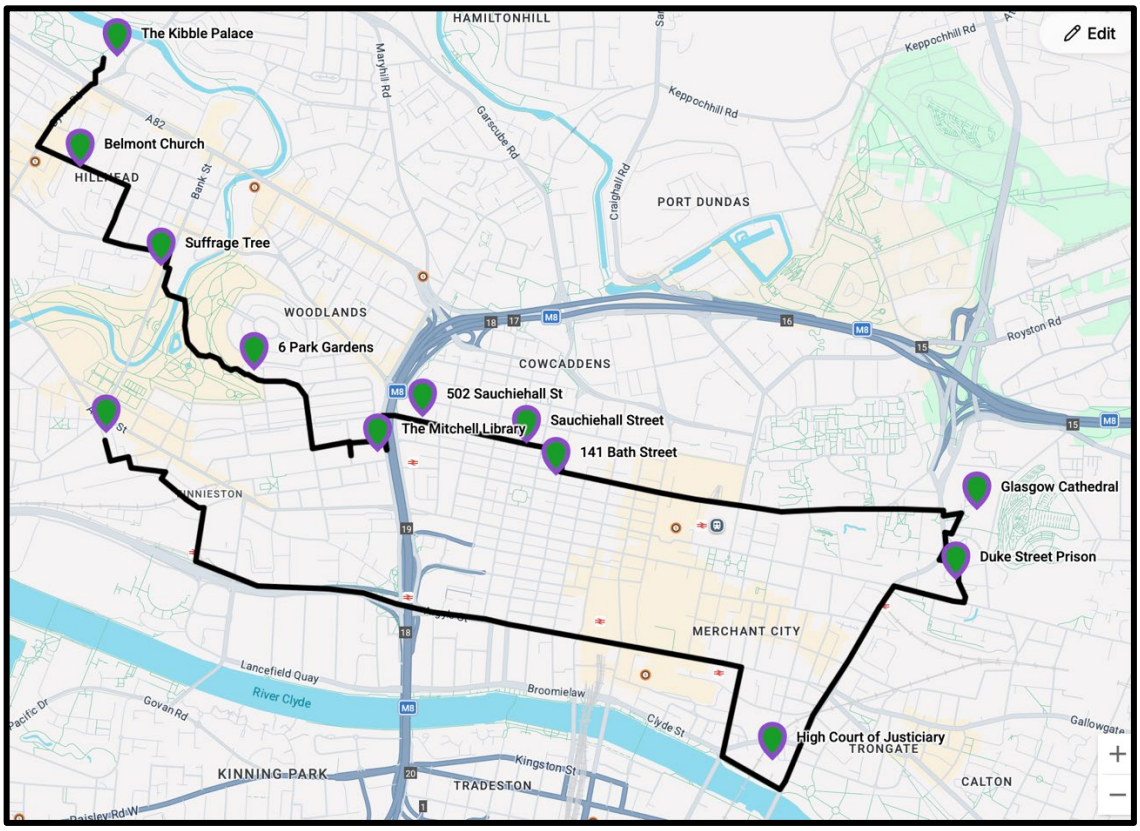

Figure 32 – Map of Glasgow Fieldwork with Recreated Routes

As mentioned at the outset of the previous chapter, but important to reiterate here, the goal of this survey is to present an alternative perspective on the WSPU suffragettes' experiences, mediated by my own experiences and impressions. As a young, white, middle-class woman living in the 2020s, my intention is not to speak on behalf of the suffragettes, rather, I aim to offer a fresh interpretation through a new, interdisciplinary type of survey.

As well, a major difference between the Glasgow fieldwork and the Manchester fieldwork is that I currently live in Glasgow and have since August 2022, resulting in high familiarity with the city and many of the sites I visited. As I began my fieldwork in Glasgow, I specifically noted that my experiences from living in the city would colour my observations and experiences during the survey. I tried to mention when I noticed this and will highlight those instances below in the narration, as I did in my notes during the fieldwork. I aimed to acknowledge the spaces I had been to before, what the connection/reasoning was, and if the experience(s) I had had was positive, negative, etc. especially in relation to the concept of the geography of fear.

5.1 Tuesday March 18th, 2025

The Glasgow fieldwork started as I walked from my flat to the Exhibition Centre train station to get the train to Argyle Street station. This walk was one I do every Thursday to volunteer at the Glasgow Women's Library, which is what inspired my initial thinking about the layering of experiences throughout the course of the fieldwork. Similar to my fieldwork in Manchester, the weather was nice, sunny, and warm.

As I walked towards the train station, I took my regular route which takes me down an alleyway, instead of down the main street, as it is a quicker path. While walking here, I thought about the geography of fear and how I normally feel quite safe walking through the alley but that I also actively avoid coming through here at night or in the dark as there are no lights nor is it usually a busy thoroughfare. This alleyway and the streets around it are all part of my normal geography of fear, the map I have created and frequently use to be and feel safe in Glasgow.

5.1.1 1. The High Court of Justiciary

After taking the train from Exhibition Centre to Argyle Street, I started walking towards the **High Court of Justiciary**, which was where suffragettes were tried for their militant actions in Glasgow, including the two women, Dorothea Chalmers Smith and Ethel Moorhead, who were discovered attempting to commit an arson attack on 6 Park Gardens in the West End of Glasgow (Leneman 1995, 153-154; Leneman 2000, 56; Crawford 2006, 241). From Argyle Street towards the High Court, I walked down a street I had not been down before but then quickly realized where I was within the city. I noticed how strange it felt to be undertaking this fieldwork in my own home city; it felt like being a tourist in my home, which was a slightly odd and uncomfortable feeling. As I turned towards the High Court, I realized I had been down this street before, walking to Glasgow Green along the River Clyde, to see a friend run a race.

Figure 33 – 1913 Map of Glasgow Showing the Site of the High Court of Justiciary (Reproduced with the Permission of the National Library of Scotland) (National Library of Scotland 2026)

Figure 34 – Glasgow Green

During this fieldwork, I was also fighting off a sinus infection which led me to consider again the limitations of this type of fieldwork and research in terms of physical ability.

The High Court was on my left as I walked towards Glasgow Green, surrounded by a big black fence, and there was no signage I could see marking it as the High Court. The first part of the building I came to was quiet and empty, very closed off and inaccessible. As I walked around it, the main entrance showed to be around the corner next to a Police Scotland building, more hidden and with more gates. This space reminded me of my experience near Manchester Prison as it is another judicial and legal space with guards and security, where I felt watched

and monitored. I felt like I looked suspicious which made me slightly uncomfortable as I took pictures and recorded voice notes near the High Court.

Figure 35 – High Court of Justiciary, Glasgow

I also thought about close friends of mine who are young, female solicitors and how they might practice at the High Court and the juxtaposition of this site from today to the early twentieth century. I was considering how in the early twentieth century, the High Court was a space where the suffragettes were being tried within a system that was denying them full citizenship and participation in public life. And now, over a century later, it is a space where women can and do represent the law.

5.1.2 2. Duke Street Prison

From the High Court, I walked through Merchant City to the site of the **Duke Street Prison**, which was where multiple suffragettes were imprisoned for militancy, including the same two women discussed above, Dorothea Chalmers Smith and Ethel Moorhead, along with other suffragettes, including a Mrs Craig (Leneman 1995, 109-110; 153). The prison no longer exists, as it was demolished in 1958, and the site is now a housing scheme (Maley 2015). As I neared the site, I realized that this was where I stayed the first time I ever visited Glasgow, which was an important and formative experience for me; on this trip I became sick with COVID-19 and was stuck in Glasgow for two unexpected and extra weeks due to travel restrictions back into the United States.

Figure 36 – Site of Former Duke Street Prison

Figure 37 – 1913 Map of Glasgow Showing the Site of the Duke Street Prison and Glasgow Cathedral (Reproduced with the Permission of the National Library of Scotland) (National Library of Scotland 2026)

These experiences and memories felt layered on top of each other, blending uniquely into a specific perspective of these sites, combining my experience with those of the suffragettes. I tried to consider how to balance my impressions of my own specific history of these spaces with understandings and considerations of those of the suffragettes. It was more difficult here in Glasgow than Manchester to imagine these spaces solely through the lens of the suffragettes because in Glasgow, it is my own lived-in world. Glasgow is also where I learned about psychogeography, one of the methodologies that inspired and is used in this research practice. This led me to think about Glasgow, during my fieldwork, as being a lived-in space and considering psychogeography for

looking at these spaces where I have experiences overlayed with those of the suffragettes'.

The housing complex at the former site of Duke Street Prison was hard to navigate as I kept getting turned around trying to get to the exact spot that the maps were showing. When I did get to that spot, there was no sign, no memorialisation, or anything that showed that this area was the former site of the prison. Next to the Day-Today Express, which was where the maps had taken me, was a large stone wall, which made me wonder whether that was part of the original structure of the prison. Because there is no remaining structure to the prison, I found it very difficult to imagine and understand the suffragettes' experiences. And while I can think about and relate it to some degree to my observations and experience at Manchester Prison, it was quite difficult to experience that same feeling of fear and lack of representation in a completely repurposed space.

Figure 38 – Stone Wall at Drygate Housing Complex

As I left the housing complex where Duke Street Prison once was, I began to hear loud noises and wondered whether it was perhaps a parade or a protest. As I got closer, it turned out to be a protest for Unite Union at the University of Strathclyde's Barony Hall. The noise was quite loud, and the entire protest felt

like it could be very disruptive to those working and living nearby, which led me to consider if that was how some felt about the suffragettes and their militancy, especially if they were not in support of female enfranchisement, were neutral and uninterested, or were other women, unrelated to the suffragettes, suffering acts of gender-based violence or harassment due to the actions of the WSPU.

Figure 39 – Unite Union Protest

Along with the sounds from the protest, there was a great deal of other noise on the walk between the housing scheme and Glasgow Cathedral, including horns from the union protest, traffic, cars and their horns, and music. I had spoken with someone the previous day about the importance of considering and noting the five senses in archaeological practice, and so the intensity of the noise between the site of Duke Street Prison and the Cathedral was noticeable, especially as the space just around the Cathedral was significantly quieter, likely out of respect for it being a prominent religious site.

5.1.3 3. Glasgow Cathedral

The next site on the fieldwork survey was **Glasgow Cathedral**, where WSPU suffragettes disrupted services in a nationwide protest in 1914 (Leneman 1995, 187). The space around the cathedral, in contrast to the area near the ongoing protest, was serene and tranquil, and the cathedral was closed that morning for services as it is still an active church, preventing me from going in. However, I had been in before, a benefit of this fieldwork taking place in a city I have lived for a few years, giving me a clear impression of the space the suffragettes

disrupted. This militant act, and that at the Belmont Church, which will be discussed towards the end of the chapter, felt like strange choices considering the religious tones of the early twentieth century and the negative way the public would have potentially responded to these transgressive acts. However, there was also the consideration of the acts as powerful publicity for the suffragettes and the campaign.

Being at the Cathedral also inspired a consideration of how the public response to this campaign in Scotland might have differed to that in England, similar to how regional tactics differed, to some degree, from those dictated from headquarters in London. I also pondered the reasoning behind their tactical militant choices and what was meant to garner support versus significantly disrupt public life to force a change. Finally, I considered the gendered perspective potentially motivating their choices, wondering if the lack of representation of women within the church clergy played into the choice of disrupting church services nationwide. While women in Scotland were heavily involved in Presbyterianism, in the period of the suffragettes they were barred from ordainment (Brown 1997, 196; 197; 203).

Figure 40 – Glasgow Cathedral

I then left Glasgow Cathedral, heading towards 141 Bath Street. It was about a 20-minute walk there, and so far, I had already done about an hour of walking. Right as I left the street next to the Cathedral, I noticed the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, which is located next to the cathedral. I had been there twice for illnesses and had never previously made the connection between the two locations. This was just one of many psychogeographical unanticipated

encounters on this fieldwork, highlighting how these spaces and the paths between them hold more inscribed meaning for me as opposed to Manchester where I had only been once before, and not near most of the sites I visited.

Figure 41 – Glasgow Royal Infirmary

As I continued walking, I got to a more familiar area that I frequent regularly, in the city centre near Buchanan Street and Queen Street train station. I also wondered if I had less of a gendered fear of spaces in Glasgow, than Manchester, because I feel more comfortable walking around and know these streets and people who live and work nearby; the same would likely apply to the suffragettes in terms of cities they lived in, as opposed to those they visited for acts of militancy.

5.1.4 4. 141 Bath Street (WSPU Office)

The next site in my fieldwork was **141 Bath Street** which was the Glasgow site of the "Scottish headquarters of the WSPU" from the beginning of 1908 (Crawford 2006, 240; Pederson 2017, 143).

Figure 42 – 1913 Map of Glasgow Showing the Sites of 141 Bath Street, Sauchiehall Street, 502 Sauchiehall Street, the Mitchell Library, and 6 Park Gardens (Reproduced with the Permission of the National Library of Scotland) (National Library of Scotland 2026)

As I walked around where my maps had shown 141 Bath Street to be, I struggled to find exactly 141 and after some quick research, it seemed that the building was demolished and rebuilt, which I would not have thought considering that the building does not look like it was built in the 1970s, rather more like it was built in the nineteenth century. Similar to Manchester, when I visited the sites of the offices there, it struck me how so much has changed in terms of how militant acts could be planned in these offices within the city by organisations known to city officials. This type of openness is unthinkable today, with modern terrorist legislation and surveillance protocols such as the Terrorism Act 2000 and 2006 instituting measures to prevent such acts being planned and executed (The Crown Prosecution Service 2022).

