

*Women's History*

# MAGAZINE

*Issue 61  
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*Faridullah Bezhani on  
Gender and Autobiography*

*Rosalind Carr on  
Scottish Women and Empire*

*Nicola Cowmeadow on  
Scottish Noblewomen's  
Political Activity in the 18th C*

*Katie Barclay on  
Family Legacies*

*Huw Clayton on  
Police Brutality Allegations*

*Plus*

*Five book reviews*

*Call for Reviewers*

*Prizes*

*WHN Conference Reports*

*Committee News*

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HISTORY  
NETWORK



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# **Women's History Network**

## **19th Annual Conference 2009**

### **Performing the Self: Women's Lives in Historical Perspective**

University of Warwick, 10-12 September 2010

Papers are invited for the 19th Annual Conference 2010 of the Women's History Network. The idea that selfhood is performed has a very long tradition. This interdisciplinary conference will explore the diverse representations of women's identities in the past and consider how these were articulated. Papers are particularly encouraged which focus upon the following:

- Writing women's histories
- Gender and the politics of identity
- Ritual and performance
- The economics of selfhood: work and identity
- Feminism and auto/biography
- Performing arts
- Teaching women's history



For more information please contact Dr Sarah Richardson:  
sarah.richardson@warwick.ac.uk, Department of History, University  
of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL. Abstracts of papers (no more than 300  
words) should be submitted to whnconference2010@googlemail.com  
The closing date for abstracts is 5th March 2010.

Conference website: [www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/res\\_rec/  
conferences/whn](http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/res_rec/conferences/whn)

Further information and a conference call will be posted on the WHN website

**[www.womenshistorynetwork.org](http://www.womenshistorynetwork.org)**

# Editorial

Welcome to the Autumn/Winter 2009 edition of Women's History Magazine. This issue has a distinctly Scottish feel to it with two articles on the political activities of Scottish noblewomen around the time of the Act of Union with England. A third examines the influence of family on identity. The issue begins with an exploration of Afghanistani women's literature; while the final article examines the position of women in the Metropolitan Police Force in the 1920s.

Faridullah Bezhani examines the work of Afghanistan's first female novelist, Spozhmai Zaryab, focussing on her semi-autobiographical novel, *In Another Country*. Based on the writer's experiences in Paris, the novel investigates the impact of exile and cultural dissonance on autobiography. Her autobiographical approach challenges cultural taboos, and Bezhani claims use of the novel format enabled Zaryab to circumvent problematic issues.

Rosalind Carr investigates the involvement of women in the Darien adventure — Scotland's attempt to establish an independent empire in the late seventeenth century. By consulting original records of this failed venture, Carr is able to demonstrate the active participation by a diverse group of women. She focuses on the political activities of one family in particular, the Duchess of Hamilton and her daughters, who also feature in our second Scottish-based article by Nicola Cowmeadow.

Cowmeadow picks up where Carr finishes, following the participation of Scottish noblewomen in debates surrounding the 1707 Act of Union. Using letters between male political figures and their wives, she demonstrates that noblewomen exerted considerable influence over their husbands and sons and, in so doing, were able to have their own input into the fierce political debates of the time.

Katie Barclay's examination of family legacy picks up a major theme in the previous two articles — the influence of family networks on political activity — and uses the same Scottish families as evidence of this. Her article then extends to a wider discussion of the importance of family in defining the individual. Barclay's short article is really a call to action. As she says 'the links between family legacy and personal subjectivity are only beginning to be explored', and she suggests this is a topic which could be usefully pursued by historians.

In our final article Huw Clayton cites a police case from the 1920s which he claims nudged open the doors of the Metropolitan Police to women officers. Although the case did not directly lead to any changes in police practices, the actions of the policewoman involved had a significant impact on the position of women in the police force, and particularly in their relationship to male colleagues.

Women's History Magazine supports new writers, and this issue contains a piece by possibly our youngest contributor, Rachel Young, winner of the Carol Adams Prize for school students. Her essay on the role of gender in the European witch hunts of early modern period is

reproduced in full. We plan to publish the Carol Adams Prize essay each year, recognising the potential of young historians of the future.

Plans are already in hand for next year's conference and the call for papers has gone out. It will be held on 10-12th September at University of Warwick with the theme 'Performing the Self: Women's Lives in Historical Perspective'. (See the inside cover of this edition for more details.)

A big welcome is extended to Ann Kettle, who joins us as a new member of the editorial team. Ann will be well known to Scottish members, as treasurer and membership secretary of Women's History Scotland. She is also a member of the Women's History Network Steering Committee.

Finally, a plea to members to switch their method of payment to standing order (if you do not do so already) — it will save you £5 on the membership fee, and reduces our administration costs. Also, consider signing the Gift Aid declaration on the back of this issue: it raises important funds for the Network.

Editorial team: **Sue Hawkins, Ann Kettle, Jane Potter, Debbi Simonton.**

## Contents

Gender, Memory and Autobiography in Spozhmai Zaryab's Novel, <i>In Another Country</i> .....	4
Women and Darien: Female Participation in a Scottish Attempt at Empire, c.1696-1706 .....	14
Redefining Scottish Noblewomen's Political Activity in the Era of Union. ....	21
Thinking about Family Legacy.....	26
A Bad Case of Police Savidgery: The interrogation of Irene Savidge at Scotland Yard.....	30
'A Gude Cause Mays a Strong Arm', 1909 and 2009 .....	38
Book Reviews.....	39
Prizes and Awards.....	46
What was the Real Role of Gender in the Early Modern European Witch Hunts? .....	47
Conference Reports .....	48
Steering Committee Report, 2008-9.....	50



Cover: Anne, Duchess of Hamilton (1632-1716).  
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# Gender, Memory and Autobiography in Spozhmai Zaryab's Novel, *In Another Country*

Faridullah Bezhani

Monash University

Afghanistan is widely regarded as an 'extreme case' of what Deniz Kandiyoti terms a 'classical patriarchy', an institution which dominates, by varying degrees, social, economic, and political life throughout the Muslim world.<sup>1</sup> In Afghanistan women are required to be completely submissive to men. Traditionally they are considered the property of male members of the family, including fathers, husbands and even husbands' extended families. As property, for instance, women do not have the right to leave the house without permission of a husband or male relative, a custom designed to prevent men being deprived of their possessions. Women are also the bearers of family honour, and any perceived erosion of that honour can be considered dangerous and punishable by families. In this culture, modesty for women is honourable, and they are expected to be shy and refrain from talking about their personal, especially sexual, feelings. This is why most female Afghanistani poets chose pseudonyms such as Makhfi (Hidden) or Mahjoba (Veiled or Shy). Among them there are two prominent female poets of the early 20th century, Saida Begum Makhfi of Badakhshan (1876 - 1964) and Safora Mahjoba of Herat (1906 - 66). They are known only by their pseudonyms.

Despite all these restrictions, Spozhmai Zaryab has broken with the traditions and concepts in relation to women, being the first woman to write autobiographical narratives detailing her private life. She audaciously wants to have her own voice and space. In this article, I analyse Zaryab's autobiographical novel, *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* or *In Another Country*, and explore how she portrays her private life, her relationships with men and women, and her own socio-cultural limitations, both in comparison to her mother and a French female character. In order to explore the socio-cultural and artistic values of *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* it is necessary to see why and how Zaryab approaches the autobiography genre as a woman from a particular society and culture.

*Dar Keshwar-i Digar* is the account of the life of a woman who on one level has grown up in a traditional Afghanistani family and society. On another level, through her education—both in Afghanistan and France—and time spent in France, she becomes familiar with the West and Western culture, and emerges as a new woman with a Western orientation. In the novel the author unfolds her private life in relation to other women, both local and Western, and provides some details about the lives of two women, her own mother, a deeply traditional woman from Afghanistan, and Simone Fanzhlik, a typical Frenchwoman. As a feminist writer from a third-world country, Zaryab writes about the different relationships between men and women in the East and West and observes their impact on her own life.

## Zaryab and autobiography

Spozhmai Zaryab (b. 1950) is one of the major writers in Afghanistan. She was born and grew up in a middle-class family in Kabul during the rapid socio-cultural changes of the 1960s.<sup>2</sup> Zaryab received her BA in French language in Afghanistan, and an MA and more recently a PhD in comparative literature in 1996 from Montpellier University in France.<sup>3</sup> She worked as a teacher in Isteqlal, Malalai and Lecce Maslaki Zanan (women's college) as well as working as an interpreter in the French Embassy in Kabul, and is currently teaching Persian in Paris at the Institute of Foreign Languages.<sup>4</sup> She also worked as a journalist for a magazine, *Pashtoon Zhagh*, editing the 'Qisa-i Zendagi' (Life Story) section. In this section people sent their eventful life stories and Zaryab had to rewrite them and turn them into narratives.<sup>5</sup> She is married to Azam Rahnaward Zaryab, himself a prolific Afghanistani writer.<sup>6</sup> While she has been living in France for a relatively long time, she has published all her works inside Afghanistan. She has published two collections of short stories and a novel to date, although some of her short stories still remain available only in the columns of magazines. However, it is not the quantity but the quality of her works which has made her one of the most outstanding writers in Afghanistan and a major contributor to the development of modern fiction in that country. Zaryab's narrative works are closely linked to her personal experiences. Indeed her experiences, in most cases, make up the largest portion of her short stories.<sup>7</sup> No matter what type of fiction she is writing and what kind of theme she is expressing, there are some autobiographical elements mingled with the narratives.<sup>8</sup> This means her short stories are one of the main sources of her life history. How does this autobiographical mingling influence her narrative works in terms of form and content?

Zaryab has written various types of short stories, including existentialist, feminist and anti-war ones.<sup>9</sup> Most of them are narrated through the first-person female point of view. Joanne S. Frye attributes to first-person narrative powers of subversion, arguing that first-person narrative allows the protagonist 'agency' and 'engages the narrative process in rejecting fixed plot or teleological structure'<sup>10</sup>. Frye refers to women's plots as 'based on process rather than product' and notes their writerly qualities: 'The female experiences characterized in the novels extend beyond the novels' [and short stories'] boundaries to the extra literary world of the reader.'<sup>11</sup> Because Zaryab's works are controlled by a female narrator, this allows the author to assert her own subjectivity: the 'I'. It also allows Zaryab as a woman to portray her daily life in the private sphere, as can best be seen in her short stories *Saat-i Dari* ('Persian Class'), *Shekar-i Freshta* ('Hunting Angel'), *Peshak-haye ke Adam Meshawand* ('The Cats That Become Human'),



*Tarana-i Isteqlal* ('Song of the Independence'), *Malem-i Mashq-i Ma* ('Our Calligraphy Teacher'), and *Rustam-ha wa Suhrab-ha* ('Rustams and Suhrabs'), written between the late 1970s and the early 1980s,<sup>12</sup> and her recent work, *Khorus-i Man* (My Rooster).<sup>13</sup> These stories, which are presented in the form of autobiography, permit Zaryab to be both subject and object. By allowing her narrative works to include some autobiographical elements, Zaryab writes about places where she lived and people with whom she lived and associated, and events that she has witnessed. She writes about her job and household. However, autobiography is a highly fictionalised form for Zaryab. Her main intention goes beyond merely portraying parts of her personal life. Paul John Eakin believes that 'autobiographical truth is not a fixed but an evolving content in an intricate process of self-discovery and self-creation, and, further, that the self that is the centre of all autobiographical narratives is necessarily a fictive structure'.<sup>14</sup> Self-representation is an extension of fantasy rather than a platform of truth; it is a play with relative uncertainties rather than the expression of revealed absolute. For Zaryab, autobiography is a highly fictionalised form, but also a form in which the 'auctorial' narration has been given up.<sup>15</sup>

### Autobiography and gender

For Zaryab, the selection of autobiography is a conscious one and is connected to her writings about gender. Rosalind Coward describes the way women function as 'guardians of the unwritten history of the family ... attempting to record and capture transient moments, to fix them and ensure their permanence ... re-create an undamaged world ... where we have not encountered the pain of separation and loss'.<sup>16</sup> Zaryab writes about herself, her family, colleagues and neighbours, but she places herself at the centre of the narrative and pieces of her own life are presented, because autobiography has a special place in women's literature, as Florence Howe notes: 'I begin with autobiography because it is there, in our consciousness about our own lives, that the connection between feminism and literature begins. That we learn from lives is, of course, a fundamental assumption of literature and of its teacher-critics'.<sup>17</sup>

However, Zaryab relates her experiences to the collective memory, and to the whole society she belongs to, as a woman from a particular community. Her tendency towards the first-person and autobiographical narrative illustrates what Susan J. Hekman describes as her resistance to subjugation and her attempt to map new 'modes of subjectivity'.<sup>18</sup>

That the personal is political (especially in terms of gender) and social in a sense gives the personal experience a significance that goes beyond individual interest and makes it of general concern. On the problem of autobiography by female authors Judy Long notes:

Female autobiography is not autobiography as usual. Women's self-writing is animated by the tension between external control of women and the assertion of female subjectivity....  
For the woman autobiographer, the process

of self-discovery is accompanied by a sense of contestation and risk. Autobiographical strategies employed by women convey some degree of challenge to the all-male tradition of autobiography and often a feeling of threat. Women subjects anticipate difficulty in being 'read' or 'heard' by a male audience.<sup>19</sup>

According to Sidonie Smith, autobiography is 'best understood as the struggle of a historical rather than a fictional person to come to terms with her own past'.<sup>20</sup> Smith asserts that the author, by joining together facets of remembered experiences, enters into both the process and the product of assigning meaning to those experiences. In doing so, she adopts different 'means of emphasis, juxtaposition, commentary, [and] omission'.<sup>21</sup>

### Autobiography and dislocation

While women in Afghanistan turned to writing short stories from the late 1940s, *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* is the first novel written by a woman.<sup>22</sup> What caused Zaryab to write an autobiographical novel? Although at the time she was not in exile but was in France for further study, the experience of being away from home is one of the main motivations for her writing autobiography. Living in France gave her the opportunity not only to write about her life there, but also to delve into her past memories and compare them to present events. For Paul Gilroy, 'diaspora consciousness' provides new ways of theorising identity by questioning any assumption about who 'naturally' belongs where.<sup>23</sup> Judith Butler argues that 'shifting topographies' offer a positive impetus to think in new ways about both our own identities and our connections with others.<sup>24</sup> For Zaryab, living in France triggered a strong sense of attachment to her homeland and the strains of separation. Her attachment to home is seen through her many nostalgic descriptions of Afghanistan and her longing for her homeland. Thus being away from home helped her to examine her 'national and cultural identities', as elements of 'personal identity', the central theme in autobiography. In *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* identity is, in the words of Eakin, to be discovered 'not merely as the passive, transparent record of an already completed self, but rather as an integral and often decisive phase of the drama of self definition'.<sup>25</sup> Identity is formed both on the textual level of the remembered experience in the past, and as a remembering of that experience in the present. By depicting the differences between the four main characters, Simone, Pascal, her mother and herself, Zaryab tries to define her own identity. The differences between them are not in appearance, but in behaviour and outlook, as part of their personal and social experiences. This is especially important in terms of gender consciousness. Living in France gave Zaryab the opportunity to examine her gender in relation to male and female, because she had stepped outside her own culture. She discovered how different she was from her mother, a traditional woman from Afghanistan, as well as from Simone, a Western woman.

Apart from events in France, Zaryab focuses on her childhood. The land of childhood is lost territory for all adults, its loss being part of our common humanity. Adults

are dislocated from their childhoods. But as Salman Rushdie has suggested, 'the writer who is out-of-country' experiences 'this loss in an intensified form ...'.<sup>26</sup> Being physically 'elsewhere' may enable the emigrant or exile to speak convincingly and particularly well of 'a subject of universal significance and appeal.' Being away from Afghanistan provides the opportunity for Zaryab to speak about herself, about her experience as a woman from the Third World. In other words, this dislocation helps her to construct her identity and write her autobiography.<sup>27</sup> Thus displacement and mobility may well revive old and new forms of ethnic essentialism and nationalism.<sup>28</sup> According to William Safran, 'diaspora consciousness is an intellectualisation of an essential condition', an existential condition that becomes understood and reconciled through the myth of a homeland from which one is removed but to which one imagines one actually belongs.<sup>29</sup> Being elsewhere helped Zaryab to delve into her past and highlight those significant elements and events that have made her identity in terms of culture, nationalism and gender. Elsewhere is a place in which she discovers her otherness. At the same time, it is there that she develops nationalist feelings and speaks about national essentialism.

Thus being elsewhere, though for a relatively short period of time, caused the author to dedicate a great deal of *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* to nostalgia and longing for her homeland. However, since 1991, and her return to France she has not written anything displaying such nostalgia and longing, or even the remaining parts of her autobiography.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, while living in France initially inspired her to write an autobiographical novel, as her stay became permanent she has largely abandoned writing.<sup>31</sup>

One of the features of *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* is that it deals with the idea of diaspora.<sup>32</sup> With political developments since the late 1970s and the migration, exile and dislocation of millions of Afghanistans around the world, diaspora literature has increasingly become an important part of modern Afghanistani literature. So *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*, despite some differences, has a pioneering status in this type of literature which has flourished since the late 1990s outside Afghanistan.

### ***Dar Keshwar-i Digar* or In Another Country**

It is in *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* that Zaryab presents a new type of autobiography in modern Afghanistani literature. First of all, this is the first novel by an Afghanistani female author. Secondly, until its publication, and even up to now, autobiography was totally absent in women's literature. Thirdly, while some male authors, mostly politicians and literary men, produced autobiographies, though rarely published, the autobiographical novel was totally absent.<sup>33</sup> Fourthly, in a deeply conservative society in which a woman has no voice and presence, writing an autobiography depicting herself and her experiences was an innovation. In the novel Zaryab does not focus on her entire life, although she mentions some episodes from her childhood. She focuses on the time when she was living in France for a year.<sup>34</sup> Neither does she speak about her whole life there. The novel concentrates on her relationship with a neighbour, Simone, and her son

Pascal. Many of the events in the novel belong to Simone and Pascal and a considerable portion of *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* is narrated by Simone.

*Dar Keshwar-i Digar* begins in an alien place, not the place where the writer was born and grew up. In the opening paragraph Zaryab introduces the setting:

Besançon is a small town in the east of France, and is located on the border of France and Switzerland. The people of this city have their own habits. They do not easily open their doors to others. They live in very firm circles and no newcomer can easily enter them. Their whole lives are condensed within the walls of their houses, and their thoughts move around their chairs, curtains and tables. If nothing existed beyond their gates, no one existed ... Nothing can be read in their faces, not sadness, not happiness, nothing. Perhaps because of this I felt no interest in becoming acquainted with them.<sup>35</sup>

However, this town and its inhabitants open other worlds to the author, from her remote childhood to her adulthood and her present everyday life. *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* is a portrait of two types of society: Western and Eastern. The former is a developed society with its own social codes of conduct. The latter is an underdeveloped society with opposite social mores. These two worlds not only meet in the mind of the narrator, but also in her relationships.

In a complex of flats in Besançon, the author meets a woman, Simone Fanzhlik, and her teenage son, Pascal, and they become friends. The mother and son, however, have a very poor relationship. Through meetings with them, the author discovers the deep loneliness of Western women and their distaste towards men, including the male members of their families. Because the narrator is a foreigner, this makes her the confidante of both the mother and the son who tell her their secrets. In Besançon everything reminds Zaryab of things back in Afghanistan:

As I was looking at the whip [hanging on the wall], I realised that my flat throws my exile straight back in my teeth. I remembered that when I was in my country I looked at things differently. My looks did not enter into things, and whatever I saw did not lead to other things. A whip was just a whip, not a desert filled with the voices of the wrestlers [playing buzkashi].<sup>36</sup> And a sultana was just a sultana, not the vineyards of Kohdaman [north of Kabul]. I realised that as I get further away from my homeland, my relationships with the things that belong to it become more complicated.<sup>37</sup>

So, it is objects that remind Zaryab of her home and country. At the same time, these things give her a sense of belonging, a sense of personal and cultural

identity. Once these items are removed from sight the connections disappear. On the night of leaving Besançon for Afghanistan, after packing up all her belongings, she says: 'As I was looking around the room, I discovered that my room became empty of identification, and there was nothing in it to remind me of my homeland and myself. Once again I realised the magic power of items.'<sup>38</sup>

Zaryab is greatly attached to her homeland, and she very often indicates this attachment throughout the novel. One day, when the narrator tells Pascal that she is working hard to finish her studies and return to Afghanistan, Pascal asks her:

- So you do not like France?

I did not know how to explain to him that I am like a tree which has been taken out of its place and planted in another land and in another country. And this tree discovers anxiously that its roots are not suited to the new land and knows that sooner or later, here in this new land, it is condemned to decay. I did not know how to tell him that I am that tree.<sup>39</sup>

While Zaryab mainly recalls memories of her homeland which show a traditional society undeveloped on the surface yet rich underneath, she also writes about the negative side of the culture. One of these memories from her childhood is about a wedding party in southern Afghanistan where men and women are segregated and have their own parties.

In the other house men had their own party. I heard boys dance there. Curiosity tempted me. In the dark of night I took the meandering stairs and reached the roof of the building where the men had their party .... In a corner of the courtyard there were three or four men playing musical instruments. In the middle four fifteen or sixteen-year-old boys, who were dressed in women's clothes and were adorned with thick cosmetics and ankle bells,<sup>40</sup> were dancing.<sup>41</sup>

This is a reference to the tradition of male dancers as well as homosexuality among men.<sup>42</sup> In a society where the sexes are strictly segregated, it is common for men to dance for other men at weddings in Afghanistan.<sup>43</sup> But in reality it goes beyond mere dancing. It is a practice that has led to some of the boy dancers being turned into sex slaves by wealthy and powerful patrons, who dress the boys up as girls, shower them with gifts and keep them as 'mistresses'.<sup>44</sup>

### The Taboos

Socio-cultural limitations greatly influence Zaryab, especially in the construction of self. As Hayden White asserts, '[h]istory is not only a burden imposed on the present in the form of outmoded traditions, institutions, ideas and values, but also in the way of looking at

the world which gives to these outmoded forms their specious authority.'<sup>45</sup> While Zaryab breaks with most of these 'burdens', she has problems with others. Indeed as a woman from the Third World, she has to negotiate culturally because there are too many boundaries. As Indira Chowdhury argues, '[a]t every stage, the woman writer had to negotiate patriarchy in complex and often circuitous ways'.<sup>46</sup> What this means for Zaryab is that she talks more about her childhood than her adulthood. At the same time, throughout the narrative, she talks more about her mother, Simone and Pascal than herself. She tries to hide some of the feelings that would otherwise naturally be expressed. For example, when she talks about Pascal, she generally hesitates to talk about her own feelings and how this shy young man stirs emotions in her own heart. Instead she tries, though unsuccessfully, to explain the events. In her first encounter with Pascal she indicates, in passing, the existence of such feelings, but never mentions anything in this regard again.

Zaryab is keen to avoid controversial topics and therefore is totally silent about taboo themes such as sexuality. However, she does explain some of the incidents which may have 'taboo' connotations in Afghanistan. In order to deny any kind of sexual and emotional relationship with Pascal other than mere friendship, for example, on several occasions she states that he is five or six years younger than she is. On another occasion, when Pascal takes her to a restaurant on the back of his motorbike, she writes:

With my two hands I was holding fast to the seat from behind. I was scared. I was sitting uncomfortably and tried with all my power to make more space between Pascal and me ... I do not know which types of values my mother planted into me which enabled me to keep away from a stranger in a far distant place in the world, and that evening to remain a chaste woman.<sup>47</sup>

This explains the limitations put on female writers in conservative societies in expressing their feelings and observations. Zaryab deliberately adds something to her narrative while also censoring herself.

### A Woman from the Third World

From the viewpoint of women's issues, by giving an account of the lives and insights of three women, her mother (traditional-Eastern), Simone (modern-Western), and her own, Zaryab portrays three different worlds of women. Although they may be connected in one way or another, each has different values. Zaryab herself, as is the case for the new generation of women in the Third World, is caught in between; she is neither traditional nor Western.

In *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*, Zaryab speaks from the margins, not only as a woman but also as a stranger living in an alien country. By writing this autobiographical novel, on one level the author is in search of her otherness as a woman, while on another she is in search of her identity as a stranger in an alien world and in a relationship with a

Western woman and man. This is why the incidents and memories oscillate between the present and the past, and between here and there.

The encounter with Simone and Pascal allows the narrator to discover her otherness, that is, being a woman and belonging to another culture. Simone paves the way for the narrator to review her own past as a woman, by telling the stories of her relationships with men and women, including her mother, ex-husband and son. But Simone never calls the narrator by name and indeed never asks her name.

I wanted someone to call me by my name. I thought [for a moment] I had no name. I was scared, it was horrible ... I felt sorry for myself. For a moment I thought Simone had taken away my name. I asked her:  
-What is my name?  
She stared at me and said:  
-I don't know your name. Indeed I have never asked you. I forgot to ask ... for me it is not important what your name is and who you are. The only thing I know is that you are a foreigner, a stranger and one day you'll return to your country on the other side of the world.<sup>48</sup>

Here Zaryab faces the fact that she is treated as the 'other', a 'foreigner' and therefore not important. Trinh T. Minh-ha argues that the ideology of dominance, by the dominant sex or the dominant culture, has long governed Western notions of identity, a notion which 'relies on the concept of the essential, authentic core that remains hidden to one's consciousness and that requires the elimination of all that is considered foreign or not true to the self, that is to say, non-I, other.'<sup>49</sup> But this treatment by Westerners helps the narrator to consistently sense her marginality as a woman and most importantly sense her cultural strangeness. It underlines to the narrator not only an understanding of her otherness in relation to culture but also her personality, as well as how a woman in her position is perceived by Westerners. However, here Zaryab, like Minh-ha, offers a new concept of identity, a new model which allows for the negotiation of similarities and differences, as she does not believe 'a clear dividing line can be made between I and not-I...between us here and them over there'.<sup>50</sup> On the verge of the narrator's return to her own country, Simone asks her to write her address in her notebook,

[She] read with difficulty what I had written. She pronounced my name incorrectly. It was the first time she had said my name. Perhaps she was surprised that I had a name, as if she had suddenly discovered that foreigners also could have names and addresses. She kindly said goodbye and jumped up and kissed me. I realised that huge affection was buried in this woman but she had not found the way to express it.<sup>51</sup>

Simone is a human being with heart and affection for others, but she cannot express it. In other words, Simone is a good person, but there are cultural and personal differences between the two women. The cultural differences help the narrator to discover her otherness, in the sense of being more accommodating and caring about others even at the cost of her own comfort. For example, on a rainy day Simone will not open the door for Pascal. He comes to the narrator's flat and asks if he can wait there. The narrator is very busy, and she does not want him to come inside. She says to herself:

I wanted to say:  
-Yes you can, but unfortunately I am very busy and I have to go to my room and work ... I wished I had the courage of people of this country so that when I opened the door to Pascal, I was able to say:  
-Sorry I am busy.  
And then close the door loudly. But I knew that even if I had such courage for a moment and shut the door on this boy, the uncomfortable feeling of closing the door on a neighbour would not leave me for days and perhaps weeks.<sup>52</sup>

Thus the encounter with Pascal gives the narrator the opportunity to see the other side of the relationship between men and women in Western society, as well as to see her difference as a woman in connection to a Western man.

The encounters with Simone and Pascal are not the only sources of learning about her marginality in an alien society. Indeed owing to her skin colour, almost everybody in Besançon asks the narrator where she comes from, and almost everybody has not the slightest clue about Afghanistan. For the majority of these people Afghanistan is another name for Hindustan (India), for others it is part of the magical world of Ali Baba and his forty thieves, a reference to the *One Thousand and One Nights*.<sup>53</sup>

### **The mother, a traditional woman in white chador**

While Simone, the French woman living upstairs, occupies parts of the narrator's life, there is another woman — her mother — living on the other side of the world who is a constant presence in her mind. Interestingly, while Zaryab very often talks about her mother, she never provides a description of her the way she does of Simone. Zaryab writes a great deal about the appearance of Simone, from the way she dresses and looks to her gestures. But virtually the only description she provides of her mother is when she receives a photo of her in France and describes it in the following way: '[In the photo], with her white chador around her neck, my mother was standing. Her hands were hanging aimlessly at her sides. She wore a smile mixed with fear'.<sup>54</sup> The chador, or long white scarf, is one of the items inseparable from her mother. Perhaps Zaryab tries to keep her mother hidden under the chador and therefore gives little detail about her appearance. The chador is so significant that it stands for



her mother's identity, as if the chador stands for her entire womanhood. With the chador she not only covers her face from strangers, but also her feelings, even from insiders. Once, when a child, the narrator says something to which her mother reacts with uncharacteristic passion:

My mother laughed. She laughed loudly, and then suddenly looked around [not to be seen by anyone]; she hid her smiling mouth with her white chador. I saw for a long moment all her laugh was condensed into her two eyes. I also laughed. I laughed loudly; my mother's laughter made me happy. My mother laughs very little.<sup>55</sup>

Here Zaryab describes her mother's life-style and the social mores surrounding a noble woman, including wearing a chador even inside the house. As a noble woman, she should not laugh loudly, she should not laugh very often, and she should hide her laughter and happiness. And this noble woman belongs only to one man. By recalling a picnic with her family, Zaryab clearly notes this belonging which is conveyed by the way her mother arranges her chador: 'We chose a place in a corner and put the carpet there. My mother sat down and put her chador on her head in such a way that no passer-by could see her face, which only my father has the right to see.'<sup>56</sup>

Zaryab's mother was illiterate:

My mother could not write, and could only read the Koran. I was not sure she was able to read it or only knew it by heart. After praying every morning, she opened the Koran and ran her finger along every line. Apart from that, she has never been attracted to reading a newspaper or even a piece of writing.<sup>57</sup>

In this way, by showing glimpses of her mother's life, Zaryab presents a general picture of the lives and outlook of traditional women in Afghanistan.

### **The Western woman, Simone Fanzhlik**

*Dar Keshwar-i Digar* is as much the story of Simone as it is the story of Zaryab. For Zaryab, Simone's life-story is unique as the 'other woman'. According to Adriana Cavarero, 'the other always has a life-story and is a narratable identity whose uniqueness also consists, above all, in this story'.<sup>58</sup> Cavarero suggests that to be 'narratable' is a fundamental need for the subject, and the condition of our recognition of the others.<sup>59</sup> Zaryab finds this uniqueness in Simone's life-story. The second voice in the novel — after the narrator — is that of Simone. Simone and Pascal, and her dog, Resto, occupy a large part of the narrative. So then who is Simone Fanzhlik? The first encounter with Simone comes at the beginning of the novel.

One day when I was looking outside the

window, I heard a scream coming from the stairs. I rushed to open the door. I recognised the woman. Her hair was dishevelled and her face was red and wet. Her small eyes were also red. All her body was shaking. She was scratching at her face with her fingernails and crying. I recognised her easily. She lived in one of the flats in the building, and always had a tidy and neat appearance and a calmness, which was common here, when walking up and down the stairs. With astonishment I said to myself:

-Can this woman cry, can she scream? ...

I asked her:

-What is the matter?

-Escaped? ...

-Who escaped?

-My dog [Resto] ... I know he'll come back; he cannot escape from me.

- Why are you upset then?

-Because I know I'll fall sick from this separation.<sup>60</sup>

Simone's love for her dog and hatred for her son represent a complicated personality which unfolds during the course of the narrative. Her behaviour not only shapes Pascal's personality and actions, but also influences the narrator's view of Western women and men, although Zaryab does not acknowledge this. At a young age and from her own experiences, Simone reached the conclusion that relationships between men and women are not transparent:

My father expressed his love to my mother, but my mother always reacted with dismay ... . She always told me that my father was cheating on her. At that time I believed that my mother was subservient and was cruelly oppressed by my father.<sup>61</sup>

This leaves no room for love between daughter and father. Even when her father dies, Simone has no feeling or sympathy for him. Her mother does not survive for long. One day, after the death of her mother, Simone finds a book:

It was the first time I saw this book, but when I start reading it, it was all familiar, and its stories sounded repetitious... They were the stories my mother told me about my father, replacing the name of the main characters with that of my father's. It was a book which consisted of stories about men cheating on their wives ... . My mother had lied about my father ... . I could not find any reason for my mother's action, but she kept me away from my father. In this way, she kept him solely for herself.<sup>62</sup>

Then Simone marries a man and gives birth to a

son, Pascal. She later divorces the husband. Simone tries to keep Pascal exclusively for herself. While it works for a very long time, one day she realises that he has a relationship with a girl, Helen, and the loving relationship between the mother and son changes into one of hatred: 'And then there was a wall between Pascal and me. I could not stand meeting him. He also never has asked me [the reason] and accepted the silence [between us].'<sup>63</sup> Disappointed with her son, Simone mixes with many men, but finds none of them reliable and none who really love her. Although she believes that 'human beings have a strange need to be loved', disillusionsed with men, she gives all her love to her dog, Resto.

But why does Zaryab deal with Simone's life-story and devote a great deal of her novel to her story and her voice? Apart from some 'uniqueness' in Simone's life-story, Zaryab may be indicating that, in contrast to Simone's lack of interest in the narrator's life, the narrator, as a Third World woman, welcomes and listens to the life-story of a woman from the First World. Perhaps this is the message Zaryab tries to convey, that in spite of all her intentions and interest, as a representative of Third World women, women in the West (by failing even to ask non-Western women their names, let alone to listen to their life-stories) have no real sympathy for Third World women.

#### ***Dar Keshwar-i Digar* and the man**

*Dar Keshwar-i Digar* is also an important source for the study of the development of Zaryab's works and life in relation to men. Although she writes very often about her mother but little about her father, there are still a few passages in which she talks about him. Indeed in *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*, Zaryab deals with the pivotal role of the man—the father—in the family. The main point is, that despite her feminist outlook, she presents a kind and loving portrait of her father. On one occasion, remembering accompanying her father to the market when she was five, Zaryab writes:

I remembered I went to the market with my father. So as not to lose me, he held my hand fast. I felt the warmth of his hand. His hand was kind. I observed how his big hand hid my [little] hand ... I observed that all my body was in his hand. I was not scared of anything. This hand was the safest refuge my little brain could think of.<sup>64</sup>

On another occasion she writes:

Once again I recalled my father who always came home at sunset, and how his knocking on the door gave a different [type of] warmth and movement to the house. He entered the house and with a silence mixed with a kind of dominance sat at the very front of the room, and my mother prepared a ewer for the ablution to pray ... and put his clothes in the closet. She did all this with silence mixed with dignity. My mother knew that she was the

only possessor of a man who every evening quickly comes to her and kindly presents his everything to her. After the passage of years I have learned that there is nothing more splendid in the world for a woman than to sense that she is the only possessor of a man who every evening comes to her and kindly presents his everything to her. 65

From these passages the man — father and husband — although dominant, is kind, and definitely not cruel. His relationship with women — wife, daughter — is based on love and kindness.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, in comparison to Simone, the narrator of *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* has more sympathy for Pascal. In the narrative it is Simone who mistreats Pascal, not *vice versa*. The first meeting between the narrator and Pascal, during a dinner at Simone's place, shows her feelings about him which continue throughout the narrative:

Pascal calmly opened the door and entered the lounge. At first sight I very much liked his demeanour. He was a tall and thin young man, with a pale and innocent face. His eyes were green and his long hair covered his ears. He was good-looking. He said hello with a low voice and extended his hand. I shook his hand. His hand was trembling and wet. I did not like it. For a while he sat in a chair in front of me. I looked surreptitiously at him. In the moment our eyes met we hastily averted our gaze .... I wanted him to look in another direction so that I could look at him secretly for longer. I liked him.<sup>67</sup>

This passage depicts sympathy and interest towards Pascal rather than indifference. This perception of a man — kind and innocent — contradicts the distaste Zaryab conveys about men in her other works including *Chapan-i Siāhrang* (The Black Cloak) in which 'she contends that the suffering of women lies in a patriarchal system in which all men, regardless of their relationships to women, from father and brother to husband, are involved'.<sup>68</sup> So why did this perception of love and kindness change into distaste? Zaryab wrote *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* in 1974,<sup>69</sup> and at that time she was not married.<sup>70</sup> So this change in her view developed after her marriage.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps teaching in a women's college and becoming familiar with her students' problems, particularly in their relationships with their husbands, was another factor in this perception.

#### **Pascal**

By choosing Helen, Pascal takes a different path. Soon he discovers how it affects his relationship with his mother. He loves Helen and even spends most of his money, which he receives monthly from his father, on her, including paying her rent. But one day he finds her key in the hands of his best friend, Gerard, and so discovers their affair. Pascal starts drinking and leaves school.