Figure 43 – Bath Street

5.1.5 5. Sauchiehall Street

From 141 Bath Street, I walked down to **Sauchiehall Street**, where WSPU suffragettes smashed windows (Leneman 1995, 113). This is a street I have walked down many times, and it was difficult to imagine this street as a site where suffragettes enacted militancy, smashing windows, and disrupting public life in pursuit of politically motivated protest, as it felt so heavily entrenched in my own experiences. However, it also would not surprise me should something similar happen today but in connection to right-wing or other violence-oriented groups; so, in terms of the violence, that was easier to visualise.

Figure 44 – Sauchiehall Street

I considered other groups and organisations potentially committing similar acts of window-smashing along Sauchiehall Street today, and how while that seems unthinkable by a political organisation, and rather seems more likely to be hooligan or gang violence, there do exist modern organisations whose disruptive tactics align with those of the suffragettes, i.e. Just Stop Oil (JSO). JSO are environmental campaigners who utilise disruptive tactics in their protests, similar to some of the earlier acts by the WSPU suffragettes; both organisations, over a century apart, attacked *The Rokeby Venus* at the National Gallery (BBC 2023; 2024).

It was just as hard to imagine, however, an office space being damaged and attacked and having its windows smashed in a pointed attack, like how the WSPU office on Sauchiehall Street was attacked by Glasgow University students in retribution for their militancy, after interrupting a rectorial address (Leneman 1995, 130). This type of gendered conflict would be major news in the modern world, especially in a Western country, making it difficult to comprehend the frequency of this occurring during the period the WSPU was active.

I also considered how Sauchiehall Street fits within my pre-existing geography of fear in Glasgow. I have walked down this street at night, knowing that it is one of the busier city spaces but also one that comes with its own dangers and fears. The busyness of the street makes me feel safer, but as a young woman, it also is a place with bars and clubs and pubs, leading to a geography of fear of male violence. In the period just before the suffragettes, the late nineteenth century, men who frequented those music halls and other nearby and similar establishments would have spilled over onto Sauchiehall Street, making it a space full of younger men, would have led to a similarly dangerous environment for women, highlighting the continuity of women's experiences of fear in public across time (Cheadle 2017, 233).

5.1.6 6. 502 Sauchiehall Street (WSPU Office)

Further down Sauchiehall Street, before the motorway, is **502 Sauchiehall Street**, which was the second office location of the WSPU in Glasgow (Crawford 2006, 241). This is yet another repurposed building, with all the storefronts in the row having been redone. But looking at the building as a whole, the top sections looked older, representing the layers of history in Glasgow. This space, and the office location at Bath Street, are both very central and were likely chosen, in part, for their proximity to the city centre and easy access to and from a variety of places in and around Glasgow.

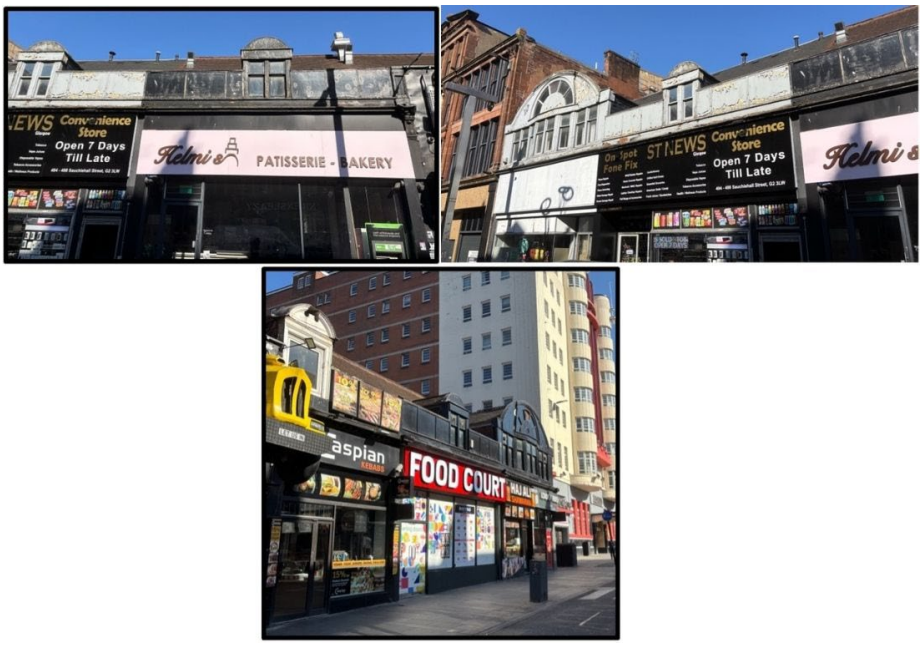

Figure 45 – 502 Sauchiehall Street

This office was also attacked by "a mob of men and boys" after occurrences of window-smashing by the suffragettes throughout the UK (Leneman 1995, 114). I can easily imagine how terrifying that would have been for anyone near or in the office to experience, especially women.

5.1.7 7. The Mitchell Library

After crossing the motorway, I came to the **Mitchell Library**, the site which now encompasses the former St. Andrew's Halls (The Glasgow Story 2004a; Glasgow Times 2022). The WSPU utilized the St. Andrew's Halls on a number of occasions, including by Mrs. Pankhurst for speeches; the suffragettes also carried out acts of militancy there, smashing windows in protest of other speakers, including "colonial minister Lord Crewe" (Leneman 1995, 138; Crawford 2001, 245; Bearman 2007, 877). After a fire destroyed the St. Andrew's Halls, the remaining parts of the building including the façade facing Granville Street, were incorporated into the Mitchell Library (The Glasgow Story 2004a). I used to live just near the Mitchell Library and would go there to study and read and never knew that part of its space used to be a place with such an interesting history. I walked around the entirety of the building and went into the entry space facing Granville Street, where the historic St. Andrew's façade is, but found no mention of the space's previous history and use as the St. Andrew's Halls. As the site of the St. Andrew's Halls no longer exists, and its only clear remaining

portion is a façade, it was difficult to imagine it as a space used by the suffragettes for their militancy, which has been a noticeable trend throughout this fieldwork with some of the more significantly repurposed sites.

Figure 46 – The Mitchell Library

5.1.8 8. 6 Park Gardens

From the Mitchell Library, I walked to **6 Park Gardens**, where two women, Dorothea Chalmers Smith and Ethel Moorhead, attempted to set fire to the house, but were discovered before successfully committing arson, “along with firelighters and paraffin, and suffrage literature” (Leneman 1995, 153; Leneman 2000 56; Crawford 2006, 241). The suffragettes’ choices of arson attacks are interesting to consider in the light of investigating the suffragettes’ acts within the context of terrorism. Arson, in and of itself, involves the threat and employment of violence with the strong potential for physical harm. The suffragettes, I believe, were quite lucky to never have killed anyone throughout the course of their militancy, regardless of their intention to avoid harming people.

As I was walking towards Park Gardens, I was feeling a bit tired and realized at this point I had walked over six and a half, nearly seven kilometres, which reminded me again of the limitations to this research especially for anyone with

disabilities, as it involves quite a bit of walking, stairs, and traversing different landscapes.

I initially struggled to find the right house, as my maps were taking me to Park Gardens Lane, but I quickly realized the actual house was one street over. The Park Gardens/Park Circus neighbourhood is known to be a wealthy and upper-class area, with rumours of famous celebrities living there. This led me to wonder if the same was true in the early twentieth century and if that wealth disparity potentially played a part in the choice of a house in this neighbourhood for an arson attack. 6 Park Gardens is also located right next to an entrance to Kelvingrove Park, which may have played a role in this site as a tactical choice for an arson attack as the entrance would have provided a theoretically quick escape. It lines up, as well, with how the two suffragettes were discovered by a constable passing by, as the house is located in a wealthy neighbourhood and directly next to a park entrance, both locations police may be more likely to be monitoring.

The house today has remained a private home, and there was no clear memorialisation or commemoration of its suffragette history, reflecting the wider lack of commemoration noticed in Glasgow so far.

Figure 47 – 6 Park Gardens and the Nearby Entrance to Kelvingrove Park

From 6 Park Gardens, I walked through Kelvingrove Park to head to the next stop in the fieldwork. As I noted during my Manchester fieldwork, Kelvingrove Park

and Alexandra Park are quite similar and remind me of each other as they are both Victorian-era parks, consciously organised, “bounded, designed and regulated” with “open green spaces” (MacMaster 1990, 118; Barker et al. 2020, 2457). Kelvingrove Park also sits centrally in my geography of fear in Glasgow; I currently live near to the park and have for the entire time I have lived in Glasgow and while I have never personally had an issue in the park, I have frequently been warned and have warned others to be extremely careful when walking through it, especially at night, as there have been incidents of sexual and physical assault towards women.

It also served as a reminder of how I was undertaking this fieldwork in my home city, as I ran into my flatmate walking through the park towards Belmont Church. This unanticipated encounter reflects the uniqueness of doing a landscape survey in the city I live in. And similarly, I had another unexpected encounter at the Suffragette Tree on Kelvinway, the main thoroughfare in the park, which has a sign stating that it was Scotland’s Tree of the Year in 2015. I walk down Kelvinway nearly every day and have been down this path countless times. I had never noticed that the tree is actually known as the Suffragette Tree as it was planted by women’s organisations in Glasgow in 1918 to mark the successful enfranchisement of women and was nominated and then voted to be Scotland’s Tree of the Year in 2015. The signage, however, leaves a lot to be desired, in terms of actually communicating the reasoning behind the tree being awarded tree of the year, and its size and visibility from the path.

Figure 48 – The Suffragette Tree

After going through Kelvingrove Park and by the Suffragette Tree, I walked through the University of Glasgow, which is where I have spent the past two and a half years working on my postgraduate studies. As I walked past the Gilbert Scott building, the main part of the nineteenth-century University structure, I remembered another instance of militancy by the suffragettes where they interrupted a rectorial address by Augustine Birrell, but as I could not identify where exactly it had taken place, I has chosen not to add it to my fieldwork (Leneman 1995, 130; University of Glasgow n.d.). However, it felt important to think about, especially having just been to the WSPU's Sauchiehall Street office which was attacked by University of Glasgow students, who were almost certainly boys and men (Leneman 1995, 130).

Figure 49 – The Gilbert Scott Building, University of Glasgow

5.1.9 9. Belmont Church

Ater walking through the University, my next location to visit was the former site of **Belmont Church**, which was the site of an arson attack by the suffragettes in 1914 (Crawford 2006, 241). The building has now been subdivided into flats and is closed off and inaccessible, likely for safety purposes, behind fences and gates, and locked access points. I considered the reasoning behind the choice of a church as a site of arson, as it seemed like a serious and potentially consequential choice. The suffragettes were at the stage in their campaign where the focus was heavily on disrupting public life to force the government's hand. However, I wondered if it was also a reflection of the loosening of control by the Pankhursts and their 'high command' over the more regional followers. Regardless of the intent, committing an arson attack on a church, so near the university, would have made a statement.

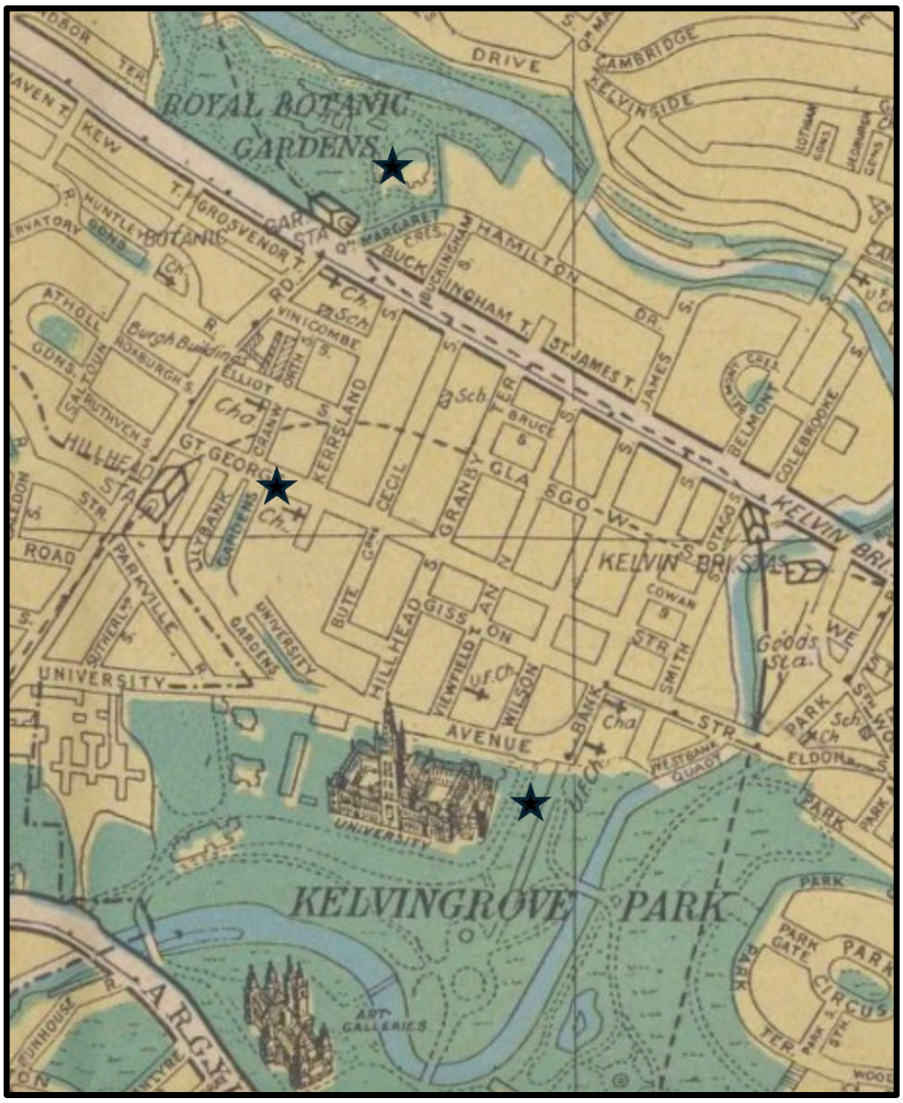

Figure 50 – 1913 Map of Glasgow Showing the Site of the Suffragette Tree, Belmont Church, and the Glasgow Botanic Gardens and the Kibble Palace (Reproduced with the Permission of the National Library of Scotland) (National Library of Scotland 2026)

Figure 51 – Site of the Former Belmont Church

5.1.10 10. Glasgow Botanic Gardens and the Kibble Palace

The final site in my fieldwork was at the **Glasgow Botanic Gardens**, specifically the **Kibble Palace**, the site of a successful bombing attack by the suffragettes, "shattering the glass on the north side of the Palace" (Leneman 1995, 173). This was another site that I have been to before and had never previously noticed any memorialisation. The park itself was busy, likely due to it being an uncharacteristically sunny and warm day in Glasgow. It also reminded me of the bombing attack on the Cactus House in Alexandra Park and there are strong parallels between the two attacks and the park sites. I wondered if the intent was similar to what I had posited in Manchester with the park being a convenient location for a bombing attack as it would have been easier for the suffragettes to sneak in and out to commit the attack.

Figure 52 – The Kibble Palace at the Glasgow Botanic Gardens

Inside the Kibble Palace were signs showing the bicentenary celebrations of the space with posters and pictures every few feet, going by the decade, showing the history of the site from 1817 to 2017. Each sign showed parts of the palace's history between these years, and so on by the decade; however, there was a disruption in the order of the signs as one had been included on 1914 to talk about the suffragettes' bombing attack. This sign was the first evidence of memorialisation I had seen in Glasgow, other than the Suffragette Tree, during the fieldwork, and while it was great to see the WSPU's campaign mentioned, the signs in the Kibble Palace are likely temporary, as I had not previously seen them on earlier visits there. But it was also a clear and intentional choice to mention the attack as it was shown outside of the decade pattern that the rest

of the exhibit followed. The remainder of the signs were in a part of the building that was closed for maintenance, so it was lucky that the maintenance did not extend to the 1914 sign for this fieldwork.

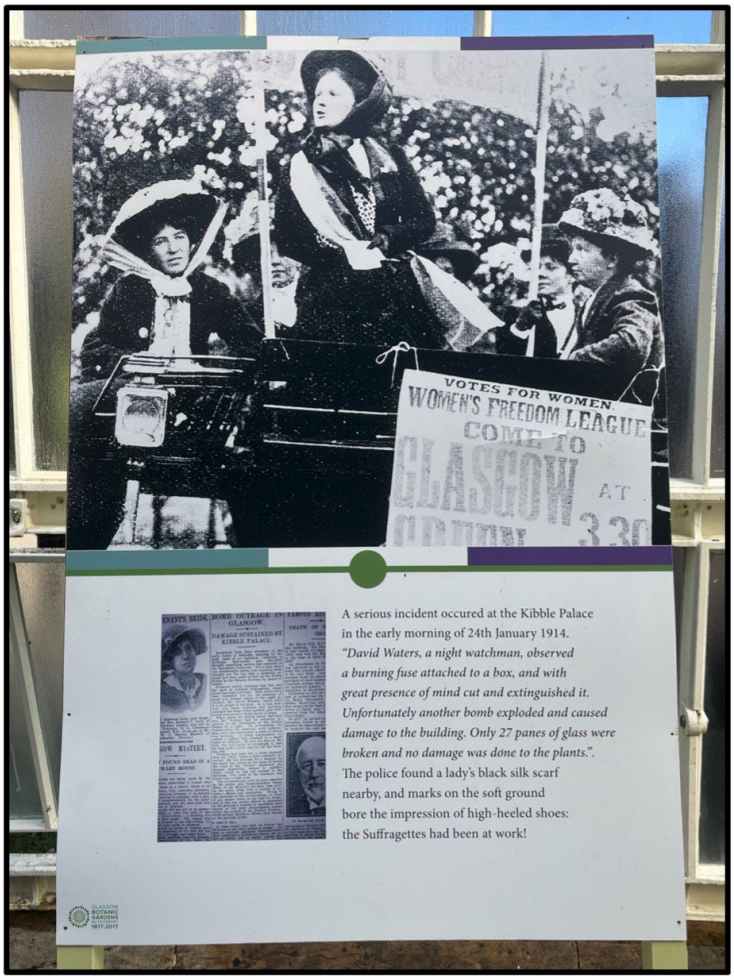

Figure 53 – Sign about the 1914 Bombing Attack in the Kibble Palace

5.2 Concluding Thoughts

With both surveys completed, comparisons and contrasts can be drawn out from each experience. While these will be explored in more detailed in the following chapter, a quick summary of some of the high-level points will follow here.

The two surveys differed in terms of lived experience and previous experiences, as Glasgow is my home city, and Manchester was mostly new to me. Furthermore, the memorialisation landscape of the suffragettes was clearer and more present in Manchester, while it was more muted and low-key in Glasgow. Some consistent thoughts and ideas across the two fieldworks include similarities between the office spaces and their very central locations, as well as similarities

between the parks and the two bombing attacks. Both surveys also clearly involved considerations of the geography of fear. A more in-depth analysis of the two fieldwork surveys follows in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 6 Analysis

This chapter is an analytical discussion of the two preceding chapters, which focused on the two case studies, landscape surveys of the militant spaces of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) undertaken in Manchester and Glasgow, as fieldwork for this project. Covering an array of themes, this chapter explores tactical choices by the suffragettes, women's spatial understandings of male violence ('geography of fear'), forgotten and repurposed history, memorialisation, and fieldwork limitations.

These analyses emerged directly from the interdisciplinary methodology developed and utilised within this research project, highlighting its significant capacity to provide value to the fields of suffragette history and conflict archaeology and demonstrate opportunities for dialogue between the two fields. The themes investigated below establish the potential for this interconnected and cross-disciplinary collaboration and research to explore the experiences of the suffragettes and those of other women across the past century.

6.1 Methodology: Thematic Analysis

In reviewing the data collected during the fieldwork, I utilised methods and techniques of thematic analysis. This review resulted in several themes which will be explored in the following sections below. Thematic analysis was chosen for a few reasons, including, primarily, its emphasis on researcher subjectivity and bias which are key to my methodology, given it is based on my experiences and impressions of the suffragettes' militant landscapes (Braun and Clarke 2022, 8).

The process of thematic analysis used in this project relied on Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke's textbook, *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide* (2022). In beginning the analysis, I started with the voice notes I had recorded during the fieldwork, transcribing my thoughts and notes into text. After the transcription process, I took time away from the data as recommended by Braun and Clarke. When I returned to the data, I began re-familiarising myself with the notes through the write up of the fourth and fifth chapters in this thesis, using the notes to recreate the fieldwork undertaken. I then went through the data, top to

bottom, recording notes, ideas, and questions emerging from my review. Then I began coding the data through an in-depth reading, noting segments of data that were "analytically interesting", repeating this process a few times (Braun and Clarke 2022, 70). Then using the codes, I grouped associated codes into potential themes and how they related to my research questions and analysis, while reflecting the data from the fieldwork (Braun and Clarke 2022, 79; 84). The themes were then reviewed while also re-engaging with the dataset and codes, leading into the selection of the final themes, which are discussed below (Braun and Clarke 2022, 97).

6.2 Themes

6.2.1 Tactical Choices of the Suffragettes

The application of conflict archaeology approaches and methodologies to the fieldwork undertaken in this study resulted in multiple interpretations and considerations of female protest through the lens of the suffragettes. Through a focus on investigating the tactical choices of the suffragettes, particularly through the lens of KOCOA[1], the fieldwork produced theoretical understandings of how that would have impacted their thinking and planning in undertaking militant action. The different sites surveyed during the fieldwork highlight the diversity of spaces used by the suffragettes in their militant campaign, including parks, churches, office spaces, homes, museums, and more. The choices behind targeting these different locations were influenced by the suffragettes' tactical conceptualisations of their campaign and what they were seeking as a result of their action[2], including a desire to create an atmosphere of fear within the United Kingdom (UK).

Emmeline Pankhurst once described the WSPU suffragettes as participants and 'guerillists' in a 'guerilla war' against the British government and public, committing acts of property damage, arson, and pillar-box attacks (Leneman 1995, 132; 133; Rosen 2013, 188). This terminology lent itself to my

[1] a "modern military operations analysis tool"; "**k**ey terrain, **o**bservation and fields of fire, **c**over and concealment, **o**bstacles, and **a**venues of approach" (Scott and McFeaters 2011, 115)

[2] The inclusion and centralisation of conflict archaeology within this project also led to the ideas and discussion that will be pulled out further in Chapter 7, which focuses on labels of violence and broader societal implications and understandings of female violence.

consideration of the spaces in which they undertook militant action through the lens of guerilla-style acts, using the landscapes within which they existed to press their points. The suffragettes could not approach their campaign as a traditional war, and so, instead used the cities and buildings of the United Kingdom (UK) as part of a guerilla landscape. In warfare studies, guerilla tactics encompass "harassment of the enemy…cutting lines of communications, carrying out surprise attacks", (Laqueur 2019, viii-ix). The suffragettes used many of these tactics within their campaign, including severing telegraph and telephone lines, and employing the element of surprise in most, if not all, of their acts of militancy (Rosen 2013, 189; Riddell 2018, 155).

This is supported by work undertaken by another suffrage historian, C. J. Bearman, in his 2005 article "An Examination of Suffragette Violence". While exploring the suffragettes' acts of violence outside major hubs, he identified two motivations including: "political or royal visits," and "to punish or intimidate individuals or whole communities" (Bearman 2005, 376; 377). I would also argue there was a third, interlinked motivation, that of creating a "state of fear" among the wider public (Morrison 2013, 5 as cited by Windle et al. 2018, 3). Bearman also looked at the targets of the violence and argued that, in general, the suffragettes' militancy seemed planned "along the lines of least resistance" (Bearman 2005, 377). He wrote that the targets were chosen "because they combined the best chance of success with the least chance of getting caught" (Bearman 2005, 379). In his dataset regarding the suffragette attacks, he calculated tables breaking out various aspects of the data including, "types of target" (Bearman 2005, 378). In this table he lists out 337 total targets, including 32 instances of a church and 22 examples of a public building being targeted (Bearman 2005, 378). However, while his analysis of their tactical choices aligns with the evidence found in my landscape surveys, the perspective of his approach hints at masculinist tendencies from the predominantly masculinist (and male) historians he references in his article (Bearman 2005, 366). He also relies upon newspapers and journals from the period to make his conclusions, whereas the research methodology within this project uses the physical landscapes of the suffragettes' militancy combined with conflict archaeology techniques and methods to identify evidence regarding the tactical considerations of the suffragettes.

6.2.1.1 Outdoor Spaces

Spaces such as parks, specifically Heaton Park and Alexandra Park in Manchester and Kelvingrove Park and the Botanic Gardens in Glasgow, played a central role in the campaign of the WSPU suffragettes. The use of these parks included more peaceful acts such as holding political meetings, speeches, and demonstrations, and acts on the other end of the spectrum, specifically bombing and arson attacks on buildings within the parks. Heaton Park, Manchester, was the site of a demonstration in 1908 (Rosen 2013, 109). Both Alexandra Park, Manchester, and the Botanic Gardens in Glasgow, were the sites of bombings, in 1913 and 1914, respectively (Leneman 1995, 173; Bearman 2005, 388; Riddell 2018, 3).

In analysing the use of parks within their landscape of militancy, parks, as large, broad, green sites, can be compared to battlefields, within the methodology of conflict archaeology. In considering it as an ephemeral site of conflict, I thought about KOCOA, and attempting to understand the use of a space in terms of conflict; specifically considering “avenues of approach”, “obstacles”, and “cover and concealment” (Scott and McFeaters 2011, 115). Outside of parks, for churches, office spaces, and other sites of militancy, I focused primarily on “key terrain” and “observation”, as well as the other three (Scott and McFeaters 2011, 115).

In using outdoor spaces, such as parks, streets, squares, markets, etc., the leaders of the WSPU, the Pankhurst women, “drew upon a much older male radical traditional of political protest” connecting with “pre-existing radical currents within the women’s movement” (Purvis 2002, 74). For example, the Independent Labour Party (ILP) used a park space known as Boggart Hole Clough for meetings in the 1890s; Emmeline Pankhurst and her husband, Dr. Richard Pankhurst, were involved in the protest revolving around the use of this space for political meetings, an antecedent to the WSPU’s later use of park spaces for political protest (Rosen 2013, 20-21). As well, the WSPU’s street-side meetings and speeches in the early years of the movement were connected with the ILP (Rosen 2013, 46). Through linking their movement with historical traditions of political protest by men, Christabel and Emmeline sought to add gravitas and reputability to their radical methods, which were revolutionary within the

women's movement as well as revolutionary beyond, because they were undertaken by women (Purvis 2002, 74).