Pascal is the most innocent and vulnerable

personality among the characters in *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*. When he was born his father abandoned him. The only connection between Pascal and his father is the monthly cheque he sends him as part of his formal responsibility. When Pascal becomes an adolescent, his mother neglects him. There is virtually no relationship between the mother and son except hatred, as Simone states: 'We have nothing in common. All the connections between Pascal and me have broken. Sometimes I look at him secretly and I observe that I do not know him at all.'<sup>72</sup>

Then Pascal is deceived by his girlfriend and his best friend. Nevertheless one of the remarkable qualities of Pascal is his continuing attempt to achieve something better in his relationships with others, including his mother, Helen and the narrator. Discovering the attachment of the narrator to her homeland, Pascal tries sincerely to learn more about Afghanistan. One day he enters the narrator's flat:

In the corridor Pascal stood in front of the Afghanistan map, the joyfully turned his face and said:

-I have learned [by heart] the names of the cities of your country.

Then he named the cities ... [and] he laughed as a child and said:

-Do you know what I found? I found *The Horsemen* [by Joseph Kessel] and read it because of you ...

In the lounge, I noticed with surprise that Pascal was sitting cross-legged on the mattress on the floor. He saw the surprise in my eyes, he said:

-Since the day I left your flat I have tried sitting on the floor many times.<sup>73</sup>

After Helen, Pascal leaves school and starts a job. Failing to find love, trust and comfort at home he travels to another country—Afghanistan—in search of 'the lost paradise'. But this ends in disaster.<sup>74</sup> Later, the author returns to her homeland and works as an interpreter for the French embassy in Kabul. One day she discovers that Pascal, while touring in Afghanistan, has died in an accident. The death of Pascal ends the novel and the author's memoir in France; and this gives the novel a wholeness.

## Conclusion

By writing an autobiographical novel, *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*, and placing Simone and herself—two women—as the main characters through whom the whole world of the novel is observed, but also by unmasking the world of women, their relationships with men—fathers, husbands and sons—and their struggles, Zaryab creates a feminist autobiographical novel in a Third-World country. However, choosing the very form and the act of writing autobiography, she crosses the line. According to Sidonie Smith, the female autobiography writer, as in the case of Zaryab, is caught in a double bind: if she elects to say little or nothing, she is silenced; but when she tries to speak, to

recount her life, she comes up against all the patriarchal assumptions about what an individual self is and how its story should be told.<sup>75</sup> Zaryab selects the second course of action, though with much caution and ambiguity: firstly, she presents her autobiography in the form of fiction rather than autobiography; secondly, she tries not to oppose the socio-cultural taboos to the extent that it damages the narrative as an autobiographical novel.

Zaryab in *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* shows how a woman from the Third World, being feminist herself and familiar with Western culture, observes and values the relationships between men and women in two different societies. Unlike the general assumption that women in the Third World are oppressed and devalued in every aspect of life, and that the general culture and traditions are not in their favour in any sense, she shows that not everything is negative. There are some positive sides to the culture of the Third World in connection to women. At the same time, by giving a complete picture of Simone's life, she challenges the supposedly advanced position of women in the West, who enjoy 'freedom and equal rights'. Zaryab consciously or unconsciously generalises the matter. *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* sits uncomfortably between East and West, as does the author herself.

## Notes

1. Deniz Kandiyoti, 'Bargaining with Patriarchy', *Gender and Society*, (1988) 2 (3), 274—290.
2. Indeed the mid-1960s marked a socio-cultural transformation and the emergence of a new generation of women. It was a new era in women's literature. (Faridullah Bezhani, 'Fiction and Fiction Writers: Afghanistan', in eds. S. Joseph, A. Najmabadi, et al. *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures*, Volume 5 (Leiden; Boston, Mass.: Brill, 2007)). With the ratification of the 1965 Constitution political parties and an independent press emerged. It was a time of great changes in politics and culture, and a turning point in the development of modern fiction in Afghanistan. (Bezhani, 'Satire in Modern Afghanistan', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, (2005) 25 (2), 468).
3. She is the first child of her family and the most educated.
4. Her early works appeared under the surname of Rauf and after her marriage to Rahnaward Zaryab she adopted the name Zaryab.
5. This experience was not only important for Zaryab in writing short stories, but also helped her specifically in writing her own life story or *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*.
6. She left Afghanistan in 1991 for France and is now living in Paris with her three daughters.
7. Bezhani, 'Dastan Modern dar Afghanistan az Aghaz to Emroz' (Modern fiction in Afghanistan: from the beginning to the present time), in S.H. Qasemi (ed), *Modern Dari Literature* (Delhi: Department of Persian University of Delhi, 1994), 142.
8. One of the types of Afghanistani fiction Zaryab greatly contributed to is anti-war fiction, and even in this she mingled autobiographical elements in her stories. (Bezhani,

- 'Women and War in the Works of Two Female Afghanistani Writers', *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, (2008) 28 (2), 260–272.
9. Bezhani, 'Veiled Voices; Women's Fiction in Afghanistan', *Asian Women*, (2007) 23 (3), 5-30; *Afghanistani Storytelling and Writing: History, Performance and Forms* (Clayton: Monash University Press, 2006), 22.
10. Joanne S. Frye, *Living Stories, Telling Lives: Women and the Novel in Contemporary Experience* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1986), 71, 9.
11. *Ibid.*, 40-41.
12. These short stories appeared in Spozhmai Zaryab's two collections of short stories, *Sharang Sharang-i Zang-hā* (Kabul: Itehadya-i Newisendagān-i Afghanistan, 1983) and *Dasht-i Qābil*, (Kabul: Tab wa Nashr, 1988).
13. *Khuros-i Man* appeared at [www.afghanasamai.com](http://www.afghanasamai.com) (accessed 27 May 2007).
14. Paul John Eakin, *Fiction in Autobiography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 3.
15. According to Philip Lejeune there is no way to distinguish autobiography and the autobiographical novel on the basis of internal textual evidence. All the methods that autobiography uses to convince us of the authenticity of its narrative can be imitated by the novel, and often have been. Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, edited with a foreword by P.J Eakin; tran. K. Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989).
16. Rosalind Coward, 'The Mirror with a Memory', in R. Coward (ed), *Female Desires: How They Are Sought, Bought and Packaged* (New York: Grove, 1985), 53-4.
17. Quoted in Toril Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory* (London; New York: Methuen, 1985), 43.
18. Susan J. Hekman, *Gender and Knowledge: Elements of Postmodern Feminism* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1990), 189.
19. Judy Long, *Telling Women's Lives: Subject/Narrator/Reader/Text* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 27.
20. Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-representation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 46.
21. *Ibid.*, 45
22. On the relationship between autobiography and the novel, Northrop Frye notes that, 'Most autobiographies are inspired by a creative, and therefore fictional, impulse to select only those events and experiences in the writer's life that go to build up an integrated pattern. This pattern may be something larger than himself with which he has come to identify himself, or simply the coherence of his character and attitudes.' Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism; Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 107).
23. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1995), 127.
24. Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London; New York: Verso, 2004), 49.
25. Eakin, *Fiction in Autobiography*, 226.
26. Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981—1991* (London: Granta Books, 1991), 12.
27. According to Peter J. Burke: 'Identities are the sets of meaning people hold for themselves that define 'what it means' to be who they are as persons, as role occupants, and as group members. These meanings constitute ... an identity standard ... [which] serves as a reference with which persons compare their perceptions of self-relevant meanings in the interactive situation.' (Peter J. Burke, 'Identities and Social Structure: The 2003 Cooley-Mead Award Address', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, (2004) 67 (1), 5).
28. Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000).
29. William Safran, 'Diaspora in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return', *Diaspora*, (1991) 1 (1), 87.
30. Since leaving Afghanistan for the second time Zaryab has published only one short story, *Khuros-i Man*.
31. In a conversation, on 13 August 2009 in Paris, Zaryab told me that she has written a number of short stories in the course of these years which need a finishing touch. But due to her family and job commitments she has yet to find the time to finish them.
32. This notion of diaspora is based on the ancient dispersion of the Jews and is characterised by narrative connections to a homeland, a sense of alienation and distinctiveness from host community and myths of return and restoration. Safran, 'Diaspora in Modern Societies', 83-91.
33. It is only since the 1990s that some politicians turned to writing their autobiographies. These works, which are chiefly devoted to their political careers and have little to do with their personal and private experiences, have little value as far as the genre of autobiography is concerned. Perhaps living outside Afghanistan and having the opportunity to freely publish, as well as the ensuing political crisis since the early 1990s, caused these politicians to write their memoirs mainly to defend their political careers. It is worth mentioning that the majority of these works were published in Pakistan at the authors' expense.
34. Some episodes of her life in Besançon have found their way into her short stories, such as *Dar Changal Adad* ('In the Clutches of Numbers'). See Spozhmai Zaryab, *Sharang Sharang-i Zang-hā* (Kabul: Itehadya-i Newisendagān-i Afghanistan, 1983), 75-86.
35. Zaryab, *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* (Kabul: Anjoman-i Newisendagān-i Afghanistan, 1988), 1-2.
36. *Buzkashi*, literally "goat grabbing" is a traditional sport in northern Afghanistan. It is played by two teams on horseback, which compete by seizing a goat carcass from one point on the playing field and transporting it to another.
37. Zaryab, *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*, 105.
38. *Ibid.*, 168.
39. *Ibid.*, 130.
40. The dress of these boys is called jaman.
41. Zaryab, *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*, 164.
42. The practice of keeping such boys is called bacha bazi (literally playing with boys).
43. These male dancers are called bacha bazinger. It is an extremely disrespectful term in Afghanistan.
44. Having the best-looking boy and the best dancer is a

mark of prestige. This practice is not restricted to the south; it is also common in northern Afghanistan. Sometimes people gather and make their boys dance and whoever wins, his boy is the best boy. In the north, there are large halls known as *qush-khana* that provide venues for boys to dance, where the boys' 'owners' or *kaatah* invite their friends to watch them dancing. Late in the night, when the dancing is over, the boys are often shared with close friends for sexual abuse.

45. Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 39.

46. Indira Chowdhury, 'Mothering in the Time of Motherlessness', *Modern Critical Theory Group*, (1998) 21 (3), 308—22.

47. Zaryab, *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*, 159.

48. *Ibid.*, 73-4.

49. Trinh T. Minh-ha, 'Not You/Like You: Postcolonial Women and the Interlocking Questions of Identity and Difference', *Inscriptions*, (1988), 3/4, 71—77.

50. *Ibid.*, 71. According to Marnia Lazreg, for "other" women lives like "ours" are structured by economic, political, and cultural factors...these women, like "us", are engaged in the process of adjusting, often shaping, at times resisting and even transforming their environment...they have their own individuality; they are "for themselves" instead of being "for us". Marnia Lazreg, 'Feminism and Difference: The Perils of Writing as a Woman on Women in Algeria', in *Conflicts in Feminsim* in ed. M. Hirsch and E.F. Keller, (New York; London: Routledge, 1990), 339.

51. Zaryab, *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*, 174.

52. *Ibid.*, 88-90.

53. *Ibid.*, 97.

54. *Ibid.*, 98.

55. *Ibid.*, 108.

56. *Ibid.*, 90.

57. *Ibid.*, 100-1. It is a custom for the illiterate people to read the Koran by running their fingers along every line, while reciting a Sura of the Koran.

58. Adriana Cavarero, *Relating Narratives: Storytelling and Selfhood*; translated with an introduction by Paul A. Kottman (London: New York: Routledge, 2000), 34.

59. According to Cavarero, the 'narratable self finds its home, not simply in a conscious exercise for remembering, but in the spontaneous narrating structure of memory itself'. She argues that in 'personal experience, the narratable self is at once the transcendental subject and the elusive object of all the autobiographical exercises of memory', as we see both in the cases of Simone and the narrator. (Cavarero, *Relating Narratives*, 34.)

60. Zaryab, *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*, 3-6.

61. *Ibid.*, 42.

62. *Ibid.*, 58-9.

63. *Ibid.*, 65.

64. *Ibid.*, 106.

65. *Ibid.*, 122-3.

66. Bezhan, 'Women's Causes in Spozhmai Zaryab's Narrative Works', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, (2008) 28 (2), 260—272.

67. *Ibid.*, 47-8.

68. In *Chapan-i Siahrang*, Aysha, the protagonist, suffers simply because she is a woman. At seven she is forbidden to go out and play with males, including her father and brothers. After her marriage, she is beaten by her husband at whim. She even has to 'silence' her sick toddler in order to let her husband 'sleep well', only to find her child dead the next day. (Zaryab, *Sharang Sharang-i Zang-hā* (Kabul: Itehadya-i Newisendagān-i Afghanistan, 1983), 181-200); Bezhan, 'Women's Causes in Spozhmai Zaryab's Narrative Works', 260—72).

69. The first part of *Dar Keshwar-i Digar* was published in the columns of Zhwandoon magazine in the same year, but was published as a whole in 1988.

70. There are differences between the first and the second part of the novel, especially with regard to Pascal. Indeed the last part—the journey of Pascal to Afghanistan, and his death—which was added later, is merely fiction.

71. She married Rahnaward Zaryab in 1976.

72. Zaryab, *Dar Keshwar-i Digar*, 65.

73. *Ibid.*, 128-30.

74. *Ibid.*, 198.

75. Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography*, 50.

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# Women and Darien: Female Participation in a Scottish Attempt at Empire, c.1696-1706

Rosalind Carr

*University of Glasgow*

The place of Scotland within the British Empire has received increased attention in recent years, influenced largely by the publication of popular histories such as Tom Devine's *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (2003). Far from Scotland being another English colony, it is increasingly accepted that Scotland played a key role in Empire, particularly after its inclusion in the British, previously English, Empire following the parliamentary incorporating Union with England in 1707. Involvement in the British Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was an important factor in Scotland's rapid economic growth and industrial development, and amongst other things led to significant Scottish involvement in the institution of slavery, particularly in the Caribbean and North American colonies. Participation in Empire enabled Scots to cast themselves as an equal partner with England within the British state, whilst also enabling the expression of a Scottish identity within the context of loyalty to the British state.<sup>1</sup>

Considering the importance of Empire to both material and imagined Scotland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is surprising that the historiography on Scottish women and Empire is still an underdeveloped field. For example, whilst the survey text *Women's History: Britain, 1700-1850* (2005) contains a chapter on women and Empire (which does briefly mention Scottish women), a similar but Scottish-orientated text, *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* (2006), does not.<sup>2</sup> This article will contribute towards the development of a historiography on Scotswomen and Empire through an examination of Scotswomen's participation in the pre-Union Empire, specifically the Darien scheme. Occurring during the 1690s but having a political impact right up to the 1707 Union, the Darien scheme saw Scotland attempt to establish an independent colony on what they called the Isthmus of Darien in Panama. An eventual failure, the scheme's contemporary impact was to encourage antipathy towards the English government and a desire to change the conditions of the 1603 Union of the Crowns so that Scotland could obtain a piece of the imperial pie beyond that of illegal trade.<sup>3</sup>

This article will examine women's involvement in the Darien scheme during the 1690s and during the Union debates, c.1706-07. Highlighting women's public role in finance and Scottish national politics, it will first consider female subscription to the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies. It will then illustrate the impact of rank and familial power in determining women's involvement in Darien and the later related Union debates through a case study of Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton, and an examination of other elite women's involvement in Darien in a metropolitan context. Following this, the

article will discuss women's role as colonists in the early modern Empire, focussing upon women's participation as prospective Darien settlers. Illustrating Scottish women's involvement with Darien will demonstrate that women were involved in Scotland's Empire from the start, thus complicating masculinist narratives of Scotland and Empire—narratives of brave soldiers and intrepid East India Company servants. I also seek to highlight Scotland's pre-Union involvement in Empire; an involvement which included settlements in South Carolina (1682) and East New Jersey (1685) and trade with the English American colonies, illegal after the 1661 English Navigation Acts. Darien was the 'supreme test' of the imperial aspirations indicated by this prior activity.<sup>4</sup>

The Darien scheme was orchestrated by the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (hereafter the Company of Scotland), established in 1695 by the Scottish Parliament. The British king, William II (III of England), did not support the scheme, believing that the Darien project—established through the Scottish Parliament without his permission—challenged his royal prerogative in Scotland. It also threatened the current peace with Spain. Intended as a joint-stock Scottish trading company, similar to the English East India Company (est. 1600), its primary aim was to elevate Scotland's position in Europe through an increased engagement in imperial trade.<sup>5</sup> To accomplish this end, money was raised in the form of subscriptions from the people of Scotland.

## Female Subscribers

Initially the Company of Scotland had planned to raise funds in both Scotland and England but, following opposition from the English East India Company (which believed its monopoly was being challenged) and the English Parliament, along with the lack of support from King William, the subscription books were closed in England. This English opposition enabled the aims of the Company of Scotland to be cast in a patriotic light at the time of subscription in 1696 and after the Darien project's eventual failure in 1700, making the failure of the Darien scheme a key issue in the popular political debates leading up to the Union of 1707.<sup>6</sup>

When the subscription books for the Company of Scotland were opened in Scotland in 1696 the first people to subscribe were three noblewomen: Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton (£3000); Margaret Leslie, countess of Rothes (£1000 and £1000 for her son); and Lady Margaret Hope of Hopetoun (£1000 & £2000 for her son).<sup>7</sup> These three noblewomen were followed, over time, by eighty-eight more women from a range of socio-economic backgrounds.<sup>8</sup> In total 1320 Scottish people and

corporations (such as towns) subscribed to the Darien scheme. Ninety-one women out of a total of around 1320 subscribers is a small proportion, demonstrating that women were not equal participants.<sup>9</sup> However, the fact that women did subscribe is still significant as it demonstrates female involvement in national politicised affairs and provides evidence of autonomous female economic activity.<sup>10</sup>

Female economic activity in the form of investing was not atypical for early eighteenth-century women. In fact, the recent publication *Women and their Money 1700-1950* (2009) demonstrates that women were active participants in the European financial revolution of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The authors argue that women's involvement in finance represented a certain level of continuity from their role as personal creditors in the pre-industrial economy. They also make a strong case for wealthy women's financial knowledge being linked to their traditional roles in managing household expenditure and related knowledge of household accounts.<sup>11</sup> In this context, female investment in the Darien scheme represents an early example of women's participation in the world of finance—of stock, shares and government bonds—that developed in Britain from the late seventeenth century.