Beyond the four parks visited during the fieldwork surveys, there is evidence and records of the WSPU suffragettes utilising other parks and outdoor spaces within their militancy, highlighting a broader trend of this example of their militancy. In the earlier stages of their campaign, around the same time as the demonstration in Heaton Park, the WSPU held large meetings in Hyde Park, Clapham Common, and Woodhouse Moor in Leeds (Rosen 2013, 98; 109). In 1913, in the latter, more violent stage of the campaign, four days after the Cactus House bombing at Alexandra Park, the suffragettes bombed another park, Sefton Park in Liverpool, attacking the palm house in the park (Bearman 2005, 388).

In looking at the choice of sites within parks as locations and targets for bombings and arson, I considered the tactical thought process. In line with Bearman's argument regarding targets being chosen due to their accessibility and low risk-high reward potential, I argue that the specific sites within city parks were likely chosen because it was easier for the suffragettes to approach and slip in and out of the parks to set the fires and leave the bombs (Bearman 2005, 379). When visiting the two sites during the fieldwork, neither location had lights, with Alexandra Park being covered in trees, and the Kibble Palace being located near multiple entrances to the Botanic Gardens. There was ample opportunity for concealment within the parks, using trees, the lack of lights, and darkness from the night sky as means of cover; these were likely considerations that would have influenced the tactical choices of the suffragettes to target sites within parks, marking them as 'key terrain' in their guerilla war. This ease of approach and retreat, combined with opportunities for concealment, suggest why these targets were chosen over others.

6.2.1.2 Churches

Another type of site where the WSPU suffragettes committed acts of militancy was church spaces. During my fieldwork, specifically in the Glasgow case study, I visited two church sites, one which remains an active church, the Glasgow Cathedral, and the other, now converted into flats, Belmont Church. Part of the latter, escalated campaign of militancy, the acts at the two churches differed in

levels of violence but perhaps the tactics emerged from similar considerations. Tactically, the choice to commit an act of militancy at the Glasgow Cathedral is linked to the wider UK protest; at Glasgow Cathedral, specifically, the suffragettes interrupted the church service to pray for suffragette prisoners in response to the Reverend resisting the suffragettes' ask for "prayer [to] be publicly offered for suffragettes in prison" (Leneman 1995, 187; Pugh 2002, 373). The 1914 attack at Belmont Church was arson, linked only to the broader arson and bombing campaign of this period (Crawford 2006, 241). Perhaps the minimal security at churches contributed to the attack at Belmont Church as it was not located in a sparse area, instead is quite near to the University of Glasgow, flats, and main streets, marking Belmont Church as 'key terrain' and a potentially prominent target for an arson attack to tract more publicity.

Beyond the two church sites visited during the fieldwork, there were more examples of the suffragettes committing acts of militancy at churches, including multiple arson and bomb attacks. This includes bombs at the church of St. John's in Eisteddfod at Abergavenny in 1913, an arson attack at Breadsall Church in Derbyshire in 1914, and another arson attack at St. Catherine's in London (Purvis 2002, 220; Bearman 2005, 376; 377). Bombs were also planted at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral in London (Crawford 2019, 1219). I believe that the choice of churches for bombing and arson attacks likely connects with the suffragettes knowing that churches were points of 'key terrain', important and public, and to target them would result in publicity and public fear of their militant activities.

6.2.1.3 Office Spaces

There were four different office locations visited during the fieldwork: two in Manchester, 116 Portland Street and 164 Oxford Road, and two in Glasgow, 141 Bath Street and 502 Sauchiehall Street. All four office spaces were located very centrally in both cities, both within the city centre and near to sites of militant action. I wondered about these specific locations in terms of tactical planning and access to city centre spaces, usually where important public buildings and spaces are located; perhaps relating to "key terrain" in targeting sites within city centres, and "avenues of approach" in terms of access from the office spaces to sites of militant activity (Scott and McFeaters 2011, 115).

These considerations of tactical choices related to space blend into the idea of spatial impressions, including that of fear and safety, leading into the next section.

6.2.2 Geography of Fear

The landscapes of the suffragettes were not only informed by tactical considerations through their guerilla warfare, but their actions and spaces were also influenced by a further, more adverse, geographical consideration. A heavy focus on the geography of fear was not initially a goal during this project, but emerged so distinctly and emphatically in the fieldwork that it has necessitated a deeper discussion. As briefly mentioned in the fourth chapter, the concept of 'geography of fear' involves how women's perception and use of space is impacted by considerations of safety in response to male violence (Valentine 1989, 385). The concept is underpinned by how women plan "choices of routes and destinations" as by-products of safety strategies informed by "past experience…and secondary information" (Valentine 1989, 385-386). This results in "a restricted use and occupation of public space", a 'geography of fear' for women (Valentine 1989, 386).

Another term which similarly applies to women's experience of space is that of 'habits of hypervigilance', discussed by Anna Cook in their chapter, "On the Existential Damage of School Shootings," within the 2018 edited volume, *Rethinking Feminist Phenomenology: Theoretical Applied Perspectives*. Explored within a "phenomenological account" of how bodies remember experiences of school shootings through "resulting existential damage", the concept of 'habits of hypervigilance' encompasses "the habits of protecting a body from sexual violence, reflecting a postmemory of sexual violence" creating a habitual body, "one that inhabits space **and** time" (Cook 2018, 197; emphasis added). This concept is similar to that of 'geography of fear', exploring how habits are embedded in one's body crossing space and time, then and now, here and there (Cook 2018, 197). Cook specifically mentions how these habits "are not new but are magnifications" of girls and women "protecting a feminized vulnerable body" (2018, 178).

Together, these two concepts, geography of fear and habits of hypervigilance, can be utilised to reflect on women's experiences of space and landscape. One of the primary ways this emerged within my fieldwork was through my own, personal 'geography of fear' developed through past experiences, lived experience and knowledge, and secondary information both in Manchester and Glasgow. The idea of a geography of fear emerged especially within the Glasgow fieldwork, due to my own personal experiences within the city overlaying onto the survey. Many of the sites and spaces I visited were already entrenched in my personal geography of Glasgow, resulting in a fieldwork survey particularly coloured by my geography of fear as a young woman, having lived there for nearly three years.

Parks, specifically the four parks visited and walked through during the fieldwork, are a large part of a geography of fear, especially mine, as they are frequently described as being dangerous, especially for women, especially at night. Through both my own lived experience and secondary information from friends, the parks visited during the fieldwork emerged as 'red flags'; for example, a good friend of mine who lives near Heaton Park told me to be safe as soon as I mentioned that I was at the park. As well, urban cityscapes are also historically unsafe areas for women, likely featuring heavily within geographies of fear; I know they do in mine. Frequently, there is a sexualised discomfort women feel, usually instigated by obscene staring and gestures, catcalling, confrontations, stalking, and so on.

For the suffragettes, while we cannot know exactly their personal and collective geographies of fear, the landscapes they operated within held sites where they had been assaulted, forcibly fed, sexually harassed, and likely experienced other instances of gendered violence. Judith Walkowitz writes about the contested streets of London, and other UK cities, in *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*, and how in the last few years of the nineteenth century, "entering public space placed women of all classes in a vulnerable position" opening them up to the potential for sexual and gender-based violence and harassment (1992, 41; 46). These impressions and likelihoods of violence in London can be applied to Manchester and Glasgow and the narratives Walkowitz explores including the fears stemming from the Jack the

Ripper murders and bourgeois male possessiveness of urban spaces, would still have been pervasive in the first decade of the twentieth century and in the minds of the suffragettes throughout their campaign (1992, 2; 16).

6.2.2.1 Flipping the Geography of Fear

However, another theme that emerged during the fieldwork in relation to the geography of fear was how the suffragettes 'flipped' the landscape of their militancy and beyond, becoming that which the public feared within the geography of the UK. This took place primarily during the latter portion of the suffragette's campaign, involving acts of arson, bombing, attacks on paintings and people; instructions from the WSPU leadership to "cause serious terror and fear among the British public" succeeded to some degree in the scale of response to their threats (Riddell 2018, 167). This intention to create such a severe atmosphere of fear and terror contributes to the argument that the suffragettes' actions can potentially be considered as acts of terrorism. Part of one definition of terrorism includes the act of bringing "about a state of fear in a wider audience" (Morrison 2013, 5 as cited by Windle et al. 2018,3).

There developed a widespread fear during this stage in their campaign of their attacks, leading to a 'fear' of women for their potential to attack sites and commit acts of militancy. These fears were pervasive across the UK, in Scotland and England, leading to the closure of public buildings and tourist sites, impacting revenue and accessibility (Leneman 1995, 152; Bearman 2005, 369).

Bearman discusses the "'invisible' costs" of this stage of the suffragette campaign, including "extra police time, additional caretakers and night watchmen…and revenue lost when tourist attractions…were closed for fear of suffragette attacks" (2005, 369). Fern Riddell even mentions "specific suffragette insurance" that public buildings and spaces, such as parks, took out in response to the suffragettes' campaign of arson and bombing attacks (2018, 167). In terms of park spaces, for example, generally parks are dangerous places for women, especially at night. However, the suffragettes managed to turn this narrative by instead utilising parks as sites of their bomb attacks (i.e. the bombings in Glasgow, Manchester, and Leeds).

While I cannot speak for the suffragettes in how it would have felt to 'reclaim' these spaces, this concept can be connected with more recent and modern examples, including the Reclaim the Night campaigns beginning in 1977 and continuing through to this day (Reclaim the Night n.d.). These were started as a counter to "police requesting women to stay at home after dark in response to the murders of 13 women by Peter Sutcliffe"; the women involved in the marches protested the hypocrisy of asking women to stay home in response to male violence (Reclaim the Night n.d.). In more recent years, the marches have concentrated more on opposing "rape and male violence" calling for women to have "the right to use public space without fear" and replacing the geography of fear with one of empowerment, care, sisterhood, and solidarity (Reclaim the Night n.d.).

6.2.3 Memorialisation and Commemoration, Monuments and Statues

Monuments and memorialisation are contentious and frequently debated topics. Form, location, subject, size, etc. all play key roles in how memorials work in the making of memory in public spaces (Van Dyke 2016, 277). Archaeology is one way in which memory is constructed, "viewed, interpreted, memorialized, utilized, and obliterated" (Van Dyke 2016, 277). The central figuring of material culture within archaeology leads researchers to be very interested in material representations of cultural memory; a desire to "understand the many reasons why statues" are put up "in the first place" informs a great deal of memorialisation research (Hobbs 2021, 431-432).

Gendered considerations of memorialisation via public monument construction are an especially pressing issue within memorialisation studies, as argued by Sabine Marschall, in that "the genre of public monument has traditionally been strongly male dominated internationally" (2010, 261). Marschall discusses a number of stereotypical trends regarding gendered forms of memorialisation, for example, how men receive individual commemorative monuments, whereas women's memorials often "follow a collective", usually "gendered in a process that is often connected with the formation of nation" (2010, 263). They also explore how different mediums of sculpture signify gender norms, for example how "bronze sculpture is internationally understood" as an expression of

traditionally masculine traits, “solidity, dignity and honour” (Marschall 2010, 26).

6.2.3.1 Manchester

In Manchester, the only two forms of memorialisation and commemoration I discovered relating to the WSPU suffragettes were the Emmeline Pankhurst statue and the Pankhurst Centre. Both were focussed on the leader of the WSPU, Emmeline Pankhurst, and her family, specifically her daughters, Christabel, Sylvia, and to some degree, Adela.

In the case of the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst in the busy St. Peter’s Square in Manchester city centre, the memorial takes the form of a bronze statue (Hobbs 2021, 435). It was erected by Hazel Reeves in 2018 in honour of the “centenary of the first election in which **some** women” had the right to vote (Hobbs 2021, 435; emphasis added). Reeves designed the statue showing Mrs Pankhurst “as a strong, forceful and clothed subject” positioning her within the aforementioned qualities of “solidity, dignity and honour” (Marschall 2010, 26; Hobbs 2021, 435).

In comparison, the Suffragette Scroll in Christchurch Gardens, London, erected in 1970 by the Suffragette Fellowship is made of granite and bronze (Luscombe 2024, 76). Intended to represent the collective of the militant suffrage campaign and focussed on honouring the ‘rank and file’ members, the memorial takes the form of a scroll, “a Suffragette ribbon or sash” (Luscombe 2024, 75; 76). It also represents men, and is not restricted to one militant organisation, instead representing the WSPU and Women’s Freedom League (WFL) (Luscombe 2024, 75).

Mrs Pankhurst’s statue deviates from some of the gendered memorialisation norms Marschall argues are frequently associated with women: her statue represents an individual rather than “a collective” and is disconnected from nation building messaging (Marschall 2010, 263). As well, the use of bronze, while more frequently used for statues of men, I believe conveys the same messages as mentioned above, “solidity, dignity and honour” but in the frame of Mrs Pankhurst (Marschall 2010, 262). Her leadership of the WSPU inspired intense dedication and loyalty from her followers; the passion of their loyalty resulted in

the creation of the Suffragette Fellowship which had “a significant influence” on the cultural memory of the British women’s suffrage movement (Luscombe 2024, 1). This influence has extended over the past century, situating Mrs Pankhurst as the type of leader who represents the era of suffrage campaigners in modern minds.

The concern over the Suffragette Fellowship’s seemingly hegemonic control over the narrative and history of the British women’s suffrage campaign ties into broader issues within the commemorative landscape of the British suffragette movement (Kean 2005). Kean argues that the Suffragette Fellowship also served as “public historians” in the creation of a specific memory of the suffrage campaign (Kean 2005, 588). However, it also should be argued that the “pioneering work” of the Suffragette Fellowship in undertaking the establishment of a commemorative landscape of the suffragettes was key for suffrage commemoration to have “its mark on the physical landscape”, limited as it is (Kean 2005, 591).

The other memorial site in Manchester is the Pankhurst Centre, located at 62 Nelson Street, a museum, community centre, and memorialisation space (Wildman 2023, 593). The Pankhurst Centre was the former home of the Pankhurst family for nine years and was the site of the founding of the WSPU (Wildman 2023, 593). Located in the centre of a NHS complex, St. Mary’s Hospital, the site was saved from demolition by “heritage experts and women’s rights activists” in the 1980s (Wildman 2023, 593-594). The work undertaken to ensure the survival of this site speaks to the power of memorialisation and whose responsibility it is to memorialise history. Charlotte Wildman discusses the added justifications the Pankhurst Centre has had to make to stay open due to a lack of public funding, limited other funding, and “threat from redevelopment”; Wildman writes that heritage and memorial sites “associated with women’s history and heritage” face particular obstacles often centred around having to contribute “valuable amenities to the public” to justify their existence, highlighting yet another aspect of gendered memorialisation (2023, 594).

6.2.3.2 Glasgow

In Glasgow, there are no monuments or statues to the suffragettes and so there were no pre-identified sites on the fieldwork survey specifically related to memorialisation. However, during the course of the survey, I came across two 'sites' of 'memorialisation' – the Suffragette Tree in Kelvingrove Park and the sign in the Kibble Palace about the 1914 bombing attack. The Kibble Palace sign is not memorialisation in the typical sense, but I believe that the deliberate mention of the bombing attack serves to support the preservation of the memory of the suffragettes' campaign for female enfranchisement. The Suffragette Tree, on the other hand, does serve as a form of memorialisation, but falls into the landscape of Kelvingrove Park too easily, hiding its meaning and purpose within a forest of other trees and a small sign. Both forms of memorialisation in Glasgow left me with the feeling that more could be done, that there were gaps in the narrative regarding the suffragettes' campaign in Scotland, which is a wider trend within British suffragette history.

6.2.3.3 Lack of Memorialisation

Overall, there is a clear lack of memorialisation of the suffragettes when looking at the landscapes of the two case study cities, Manchester and Glasgow. There were multiple instances throughout the fieldwork where I clearly noticed a dearth of memorialisation of the suffragettes; Heaton Park had no clear mention of their demonstration, nor did the Free Trade Hall, a highly significant site for the suffragettes and their campaign, nor did the former site of Duke Street Prison have any context or memorialisation, both in relation to the suffragettes and in general as a former historic site. And while I am not necessarily arguing for an extensive memory-scape dedicated to suffragette memorialisation, I believe it ties into a wider issue regarding the gendering of memorialisation.

More broadly, there are significant issues throughout the UK within memorialisation practices and the lack of gender diversity in what is chosen to be remembered and promoted. However, there are projects across the UK, and internationally, to rectify the gendered issues within memorialisation and commemoration (Statues for Equality 2025; WoManchester n.d.). For example, the memorial to Emmeline Pankhurst is one of only four statues of women in

Manchester, with the other three being of Annie Kenney, another WSPU suffragette, Gracie Fields, an actress, and Lily Parr, a female football player (Statues for Equality 2025). That two of four statues of women are of WSPU suffragettes also contributes to the forgetting and lack of commemoration of earlier and less-violent suffrage campaigners in Manchester, including Lydia Becker, an important member of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage and "key figure in the Victorian women's rights movement" and Esther Roper, another important campaigner for women's suffrage (Purvis 2002, 12; 59; Statues for Equality 2025; WoManchester n.d.). Manchester was not only the site of the WSPU's birth, but also a vital location for suffrage work in the late nineteenth century. While the overarching problem, a lack of statues of women, needs to be rectified, in doing so, some diversity in who is being chosen to be portrayed is necessary as well; all four of the female statues are of white women.

Memorialisation and commemoration play a large role in communicating what is considered important enough to remember within a landscape. They also hold power in reinscribing unspoken and forgotten histories (as will be shown further in the section below) (Kelly 2020, 723).

6.2.4 Landscapes – Unexpected, Changed, Forgotten, and Repurposed

In following the same thread as the previous section on memorialisation, there was a trend throughout the fieldwork of how the urban landscapes of the suffragettes were changed, forgotten, and repurposed, sometimes in unexpected ways. One particular aspect, I noted, was the preserving and forgetting of different histories, resulting in what seemed like the prioritisation of one history over another, especially within a gendered analysis.

6.2.4.1 Unexpected Landscapes

In connection with psychogeography, one of the theories that served to inform the overarching methodology of this research, a focus and inclusion on the unexpected was key. Allowing the landscape to guide me as the researcher, and encouraging the unanticipated, opened up the research and fieldwork surveys to insights and connections that may not have been made otherwise. For example,

the discovery of the Suffragette Tree in Glasgow was thoroughly unexpected, opening up the potential for a more detailed survey of Glasgow's memorialisation of the suffragettes. Also, in undertaking the fieldwork in Glasgow, I unexpectedly came across many sites that reminded me of the nature of psychogeographical exploration; while not particularly insightful for this analysis, it did show the ability of psychogeographical walks to illuminate new avenues of exploration and to broaden my frequently visited, lived-in spaces to new insights and considerations. As well, unexpectedly coming across the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst in Manchester when I was intending to find it the next day, allowed me to see just how central the statue is.

6.2.4.2 Changed and Repurposed Landscapes

In terms of changed landscapes, many of the spaces visited on the two fieldwork surveys had been modernised and repurposed, including Stevenson Square, Tib Street, Market Square, the Free Trade Hall, the Queen's Road Tram Depot (now the Museum of Transport), all four office spaces, Duke Street Prison, Belmont Church, and the St. Andrews Halls (now the Mitchell Library). Knowing that over a century had passed between the era of the militant suffrage campaign and my research project, the preponderance of changed landscapes and sites was not surprising but rather worth noting in terms of changes over time, memorialisation, and forgotten histories.

At Stevenson Square, Tib Street, and Market Square in Manchester, the change in the landscapes was particularly evident as the spaces had been built up and redone. I considered this change over time at these spaces, as well as at the other sites I visited, and how that would potentially affect my research and also what different insights the changes might inspire. At the Free Trade Hall, once the site of a massacre, then a monumental structure representing free trade, and now a hotel, the changes showed a juxtaposition between its original use and its current purpose.

Changed landscapes also hide forgotten histories, which are so frequently women's histories. Connecting to memorialisation, and the lack thereof, the repurposing of so many of these sites also allows for history to be forgotten. This was the case at the four office locations of the WSPU suffragettes, the Free

Trade Hall, Duke Street Prison, and more, within the fieldwork. The structure of Duke Street Prison has been completely demolished, and the space has now been repurposed into a housing complex; the space, however, has no distinguishable remnants or memorialisation to the former prison site. The complete redevelopment of this site made it one of the more complex spaces to imagine the suffragettes in as there was no physical evidence left; fortunately, I had already been to Manchester Prison, and was able to relate some of my experiences there to a tentative hypothetical analysis of Duke Street Prison.

The use of this methodology, which prioritises exploration and walking, allows researchers to broaden their understanding of important landscapes, outside of historical documents, literature, and rewritten facts. Similar to how conflict archaeology and history are frequently used hand-in-hand to investigate historical sites of conflict, using landscape surveys inspired by phenomenology and psychogeography in conjunction with literature reviews and other tools, comparing, contrasting, and joining the research together, I believe contributes to a more comprehensive exploration of lived experience.

6.2.5 Limitations

Another theme that emerged during the thematic analysis of the data sets was that of limitations of the fieldwork methodology developed and created for this project, as well as of archaeological methods overall.

Walking as a methodology, explicitly under the umbrella of psychogeography, presents musings and explorations of cityscapes centred around experience and movement. Highlighting the limitations of movement within this fieldwork practice connects with these intentions of psychogeography and walking as a practice and methodology. Throughout my fieldwork voice notes are multiple instances where I identified how far I had walked and how I was feeling in terms of the walking, as it was the means of most of my movement. I noted the accessibility of different sites, both in terms of physical boundaries and borders (i.e., fences, gates, guards) and in terms of physical capability and capacity to reach them (three sites into the first day of the Manchester fieldwork I had already walked four miles). The centralisation of including my experience hinges on and connects back to the reflexivity and subjectivity of this research

practice. Extending beyond this research practice and its limitations, I considered too, the limitations within archaeological practice overall in regard to excavations and the physical requirements necessary to complete those; the fundamental physicality of archaeological practice renders it, to some degree, an exclusive practice in terms of who can participate, but this is a broader conversation for another place.

Overall, as well, are general limitations of this research practice as a successful methodology of investigating experiences of historical cityscapes. The previous section on landscapes explored this in further detail, regarding how the sites had changed and been repurposed over the past century, rendering some difficulty in relating the current landscape to the time of and use by the suffragettes.

6.3 Conclusion

In comparing the two fieldworks, one of the primary differences between the two was that Glasgow is a city I lived in for nearly three years, and where I was living at the time of the fieldwork. In contrast, Manchester was a city I had been to only once before, very briefly to visit a friend, leading to my fieldworks in the two cities to end up rather differently in how I experienced the spaces and sites. It is also unmistakable from my voice notes and subsequent written up narratives that the 'unexpected encounter[s]' and the history of my life in Glasgow before the fieldwork played a more significant role in my experience and shaped the fieldwork results significantly more than in Manchester.

The use of a new, highly interdisciplinary methodology to uncover and identify the themes discussed above reveals new insights about the suffragettes, their militant landscapes, and experiences of women in public spaces. By using conflict archaeology methods, such as KOCOA, to examine their landscapes, pointed tactical choices emerge. There is clear evidence that the suffragettes had significant tactical considerations of their militant activities concerning locations, sites, targets, as well as demonstrable foresight of the ramifications of the acts and how that would have contributed to their aims. Through investigating landscapes, women's experiences of public spaces and the concept of the geography of fear become more pronounced and how little this has changed over the past century becomes even clearer, even though many of the

spaces and sites relevant to the suffragettes' campaign have changed or been repurposed. As well, looking at how the suffragettes have (and have not) been memorialised throughout the UK provides an avenue for further research into issues of gendered memorialisation.

The seven thematic sections discussed within this chapter cover most, but not all, of the ideas and considerations that emerged from the two fieldwork surveys. Ranging from analyses of physical geographies of gendered violence and gendered memory-scapes, to examining the physical structures that stood as concrete reminders of the battles of the suffragettes, to explorations of the limitations of the fieldwork and archaeological methodologies overall, to investigating the tactical choices of the suffragettes in their militant campaign, this chapter has sought to provide in detail some of the insights discovered during the two fieldwork surveys.

Chapter 7 Labels of Violence

The successful investigation of the Women's Social and Political Union's (WSPU) activity through methods of conflict archaeology highlights the considered tactical decisions made by the suffragettes in committing targeted acts of political violence. This requires the investigation of the suffragettes' acts through different terminologies from studies of terrorism, political violence and science, and international relations. In this chapter, I examine the label of 'militancy' as applied to the violent actions of the WSPU, assessing the applicability of other terms including political violence and terrorism and showing that there are avenues for further dialogue between the field of suffrage history and political violence and terrorism studies. This will carry into a broader exploration of why 'militancy' continues to be used within suffrage history and why other terms are ignored, and show, through the case study of the suffragettes, how women continue to be denied political agency, scrutinising how society struggles with accepting women's capacity for violence. I argue that there is a need to examine the suffragettes through terms of violence used in other fields (i.e. terrorism and political violence) to encourage interdisciplinary collaboration and study, linking fields of research that have yet been connected.

7.1 Historiographical Review

A dominant theme in the historiography of the British women's suffrage campaign has been constant discussions of, and explanations focused on, arguments for the ethics and purpose of WSPU violence and for why they should, or should not, have escalated into militancy at all. This theme has remained relatively constant throughout the scholarship (from its inception during the campaign to current debates), and a clear trend has emerged of historians focusing on the suffragettes' militancy through a lens of proving they were (or were not) right in escalating to such extreme levels of violence; the debates also reveal implied sexist opinions regarding whether women should (or should not) be involved in political violence. These debates about militancy's efficacy involve(d) prominent suffrage historians including Andrew Rosen, Brian Harrison, June Purvis, Elizabeth Crawford, C. J. Bearman, and Martin Pugh, among others.

Originally published in 1974, Andrew Rosen's work, *Rise Up, Women! The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, 1903-1914*, provides an overview of the militant campaign from its 'antecedents' in the Victorian era, through to the end of the campaign at the beginning of the First World War. Briefly summarising this debate, Rosen states in his final chapter that the early militancy was highly effective in forcing the government to pay attention to women's suffrage but that "an equally direct connection" is not clear for the more violent acts after 1912 (2013, 255).