For Scottish noblewomen, investing in the Company of Scotland was not necessarily an exceptional act. Seven women, including Anne, duchess of Hamilton and her daughter Margaret Hamilton, countess of Panmure, invested in the Bank of Scotland, a joint-stock company which took public subscriptions in 1695. That fewer women invested in the Bank of Scotland compared to the Company of Scotland reflects the smaller number of investors in the Bank overall; its 172 investors came from the upper ranks of society, with tradesmen, clergy, servants, soldiers and students excluded.<sup>12</sup> This suggests that patterns of investment in late seventeenth-century Scotland were determined by status as much as gender.

Among female investors in the Company of Scotland, 60.4 per cent did not have titles or property, and a high proportion of these merchant class women paid the lowest, but still substantial, sum of £100 (approximately £10,000 in today's money), an amount similar to that subscribed by men of the same rank.<sup>13</sup> For example, Bessie Peady, 'Relict to John Maxwell merchant in Glasgow' subscribed £100.<sup>14</sup> Many female subscribers were widows, suggesting the importance of inheritance to women's access to financial capital.<sup>15</sup> Married Scottish women had greater property and trading rights than their English counterparts; importantly, they were not legally defined as their husband's property.<sup>16</sup> However, like England, married women's economic activity was to a great extent circumvented by the husbands' legal dominance of the household economic unit. For this reason, female investment activity was more likely to have been undertaken by never-married and widowed women.<sup>17</sup>

### Women as Active Supporters

*Anne, duchess of Hamilton*

The importance of status and wealth in enabling

female economic involvement and participation in high politics is clearly illustrated by Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton. Hamilton was the first person in Scotland to subscribe to the Darien scheme, investing £3000 on 26 February 1696. In doing so, she was asserting the Hamilton family's support for Darien. The support of the Scottish nobility was deemed important because it would encourage other Scots to invest.<sup>18</sup> This was the case with the Hamilton investment, and that it was the duchess who invested demonstrates her status-based power as the head of the Hamilton family interest. As Douglas Watt discusses, the Company of Scotland directors, including Anne's son Lord Basil Hamilton, visited the duchess to secure a £3000 pound investment from her, an investment that was raised with contributions from her sons Charles Hamilton, earl of Selkirk and John Hamilton, earl of Ruglen.<sup>19</sup>

The Duchess of Hamilton was the head of the house of Hamilton, one of the three key magnate families in late seventeenth-century Scotland, by birth rather than marriage, having inherited the title following her father and uncle's deaths during the British Civil Wars (1637-1660). Her position as the head of a noble household by birth was echoed by the second Darien subscriber, Margaret, countess of Rothes, who gained the title from her father who died (without male heirs) in 1681. She had married Charles Hamilton, earl of Haddington in 1674. As set out in their marriage contract, following Margaret's death in 1700 their eldest son John inherited her title, becoming earl of Rothes. The second son inherited his father's title, earl of Haddington.<sup>20</sup> The eldest son's inheritance of his mother's, rather than father's, title suggests that, even in the context of a tradition of male entail, early modern Scottish noblewomen were able to embody familial power. This was particularly the case with the Duchess of Hamilton.

When Anne Hamilton married William Douglas, earl of Selkirk in 1656 he took her name. That her husband would adopt the Hamilton name was set out in the entail granting Anne's inheritance of the title and vast family estates in 1651, although her estates were not fully held by her until they were restored in 1658, initially being forfeited during the Cromwellian occupation.<sup>21</sup> Douglas' adoption of the Hamilton name also reflected the power of the Hamilton family as compared to his. Although represented by her husband, and later her son, in the institutional public sphere, Anne Hamilton was actively involved in the political upheavals and events of late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Scotland, including the second Covenanted rebellions c.1660-1688, Darien and finally the debates and political manoeuvring in the years leading up to the 1707 Union.<sup>22</sup>

Anne Hamilton's involvement in the Darien scheme did not end with her subscription. Motivated both by patriotic concern and probable financial interest, the Duchess of Hamilton remained continually involved in the politics of Darien. Her fifth eldest son, Lord Basil Hamilton, was one of the directors of the Company of Scotland, and her eldest son James Hamilton, earl of Arran later duke of Hamilton campaigned heavily for Darien, establishing

himself as a leading political figure, both amongst fellow politicians and the Edinburgh 'crowd'.<sup>23</sup>

In 1698, four years after her husband's death, the Duchess of Hamilton resigned the title of duke to her eldest son so that he could represent the family interest in the institutional public sphere, namely the Scottish Parliament; writing, 'I am willing to resign the title of Hamilton so that you may be in a capacity to represent the family, which I wish you may doe for the interest of king and Country, as your father and predecessors have done'.<sup>24</sup> From this point and during the parliamentary debates on the Articles of Union, Hamilton used correspondence with her son to manage James' political career and influence high politics. In one example of this, she encouraged and financially assisted James' journey to London, to present a Scottish national address to King William, challenging his opposition to the Darien colony. In a letter dated 12 February 1700, Anne attempted to put to rest James' misgivings that only he and one other nobleman, the Marquess of Tweeddale, would make the journey, stating:

you together may be as significant as tho more nobel men had gone, you know whats at stake and I did not think if you had ben once In Scotland that I should ever have ben for you going [to London] againe but this is a good cause and I hope a blesing shall follow it, I have sent In with the bearer two hundered ld str [£200].<sup>25</sup>

In addition to encouraging and supporting James and Basil's involvement in the Darien scheme, Hamilton also desired that her youngest son, Lord Archibald Hamilton, join the Darien fleet. Having joined the Navy after graduating from the University of Glasgow, Archibald was the obvious choice. However, probably aware of the risks involved, Archibald politely declined his mother's request. In a letter dated 13 May 1699, he wrote to excuse himself from taking part in the Darien venture, stating that he had informed his brother as to the reasons:

that have hinder'd me from ingageing into the service of My Countrie in the Grand affaire [Darien] they have now in hand; which I hope has satisfy'd your Gr: [Grace] and since I can't doe better at present, then goe to sea in the same Post that I had before; I hope you will not disapprove of it, since I have allways showne a Readdyness to what other Proposals your Gr has thought fit to make me.<sup>26</sup>

The Duchess of Hamilton's engagement with the Darien scheme is a reflection of the familial nature of Scottish politics at the turn of the eighteenth century, and the way in which the noble household provided a space for political involvement.<sup>27</sup> This is also evidenced by Anne's daughters, Margaret Hamilton, countess of Panmure and Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl.

*Margaret Hamilton, countess of Panmure and Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl*

In December 1699, George Hamilton, earl of Orkney wrote to his sister Margaret Hamilton, countess of Panmure. The letter was written in response to both a letter from her and one from his eldest brother, James Hamilton, duke of Hamilton. In it Orkney expresses a sense of exasperation at his siblings' active support for the Darien scheme. Writing on the address being delivered to King William from the Scottish Parliament, Orkney states, 'I pray god the Nacione may succeed in it but I realy believe they never will and that you may expect that what you are doing in y[ou]r Nationall adress will bring the King and Government to be hearty for you I believe you will find y[ou]rselves mystaiken'.<sup>28</sup> In this letter, Orkney is engaging with his sister Panmure, as a woman actively involved in the attempt to make Darien succeed.

Read alongside the Duchess of Hamilton's correspondence, the Earl of Orkney's letter provides evidence of the familial political engagement of the Hamilton women in the Darien scheme. However, it also reflects ideas and realities of women's limited political agency. The reason that Orkney wrote the letter jointly to his sister, Panmure, and his eldest brother, Hamilton, and sent it to his sister, asking her to show it to him, is because, as Orkney wrote, 'I fancy my letter will be opened' — implying that a letter sent to his brother would not be secure, whilst one sent to his sister might be.<sup>29</sup> This suggests that, because of their lesser public political role, letters sent to women would hold a greater level of protection against spying eyes. This is also apparent in a 1706 letter from Patrick Scott to John Murray, duke of Atholl, in which he writes, 'I am apprehensive His Lord may ask me if I have write to your Grace about this But I may tell him I had no commission from His Lord to do so ... And therefore I will now think of discharging this to my Lady Duchess'.<sup>30</sup>

Whilst it was assumed, and may have been the case, that letters to women would not arouse suspicion, it does not follow that women were not engaged in politics. Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl to whom Patrick Scott's letter was addressed, was an informed and active opponent of the Act of Union. After reading the Articles of Union, sent to her at their Perthshire estate by her husband in Edinburgh, Katherine wrote, 'as for the treaty I am still of the same mind I was, but more and more against it and shall never belive it will take effect till it be don[e]'.<sup>31</sup> The Duchess of Atholl's political opinion was taken seriously by her husband, who wrote to her in October 1706, the month the Scottish Parliament convened to discuss and vote on the articles of Union, 'I find you are uneassie about this union as I confess I have been, ... one Thing I have great satisfaction in that you & I agree so well in this matter as I hope we shall always doe in all publick concerns'.<sup>32</sup>

Expressions of female political agency in the context of the Darien scheme c.1696-1700 and the Union debates c.1706-07 represent a continuum of noblewomen's ability to influence, and at times directly engage in, the high political sphere in pre-Union Scotland.<sup>33</sup> This political engagement was not limited to the political influence

of aristocratic women such as the Hamilton women, something demonstrated by the diversity of female subscribers to the Company of Scotland. The following section extends this examination of female political participation to consider other elite women's involvement in Darien in the metropolitan context.

*Katherine Skene, lady Murray, Ann Weymss, countess of Leven and a 'Lady of Honour'*

Using the money raised by public subscription the Company of Scotland launched two fleets of ships, in July 1698 and August 1699 respectively, and two relief ships in May 1699. Carrying goods for survival and trade, as well as the Scottish settlers, the aim of the fleets was to first establish, and then reinforce, a trading colony on the Isthmus of Panama.<sup>34</sup> The first colonisers, who arrived in October 1698, faced illness and starvation, and abandoned the colony in June 1699. Prior to confirmation of the abandonment of Darien reaching Scotland, and with many believing that rumours of this fact were malicious stories propagated by the English, the second fleet left for Darien. They arrived on 30 November 1699 and found the colony deserted. Following attacks from the Spanish, keen to defend a key trading route, the Scottish settlers surrendered and abandoned the territory in April 1700.<sup>35</sup>

The failure of Darien was seen by many in Presbyterian Scotland as evidence of God's displeasure, and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland announced national days of fasting and prayer. Many also blamed negative English intervention, arguing that Scotland's failed attempt at Empire highlighted their unequal position within the Union of the Crowns.<sup>36</sup>

Darien was thus a central issue in the political debates leading up to the Anglo-Scottish Parliamentary Union of 1707. Not only did it impact upon political arguments for and against Union but the money lost through Darien also lent a specific financial dimension to Union. The Scots were compensated by England for the financial losses incurred through the Darien scheme out of the Equivalent, a payment of £398,085 10s, set out in the Act of Union and ostensibly a fund to compensate Scotland's adoption of the English National Debt.<sup>37</sup>

For many Scots of rank, their share of the Equivalent represented an important compensation for substantial sums lost through the Darien scheme, but there was scepticism surrounding the likelihood that the money would actually be paid. Writing in 1706 to her husband, Lord Edward Murray, an army captain serving in Flanders, Katherine Skene, lady Murray updated him on the political upheaval occurring in Edinburgh, both in Parliament and on the streets, caused by the proposed parliamentary Union. In a letter dated 26 November 1706, she wrote about the Darien scheme, stating that,

both the arears [owed to Murray] and daring [Darien] monay ar to be payed out of the equivelent that England is to grant us but though the union be concluded it will be a considerable time befor that monay be payed

so you need nott I think count much upon iather of them.<sup>38</sup>

Her discussion of the arrears and the Darien money suggests that she saw this lost investment as part of family finances, for which she, alongside her husband, was responsible. There may have been many women like Skene; women who were not recorded on subscription lists but who nonetheless had an investment in the project.

Another woman who was involved in the Darien project beyond subscription was Anne Wemyss, countess of Leven. During 1698-1699 David Melville, earl of Leven wrote to his wife from Leith with news he had heard about the progress of Darien; writing, for example, about ship arrivals in the colonies and discussing a 'second miscariadg at Darien'.<sup>39</sup> It was not unusual for a husband to update his wife on political, imperial and military affairs in written correspondence, and rather than the Countess of Leven being a passive receptor of news, the Earl of Leven's correspondence reflects his own and his wife's interest in the scheme.

The Earl had invested £200 in Darien, and whilst this investment is in his name, it is likely that Countess Leven considered this act of investing to include, by extension, her own participation in the scheme. That the Countess would have viewed her husband's investment as including her own is supported not only by the fact that wives were often actively involved in the economy of noble and gentry (as well as artisan) households.<sup>40</sup> Further evidence of her personal involvement in the scheme is demonstrated in an inventory of supplies sent by the Countess of Leven to the Darien settlers. This inventory includes items such as iron tobacco boxes, combs, knives, buttons for sleeves, pairs of buckles for shoes, needle cases and needles, books of Solomon's proverbs, scissors and a large amount of bleached and unbleached linen. These items cost the Levens £22 16s.<sup>41</sup> Also, in addition to her husband's investment, Anne's mother, Margaret Weymss, countess of Weymss in her own right, invested £1000 in Darien. This familial female involvement in Darien appears similar to that of the Hamiltons', demonstrating that imperial projects provided a space for upper-status women to enact financial and political agency.

Further evidence that women publicly supported the Darien scheme can be found in publications of the time. In 1699, John Reid published the poem, *The Golden Island, or the Darien Song*, 'By a Lady of Honour'. This poem presents the Darien scheme as a noble project, supported by God and undertaken by Scotland as a national body. The poem is both the product of and a contribution to the large volume of pamphlet literature produced to encourage popular support for Darien, and contains descriptions of natural abundance in the colony based upon contemporary accounts.<sup>42</sup> 'The Lady of Honour' ends her poem with the patriotic lines, 'If I should name each One concerned, according to their station, Ten Quair of paper would not do, its known by true relation: For some are Noble, All are Great; Lord bles your Companie, And let your Fame in Scotland's Name O'respread both Land and Sea'.<sup>43</sup>

## Female Colonists

In addition to female participation in Darien in the metropolitan context, women were also involved in Darien as prospective settlers, often as wives accompanying men. Despite the presence of women, Francis Borland's 1715 memoirs of the Darien expedition—an account of his own experiences and those of 'credible Persons'<sup>44</sup>—generate an image of a manly colony, populated by gentlemen, ministers, officers, Highland men who 'can't speak Scotch'<sup>45</sup> and a large number of men whom Borland, a Presbyterian minister, considered to be 'men sadly immoral and profane who did not honour God and God did not honour them.'<sup>46</sup>

In this memoir only a few white women are present, but, however limited, their inclusion provides evidence that women did participate in the Darien scheme directly, as colonisers.<sup>47</sup> The first white woman to appear in Borland's memoir is a 'sorrowful widow with child', whose husband, the Reverend Alexander Dalgleish, died on the voyage to Darien.<sup>48</sup> Dalgleish's death was one of many to occur on the two voyages to Darien and during the attempt at colonisation, and it is the death lists that provide evidence of women's participation as colonists in the Darien scheme. A woman's death, noted by Borland, is included in the list of 'Names of some of our Country-men who deceased since we came from Scotland'.<sup>49</sup> Amongst the many men named individually, there is included 'Mr Johnston his Wife and Son'.<sup>50</sup> Also included is 'Mr Coivill a Boatswain on the Rising-sun and his Son a little boy'.<sup>51</sup> The boy's designation as 'little' implies that Mr Coivill's wife was also present, and may have survived the venture.

Whilst Borland's memoirs are not (like any memoirs) a narrative of fact and his accounting of deaths must be taken as approximate, his inclusion of women is significant and is supported by other lists of Darien deaths. A 1699 list of 77 'men, women and boys' who died on the first voyage to Darien or after they had arrived, includes two women: Lieutenant John Hay's wife and Hannah Kemp. Kemp was the wife of William Paterson, the director of the Company of Scotland who had first proposed and then led the planning for the Darien scheme.<sup>52</sup> Another woman mentioned by Borland, is the wife of the minister, Mr Stobo. Both survived the four months spent by the second fleet at Darien, the journey to Jamaica and the destruction of their ship, the *Rising-Sun*, by hurricane, in Charleston, Carolina in September 1700. Mr Stobo and his wife had gone ashore with 15 others before the hurricane struck — the 112 people who stayed on board died.<sup>53</sup> Of the approximately 2,800 colonisers who travelled to Darien, around 1,500-2,000 died.<sup>54</sup>

The records of female deaths alongside the brief inclusions of women in Borland's memoirs suggest, unsurprisingly, that the women who travelled to Darien did so as the wives of male colonists. Women were an important presence in the American colonies during the seventeenth century. In early modern Britain the household was a key site of social order — with the patriarchal household perceived as a microcosm of society.<sup>55</sup> In the imperial periphery, particularly in trading settlements such as Virginia, where formal and informal

mechanisms of social control, such as the Church and close-knit neighbourhood, were weaker than in Britain, women's presence as dutiful wives was deemed to be crucial to the maintenance of order.<sup>56</sup>

That married women joined the Darien fleet as colonists may reflect a desire to instil and maintain order in the colony, and certainly demonstrates that the Company intended Darien to be a trading settlement, like the Chesapeake in North America rather than a trading outpost, such as those in Asia and Africa. Added to that, the fact that ministers were also amongst the colonists and planned to establish a presbytery suggests that the Darien colonisers hoped for a greater level of social order than that perceived to exist in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake trading settlement where men greatly outnumbered women and the secular county court stood in place of church courts.<sup>57</sup>

## Conclusion

Another woman mentioned by Borland was an Isabel Murray, 'a kind Country-woman' residing in Jamaica, who paid for the funeral of the Rev. Mr Alexander Shields, who had died in Jamaica as the Darien colonists attempted to make their way home.<sup>58</sup> Murray's presence in Jamaica and her financial contribution is not mentioned with any surprise, suggesting that Scottish female colonists were common in the West Indies.<sup>59</sup> The participation of women in Scotland's pre-Union imperial projects is not surprising. As Kathleen Wilson discusses in her examination of the relationship between gender and Empire during the eighteenth century, British women were actively involved in imperial projects in both metropolitan and peripheral contexts. White British women were present in occupied territories from trading outposts in the east to the colonies of the West Indies and western Atlantic. They were present in these spaces as wives of soldiers, sailors and officers; as daughters and wives to slavers, planters, officials and other colonists; and in their own right as merchants, teachers, slave traders and prostitutes.<sup>60</sup> As Linda Colley discusses, women were also able to participate in Empire without entering the imperial periphery. Within the domestic context women and men were, for example, able to participate in Empire as consumers, e.g. through the purchase and consumption of tea.<sup>61</sup> Empire was always present in newspapers, in consumer items and in literature and imagery during the later eighteenth century, and as Wilson states, "nation" and "empire" were mutually constitutive concepts and territories'.<sup>62</sup> The majority of female participants in the Darien scheme took part in the national domestic, or metropolitan context, mainly as subscribers; but they were also involved more directly, as in the case of the Countess of Leven, through gathering and sending supplies to the colonists or the Duchess of Hamilton and her daughter the Countess of Panmure who participated in the high politics of the event.