In 1982, Brian Harrison wrote *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain*, which contained a chapter, "The Act of Militancy: Violence and the Suffragettes, 1904-1914," which explored the militancy of the suffragettes, and deemed it as having been ineffective for the eventual enfranchisement of women (1982, 48). A primary focus of his chapter is centred around explaining the militant "act", first looking at contemporary "psychological explanations", the suffering of women (mostly at the hands of men), and feminism seeking to understand how "this extraordinary movement" came about (Harrison 1982, 28; 30; 32; 34). Harrison argues that the women involved in the militant tactics of the WSPU were so "captive within so authoritarian and insulated a structure" that they were unable to see beyond into how the Edwardian political sphere actually functioned to understand that militancy was ineffectual, with "major drawbacks" preventing its success as a tool within the campaign (1982, 68). Sandra Holton places his work within the 'masculinist approach'[3], as the overarching tone of this chapter of his work reads as patronising, removing some of the suffragettes' agency in presenting militancy as a tool that 'got out of hand' for the suffragettes, and describing the 'rank-and-file' in puppet-like terms, as "instruments of leaders who were not entirely honest with their followers" (1982, 49). Specifically, Holton describes Harrison's work as 'liberal-masculinist'[4] included within "the masculinist school of suffrage history" as

[3] Sandra Holton explores the 'masculinist school of suffrage history' in their chapter, "The Making of Suffrage History", in the edited volume, *Votes for Women*. The masculinist school is described as considering women's political activity as "deviant, marginal and even dangerous", by "mocking and marginalisation of suffragists by the deployment of sexist stereotypes", and propagating sexist and negative impressions of the female British suffrage movement (Holton 2000, 22).

[4] The liberal-masculinist approach avoids the "sardonic" tone of the masculinist school but persists in perpetuating "gendered perspectives on political practice" especially in looking at the militancy of the suffragettes (Holton 2000, 24).

discussed in the second chapter; the sexist and condescending tones of masculinist work reveal some implicit and negative presumptions made about women's capacity for violence, especially through the example of the WSPU suffragettes.

Two decades later, in 2002, June Purvis published a biography, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography*. While the focus of the book is more about offering a new, admittedly more positive reading of Emmeline and her actions, Purvis still touches upon the debate about the success of the militants within the wider campaign for women's enfranchisement. She writes that "sympathetic accounts" of the suffragettes' movement are infrequent within the literature, and that the common perception of the WSPU was that their militant work disrupted the wider campaign (Purvis 2002, 5). However, Purvis is of a different opinion, as she openly states in her introduction that her work will be coloured by how she feels about Emmeline Pankhurst, and it is clear throughout that she feels quite positively about her (2002, 7). As well, in Purvis' conclusion, she circles back to the debate regarding the success of their militancy in the eventual enfranchisement of women, arguing that it was "a necessary step" (2002, 361). She writes in clear direct contrast to masculinist works, especially those of Martin Pugh and Brian Harrison (Purvis 2002, 4-5).

In the same year, Martin Pugh published a biographical account of the Pankhurst women, *The Pankhursts*. In it, he perpetuates the argument that the militancy of the WSPU was "no more successful in winning the vote than that of the non-militants whom they [the Pankhursts] so freely derided" (Pugh 2002, 300). His tone towards the Pankhurst family is also dismissive, similar to that of Harrison's, highlighting his masculinist leanings. Purvis also criticises his work, in particular noting his derisive tone towards the women of the Pankhurst family (Purvis 2003, 75-76).

In 2005, in "An Examination of Suffragette Violence," C. J. Bearman stated that the violence of the WSPU failed, as it did not cause widespread damage to the British economy and overall, lacked broad support from the public, allowing the British government to discount their actions (2005 393; 394). In 2007, in his article, "An Army Without Discipline? Suffragette Militancy and the Budget Crisis of 1909," Bearman argued that the WSPU suffragettes were a disciplined

organisation, with "'professional' militants" carrying out attacks, property damage, and committing acts of political violence, ending with "the terrorist tactics of 1912-14", as opposed to being a 'reactive' "army without discipline" (2007, 861; 862; 864). However, his conclusion continues to feed into the debate about the efficacy of their militant tactics, arguing that they were a miscalculation that had the opposite desired effect leading to their "humiliating" backtracking (Bearman 2007, 861).

In 2019, Purvis and Elizabeth Crawfurd published a discussion article titled, "Did Militancy Help or Hinder the Granting of Women's Suffrage in Britain?". Purvis' argument centres around expanding the understanding of what is included in militancy, and that this "broad range of behaviours, both legal and illegal" helped win women the vote (Purvis 2019, 1200). She argues that the use of militancy was shocking and eye-opening to the British government, and without it, that "it is unlikely" women would have received the vote in 1918 (Purvis 2019, 1212). Crawford is less passionate in her argument but still contends that militancy, specifically in its first inception in 1908 with window-smashing, "was invaluable" (Crawford 2019, 1219). However, in regard to the significantly more escalated acts of militancy later in the campaign, Crawford considers it to be largely "irrelevant", not supporting, but also not serving as "a real hindrance" to the campaign (2019, 1222). She does argue that it is assured that for "a political settlement" to have been reached, the militant campaign would have needed to end but that the suffragettes were lucky that the onset of the First World War gave them an opportunity to do so "with honour reasonably intact" (Crawford 2019, 1224).

In reviewing the historiographical debates about the 'efficacy' and worth of the WSPU's militant escalation, it becomes clear that involved within this debate are assumptions around women's ability to perpetrate political violence, shown through considerations of the WSPU suffragettes' campaign. It also becomes clear that there is a need to investigate the suffragettes from their own self-view as a militant organisation with violent rhetoric, militaristic terminology, structure, and leadership; within this consideration of their violence, I seek to place their ability to commit violence at the centre of the story. By approaching the suffragettes from a unique and different background, that of conflict

archaeology, I was inspired to look beyond debates of militant efficacy, into an exploration of labels of violence, then further into a wider conversation about women's capacity for violence.

7.2 Terms and Definitions

In considering the suffragettes through their own self-view as a violent organisation, one that had generals and a command structure rivalling that of an army, it is necessary to also expand our understanding of their violent activity through investigations of potentially applicable terms and definitions. The term 'militancy' is most commonly used in respect to the acts of the WSPU suffragettes. However, when looking at their violence, especially in the latter part of their campaign, other terms should be considered, including political violence and terrorism. Each of these terms has shifting definitions, which are contextually reliant on the period, place, conflict, and positionality of the person or organisation using the term, making discussions surrounding their applicability highly complex. Academic explorations of these terms focus most heavily on terrorism, due to its contentious, complex, and emotional status in contemporary society. This section will show that there is strong potential for the application of the terms, political violence and terrorism, to the acts of the suffragettes and the following sections explore how the use of the WSPU as a case study opens up potential for interdisciplinary dialogue and research into women's acts of political violence.

7.2.1 Political Violence

The European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) defined political violence in a broad manner as "including guerilla warfare, insurgency, terrorism, rebellion, revolution, rioting and civil war" at the ECPR General Conference in Glasgow, Scotland in 2014 (European Consortium for Political Research 2025). Another definition of political violence, by Cindy A. Sousa, based on the 2002 World Health Organization's World Report on Violence and Health, is "the deliberate use of power and force to achieve political goals" and that it "is characterized by both physical and psychological acts aimed at injuring or intimidating populations" (Sousa 2013, 169).

Research into political violence and terrorism studies has grown and developed significantly in the past few decades (Boyle 2012, 527). There has been a serious growth "in the quantity and quality of research" which has had wide-reaching impacts on modern policy and has led to new fields of research (Boyle 2012, 528). However, Michael J. Boyle addresses a concern in these burgeoning fields: that there is too high a focus on specialization for "each type of political violence" which is "largely detached from the developments in research on other types of political violence" (2012, 528). One example of this separation is the detachment of terrorism from the overarching study of political violence which looks upon "terrorism as an exceptional act, rather than as a type of political violence with some unique features" (Boyle 2012, 529). Frequently, though, authors use the two terms rather interchangeably, assuming a high degree of overlap in their definitions and applicability.

7.2.2 Terrorism

Terrorism also has multiple definitions (Sloan and Anderson 2009, liv; Merari 2016, 13). In the introduction to the edited volume, *Historical Perspectives on Organized Crime and Terrorism*, authors J. Windle, J. F. Morrison, A. Winter, and A. Silke use the definition of terrorism written by Morrison in 2013, in *The Origins and Rise of Dissident Irish Republicanism: The Role and Impact of Organized Splits*, which is:

> "the employment of violence or the threat of repeated violence by the individual or group intent on bringing about a social or political effect. The aim of this action is to bring about a state of fear in a wider audience beyond the initial act or threat of violence" (Morrison 2013, 5 as cited by Windle et al. 2018, 3).

This definition approaches terrorism as a "tool" or "technique" used by actors when and how it suits their needs (Chaliand and Blin 2016, 5).

The term, 'terrorism', has its historical roots in the era of the French revolution (Frampton 2021, 38). It took shape during "the period of the 'Great Terror'" where the idea of using terror and violence to better society was perpetuated by the Jacobins; the word 'terrorist' is believed to have first been "coined" and applied to them by Edmund Burke (Frampton 2021, 38). In the modern world,

the term terrorism has disparaging and pejorative connotations, highlighting the contentious nature of the word and its application to various actors.

Terrorism's complex and evolving definitions have been affected and changed by circumstance, era, and intent, among other factors. A. Schmid in *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research* discusses the complexity involved in identifying and specifying one accepted definition of terrorism (2011b, 39). In the almost one hundred years since the League of Nations (1937) initially suggested "a legal definition of terrorism", no consensus nor full acceptance of a definition has been achieved (Schmid 2011b, 39). Schmid also references the idea of a 'just war', distinguishing between *jus ad bellum*, which is "the right to conduct a [just] war and *jus in bello*" which is "the legality of certain techniques in warfare" (Schmid 2011a, 22). He argues that "many insurgents" validate their actions as 'just' and necessary because of the "asymmetry of forces between themselves and their opponents" (Schmid 2011a, 23).

It is important to consider the roots of these terms and understand their different manifestations throughout history, as well as look at examples of historic people who were contemporarily labelled as terrorists and actors of political violence. Specifically in terms of terrorism, this helps to frame the suffragettes and their actions within a broader context of historical uses of the term and understand the differences between its meaning historically and its meaning today.

7.2.3 Militancy

In general, however, suffrage historians have resisted using either of these terms and have instead primarily relied on the term, 'militancy'. Militancy is defined as "the fact of being active, determined, and often willing to use force" by the Cambridge Dictionary (2025). Militancy, in the context of the WSPU suffragettes, is the term most frequently associated with their violence. Laura Nym Mayhall argues that the term, 'militancy', was curated in the post-First World War period by members of the WSPU, many of whom, in the 1920s and 1930s, created the Suffragette Fellowship which focused on memorialising and organising a "historical record" of their actions from 1903-1914 (Mayhall 1995, 321-322). Purvis describes militancy, in the context of the suffragettes, "as a

form of feminist consciousness raising that roused thousands of women of all political persuasion and social classes to demand, rather than ask politely for their democratic right of citizenship" (2019, 1200).

Discussions of what should be included in the definition of militancy often involve explorations of the multitude of activities and behaviours as undertaken by the suffragettes. Militancy is often used by British suffrage historians to define "the material practices of window-breaking, arson, and hunger-striking", specifically the more illegal and violent tactics (Mayhall 1995, 319). However, Mayhall argues that this is a limited definition of the term militancy as applied to the suffrage movement, one that focuses on the more violent acts of the WSPU, and leaves out acts "such as passive resistance and tax resistance" encouraging a binary of opposition between constitutional and militant strategies (Mayhall 1995, 321; 322). Purvis contends with this argument, stating that militancy encompassed a broader range of activities, "both legal and illegal" (Purvis 2019, 1200). The continued use of the term, 'militancy' without exploring, in depth, other terms used outside of the discipline of British suffrage history, precludes interdisciplinary dialogue and explorations of the suffragettes' violence within a wider context of political violence and gendered conflict. This ties in directly with how we understand the suffragettes' actions in relation to 'terrorism' and 'terrorist', and how that relationship is approached and considered. I believe these terms can be applied to the WSPU suffragettes, but with significant nuance and that to call their actions 'terrorism' evokes conceptions of modern-day terrorist violence, but that some of the women and some of their actions were still 'terrorist' in nature and by definition.

7.3 Arguments For and Against the Use of These Terms

There are arguments against using these terms, especially terrorism, when referring to the violent acts of the suffragettes. There are a few instances within British suffrage historiography where terrorism is explored, in terms of the WSPU's later, intensification of tactics. These often are in the context of whether or not the WSPU suffragette campaign can be defined as terrorism, and as an extension to the debate about militancy's efficacy.

As well, the significant contextual meanings and impressions of ‘terrorism’ as it is understood today, especially in a Western context subject to ‘terrorist acts’ (i.e. 9/11; suicide bombings), need to be taken into consideration when and if applying this term to women who committed violent acts in an entirely different social, political, religious, and economic era.

In 2019, in Crawford and Purvis’ discussion of the success of militancy on the wider campaign, they both discuss ‘terrorism’ in relation to the suffragettes. Crawford mentions contemporary newspapers and media where “the word ‘terrorism’” frequently showed up but does not articulate a clear opinion (2019, 1218; 1220). Purvis, though, falls strongly on the side that the WSPU should not be likened to “modern-day terrorists” and gives six reasons as to why not (2019, 1207). Her arguments include that “the suffragettes attacked empty property not persons”; that the general public was not widely fearful of their acts of violence; and that modern-day terrorism “is linked to religious extremism” as opposed to the intention of the suffragettes to achieve equal rights (Purvis 2019, 1207). I agree to some extent with her second argument, that the wider public was not likely reacting with significant terror to their campaign, but there is evidence of public building closures in response to their actions (Leneman 1995, 152; Bearman 2005, 369; Riddell 2018, 167); I also disagree with the other two arguments, and argue that these can be picked apart to show, actually, how the suffragettes’ campaign has the capacity to fit within definitions of terrorism.

One aspect of Purvis’ argument against referring to the suffragettes as “like modern-day terrorists” is her statement that the suffragettes targeted “empty property” and not people (Purvis 2019, 1207). The aforementioned definition of terrorism does not actually mention attacking people specifically, therefore, targeted attacks of property, including empty property, can still be considered an act of terrorism, with the goal of spreading fear. As well, at the broad level, it is true that people were not actively targeted, but in earlier instances of militancy, certain individuals, such as Herbert Henry Asquith (Rosen 2013, 122) and Winston Churchill (Rosen 2013, 126), along with other anti-suffragists (Harrison 1982, 59) were attacked. The suffragettes’ intent was not to assassinate the men, but they were attacked nonetheless, therefore voiding the argument made by Purvis. Multiple people were still hurt, notwithstanding some

of the suffragettes themselves, and while the targets of the arson and bombs were not people, there was still significant room and risk for accidents to occur and innocent civilians to be injured or even killed. Crawford, regarding the potential for the militancy of the WSPU to have caused people harm, states that, "a slight miscalculation might at any time have had a different outcome" (Crawford 2019, 1220).

Another of Purvis' reasons against is that present-day terrorism is connected to religious extremism, not "women fighting for equal rights in a patriarchal society" (2019, 1207). She states that the goals of modern-day terrorists are "to close down debate and to impose religious and political restrictions on the female sex" (Purvis 2019, 1207-8). However, that is only one example of a wide range of motivations behind recent terrorist organisations. Schmid, in *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, identifies five interpretations through which to understand terrorist acts: crime, politics, warfare, communication, and religious crusade/jihad (2011a, 2). The WSPU suffragette's motivation for the violence was political in nature, therefore linking with the second of Schmid's identified conceptual lenses (2011a, 2). Thus, the argument Purvis makes lack scope in terms of broader trends of modern-day terrorism research, another avenue for arguing why considering the suffragette's acts as terrorism opens up the potential for inclusive cross-disciplinary dialogue.

However, there is also inconsistency in the historiography, as, in Purvis' 2002 biography of Emmeline Pankhurst, she specifically refers to their later acts as terrorism. She writes that "some militants secretly engaged in **terrorist** acts of violence, initially targeted at letter-boxes and fire alarms" (Purvis 2002, 203; emphasis added). Later in the book, she describes their acts as terrorism again, writing that "a small band of guerilla activists [within the WSPU] engaged in **terrorist** acts that outraged the public" (Purvis 2002, 255; emphasis added). In this work, she does not explore the significance of using a volatile term such as terrorism for the suffragettes' actions, but her explicit use of the term goes to confirm that their acts can and were seen as terrorism.

7.3.1.1 The Applicability of the Terms

There are also arguments for the use of the terms, political violence and terrorism, to refer to the WSPU's more violent acts, especially in the latter stages of their campaign. I argue that one of the benefits of using these terms is the potential for the WSPU to serve as a lens through which researchers within suffrage history and terrorism and political violence studies can broaden understandings of women's decisions to commit acts of and their capacity for politically-motivated violence.

The suffragettes themselves described their violence in terms which fit the definition of terrorism. The suffragettes threatened and employed violence as a tactic in an attempt to bring about political change – that of the enfranchisement of women (Windle et al. 2018, 3). Their militant actions were intended to force the government's hand in giving women the vote, by creating fear among the British public. They conceptualised themselves as a violent organisation, using militaristic terms and violent descriptions of their actions. The term 'terror' was used by the WSPU leaders in relation to their campaign being "a reign of 'terror'" (Purvis 2019, 1206). The Pankhurst women, leading the campaign, "publicly proclaimed" "guerilla warfare and secret arson" for use by the WSPU suffragettes, emphasizing their self-image as a violent, war-like organisation (Leneman 1995, 132). Their acts were undertaken "'with a military precision'", as one suffragette, Jessie Stephen, described the "concerted campaign" of the pillar-box attacks (Leneman 1995, 133). Suffragettes involved in the campaign referred to their work as war, believing their acts in pursuit of enfranchisement, to be a war against the British government, and to an extent, the general public (Leneman 1995, 198). Suffragettes even went so far as to threaten the public verbally with the potentially grave effects of ignoring their demands (Bearman 2007, 878).

Multiple historians have also defined violent suffragettes as terrorists, or parts of their campaign as terrorism.

Bearman in his 2005 article argues for the suffragette movement to be called a terrorist campaign (2005, 393). He uses the definition of a 'terrorist' from the 1990 edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* which "is 'a person who uses or

favours violent and intimidating methods of coercing a government or community'" (2005, 393). He does, also, speak to the complexity around associating the WSPU with terrorism due to its complex and "emotive" connections to modern terrorist acts and movements that involve "individual or mass murder" (2005, 393). In his 2007 article, he again refers to the WSPU's acts as "terrorist tactics", specifically between 1912-14 (Bearman 2007, 861; 865; 889). He does not extrapolate further as to why that it is other than the inclusion of a footnote discussing the first contemporary application of the term 'terrorism' to the suffragettes, as far as he was aware, from the *Daily News* in July 1912 (Bearman 2007, 865).

In *The Transfiguring Sword: The Just War of the Women's Social and Political Union*, Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp describes the militancy of the WSPU as reformist terrorism (1997, 6). Reformist terrorism is, for Jorgensen-Earp's purpose, that which "seeks only limited change and is often directed at government policies on very specific issues" which aligns with the narrow goal of the suffragettes for female enfranchisement (1997, 2). Her statement is based on Chalmers Johnson's definition in their chapter, "Perspectives on Terrorism," in *The Terrorism Reader*, which identifies the criteria for terrorism as "the employment of destructive violence, its use against political targets, and the sporadic and clandestine nature of acts" (Johnson 1978 as cited by Jorgensen-Earp 1997, 4). Jorgensen-Earp breaks down each criterion, beginning with arguing that the suffragettes engaged in "destructive violence" including "arson, bombing, and destruction of public artwork and private property" (1997, 4). She then argues that the suffragettes were focused on political targets, regardless of the fact that they prioritized private property at the end of their campaign, due to their "primary target" being the government (1997, 4-5). Finally, Jorgensen-Earp states that the WSPU were guerilla militants in the last phase of their militancy "through clandestine operations and an avoidance of arrest whenever possible" (1997, 5).

Jill Liddington in a discussion of suffrage commemorations in 2005 exploring the secret photographs taken of the suffragettes by the British police, mentions terrorism in the context of "state surveillance of suspected 'terrorists'" (2005, 209).

Crawford, in the same exchange of views as Purvis, terms the actions of a few of the suffragettes within the WSPU as ‘militancy’ (2019, 1218). She briefly touches on the application of the term ‘terrorism’ to the WSPU but within the historical context of their campaign stating that “the word ‘terrorism’ appears regularly in reports of arson and bomb attacks from 1913” (Crawford 2019, 1220). However, Crawford makes the important distinction that the impressions of “domestic terrorism” we have today are very different from the actions of the WSPU members in the period between 1912 and the outbreak of the First World War (2019, 1220).

7.4 The WSPU as a Case Study

And so, there is significant evidence for the potential for the term ‘terrorism’ to be applied to the actions of the WSPU suffragettes. This potential is highlighted in the capacity for the WSPU suffragettes to be used as a lens within which we can discuss and understand women’s capacity for violence and how society reacts to that. While there remains complexity in the debate around labelling WSPU suffragettes as ‘terrorists’ and (some of) their actions as ‘terrorism’, the right to call women terrorists, among other labels of violence, stands out. Society struggles with the notion of women as violent, which adds a layer of gendered bias to how such acts are understood and labelled.

The unease within society in considering and accepting women involved in conflict and violence, including political, collective, and individual violence, encourages a harmful narrative denying women’s capacity to be fully human by denying their ability to be violent. The example of the WSPU helps make clear societal discomfort with violent women, as the conflict within which their actions took place was not a ‘typical war’ with male combatants on each side and women and children positioned as victims, rather their conflict was one positioning women versus men. This case is an example of the widespread dichotomized idea of women as passive and men as aggressive, women as meant for the private sphere, and men for the public, men as the fighters and women as victims through looking at contemporary responses to the WSPU’s acts of violence (Coulter 2008, 69).

I believe that by using the WSPU suffragettes as an example case, and instigating cross-disciplinary and non-academic communication, their acts of militancy can encourage the acceptance of women's ability for violence. By connecting a widely popular field of history, the British suffrage movement, with research focused on terrorism and political violence, overlap and collaboration between the two could initiate further dialogue on women's capacity for violence, both within and outside of academia. There are many spaces where the militancy of the WSPU suffragettes could be explored as political violence and/or terrorism, stemming from the specific academic discourse investigating and reporting on women, terrorism and political violence. They could be used as an avenue within which to explore women's involvement in violent groups from a perspective of a women-only organisation – decrying many of the myths that are espoused regarding why women join violent political organisations such as "a male family member, poverty, rape, or similar factors" (Cunningham 2003, 186). These investigations require their own separate space to be explored, but are illustrative of the potential for the WSPU to be used as a means for which to investigate women and violence.

To some extent, the revaluation of women's involvement in political violence has already started. Jorgensen-Earp, from within the field of suffrage history, speaks to this concern in her work, where she describes the voice and "rhetoric of terrorism" but that "there is little acknowledgement that its voice may be a female one" (1997, 3-4). She even references that within "feminist scholarship" the "rhetoric that women have utilized violence in their own cause is not common" (Jorgensen-Earp 1997, 4). Jorgensen-Earp describes "our societal problem" when considering women as violent as it contrasts the gendered stereotype of women as gentle caregivers (1997, 4).

In reviewing literature outside of British suffrage historiography, there are few, but important, explorations of women's involvement in political conflict. One such work is that of Paige Eager, whose argument supports that made by Jorgensen-Earp, in that "societies, regardless of cultural and/or religious influence, seem especially uncomfortable with women who are violent" and that the exceptions to this focus on women defending themselves and their children, which they are always assumed to have (Eager 2008, 12). Eager discusses how

women who do "perpetrate, support, both tacitly and explicitly political violence…have been viewed largely as an aberration at best and demonic at worst" (Eager 2008, 10). The view that women have a lesser "capacity for terrorist violence" is an incorrect one that perpetuates "prejudices about gender appropriate behavior" that stem from patriarchal ideals (Jorgensen-Earp 1997, 4). The concept of women being actively involved in political conflict has often been considered as aberrant and controversial and is explained away through arguments that seek to reconcile women's capacity for violence with their traditional roles and traits as mother/caregiver and gentle and caring or blame their violent acts on extraneous events (Jorgensen-Earp 1997; Eager 2008). Eager's entire work is focused on the involvement of women in terrorist and politically violent acts highlighting the capacity for women to participate and instigate violence for an assortment of reasons beyond defense (2008, 10).

This assumption and consistently perpetuated belief that women cannot be terrorists or that they have a reduced or limited capacity for violence or that they are lesser for committing acts of violence is clear in much of the literature I have reviewed; the predominant gendered description of terrorism is masculine, for example, referring to terrorists solely as he, him, and their actions as his, (Schmid 2011a, 23). The way society considers and views women who commit acts of violence restricts women's ability to be fully human and our ability to fully understand human conflict (Alison 2009, 3).

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter sought to answer the fourth research question posed in the first chapter of this thesis, regarding what a focused study on the experience of militant suffragettes could reveal about contentious terminology applied to female militants and combatants. By overviewing the language and definitions, exploring the applications of these labels for the WSPU suffragettes, and using the WSPU as a lens to look at women's capacity for violence on a broader spectrum, this chapter has shown the complex debate around these labels as applied to the suffragettes and women in general.

Through looking at the multiple terms relevant to politically-motivated violence, it becomes clear that the modern connotations of these terms, most specifically

of ‘terrorism’, add significant complexity in their applicability to the actions of the suffragettes. These modern connotations are also what result in such diverse opinions regarding the utilisation of the term ‘terrorism’ in connection with the suffragettes’ acts. It can be divisive to speak of the suffragettes as idolised figures, once faced with the reality of the level of politically motivated violence they undertook against the British government and public. As Riddell speaks to in her book, *Death in Ten Minutes: The Forgotten Life of Radical Suffragette Kitty Marion*,

> “Today, we find such actions morally repugnant, the tools of outsiders and organisations whose values deeply contradict our own. So how do we feel when we discover these actions in a movement we idolize?” (Riddell 2018, 5)

There is the potential for negative connotations to be applied to the memory of the suffragettes if the term ‘terrorism’ becomes more widely attached to their organisation, campaign, and acts of protest, which is likely why the term hasn’t yet been more broadly adapted within the field of British suffrage. Yet, their actions still fit within many of the dimensions laid out in these definitions, which strongly complicates how to categorise their violent actions, and reconcile them with their contributions towards women’s enfranchisement. Using the example of the suffragettes, and going beyond to explore other women involved in political violence, also reveals issues in how society struggles to view and label violent women, leading to denials of their agency, humanity, and capacity.