In the late seventeenth century, in the context of imperial expansion and the increasing wealth and power of nations such as England, France and the Dutch Republic, and facing a series of devastating harvest failures during the 1690s, Empire became a crucial concern for the Scottish



political classes. Following Union, Scottish involvement in the British Empire enabled massive economic growth and informed national identities of both Scottishness and North Britishness. Although often presented as a masculinist narrative, women were involved in this story from the start.

## Notes

1. See for example, Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London, Vintage, 1996); Thomas M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (London, Allen Lane, 2003); J. M. Mackenzie, 'Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series, 8 (1998), 215-231; on concentric loyalties to Scotland and Britain see T.C. Smout, 'Problems of Nationalism, Identity and Improvement in later Enlightenment Scotland', in *Improvement and Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas M. Devine (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1989), 1-21.
2. Kathleen Wilson, 'British Women and Empire', in *Women's History Britain: 1700-1850*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London, Routledge, 2005); *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, ed. Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton, Eileen Janes Yeo (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2006). Despite its lack of an investigation of Empire, this latter text was path-breaking in being the first survey text of Scottish gender history covering the post-1700 period.
3. Scotland's engagement in imperial trade was hampered by the English Navigation Acts of the 1660s which, despite the 1603 Regal Union, classified Scotland as a foreign nation for the purposes of colonial trade, barring the Scots from legal commerce with, and from acting as merchants in, the English colonies. The Darien scheme, by establishing a Scottish colonial trading centre, intended to combat this. British King William's opposition to Darien in support of English trading rights, showed that when English and Scottish interests clashed, the king would side with the stronger, richer nation of England, making the Scottish-English constitutional relationship a key political issue. See John Robertson, 'An elusive sovereignty: The course of the Union debate in Scotland 1698-1707', in *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, ed. John Robertson (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 200.
4. Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 40.
5. David Armitage, 'The Scottish vision of empire: intellectual origins of the Darien venture', in *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, ed. John Robertson (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 103-109.
6. Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union 1699-1707* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2007), 27-43.
7. All monetary amounts mentioned in this article are pounds sterling. Although until 1707, pounds Scots was the national currency, the Company of Scotland raised capital etc. in sterling. £12 Scots equalled £1 Sterling.
8. W. Douglas Jones, "The Bold Adventurers": A Quantitative Analysis of the Darien Subscription Lists

(1696)', *Scottish Social and Economic History* 21:1 (2001), 30-36; Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, *A Perfect List of the Several Persons Residenters in Scotland, &c.*, (Glasgow, 1857).

9. For a full list of female subscribers and amounts subscribed, see Appendix VII in D. Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh, Luath Press, 2007), 272-274.

10. Female economic agency through investment is discussed in the English context in Anne Laurence, 'Women Investors, 'That Nasty South Sea Affair' and the Rage to Speculate in Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Accounting, Business and Financial History*, 16:2 (2006), 245-264.

11. Anne Laurence, Josephine Maltby, Janette Rutterford, 'Introduction', in *Women and their Money 1700-1950*, ed. Laurence, Maltby, Rutterford (London, Routledge, 2009), 1-19.

12. Richard Saville, *Bank of Scotland: A History* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 829-832; Jones, 'The Bold Adventurers', 36-37. In Saville's text, Margaret Hamilton, countess of Panmure is mistakenly referred to as Jean, countess of Panmure. Jean Fleming, countess of Panmure was the wife of the 3rd earl and died in 1683.

13. Jones, 'The Bold Adventurers', 31.

14. *Company of Scotland, List of the Several Persons Residenters in Scotland who have subscribed as adventurers ...* (1696); see also Watt, *Price of Scotland*, 274.

15. *Company of Scotland, A Perfect List*; Jones, 'The Bold Adventurers', 31.

16. Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 138-139.

17. Laurence et al, 'Introduction', 8-11; Mark Freeman, Robin Pearson, James Taylor, "A Doe in the City": Women Shareholders in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Accounting, Business and Financial History*, 16:2 (2006), 265-291.

18. Jones, 'Bold Adventurers', 29-30.

19. Watt, *Price of Scotland*, 48-49.

20. *The Scots Peerage* Vol. VII, ed. James Balfour Paul, (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1910), 299-305.

21. Rosalind K. Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne: Life in the Household of the Duchess of Hamilton 1656-1716* (East Linton, Tuckwell, 2000).

22. Rosalind Carr, *Gender, National Identity and Political Agency in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2008), 81-107; Marshall, *Days of Duchess Anne*; Rev. James Anderson, *The Ladies of the Covenant: Memoirs of Distinguished Scottish Female Characters, Embracing the Period of the Covenant and the Persecution* (Glasgow, Blackie and Son, 1857), 129-159.

23. Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, 14-16, 31-34.

24. NAS GD406/1/9068.

25. NAS GD406/1/7817.

26. NAS GD406/1/698.

27. For a discussion of noblewomen's place in the culture

and politics of early modern Scotland, see Brown, Noble Society; for the importance of the household to early modern English women's political power see James Daybell, 'Introduction: Rethinking Women and Politics in Early Modern England', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England 1450-1700*, ed. James Daybell, (Aldershot, Ashgate), 2004, 1-20; for the noble or gentry household as a space for women's political power in eighteenth-century England see both, Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: women's lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1998) and Elaine Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life c.1754-1790* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005).

28. NAS GD406/1/7825.

29. NAS GD406/1/7825.

30. Blair Castle MSS 45.(6).73.

31. BC MSS 45.(6).120.

32. BC MSS 45.(6).121.

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37. NAS, *The Darien Adventure* (Edinburgh, NAS, 1998); Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 40-48; Watt, *Price of Scotland*.

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47. Borland includes descriptions of Native American women in his discussions of 'Indian' culture.

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claim, along with the perception that the Company of Scotland posed a threat to the trading monopoly of the profitable English East India Company, led King William to denounce the plan and forbid English colonisers from assisting the Scots. This hostility from the king and the English government and denial of support from English colonists in the Americas, was combined with a lack of proper knowledge of the area, poor planning and bad luck.

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# Redefining Scottish Noblewomen's Political Activity in the Era of Union

Nicola Cowmeadow

*University of Dundee*

The Union of Scotland with England in 1707 is regarded as one of the most important and controversial events in the history of Scotland. Much has been written on its origins, the men who shaped policy, and the lasting legacy of this momentous and often turbulent period. In 2007, the 300th anniversary of the Treaty which created Great Britain stimulated a resurgence of interest in the debates over its causes and consequences and the activities of those involved.<sup>1</sup> Current historiography, and more particularly the need to redefine female political activity, highlights the need to reinstate women's experiences alongside those of men of the period. In ignoring the role and influence of women, many historians have offered a one dimensional analysis of the period, their focus being 'high politics' men, monarchs and MPs, which can only benefit from the additional investigation of women. Terry Brotherstone alludes to the lack of women in Scottish historiography and suggests that over time a 'predominantly male Scottish historical establishment' has contributed to this problem.<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Ewan also highlights several factors in the exclusion of women from Scottish history and argues that the growth of Empire impacted on the development of Scottish history in 1960s and 1970s. Ewan explains that a nationalist history tended to focus on political history, an area where women's experiences were not considered central.<sup>3</sup> Brotherstone concludes that Scottish history has been 'doubly disadvantaged' by the omission of women in that it has lacked a 'full acceptance of the importance of women in history' but has also 'failed to benefit from a feminist discourse'.<sup>4</sup>

Some excellent work exists on early modern Scottish noblewomen including a collection of essays edited by Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen Meikle,<sup>5</sup> the study of noble society in the reformation period by Keith Brown<sup>6</sup> and also Rosalind Marshall's household account of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton.<sup>7</sup> The study of Scottish noblewomen's life writings by David Mullen<sup>8</sup> is hugely illuminating and supports other recent work on late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Scottish noblewomen by Katie Barclay and Rosalind Carr.<sup>9</sup> Carr's work has particular significance for Union as it encompasses work on elite women's engagement with the Union debates and this Scottish resurgence of revisionist work can be seen in tandem with emerging work on European noblewomen.<sup>10</sup> These recent reappraisals highlight a growing historiography on noblewomen both examining their roles within the family but more importantly their engagement with the wider socio-political arenas. This work complements broader studies on both European and English nobility.<sup>11</sup> It has to be acknowledged that some research focuses on royalty, queens and consorts and as such, we have to be aware

that high status enabled elite women to influence or indeed wield power in a way lesser nobility could not.<sup>12</sup> In a Scottish context, we might readily acknowledge that Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, operated in a manner that was a result of her status as sole heir and as a duchess in her own right and this highlights her consistent inclusion in Union history. The intention here is to explore those noblewomen who did not have the status to involve themselves in politics in the manner of Duchess Anne. My research, influenced by this revisionist approach, seeks to explore Scottish noblewomen's role in politics at the time of the Union of 1707, an aspect of the debate that has received only limited attention.

This article will focus on the re-defining of noblewomen's political activity based on source material examined so far on noblewomen in the political families of the Union period, mainly in the collections of the National Archives of Scotland and at Blair Castle archive.<sup>13</sup> As a work in progress, the basis for this research is a list of 143 noblemen who voted in the Scottish parliament between 1689 and 1707 and includes creating a database of families and basic family trees in an effort to make connections between the families.

The material utilised here comes from a series of letters written by John Erskine, the sixth Earl of Mar (1675-1732) who was, in the period prior to Union, considered an emerging political power.<sup>14</sup> The recipient of these letters was his first wife, Lady Margaret Hay (1686-1707) the daughter of Thomas Hay seventh Earl of Kinoull and niece to John Hay second Marquess of Tweeddale who was High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament in 1704.<sup>15</sup> Margaret, or Magie as Mar always called her, was a close friend to Mary, Duchess of Queensberry (1670-1709). Her husband was a leading Scottish magnate at this time, prominent between 1703 and 1707, despite the Scotch or Queensberry Plot that saw him fall from favour and replaced as High Commissioner by Tweeddale in 1704. His power base in Scotland was too strong to be ignored and he was rehabilitated and reappointed as Lord Privy Seal and a lord of the Treasury in 1705.<sup>16</sup> Margaret's connection to Queensberry ensured she gained a token mention by historians and biographers of Mar purely as the means by which they believe she furthered her husband's political connections through the marriage. These connections, however, have rarely been fully explored.

The letters used here come from the Mar and Kellie papers in the National Archive collection GD 124, from the years 1704 and 1705, just prior to Union when obviously the issue was stimulating much debate and concern. The letters are from Mar to his wife and the lack of sources written by Margaret herself necessarily shifts

the focus onto the surviving material sent to her by her husband. Through close examination of his letters to her it is possible to discern many examples of noblewomen's concerns and an outline of their expected role. Brief excerpts from this collection will be examined to suggest the issues that affected noblewomen and illustrate some of the ways in which women were informed of politics and how they were regarded and treated by their husbands. They highlight the importance of marriage and connection and in this way can reveal the significance of noblewomen in the politics of the period.

Elaine Chalus has written on elite women in English political life from 1754 to 1790 and discusses familial politics where, she suggests, 'a good deal of the actual political manoeuvring depended upon social and personal skills' and that this challenges the idea of 'hard and fast' separate spheres and implies an interwoven approach that encompasses the personal, social and political arenas.<sup>17</sup> Keith Brown discusses marriage and the role of spouses in his work on noble society in Scotland in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Brown acknowledges the difficulties of exposing the intricacies of early modern marriage but suggests that while a patriarchal system suggested the subordinate role of women in many instances, marriage was in fact a partnership.<sup>18</sup> Brown highlights the idea of female compliance in that some women could operate in unique ways and exercise considerable power as long as they acknowledged the 'ultimate restraint of male authority' and knew when 'to revert to type' so that the gendered constraints and cultural norms were not overly challenged or subverted.<sup>19</sup> In this way, when the opportunity arose, women might take on traditionally masculine roles more often facilitated by high status. This mirrors the findings of Chalus concerning the later eighteenth century where she states that as long as women's actions could be 'interpreted in light of traditional female roles' such as the female helpmeet then they were welcomed but if women 'were perceived to step out of this character' and operate in an effective political way then they 'posed a threat', ultimately to the position of women in regard to men.<sup>20</sup> Chalus and Brown agree on the role and space that noblewomen appear to have created for themselves, albeit a hundred years apart, and they also agree that noblewomen performed a difficult balancing act in operating within strict patriarchal parameters. Considering the lack of noblewomen in Union historiography, it is necessary to engage with the surviving sources to reveal whether Union noblewomen behaved in similar ways.

Chalus is, of course, concerned with English politics in a later period from Union but searching for what motivated some elite women to become politically active and to explain the reasons, which range from family interest and preferment to ideological and religious beliefs, is vital to the inclusion of noblewomen in Union historiography. Chalus cites the work of Karl von den Steinen and challenges his conclusion that 'one must now choose between politics without women or women without politics'.<sup>21</sup> Von den Steinen has also written about the daughters of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton who, as a duchess in her own right and the mother of the leader of the opposition to Union,

James, 4th Duke of Hamilton, is probably one of the best known female political operators in Scotland in the Union period.<sup>22</sup> Von den Steinen concluded that her daughters, Katherine, duchess of Atholl (1662-1707) and Margaret, countess of Panmure (1668-1736) were moved to political activity purely by the political intrigues or victimisation of their husbands and they were forced to involve themselves when required. Another daughter, Susan, Lady Yester (1667-1736) he concluded, was 'not politically engaged'.<sup>23</sup> Von den Steinen might be right if we view politics in a very narrow way, concerned only with parliament and official institutions but my research into these women suggests otherwise. Rosalind Carr has completed some excellent and constructive work on the Hamilton women<sup>24</sup> and my own research, on Katherine, duchess of Atholl in particular, suggests that she was well informed, shared news and political information with both her husband and her wider family, garnered support for Atholl and involved herself in local elections in 1702 on her husband's behalf. My initial response to Katherine's politicisation is that such complex activity cannot be generated from a vacuum. The use of family networks and connections stemmed from her education, family expectations and duty, as well as an ability to gather, discuss and disseminate information, and such relationships have to be maintained and nurtured over time.

Mar married Margaret Hay in 1703, and in June 1704, he was in Edinburgh attending parliament while she was at their home near Stirling. In the following excerpt, taken from a letter of 1704, he writes to her very affectionately about various issues, not least how he has been spending his time and how busy he has been, but he adds this regarding the political situation:

We are sure of who is out, but tis a great question yet who will succeed or have the ruling of the rost. Yr Uncle is said to rule all and to be secretary after the Parl: I'm to wryt to him to morrow and send away yr letter. I have had court pay'd me upon his account.<sup>25</sup>

This briefly indicates that he is already using her family associations in creating useful political connections and that others were approaching him in the hope of securing what influence they anticipated he might have with Tweeddale. He continues:

The parl: is adjurn'd til the 6th of Julie but people are not yet certain if it will then sit there's not other news here so I have not writ on to your father it seems all is delay'd to be declair'd til your unckle come down. People pay court to me upon his account, I wish they may not find themselves mistaken.<sup>26</sup>

In the same letter he also writes: 'I've lived a plague troublesome life since I came here, making court visets, meeting wth lawyers & trysters in my business from morning til night. I wrote yesterday to yr unckle & sent yr letter too he rules the rost so dear Magie you must make my court.'<sup>27</sup>

As well as displaying affection and some humour, these excerpts show him entreating her to 'make his court' and to keep up his good relationships with those who are her family. In finding himself associated with her father and uncle, he sounds a little anxious that others 'might not be mistaken' in paying him court on her uncle's behalf as he may be unable to have any influence or authority with Tweeddale and their efforts could be wasted. Despite Margaret's family ties, Mar had already shown his allegiance to Queensberry and he did go on to lead the opposition to the Tweeddale administration when his patron was out of favour in 1704.<sup>28</sup> Whatever Mar's choices, it might seem that Margaret's family connections, while useful, did not determine his preference of remaining loyal to Queensberry. Further research into Margaret's friendship with Mary, duchess of Queensberry, such as knowing when it began and how close it had been, might determine what influence, if any, it had on Mar's choices.

Mar did a great deal of complaining about his lifestyle and the way his time was taken up, but also gives his wife great detail on whom he has seen and who is due to arrive. For example in July 1705, he wrote, 'The duke and dutchess of Queensberrie is on the road & will be here Saturday or Munday. This is like to be a hote day in the parl: of wch you shall have an accompt [account] on the first accation ...'<sup>29</sup>

He discussed to whom wished to speak and what he surmised others might have wished to discuss with him. He is keen to send her the news or perhaps, like other noblewomen, she had asked for it. In June 1704 he wrote:

The letter & speeches are to be out in print to morrow & shall be sent to you. It was impossible for me dear magie to get out to you this adjournment, for we are now hot forming our Politicks & a minuts absence may ruin all our designs, espeattially mine who am not like to be altogether wt the Court nor wt the Duke of Hamilton nor Athole either. The last of thirr two is like to be the head of the opposing partie the session.<sup>30</sup>

Here Mar speculates on the opposition and also sets out his own position to his wife on who he 'is like to be with' on various matters in the session. He makes any number of excuses about not being able to leave Edinburgh and so he cannot spend time with her. However, it is difficult to take these excuses too seriously, even though they were very newly married, as at that time he was certainly making his mark politically and is generally considered to have been a most active speaker for the Union. He was made a commissioner for the negotiations of the Union in 1705 and as these letters were being written in 1704/1705 he was also appointed secretary of state within Scotland with a salary of £1000.<sup>31</sup> He wrote to Margaret in September 1705:

My dearest Life,  
Bussiness here has taken a mighty turn since I wrote last. Contrair to our expectations the

treatie has carried as we had a mind, the Act I presented not having almost a word altered. The Queen has got the nominations of the traitors & the D of Hamilton proposed it first, wch has made his pairtie mad at him. The house has ordred that the treatie shall not commence until the clause in the English act making the Scots Aliens be repealed & thereupon has adrest the Queen. We cannot yet be sure if the English will comply wt our desire, tho we hope they will & if they do, perhaps a London jurnie will be my fait, but Dear Magie neither vex nor fret yr self about it, for if I go, you shall too if you have a mind.<sup>32</sup>

This extract shows a progression in their correspondence in that he opens with his news, no preamble, no usual greetings or concern but straight to the news of the day and he was quite possibly writing so frequently to Margaret at this time that less formality was required or it could be that he is keen to share his news. What this brief passage suggests is her knowledge of his activities and that she knows very well exactly what is happening in the parliament. Of course she would know about the ongoing debates, the main issues. The news that the Queen 'has got the nominations', meaning she will choose those men who would be (Union) commissioners, is not given an explanation of what this actually means, suggesting Margaret is already aware of the implications and her husband's position on the matter. That this was proposed first by the Duke of Hamilton, ostensibly the leader of the opposition, is also surprising but again the intricacies of why his party would be angry needed no further explanation. She knew her husband was part of the court party and they wanted the queen to nominate. Disappointingly Mar did not speculate on why the Duke of Hamilton behaved in this duplicitous way and contrary to his own party.

Certainly many people in Scotland were abundantly aware of the issues which Margaret and her husband discussed but whether it was a frequent point of conversation between a husband and his wife, something important that they shared, is not so clear. A number of letters to James, fourth duke of Hamilton from his wife Elizabeth in 1704 are remarkable in that they lack direct political discussion and information.<sup>33</sup> She was his second wife, Elizabeth Gerard, daughter and heir to Digby Gerard, fifth Baron Gerard of Bromley, and she brought with her to the marriage considerable estates in Lancashire and Staffordshire<sup>34</sup> but her letters in this period do not show interest in the politics which consumed her husband's time. Instead, they reflect her unhappiness at not being in Edinburgh with him, her attempts to persuade him to return and settle at their family home Kinneil and her difficulties with his family. In one notable letter, her resentment caused her to complain that, 'I'm frighted & wish yu were here upon more accounts ye [than] one but I fear yr Politick self designing sister will prevail to keep yu where yu are'.<sup>35</sup> She was referring to Katherine, duchess of Atholl, who was in Edinburgh with both her husband



and her brother. Of course this illustrates another clear issue in that, just as some men were not interested in or able to conduct a political career, then many women were equally uninterested or more obviously excluded. Perhaps the duke preferred not to have political conversations with his wife although it seems he did not mind having such conversations with his sister and, of course, his mother. The Earl of Mar had married a woman with some notable political relations and in a Scottish parliament it might be difficult to gauge how many useful connections a young English bride, such as Elizabeth, could bring to the marriage. Perhaps after Union, she and her relations could have been more significant to the duke but in 1712 after a lengthy legal battle over her inheritance, the duke duelled with her relative Lord Mohun and was killed.<sup>36</sup> The Hamiltons had never enjoyed a close or happy marriage and this again needs careful consideration when attempting to understand the development of a political partnership between man and wife.

Mar continued to write to Margaret with further more clandestine news, a possible change in his fortunes and a journey to London: 'I have spoke of it yet to no body, so you'll keep it a secret, but [he suggests] you & I will live more at London than we expected. I can wryt no plainer but you must keep even this to yr self, else all wou'd be spoilt.'<sup>37</sup> He was quite explicit in demanding her secrecy as she probably had a considerable circle of correspondents, not least his own mother and sisters, and he did not wish these plans to be known. He notes a little later in this letter that he had actually written it over three separate occasions, so he did have ample time to consider what he wanted to tell her and whether it was best to hint at this in writing. As he ultimately did send the letter he clearly trusted her to be discreet. He also needed her to prepare family and home for the change ahead.

Like many wives with husbands absent at parliament, Margaret was also relied upon to manage the family home and estate. Mar had a local agent, Sanders Rait, to deal with such matters but he also wrote to Margaret about domestic matters, planting and rents and provided her with items she required. Rait and another man, George Erskine, were frequently referred to in the correspondence, but Mar included Margaret very much in his dealings with them. He added this brief line at the end of another letter of July 1705, 'The inclosed is for George Erskine wch you may read seal and send to him'<sup>38</sup> and also 'Sanders Rait has written about what is doing about the house. I was wryting to George Erskine however, so I've answered Raits letter in his, wch is here inclosed for you to read & then send it to George'.<sup>39</sup>

Mar actively encouraged Margaret to involve herself in the management and improvement of the family home and estate. In writing to her in August 1705, he asked for news but also suggested how she might usefully divert herself:

I did not hear this week from Sanders Rait, so know not how the work goes on, pray cause them to be busie in clearing up the wilderness that it may be redy for planting against the season. Dear Magie if you wou'd look to these things & inquire about them it

wou'd divert you & you wou'd come to take pleasure in them & understand them as well as I in a little time, wch wou'd please me mightily.<sup>40</sup>

Mar, like other husbands, was very aware of his absences, how this affected his wife and even sparked her anger, and this remark might be seen as a mild diversionary tactic to appease a wife who was forced to remain isolated at the family estate rather than enjoying the social aspects of life with her husband in Edinburgh. There were many reasons, pregnancy quite often, which kept noblewomen from accompanying their husbands and necessitated their remaining at home but to see noblewomen engaged in estate matters purely as a diversion would be an over simplification. A wife's role in running the estate could allow her to be seen as a political agent in his stead.<sup>41</sup> Mar was later to become well known for his love of architecture, gardening and improvement and in these letters he paid great attention to domestic details as well as the politics of the period. Margaret did not share Mar's future as, after the birth of a second son, she died in 1707. In 1714 Mar married secondly to Lady Frances Pierrepont who was the second daughter of Evelyn, earl, then later duke of Kingston and interestingly the younger sister of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the writer and diarist.<sup>42</sup> Tracing further correspondence between Mar and his second wife might allow a useful comparison of his successive relationships with the Pierrepont family contrasting with his first Scottish marriage. These might further illuminate Mar's choices and his change of fortunes in connection with the influence, roles and support of his wives.

To conclude with possibly the most frustrating words in a letter, 'as I shall tell you at meeting ...'.<sup>43</sup> This phrase gently conceals so many tantalising threads of conversation and reminds the reader that these were someone's personal letters, that they were mindful of them going astray and that some information was deemed too sensitive for setting out on paper. Again this supports rather than dismisses the notion that women were excluded from politics or sensitive matters of office and state service; talking about such matters was safer for some than writing. There is no doubt from these letters that Mar regarded his wife as someone who was worthy of sharing his political news and who had to be kept up to date with the latest parliamentary reports and, more importantly, his personal career and prospects. He trusted her with the management of the estate and shared with her his plans for their future; he also discussed both legal and financial business with her in the letters. She appeared to be a confidante but without her letters it is hard to judge whether she advised him or commented freely on politics and his decisions. These letters and others like them illustrate the scope and the fuller extent there is for interpreting political activity and, as Chalus suggests, it very much engages with social networks, family connections, preferment, office and personal interest. All of these motivated some noblewomen to gain

an understanding of politics, to share and possibly advise and to be relied upon in promoting the political careers of husbands and brothers. With a redefined view of political activity there is a great need to include the lives of these noblewomen in the historiography of the Union and in doing so we can only gain a greater understanding of the events of 1707.

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# Thinking about Family Legacy

Katie Barclay

*University of Warwick*

In late eighteenth-century England, Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806) was an active political campaigner for the Whig party, infamously satirised for trading kisses for votes.<sup>1</sup> Yet, she was not the first politically active woman in her family. Her great-grandmother was Sarah Churchill, duchess of Marlborough (1660-1744) close friend to Queen Anne (1665-1714) and a woman described as at the 'centre of British political life for seventy years'.<sup>2</sup> In Scotland, Anne, duchess of Hamilton (1631-1716), holder of the Hamilton estates in her own right, never shied away from politics. As the head of a key Scottish magnate family, she threw herself into political life, being actively involved in promoting Scottish Presbyterianism, supporting the Darien scheme, and opposing the Union that created the United Kingdom. She did not consider her marriage to detract from her social power and it was understood both at court and within her family that authority flowed through her. Her husband's political choices made and the committees he sat on were all agreed in concert with Anne. She had thirteen children; those who survived infancy went on to be influential actors in late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century public life.<sup>3</sup> Three daughters survived to adulthood.

Katherine Hamilton, duchess of Atholl (1662-1707), frequently accompanied her husband south when he went to Court and their correspondence shows her as politically aware with strong Presbyterian and anti-Union values.<sup>4</sup> Margaret Hamilton (1668-1731) married the Earl of Panmure, an Episcopalian who was active in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715. While she did not always approve of her husband's political beliefs, she conveyed political information to him in exile, campaigned to have him pardoned, and worked to undermine crown authority in their attempts to confiscate the family estates. On one occasion, she sold all of the furniture in the family home, hid the money and when the crown officers arrived to value the property, she and her servants swore that they did not know what happened to it. During her husband's long absence, she was to gain significant authority within her family and local vicinity.<sup>5</sup> Anne's third surviving daughter, Susan (1667-1737), married first the Earl of Dundonald, and then the Marquess of Tweeddale. She has been described as less politically active than her sisters, but her second marriage for love to a man of lesser social rank, the terms of which she negotiated personally, highlighted her strong character in face of opposition from her brother, though not her mother. Her letters show her passing on political news, discussing parliamentary events, and occasionally highlighting her own political opinion. Furthermore, when Anne sent her son James to King William to seek his support for the Darien scheme, the lone nobleman who accompanied him was Susan's father-in-law.<sup>6</sup>

Political families continued into the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries. The suffrage campaigners, Emmeline (1858-1928) and Richard Pankhurst (1834-1898) had three daughters, Christabel (1880-1958), Estelle Sylvia (1882-1960) and Adela (1885-1961), who all became central voices in the women's suffrage movement and the latter two were active in the Communist party.<sup>7</sup> It was not just politics that were a family affair. The sisters Jane (1776-1850) and Anna Maria Porter (1778-1832) were both renowned novelists, while their brother, Sir Robert Ker Porter, was a well-known artist.<sup>8</sup> The Allan sisters, Georgina Armour (1913-1969) and Mary Dalziel Short (1901-1969) were both celebrated music hall performers. Georgina went on to have a movie career in the US, under the name Ella Logan, where she was later joined by Mary's daughter, Annabelle Short (b.1930), who eventually became better known as the jazz singer, Annie Ross. Annabelle's brother James was the actor and comedian Jimmy Logan (1928-2001).<sup>9</sup>

Not only occupations are passed down. Lady Grisell Baillie (1665-1746) is famous for her role transporting messages between members of the Convenanting movement during their persecution for their religious beliefs.<sup>10</sup> Her great-great-grandaughter Lady Grisell Baillie (1822-1891) also held strong Presbyterian beliefs, becoming the first deaconess in the Church of Scotland.<sup>11</sup> In an era before divorce was common, it is also striking that some families were more likely to suffer, or perhaps advertise, marriage breakdown than others. The sixth Earl of Mar's (1675-1732) wife, Frances Pierrepont (1690-1761), used poor mental health as an excuse to leave her husband, recovering remarkably in the London air of her sister's home. The Earl's brother, Lord Grange's (1679-1754), marriage broke down so irretrievably that he had his wife, Rachel Chiesley (1679-1745), kidnapped and held on a remote Scottish island for the remainder of her life. Mar's daughter married Grange's son, and their great-grand-son, the ninth Earl of Mar (1795-1866) also separated from his wife, Philadelphia Stuart Menteith (d.1853). At the other side of Scotland, John Home of Kimmerghame's (1711-1738) wife, Margaret Drummond, sued him for divorce, while his second cousin, Grisell Baillie (1692-1759), daughter of the first Grisell above, also sought a legal separation from her husband Andrew Murray (1687-1743).<sup>12</sup> It is also worth noting that Grisell was friends with Mary Wortley Montagu, the sister with whom Frances Pierrepont lived after her separation, highlighting that it was not just family networks that shaped social values.

That families have legacies is not a novel idea. Historians have shown that, for some, the promise of a large inheritance tied people into particular roles and responsibilities, such as experienced by the heir to a family estate who was restricted to life in his or her parent's household, or the son who inherited the family

business and spent his whole life following in his father's footsteps.<sup>13</sup> For others, like younger sons in large families, the knowledge that an inheritance was not forthcoming, it has been argued, encouraged people to take risks, start businesses or emigrate to find fortune in far-away climes.<sup>14</sup> Elite families often have political legacies with generations of the same family holding the same political roles. Lower down the social ladder, children learned their future occupations from a parent, or, if destined for different occupations, ties with wider kin often directed the choices available. Having an aunt or uncle in a nearby city may be the connection that allowed a child from a rural area to continue in education, while equally those bereft of social connections may live in generational poverty, unable to escape their family legacy.<sup>15</sup>

Historians have worked extremely hard to place people in their social contexts, emphasising how class, ethnicity, geography and historical place shape what choices people have, what directions their lives take and who they ultimately become. There is an increasingly wide range of work on how society and culture shapes personal subjectivity — the way people interpret their experience — and their engagement with the world around them. And, in a sense most facets of identity, whether class, ethnicity, or nationality, are family legacies. It is the accident of birth into a particular family at a particular moment that to a large extent informs the direction our lives will take. Yet, a discussion of the links between family legacy and personal subjectivity are only beginning to be explored within history. Leonore Davidoff has recently highlighted the significance of Sigmund Freud's family relationships, and notably that they conformed so well to typical Victorian middle-class behaviour, to his psychological thought; while John Byng-Hall, a practising psychologist has highlighted the significance of family stories passed down through generations to our formation of self, and our later psychological crises.<sup>16</sup>

The centrality of our families to our personal identities is not lost on most people. The introduction of a new baby to a family will provoke endless discussions of whether a particular facial expression or temperament mirrors a parent or sibling. As teenagers, we swear to never become our mothers, yet as adults we find ourselves saying phrases or repeating behaviours that we once disdained.<sup>17</sup> It is commonly thought that people pick a marital partner that resembles their family; it is often observed that women from violent homes will pick violent husbands. The sense that our families are important to who we are can be seen in the interest in family genealogy, the passing down of family photo-albums and heirlooms, and, for those with relatives in foreign countries, our toleration of distant cousins who descend on 'the family' when visiting 'the home country', despite little contact before or after. This has perhaps become more pressing with the new technologies surrounding DNA, where blood and genetic ties to distant ancestors make the intangible connections of family mappable and physical — occasionally even disrupting traditional ideas of family based on shared resources, responsibility and proximity.

The centrality of family to self is perhaps best

illustrated in the numerous biographies and autobiographies that have been published since the late eighteenth century, which inevitably begin with a chapter on the subject's parents, social background and childhood. The significance of early life to the formation of self, especially since the thought of Freud, Erikson and other developmental psychologists came to cultural dominance, and the dependence of the child on others during this time brings the family to the forefront.<sup>18</sup> The first volume of the journalist Basil Kingsley Martin's autobiography was entitled *Father Figures*, and divided into chapters based on the men, some family, some not, who shaped his life.<sup>19</sup> The effect of this initial chapter in biographies is to situate the creation of the individual primarily within the family and ties that individual to a much longer history or family legacy. The individual is the end point of family that has existed over generations, indeed since the beginning of human life.

The significance of family to self is not to be denied, but what are historians to do with such information? The importance of concepts such as class, nationality and gender is that they are broad enough to incorporate large numbers of people, but specific enough to have identifiable characteristics than can be used to explain social change. The family, like the individual, seems too small, too specific from which to draw broader conclusions. Yet, as the sisters Sara and Sue Scott argue in a fascinating account of how their mother shaped who they became, it is through the family that class values are shared and the potential for social mobility created.<sup>20</sup> Understanding family legacy can help explain how class, nationality and gender are formed, passed down and redefined. The family becomes a lens through which wider social values are filtered, helping to explain difference within social groups and between people.

Understanding the family has also become of importance in discussions of the 'individualising project of modernity', where it has been pointed out that understanding women as individuals is problematic when their identity is so closely tied to the family.<sup>21</sup> When the family is so central to our social development and where our identities are located within the family, how do we become the modern individual separate from the family — especially given the expectation that we form new families? And, what about history before the rise of the individual? Discussions of self in Britain in the century before the rise of individualism have pointed to the centrality of family to shaping people's sense of self. The 'individual' understood themselves in reference to their place in a particular family and not only their interest, but their sense of self lay within it. In this sense, struggles between individuals and families were less a call to express a unique, inner-self, than a negotiation over what role a person held within the family network, what resources they were entitled to, and what power they held.<sup>22</sup> Attempting to understand gender, class or nationality in a framework where the self is defined by the family, whilst ignoring the family, seems problematic.

Family legacy then is not just a curious quirk of history important to individuals when looking at their own identities and where they came from. It is key to

understanding how people saw themselves, how they passed on broader social values, and how they performed class, gender and other markers of identity and social group. As such, it becomes central to understanding both the operation of society and differences between people and within social groups. More work now needs to be done on how family legacy is passed on, when and how it is rejected, and the operation of family legacy within particular historical contexts. If the relationship between family and self changes over time, so does the significance of family legacies. It is an intriguing phenomenon that at the historical moment where the individual is thought to be at its pinnacle that there is such a national obsession with tracing family genealogy and testing DNA to ensure the biological legitimacy of family relationships. Perhaps, it is worth some historical analysis?



*The author's 'Family Legacy'  
Katie with her grandmother, mother, aunts and  
cousins, c.1993*

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Claire G. Jones, *Femininity, Mathematics and Science, 1880-1914* (Palgrave Macmillan)

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Leah Leneman, *The Scottish Suffragettes* (National Museums of Scotland)

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# A Bad Case of Police Savidgery: The interrogation of Irene Savidge at Scotland Yard.

Huw Clayton

*Aberystwyth University*

About Mr. Duckworthy I know what he has told me and no more. I daresay he will tell you, too, if you ask him nicely. But no third degree, you know, sergeant. No Savidgery.