Therefore, by highlighting how the practice of labelling suffragette activities without considering the broader contextual debates surrounding gendered participation in conflict can lead to continued disregard for women’s capacity for violence, this chapter has shown how a more thoroughly interdisciplinary approach, applying terms of political violence and terrorism to the suffragettes’ acts within British suffrage history can encourage dialogue between these fields. Re-framing and reconsidering how historians view and interpret historical and contemporary women in conflict and having a more inclusive respect for their capacity for violence will allow historians and researchers to change this narrative and apply a more gendered analysis to historical conflict. As well, considering interdisciplinary conversations around suffragette militancy will

integrate the history of the British suffrage campaign more thoroughly with nearby and related disciplines that could offer huge benefits in terms of academic potential.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This thesis has argued that a new interdisciplinary methodology focused on landscape surveys can provide original insights on the militant suffrage campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). In particular, this thesis has applied landscape surveys to the spatial environs of the suffragettes in two cities, Manchester and Glasgow, both of which featured in the suffragette militancy campaign, involving sites of militancy, office spaces, memorials (or lack thereof), and more. The landscape surveys led to the identification of a number of themes that were thoroughly explored in the sixth chapter, drawing out conclusions regarding the tactical choices of the suffragettes, the concept of geography of fear, the memorialisation landscape of the suffragettes (and women in general throughout the UK), and more.

In concluding this research project, a reiteration and review of the main points across the chapters is necessary, connecting the important and significant arguments and details from the initial conception of the project, reviews of the literature and methodology, the two case studies, the analysis and discussion of labels of conflict, to a summarisation of the importance of this research beyond academia and an overview of the project's benefits, successes, drawbacks, and potential for future research.

8.1 Review of Project

In seeking to answer the four research questions introduced in the first chapter, this thesis has explored the WSPU suffragettes' militant landscapes in Manchester and Glasgow; by using the suffragettes as a case study to explore the potential for a unique methodology focused on landscape surveys, I have shown the usefulness in applying feminist phenomenology, psychogeography, and conflict archaeology, as a combined methodology, to their landscapes.

Beginning with an introduction briefly establishing the project, the context and background, as well as the four research questions that allowed me to identify the potential for a different approach to history and spatial experiences of the suffragettes, especially as women protesting for full citizenship and enfranchisement, the project then expanded upon the contextual literature. To

position this research within the broader literature and highlight the need for a research project with these specific focuses and goals, I undertook a literature review covering the British women's suffrage campaign, terrorism and political violence studies, conflict archaeology, the archaeology of activism, gender and women's history, and the relevant methodologies. In completing the historiographical literature review of prominent works within British suffrage research, it was noticed that there was a frequency with which historians sought to rationalise and/or explain away the suffragettes' militancy, leading to the argument explored in Chapter 7.

In exploring research on political violence and terrorism, examining definitions to understand if the terms could be applied to the suffragettes, I also noticed a clear inconsistency in researchers not considering nor including women as agents of violence. To rectify this, I identified a few works that specifically explored the involvement of women in conflict, terrorism, and political violence. Carrying on with the theme of considerations of gender, I then explored gender and women's historiography seeking to establish a base of understanding to foreground its inclusion in the research project. Concluding the literature review, and to better frame and foreground the methodology and research in the following chapters, I undertook a literature review of the relevant methodologies: phenomenology (and feminist phenomenology), psychogeography (and feminist psychogeography), and conflict archaeology.

The methodological literature review paved the way for a comprehensive discussion of the innovative methodological approach in the following chapter. By exploring, in more depth, the three strands of methodologies that have informed the overarching, newly developed methodology espoused within this thesis, the third chapter highlights how each contributes to the research practice. I also dive into the gender concerns within each of the methodologies and explore how they all have historically and problematically prioritized the male gaze, specifically the white European male gaze (Fielding 2017a, ix). In pursuance of answering the research questions, I developed a unique and highly interdisciplinary methodology combining feminist phenomenology, feminist psychogeography, and conflict archaeology. This methodological research

practice was recorded at the end of the third chapter for potential reproducibility.

In the fourth and fifth chapters, using a narrative framework, I walked the reader through the surveys undertaken in the two case study cities, Manchester and Glasgow. With a rich, first-person narrative, these chapters explored the cities, first-hand, where the militant suffrage campaign of the WSPU took place, marking, visiting, and highlighting the spaces and sites where they enacted acts of militancy, where and how they have (and have not) been memorialised in the memory-scape of these two cities, and other relevant and important spaces, including prisons, offices, and more. By embracing the subjectivity and reflexivity of the survey methodology, the chapters are threaded through with my experience, as the researcher, combined with those of the suffragettes in these city-scapes, creating a richer, more diverse dataset to be used in the analysis in the sixth chapter.

Chapter 6, focussed on analysis, identified the different themes that emerged during the fieldwork and explored their broader meanings and impacts to our knowledge of the suffragettes, experiences of women in space and time, and the landscapes of the suffragettes. The themes investigated included the memorialised landscape of the suffragettes (and lack thereof), the geography of fear and habits of hypervigilance, the tactics and militant choices of the suffragette 'army', limitations of the fieldwork, and changed and repurposed landscapes. Some conclusions that emerged from the thematic analysis include how the different spaces that the suffragettes targeted during their militant campaign can be directly tied to and aligned with rational tactical choices, for example the targeting of parks and sites near parks because of the lack of obstacles, and the opportunities for cover and concealment. These resourceful tactical choices align with the military tenets used within conflict archaeology that serve as useful tools with which to view and investigate past conflicts, highlighting its applicability to studying the suffragettes, and by extension, female actors within conflict (Scott and McFeaters 2011, 112). Another conclusion from the thematic analysis showed that the survey of the memorialisation of the suffragettes in Glasgow and Manchester uncovered trends

of gendered memorialisation and how remembrance and commemoration of the suffragettes fits within those.

The final chapter of analytic content is the seventh chapter, which delves into an exploration of labels of violence in regard to the suffragettes and their militant actions within British suffrage historiography. Specifically focussing on controversial terms such as terrorism, political violence, and militancy, the chapter analyses the roots, background, and commonly accepted definitions of each of these terms, within conflict studies, as historically applied to the suffragettes, and in consideration of female participation and involvement in conflict. Through an exploration of these labels, the chapter presents the arguments both for and against using the term 'terrorism' to describe the suffragettes and/or their actions, especially in the latter part of their campaign. By highlighting the extensive and solid arguments for referring to the more violent acts of the suffragettes as terrorist actions, the chapter presents the WSPU suffragettes as a lens within which to investigate and explore society's discomfort with violent women.

8.2 Review of Research Practice and Questions

The methodology and research practice set out in the third chapter were developed from three disparate theories and disciplines in pursuit of answering the four research questions introduced in Chapter 1. As it is a new and unique practice, the research practice deserves a review of its successes in answering the research questions and drawbacks as applied to this research project.

8.2.1 Drawbacks

As mentioned in the sixth chapter, there were serious limitations associated with the research practice and its physical demands on the researcher. Beyond these physical limitations, there were also other drawbacks to the research practice and methodology. The extent of the changes in the landscapes surveyed led to sites having to be taken off the original list of locations, as well, limitations on available information regarding identified sites led to a shorter final list of sites for the two surveys. Also, the changes to sites and spaces likely impacted what could be gleaned from these surveys. In terms of the data produced from the

methodology and subsequent fieldwork surveys, as the results were discovered through the lens of my own experience, there was significant subjectivity built in, highlighting another limitation of the methodological practice.

8.2.2 Research Questions

Overall, while there were drawbacks to the research practice, I argue that the outcome was successful in terms of analysis potential and insight into the lived experiences of the suffragettes. The methodology, used through the two fieldwork surveys, into the thematic analysis and analysis of labels of violence, together work to answer the four research questions set out in the initial chapter.

8.2.2.1 Research Question 1

The first research question to be answered is: how did the landscapes and spaces in which the militant suffrage campaign unfolded, specifically in Manchester and Glasgow, impact the lived experiences of suffragettes between 1903-1914?

This was the broadest of the four questions, underpinning the entire research project in scope. Throughout the course of the project, landscape and space were prioritised to understand how they affected the lived experiences of the WSPU suffragettes. One such way was through an impact on tactical choices of the suffragettes during their militancy campaign and how they utilised their surroundings to enact acts of violence with intention and purpose. As well, the consideration and inclusion of the geography of fear highlights how landscapes have the potential to heavily impact lived experiences of women, demonstrated through the example of my personal geography of fear developed and experienced in Manchester and Glasgow.

8.2.2.2 Research Question 2

The second research question is: how has the militant suffrage campaign been memorialised in this landscape and what does this reveal about memorialisation practices related to the suffrage campaign?

The memory-scapes of the suffragettes across Manchester and Glasgow were explored, surveying the monumental statue of Emmeline Pankhurst, the Pankhurst Centre, the Suffragette Tree, and the inclusion of their history in the signage at the Kibble Palace in the Botanic Gardens in Glasgow. The first two sites of memorialisation were located in Manchester, and I knew about them ahead of undertaking the fieldwork. The following two were located in Glasgow and were discovered during the fieldwork. A review of these sites revealed gendered memorialisation practices, such as specifics choices of imagery and form of monuments tied to projecting gendered messages and the distinct prioritisation of male memorialisation over that of women. There were also differences in the memorialisation landscapes between Glasgow and Manchester as Manchester has two sites of memorialisation clearly linked to the WSPU suffragettes and Glasgow only had two, one being an ephemeral exhibition and the other more hidden in the landscape (the Suffragette Tree). This survey on memorialisation also introduced insights into broader memorialisation trends.

8.2.2.3 Research Question 3

The third question of this research project is: what can the approaches and methodologies of conflict archaeology bring to the study of women's reform and protest?

The application of KOCOA and other understandings of militarised tactics in the landscape of the suffragettes highlight their considered and rational tactical choices during the campaign. This prioritises the need to understand and investigate women's capacity for and agency in violence, in multiple contexts, historical and contemporary. The research has shown the importance of re-examining women's protest by situating it within the spheres and parameters of conflict archaeological investigation, demonstrating the need for the increased study of women as actors of conflict within the field.

8.2.2.4 Research Question 4

The fourth and final research question is: what can a focused study on the experience of militant suffragettes reveal about contentious terminology applied to female militants and combatants?

Answered in depth in the seventh chapter, there are complex debates and discussions around applying contentious terminology such as political violence and terrorism as descriptions of suffragette activity. While arguments both for and against highlight the diversity of opinions, for me, this research project has shown that it is important to consider the application of 'terrorism' to the suffragettes' actions in the latter part of their campaign; by situating their acts of violence within the frame of 'terrorism' and political violence, the suffragettes can serve as an interdisciplinary example with which to link conflict and terrorism studies and suffrage history in the United Kingdom (UK).

8.3 Importance and Wider Relevance

The answers to the previously discussed research questions also demonstrate the importance and broader meaning of the analytical content, especially beyond academia.

The discussion around and exploration of the concept of 'geography of fear' establishes the importance of considering women's experiences and, ideally, changing the circumstances that lead to the development of geographies of fear. The prioritisation of the experiences of women, highlighting those that are outside the 'neutral, white, male European gaze' demonstrates the wider importance of this research focus in including and centring the experiences of Others (Fielding 2017a, ix).

This project also showed the benefits for the application of these research methodologies and considerations to conflict archaeology. I showed that gender is an important frame of analysis for conflict archaeology – that it is beneficial and necessary to study women and expand the definition of what is considered within this field. As well, the exploration of urban landscapes as 'battlefields' in this project highlights the potential for expanded considerations of landscape in conflict archaeological investigations.

Within academic research, the research project highlighted the potential for interdisciplinary interactions and applications of conflict archaeology and conflict studies concepts and terminology to the history and experiences of the WSPU suffragettes. By introducing fresh concepts and considerations to British

suffrage history, the field is enriched, and in the same thread, bringing the example of the WSPU suffragettes to conflict studies and terrorism and political violence research offers these fields a rich case study both for exploring tactics and for understanding women's participation and involvement in conflict.

8.4 Recommendations for Future Research

While the research project within this thesis covers a broad spectrum of study and investigation, it has also proven fruitful in inspiring and uncovering further research potential.

As mentioned in the seventh chapter, there is significant potential for the WSPU to be investigated more thoroughly within terrorism and political violence studies, especially as an example through which to explore women and violence.

Within the subject of memorialisation and the gendered memory-scape of the UK, an idea for a further survey, UK-wide, of suffragette (and suffrage) memorialisation, identifying where, what, who, and all the other necessary information to comprehensively examine the extent to which the British women's suffrage campaign has been and continues to be remembered. This idea reminded me of the wonderful book by Sara Sheridan, *Where Are the Women? A Guide to an Imagined Scotland* (2019), leading me to wonder if a comprehensive survey of gendered memorialisation in the UK (and replicated abroad as well) would be a possible undertaking and the definitive illuminating research that a survey of that scale would reveal.

There is also more potential for further research into the geography of fear. One such project I am currently working on involves considerations of geography of fear and geography of care for the suffragettes under the 'Cat and Mouse Act', exploring their experiences of landscape through these two concepts. As well, a broader application of the concept of the geography of fear to conflict archaeology is absolutely needed, ideally encouraging more explorations into female-led violence and conflict.

In a continuation of understanding the limitations of physical research practice, more psychogeographical explorations of cities, especially via disabled

individuals and the limitations presented and identified are needed. The concept of walking as a methodological practice I believe opens up multiple avenues of expanded research potential; using it to explore the marginalised experiences of the Other in more detail and provide exploratory accounts of cities from diverse viewpoints and backgrounds.

8.5 Concluding Thoughts

The research project introduced, undertaken, and completed within this thesis covers and includes a broad array of topics and arguments, stretching from historical and contemporary explorations of terrorism, the WSPU suffragettes and their tactical choices, the memory-scapes of the UK, to discussions of women's experiences of space, the concept of the geography of fear, and physical limitations of fieldwork. By covering these points, the four questions set out at the beginning of the project were answered, the importance and wider relevance of the study detailed, and the potential for further research suggested.

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