Dorothy L. Sayers, *Hangman's Holiday*.<sup>1</sup>

This article is about allegations of police brutality and over-zealousness made against officers of the Metropolitan Police in 1928 by a young woman named Marjorie Irene Savidge. She had been arrested in Hyde Park on a charge of 'offending against public decency'. However, the magistrate dismissed the charges against her before she had a chance to go into the witness box. An investigation into the fiasco was launched by the Director of Public Prosecutions, using the police. The officer in charge decided that he had to have a statement from Savidge, and sent a patrol car to bring her to Scotland Yard. She claimed that while she was there two male officers had interrogated her in a peremptory and indeed bullying fashion while making remarks and gestures which might today have seen them prosecuted for sexual assault. The case caused a major scandal in Parliament and the Press, as well as a subsequent, further enquiry into police methods of interrogation led by a judge, and is thought to have contributed to the early retirement of William Horwood, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, the following year. The article further discusses the major effect this incident had upon the position of women in relation to the Metropolitan Police, and by extension, the police service throughout Britain as a whole, and in particular, how significant it was in confirming their importance as members of that force. Despite the significance of the case, detailed accounts of it are comparatively rare. The best is by John Carrier, in his 1988 book *The Campaign for the Employment of Women as Police Officers* (chapter XV).<sup>2</sup> While he did a good job of presenting the published facts of the case, the main police and Home Office files were still closed at the time, meaning Carrier was unaware of many of the important details of the case. Drawing on the opened files, this article aims to fill in some of those blanks.

The case took place at a time when the prestige of the police was comparatively high. They had performed well in the First World War despite difficulties caused by an acute shortage of manpower. Only two years before, in 1926, the police had been able to cope with the General Strike without violence and without calling on the Army to preserve order.<sup>3</sup> In this they may have been helped by public attitudes. There is some reason to think there was still a residual fund of goodwill towards the police

among the communities they served, epitomised by what Martin Pugh has called 'the enduring British myth [of] the kindly British bobby alone on the beat'.<sup>4</sup> But behind this façade there were difficulties. Under William Horwood, Commissioner from 1918 until 1928, there had been very little innovation of any description in police training, recruitment, financing or procedure. New technologies, especially cars, radios and telephones were either being adopted only very slowly or were being actively resisted. Funding was scarce — the police had suffered badly under the infamous 'Geddes Axe' of 1922.

Most significantly for this article, although it had been agreed to set up an 'experimental' female division of the police force after earlier volunteer patrols had made a favourable impression during the war, Horwood refused to sanction its expansion or increase its role beyond a modest rota of looking after female prisoners and advising on matters of morality concerning women. The work of Cheryl Law would suggest that by 1922, indeed, they were undertaking a good deal of the work involved in these areas. But it was not quite seen as police work, more as welfare work, and was thus seen as a luxury and an easy target for the 'Geddes Axe.' After a vigorous campaign, a small group of twenty female officers in the Metropolitan Police were spared, which at least kept the principle of female police officers alive.<sup>5</sup>

Horwood was anxious to abandon the experiment altogether, along with his rejection of other innovations. In much of this he was supported by the police rank and file, not noted for their love of innovation or their readiness to adapt to new ideas. However, this stance earned him the ire of William Joynson-Hicks, Home Secretary for the latter part of Horwood's tenure, who pleaded for more women patrols; for evidence of a funding shortfall to support an appeal to the Treasury for more money, and incidentally, also to convince the more conservative-minded elements of the Home Office that change was necessary; and for drastic, systemic reform of antiquated systems and practices. The tension between the two formed a constant backdrop to policing throughout the 1920s.<sup>6</sup>

Such difficulties may have been behind a series of scandals that plagued the force between 1924 and 1928. In 1925 an inquiry was ordered into the case of Major R. O. Sheppard, who had been wrongly accused of stealing a prostitute's purse and had been held for four and a half hours before being bailed. Bail procedures were tightened as a result. However, the reforms were evidently less than successful, for in 1927, a similar case involving Major Graham Murray, wrongfully detained on a charge of being drunk and disorderly, necessitated a further inquiry and a further revision of the rules.<sup>7</sup> The Savidge case dwarfed both of these, however. In its details — a young woman



wrongfully arrested before being cleared by a magistrate, thereupon being as good as kidnapped, bullied, assaulted and insulted by two male officers trying to cover up for their colleagues — it provided altogether more salacious copy for the press than the case of Major Sheppard. Public interest in the Savidge case may have been amplified by the near-simultaneous case of Mrs. Beatrice Pace in the Forest of Dean. Pace was accused of murdering her husband, Harry, in January 1928, by administering arsenic. On 11 March 1928, she was detained at Coleford Police Station and questioned for thirteen hours. Her five children were asleep when she was arrested and left unattended; they went without breakfast the following morning. On 23 May, there were questions in the House of Commons about the case, which Joynson-Hicks deflected by denying that there had been any ‘third degree’ methods used, and that Pace had in fact thanked the police for their consideration during her interrogation. However, Pace’s trial judge threw out the case as not meeting the minimum burden of proof, a further serious blow to the credibility of the police.<sup>8</sup>

In spite of these precedents, the tribunal assembled to consider the Savidge case cleared the officers of improper conduct, so actual changes were slight. One minor rule modification was introduced to encourage male officers to have a female colleague present while interviewing women ‘on matters intimately affecting her [their] morals’. This did not prove to be effectual, and the rule was withdrawn after three years. However, despite this the case was to prove, paradoxically, a landmark not only in the treatment of female interviewees but also in the acceptance of women police officers by their male colleagues — and not only because female officers proved that they were useful, but because they had proved they demonstrated loyalty to their male colleagues even over allegations of bullying.

The introduction of policewomen and the cultural and institutional forces they had to overcome have been well documented. Starting with Joan Lock’s, *The British Policewoman: Her Story* (1979) and continuing through Carrier’s 1988 book to Philippa Levine’s 1994 article ‘“Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should”: Women Police in World War I’, a considerable literature has been created on the development of a female police force in reaction to the expansion of women’s employment during the First World War, and the difficulties of sustaining it after the emergency. It is noticeable how Levine, in particular, and following on from her, Louise Jackson, have discussed the negotiation by women police officers of the very masculine culture of the police force. For Levine, this need for cultural acceptance led to masculinisation of female police officers, which in turn caused a weakening of the ties between the new women police corps and the radical feminist groups that had initially supported them.<sup>9</sup> For Jackson, it led to ‘the cultivation of a police identity that was at times gender-specific’.<sup>10</sup> While agreeing with both of those points, this article would suggest that the crucial part of the creation of that identity was showing that women could adopt the values of the police — including a willingness to cover up misdemeanours.

## The Savidge Incident

In 1928, Hyde Park was routinely patrolled by police officers, both in uniform and in plainclothes, looking for offenders against contemporary moral standards — notably homosexual lovers and courting couples. London’s open spaces, especially Hyde Park and Hampstead Heath, were useful for these groups, who were unable to escape either police persecution or parental supervision in their usual places of residence, and who hoped to find among the dense undergrowth and ill-lit paths more fruitful fields for their sexual encounters.<sup>11</sup> Not surprisingly, the police worked hard to counter this. In May 1928, the Home Secretary claimed in Parliament, in answer to a question from S. Saklatvala, the M.P. for Battersea, that there were twenty-one police officers engaged in these duties in Hyde Park. In fact there is internal evidence to suggest that the real figure was sixty-nine officers, at an annual cost to the taxpayer of £25,000—although this might imply three shifts of ten two-man patrols with two officers in reserve and a sergeant in charge of each.<sup>12</sup>

The Savidge incident began on 23 April 1928. On this particular evening, two young police constables, P.C. Badger and P. C. McLean, arrested a man in late middle age and a woman aged twenty-two on a charge of performing a sex act in public in Hyde Park. The man was Sir Leo Chiozza Money, a former Liberal minister who had since joined the Labour party.<sup>13</sup> The woman was Miss Irene Savidge, a valve inspector in a wireless factory.<sup>14</sup> According to the evidence of the constables, Money had first said, ‘We are not the usual riff-raff. We are people of substance. For God’s sake let me go’, usually read as a coded offer to bribe the officers.<sup>15</sup> When they arrested him despite this, he became violent and struggled with them, requiring both of them to restrain him. As they removed him from the scene, an unidentified man overtook them, trying to return Money’s umbrella which had been left behind on the bench. The constables refused to stop, and did not try to get the name of the witness. Later, at Money’s insistence, they returned to the scene and tried to trace him, but without success.<sup>16</sup> Both Money and Savidge were charged at the local police station with behaving in a manner likely to offend against public decency and bailed.

They were taken before one of London’s more experienced stipendiary magistrates, Henry Cancellor, on 6 May.<sup>17</sup> The case against them was dismissed outright after the constables and Money had given evidence, before Savidge could even be called. In his judgement at the time, Cancellor made great play of the failure of the constables to secure the identity of the man with the umbrella, and severely censured the officers for this neglect. However, in a subsequent letter to the Home Office he stated more clearly that his reason for dismissing the case centred on his belief that the police constables had not been telling the truth, and thus he saw no reason to submit Miss Savidge to the ordeal of giving evidence in a case that had already occasioned much press interest. Leaving aside the missing witness who would certainly have been at least a dozen yards away and therefore, as the police solicitors pointed out, ‘unlikely to have been of much practical use to the court, it is difficult to know exactly

why Cancellor was so sure the constables were lying. In the transcript, they come out rather better than Money, who was at times evasive and certainly did not seem to be offering as coherent a story as the two constables. But words are only part of a fabric. There are a huge number of hand gestures, nervous twitches, blushes, palings, and blinks in a conversation that never make it onto the cold record of a court paper, and yet may have a crucial influence in forming the opinion of a magistrate, particularly a very experienced one like Cancellor.<sup>18</sup> It should also be noted, in his defence, that there is no doubt that the practice of officers attempting to gain a conviction on 'formulaic' evidence was very common in the 1920s, and Cancellor would have known what signs to look for to indicate its use.

On the other hand, it appears that Cancellor had long been known as an 'anti-police' magistrate. The police solicitors wrote a letter of complaint to the Home Office about him following this case, claiming bias against the two police witnesses:

Very early in the proceedings we felt that the learned magistrate was not going to be of any assistance to the prosecution, and as the case went on his leaning towards the defence became more apparent...Little of the cross-examination [of P.C.s Badger and McLean] was to the point of the indecency.<sup>19</sup>

That was an understandable point of view. Cancellor had persistently pursued the theme of the missing eyewitness — one so far away it seems unlikely he could have seen anything. He had expressed surprise that anyone would ignore a large dark patch of grass and commit acts of indecency on a seat, despite the fact that the night was sufficiently wet for Money to have taken an umbrella with him, and that Money's own evidence was that it had earlier been raining. He had also accepted as important medical evidence that Savidge was *virgo intacta*, despite the fact that at no point had the officers alleged that they had seen sexual penetration.<sup>20</sup> Even if he did believe he was being presented with a fraudulent case, he set about dismissing it in a very curious way.

Commissioner William Horwood was similarly outraged, writing to the Home Office citing other examples of Cancellor's prejudice against police testimony, including one remarkable case where he alleged Cancellor had thrown out charges against a brothel-keeper who offered no defence.<sup>21</sup>

The difficulty that now confronted the Home Office was that they had two officers of the Metropolitan Police implicitly accused of perjury against a former government minister and friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary. Cancellor repeated the charge in a private letter to Sir John Anderson, the Permanent Under-Secretary at the Home Office, although he refused to go public with his accusations, as was his right.<sup>22</sup> Anderson was at something of a loss to know what to do for the best. He referred the case to the Director of Public Prosecutions with a request for his opinion on whether there should be

a prosecution, writing privately, 'it is perjury or nothing and therefore for the D. of P.P.', a remark that has a touch of desperation about it.<sup>23</sup>

The Director, Sir Archibald Bodkin, was cautious. He agreed that *prima facie* there was a clear case against the officers, but added that he was labouring under something of a handicap from his own personal knowledge:

I have heard a story as to Sir L. M. — not to his credit, indeed of indecent behaviour on another occasion. This came from Sir W. Childs — and before charging two reputable P.C.s with perjury I should like of course to know the reputation of the only two witnesses against them. This enquiry must be done through the police — I can fully trust any CID chief officer to go fully into the case — although it is one which may be to the discredit of the Police Force. The enquiries would be known and the papers will get hold of them. But if you see no objection I would get hold of some Chief Inspector and set him to work.<sup>24</sup>

Sir Archibald's faith was touching — but naïve in the extreme. The course of action he suggested was adopted, with disastrous consequences. The Chief Inspector picked was Alfred Collins, an officer with an excellent record in the field of convictions, but one who certainly believed in standing by his fellow officers — or, as James Morton so succinctly put it, 'the behaviour of Collins when he investigated the arrest has all the hallmarks of a police cover-up. He was determined to exculpate his officers and, at some cost to himself, he did so'.<sup>25</sup>

Collins decided that Savidge's evidence had to be taken in order to pursue his enquiry. As a result, on the 15 May he sent a car, complete with his sergeant, Sergeant Clarke, and a woman police officer, Lilian Wyles, to Savidge's workplace to bring her to Scotland Yard. It is unclear from the official record whether or not Savidge was effectively forced into going. Edmund Saxe, who as works manager of her factory was the man to whom the police officers went for permission to take Savidge to Scotland Yard, and who seems to have had no motive for lying, thought that she went willingly.<sup>26</sup> However, as is evident from the statements of Wyles at the time, and in her later memoirs, Savidge was given no chance to talk to her parents.<sup>27</sup> Although she appears to have made no specific demand to do so, she was obviously nervous and expressed a repeated wish to go home and change, or just speak to her mother. Wyles claimed in her memoirs that it was Collins who refused this request.<sup>28</sup> According to Savidge, it was Wyles herself who did all the persuading:

Inspector Clark was accompanied by a lady a Miss Wild [sic] and I suggested to her that I should first go home and change into another coat, but she said that this was entirely unnecessary and I therefore accompanied

Inspector Clark with Miss Wild in a car which was driven by another man.<sup>29</sup>

At any rate, Savidge was not allowed to go home. She was instead taken straight to Scotland Yard, where she claimed she met with Collins for the first time.<sup>30</sup> Again, the likeliest explanation is that, despite ostensibly being a 'modern', independent young woman, Savidge simply had no idea of what might be lying in wait for her, or that she should have a legal representative present. Although the way in which she kept trying to persuade her escort to take her home in order to change might be — indeed has been — viewed as a coded plea to speak to her mother,<sup>31</sup> it seems far more likely that Savidge wanted to change her clothes so that she would feel more comfortable and on more level terms with her questioners. In the 1920s, especially for women, clothes were a strong indication of status; the wrong sort of clothes therefore meant a loss of status.<sup>32</sup> Wyles is worth considering on this subject:

Irene Savage [sic] was neatly and tidily clad, but she was wearing her working clothes and this fact worried her. She very much wanted to go home and change into something smarter before going on to Scotland Yard ... [Collins] would not agree and the car continued on direct to the office. I think his refusal of a perfectly reasonable request was a mistake though I understand why he refused.<sup>33</sup>

This was directly opposed to what Savidge herself said at the time. Wyles had either forgotten her role in this particular manoeuvre or recast it in order to show herself in a more favourable light. The reason for Collins's behaviour, as she described it, would be eminently understandable; he would not want Savidge's parents learning about his intervention and refusing to let her go to Scotland Yard. However, almost all the most reliable evidence points to the fact that Collins was never in the car.

Wyles, it would seem, must take the blame for preventing Savidge from seeing her parents before her interrogation. Whether she did so deliberately to keep Savidge separate from any source of possible advice, or simply because she was in a hurry and did not consider Savidge's attire to be important is unknowable. The second is, on the face of it, more likely. However, if Wyles deliberately altered the record in her book, that might imply she had something she wished to hide—after all, she described Savidge's desire to change her clothes as 'a perfectly reasonable request'. It might suggest Wyles was under orders to keep Savidge incommunicado to prevent possible interference by her family, or a belief that if Savidge once home, would refuse to go further.

All accounts at least agree that Wyles was dismissed upon their arrival at Scotland Yard, leaving Collins and Clark alone with Savidge. Savidge's own account of what happened next is that the officers proceeded to interrogate her for more than five hours without having any other witnesses present. During this period she became so exhausted that, rather than dispute statements that she

subsequently described as false, she simply let the police write them down. The questions asked became more and more personal as time went on, including questions about her underwear, and whether she was wearing a short or a long petticoat on the night in question. Finally, she alleged that towards the end of the interview, Collins had proceeded to demonstrate what he meant by his insinuations and allegations. Specifically, he presaged his offensive with the comment, 'Now you are a good girl and have never really had a man, have you? But there are a lot of things you can do without really sinning'. He then proceeded to put his hand on her knee, put his arm around her, and all the while made offensive remarks about her moral character.<sup>34</sup> Finally, late in the evening, he concluded this examination and ordered Clark to take Savidge back to her parents. The ordeal she endured over these five hours was so great that she fainted upon arriving home.<sup>35</sup>

Two days later, a stormy debate took place in Parliament, led by the Labour member for Dundee, Thomas Johnston.<sup>36</sup> In a fiery passage, Johnston attacked the police for the methods they had used:

The Labour party had raised this discussion not because they had the slightest concern with what was known as the 'Money case' or the 'Hyde Park case'. Their concern was that they should take whatever steps could be taken by the House to preserve what civil liberties we still possessed, and it was their duty to offer determined and resolute opposition to anything in the nature of the Cheka (the Russian-Soviet terrorist secret police), a Turkish system, Star Chamber methods, or what was known in the United States as the Third Degree.<sup>37</sup>

He found support from the key Liberal spokesman Sir John Simon, himself a former Home Secretary who in 1918, had been an influential supporter of the Representation of the Peoples Act that gave votes to women. More ominously for the Home Secretary, Johnston also gained support from the Tory backbenches, all of whom cheered his attacks and were dead silent when the Home Secretary rose to speak.

Sir William Joynson-Hicks had been in office for three and a half years at this time. Although notorious for his wild rhetoric and wilder anti-Bolshevism, his image as an unbalanced buffoon hid a sharp political instinct and immense administrative and legal experience spanning over forty years as a practising solicitor. He was also, despite a reputation as a political Diehard, a known sympathiser for women's rights, and that same year he successfully piloted the Equal Franchise Act that gave women the same voting rights as men through Parliament in the teeth of opposition from the far right.<sup>38</sup> As the Home Secretary in the 1920s, he openly approved, supported and extended the very campaigns against vice and immorality that had led to the original arrests of Savidge and Money, later commenting that he had wanted Hyde Park to be a

place where 'a man could take his daughters for a walk'.<sup>39</sup> It seems he had already heard about Savidge's interview and was uneasy at what he had heard, because earlier that evening he had summoned the three police officers to a meeting in the House of Commons and interrogated them himself. Collins and Clark both denied the whole story — admitting only that Wyles had not been present at the interview, and dismissing Savidge's story as a wild exaggeration of a routine, albeit thorough and prolonged interview.

Perhaps more surprisingly, and much more significantly, Wyles backed them up. Although she was only required to admit that she had had merely a peripheral role, she was also asked about Collins' character, and refused to blacken it. She gave her own reasons for this in her memoirs:

At once through my mind raced the thoughts that at last, after years of insults, slights, frozen faces, I could take revenge. Here was my chance to let these Important Persons know how the officers of the Metropolitan police could behave, and how they had behaved towards me: of the heartbreak and the struggle and the icy indifference. I was instantly ashamed of such unworthy thoughts and the answer I gave to the pointed question was brief but it did no harm to Mr. Collins.<sup>40</sup>

This may not have been a lie in the strictest sense of the word. But nevertheless according to her own account, which is disparaging of Collins, it would seem to be at the very least incomplete. She herself claimed to have told a nervous Collins, when he asked her what she had said to Joynson-Hicks, 'of you, nothing but good, which you did not deserve'.<sup>41</sup>

Why did she do this? There can only be one reasonable interpretation of her actions based upon her own account. She clearly felt that it was wrong to tell tales upon fellow officers—no matter how badly they had behaved towards her or any other woman—if that would bring the police force into disrepute. The comment, 'how the officers of the Metropolitan police could behave', is surely significant from that point of view). That in itself begs its own question. Was Lilian Wyles a trustworthy witness? It is worth noting that she was not universally popular or trusted. When Horwood had attempted to get rid of women police officers in 1922, Wyles had been required to give evidence on the necessary strength of the female police force in London to a Commission set up by the Home Secretary. Four fellow officers, including her superior, Mrs. Stanley, accused her of lying to this commission in order to secure her own position while sacrificing theirs. She was variously described by her colleagues as 'kind and friendly' or 'boastful and proud'.<sup>42</sup> She was clearly at fault on significant points in her account of the Savidge case. But while it is possible that she feared either further bullying or even dismissal if she blew the whistle on Collins' behaviour, it seems likeliest that she was telling the truth here. *Esprit de corps* is consistent with other evidence available to us, and is the most plausible explanation for

her magnanimity.

As a result of these talks with the police officers, Joynson-Hicks immediately conceded the need for a full inquiry, although it seems he was confident it would exonerate the Police. He also offered to discuss the terms of reference with the Labour spokesman on Home Affairs, Arthur Henderson, and his Liberal counterpart Sir John Simon. Lilian Wyles managed to secure a seat at the Inquiry, where she could listen to the Home Secretary, and not being in uniform she was mistaken by most of the assembled press and politicians for Savidge.<sup>43</sup>

The inquiry proved problematic from the start. Framing the terms of reference was the first difficulty. Joynson-Hicks proposed the following:

That it is expedient that a Tribunal be established for inquiring into a definite matter of urgent public importance, that is to say, the conduct of the prosecution of Sir Leo Money and Miss Savidge and the evidence given therein, and the action of the police in connection with their interrogation of Miss Savidge on the 15th Day of May, 1928.<sup>44</sup>

There was however one drawback in these terms, as Sir John Simon pointed out: had the tribunal sat under that remit, it would have in effect been re-trying the original case of indecency that Money and Savidge had already been found not guilty of, breaching the cherished rule of 'double jeopardy' (i.e. the bar on the state putting the same people on trial more than once for the same offence).<sup>45</sup> On Simon's advice, the terms of reference were re-worded. The final draft removed all reference to the original arrest in Hyde Park, much to the dismay of the two police officers concerned who had hoped to be able to clear their names of the stigma of perjury by giving evidence again to this new court.<sup>46</sup>

Finding three satisfactory members to form a tribunal proved no easier. Eventually a retired judge, Sir John Eldon Bankes, J. J. Withers MP, a Conservative noted for his support for women's rights, and Hastings Bernard Lees-Smith, a Labour MP and a former law lecturer, were agreed upon. However, even with this decided, the evidence proved difficult to sift. Savidge stuck to her story, and Collins stuck to his denial. Clarke's statement is worth quoting in full:

I was introduced to the Manager [of the factory where Savidge worked] by a local officer.

The Manager sent for Miss Savage. I explained to her in his presence and he said to her, have you any objection to going down. She was quite willing to come. There was no question of communicating with her mother. At that time the manager turned to her and said — Nobody in the firm, Miss Savage, knows who these gentlemen are, so it would be just as well if you said nothing to anybody. [There is a note added here by hand: "I myself made no such request. WHC" (presumably

W. H. Clark)]

She went out of the room to put on her overcoat and hat and was given a pass out check to leave the firm.

She was gone about 10 minutes.

I saw her in a room just inside the gates of the firm.

On the way to Scotland Yard I was in front with the chauffeur and she sat with the lady inspector.

About 5 p.m. I think she said her mother was expecting her home about quarter to 6.

On the way home I was sitting again in front with the chauffeur [sic].<sup>47</sup>

The studied determination to say nothing is reminiscent of Pontius Pilate's famous ablutions.<sup>48</sup>

Collins was not afforded this luxury. He had to say what had happened: or alternatively, say what he wanted to be believed had happened. He in fact made three statements in total, in order to clarify certain points that were raised to cast doubt on the veracity of his story. Denied the option of silence, he elected to go on the attack, and adopted the simple tactic of denying everything in plain and forceful language:

I did ask her [Miss Savidge] whilst in the company of Sir Leo Money on the night of 23rd April last, what she had to drink at the dinner. She replied that on such occasion[s] she dined with Sir Leo they only had one bottle of white wine.

I made no suggestion whatever that on the evening in question she had had so much to drink that she had no clear recollection of what was alleged to have taken place in the park.

I did ask her what she was wearing on that evening, but I did not ask her to show me her underclothing; nor did I ask her to stand up [n]or did I inspect or examine her clothing.

I asked her no questions as to her sexual relations with men.<sup>49</sup>

This denial was one that he was to repeat before the Court of Inquiry.

As a result, the tribunal was essentially reduced to deciding the question of who was the more credible witness — Savidge or Collins? It sat for six days, and failed to agree a verdict. Two reports were eventually presented. Bankes and Withers exonerated the police (specifically Collins) of overt wrongdoing. Their verdict was that Savidge had probably been tired, overwrought and nervous, and that she was probably confused and guilty of exaggeration. However, both were sharply critical of the decision to take Savidge to Scotland Yard. Both considered that she had not been fully informed of what she was letting herself in for. Above all, they were emphatic that Wyles should not have left the room. It was recommended that in future a woman police officer should always be present at the taking of a statement from a woman on 'matters intimately

affecting her morals' unless the witness specifically asked otherwise.<sup>50</sup>

Lees-Smith went the other way, accepting Savidge's story. He described her as the more credible witness, dismissing the police evidence as something that 'denied both the probable and the improbable with equal force'.<sup>51</sup> He also expressed incredulity that Wyles was asked to leave the room when she clearly had no other duties to perform, and was only going to sit at the other end of the telephone line. His final verdict was that Savidge was asked many things that the officers had no right to ask her, and that her answers were twisted into misleading forms.<sup>52</sup> Fifteen practical recommendations for reform were included, ranging from a tightening of the rules on interrogating witnesses to a recommendation that in future the police should not be asked to investigate their fellow officers; the Director of Public Prosecutions needed his own coterie of independent investigators for this purpose. He further endorsed the majority report's recommendation that female officers should be present at the taking of statements from women.<sup>53</sup>

Because there was no unanimous verdict, very little practical action was taken. Certainly none of Lees-Smith's recommendations, which would have been expensive, were acted upon. Following further debates in the House of Commons, a Royal Commission was appointed to study police practices in the interrogation of witnesses, but this had little effectual impact either. A new order was issued to the police in 1929, that in an interrogation where a woman was to be asked any question on a matter 'intimately connected with her morals' a female police officer should be present. The rule was abandoned in 1931, having been seldom used, but the principle was established that male officers should not be left alone with women witnesses, especially in a sensitive case such as this one. It also became standard procedure for witness statements to be taken at the witness's workplace or (preferably) home, rather than at a police station. Collins himself, having had his fingers burnt, refused on a subsequent occasion to talk to a female suspect in a murder case until a female officer could be present. But his determination to clear his constables had unfortunate consequences for him — for all his ability, he was never promoted to Superintendent.

## Conclusion

The Savidge case was rather overshadowed by the scandal of corrupt Soho sergeant George Goddard later that year. The news that a station sergeant had amassed thousands of pounds by telling nightclub owners and their clients of forthcoming raids, and scheduling raids to close only one club in a chain at any one time, caused an even greater scandal than the treatment of Savidge by Chief Inspector Collins.<sup>54</sup> It is perhaps therefore not so very surprising that so far as can be judged it made no very lasting impression in the public mind.

But in one very particular way it had a direct bearing on the relationship between women and the law. Prior to 1928, women police officers had been an unpopular hangover from wartime manpower shortages. As Wyles herself said, they had been ill-treated, abused, ignored and undervalued. But her willingness to side with Collins

changed that. Women had proven that they had a level of *esprit de corps* — at risk of committing a sexual solecism, that they could be ‘one of the lads.’ As Robert Reiner noted:

Internal solidarity is a product not only of isolation, but also of the need to be able to rely on colleagues in a tight spot, and a protective armour shielding the force as a whole from public knowledge of infractions. Many studies have stressed the powerful code that enjoins officers to back each other up in the face of external investigation.<sup>55</sup>

This he noted, could however be blurred by differences within the police force itself, with various tribal groupings pitched against each other. Women were perhaps the most marginalized and rejected of all these groups in the Metropolitan police. John Carrier noted that

for women to enter an occupation is only a first step. To obtain equal rights within that occupation is a second and often a larger struggle. To be accepted as equals may take longer still. Women have found this in medicine and law ... police work was no exception.<sup>56</sup>

It seems morally wrong that a woman’s willingness to help cover up a crime against another woman by the police should be what allowed women to finally become effective and accepted members of the police force. Yet that is precisely what happened. Wyles later commented that Collins had become a close friend, and never undervalued her again. On a later occasion, he was sent out into the country to interrogate a female suspect in a murder case. The local police had expected him to put this witness through the same sort of ordeal that had awaited Miss Savidge. To their very great disappointment, Collins demanded a female officer be present, and refused to meet the suspect until one could be found.<sup>57</sup> He had learned a painful lesson, and had clearly accepted the importance of female officers in such cases. Wyles herself served out a distinguished career in the Metropolitan police, and retired in 1949 after thirty years’ service. The first woman in the CID, and for so long a reviled and under-used asset, she had seen the female complement of that force rise to forty-eight.

Of course, fundamental change did not occur overnight. In evidence to the Royal Commission on Police Powers that followed the Savidge enquiry, the Police Federation representative still insisted that women could only fulfil a limited role by taking statements from women and children.<sup>58</sup> However, it is notable that he did not call for their abolition, merely for their numbers to be kept at the current level rather than increased. It was not until the 1960s that policewomen were put under the same chain of command as their male colleagues.<sup>59</sup> As recently as ten years ago, Reiner asserted that ‘the police world is one of old-fashioned machismo. Sexism in police

culture is reinforced by discrimination in recruitment and promotion...sexual boasting and horseplay, often at the expense of women colleagues’.<sup>60</sup> However, following the Savidge case there was an acceptance of the fact that female police officers did have their uses, and therefore the arguments were generally about how they were treated and in what capacity they were employed.

It is almost certain that Savidge was telling the truth about her ordeal. The police testimony was clearly flawed in many crucial respects. Collins unnecessarily dismissed a potential witness; he changed his story at least once to fit the questions; he detained Miss Savidge for far longer than the minimum length of time that would be needed to obtain a statement from her about either the original incident or her treatment by the police. Savidge, while her testimony is not grammatical or even very coherent in places — which, given the strain she was under, is not surprising — was consistent from beginning to end. Quite where the truth lies in the earlier case is more doubtful. It should be noted that five years later Money was convicted of a sexual assault on a woman in a train, receiving a fine for it. Press cuttings on this case were left on the Home Office’s Savidge files as perhaps a slightly petty way of underlining Money’s dubious reputation.<sup>61</sup> On the unimpeachable testimony of Sir Archibald Bodkin, Money had notoriety as a womaniser even before 1928. So it is certainly not out of the question that the officers were in fact telling the truth, even though their evidence is of so graphic sex act that it is remarkable anybody would be fool enough to commit it under a street light in a place known to be patrolled by the police.

The lasting significance of the Savidge case was not a change in the law, for it did not cause one; or a change in police practices, for it did not directly lead to any; or even a new wariness among male officers not to bully their female interviewees, although such wariness did develop. Its real impact lay in the position of women in the police. Martin Pugh asserted that ‘in the long run ... uniformed women connected with the [armed] forces probably made less impact than those who penetrated the ranks of the police force.’<sup>62</sup> It was the Savidge case, and the associated performance of Lilian Wyles in supporting her male superiors, that made this ‘long run’ possible. For that reason if no other, it deserves to be seen as a landmark in the course of female emancipation in the workplace.

## Notes

1. Dorothy L. Sayers, ‘The Image in the Mirror’, *Hangman’s Holiday* (London, New English Library, 1974), 24.
2. John Carrier, *The Campaign for the Employment of Women as Police Officers* (Aldershot, Avebury, 1988), chapter 15, 190-204.
3. Barbara Weinberger, *Keeping the Peace? Policing Strikes in Britain, 1906-1926* (Providence, RI, Berg, 1991), 200-201.
4. Martin Pugh, *We Danced All Night: A Social History of Britain Between the Wars* (London, The Bodley Head, 2008), 116.
5. Cheryl Law, *Suffrage and Power: The Women’s*

*Movement 1918-1928* (London, I. B. Tauris, 1997), 104-105.

6. Jonathan Bernard Lopian, 'Crime, Police and Punishment 1918-1929: Metropolitan experiences, perceptions and policies', University of Cambridge, *Unpublished PhD thesis* (1986), 21-25.

7. A brief account of these cases is available in Lopian, 45-49

8. J. Carter Wood, "'Mrs. Pace" and the Ambiguous Language of Victimization,' in Lisa Dresdner and Laurel S. Peterson (eds.) *(Re)Interpretations: The Shapes of Justice in Women's Experience* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 79-93, is the most recent account of this case, focussing particularly on the media reaction to her treatment. I am indebted to Dr. Carter Wood for drawing my attention to this article.

9. Philippa Levine, "'Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should": Women Police in World War I' *Journal of Modern History* 66 (March 1994) 34-78, 75.

10. Louise A. Jackson, *Women Police: Gender, Warfare and Surveillance in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2006), 4.

11. Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis 1918-1957* (Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 2005), 52-54, offers a good brief account of the geography of sex in London at this period.

12. See The National Archives (hereafter NA) HO 144/17752/512746/15, including a transcript of the Hansard entries for 10 May 1928 (no. 7) and an undated internal memo giving the actual figures.

13. Sir Leo Money has recently been credited by Richard Toye with being a prime force behind Lloyd George's economic thinking: Richard Toye, *Lloyd George and Churchill: Rivals for Greatness* (London, Macmillan, 2007), 27-28.

14. Her surname was correctly spelled 'Savidge,' as is clear from most official documents on the case. However, many people who never saw it written down mis-spelled it as 'Savage', including newspaper reporters at the time and Lilian Wyles, the woman police officer involved. I have used the correct form in all but direct quotations.

15. For instance, James Morton, *Bent Coppers: A Survey of Police Corruption* (London, Warner Books, 1993, 1994), 69.

16. All this from the transcript of the hearing: 'Sir L. C. Money and Irene Savage [sic]: Charged with behaving in a manner likely to offend against public decency in Hyde Park' NA MEPO 3/554 (there are no folder references for much of this file).

17. Henry Lannoy Cancellor (1862-1929) service as a magistrate: West London Court, 1914-1921; Thames Court 1921-1924; Marlborough Street Court 1924-1929; retired 1929. In this last role, he also occasionally assisted at Marylebone. Sources: 'London Magistrate's Retirement', *The Times*, 30 July 1929, 9: *Who Was Who*, Vol. III 1929-1940, 217.

18. Richard Rathbone, *Murder and Politics in Colonial Ghana* (Yale, Yale University Press, 1993), 98. I am grateful to Professor Rathbone for drawing my attention to this work.

19. Wontner and Sons to New Scotland Yard, 3 May 1928, 'Sir L. C. Money and Irene Savage: Charged with behaving in a manner likely to offend against public decency in Hyde Park' NA MEPO 3/554.

20. From the trial transcript, op. cit.

21. Horwood to Sir Ernley Blackwell (Under-Secretary of State with responsibility for legal matters at the Home Office) 5 May 1928, NA MEPO 3/554.

22. Correspondence of Henry Cancellor and John Anderson, 5 May 1928 — 1 June 1928, NA HO 144/17752/512746/23.

23. John Anderson, memo of 9 May 1928, NA HO 144/17752/512746/23

24. Bodkin to Anderson, reply of 10 May 1928, in the same folder.

25. Morton, *Bent Coppers*, 76.

26. Statement by Edward Saxe, 17 May 1928, NA HO 144/17752/512746/31b

27. Lilian Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard: Reflections on the Struggles and Achievements of Thirty Years in the Metropolitan Police* (London, Faber and Faber, 1951), 187.

28. Ibid.

29. Statement by Irene Savidge, 23rd May 1928, 'Inquiry of tribunal re Interrogation of Miss Savidge at C.O.: report on proceedings with newspaper extracts', NA MEPO 3/554.

30. This again conflicted with Lilian Wyles's later account.

31. Morton, *Bent Coppers*, 71 (by implication, saying that Savidge was 'refused permission' to go home and change): Joan Lock, *The British Policewoman: Her Story* (London, Robert Hale, 1979) 159 (again by implication).

32. I am indebted to Professor Angela John, Honorary Professor at the Department of History and Welsh History, Aberystwyth University, for pointing out this aspect of Miss Savidge's request, an explanation that would certainly never have occurred to me.

33. Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard*, 187.

34. Ibid.

35. 'Miss Savage's 5 Hours at Scotland Yard: M.P. discloses her amazing story', *Daily Mail*, 18 May 1928, cutting in NA HO 144/17752/512746/34.

36. He had been recommended to Savidge's father as an MP sympathetic to women's rights who might be willing to raise the matter in Parliament by Money's solicitor, Herbert Sutton Syrett. See tribunal transcript, NA HO 326/6, day 2, 104-105.

37. Ibid.

38. See H. A. Taylor, Jix, *Viscount Brentford: being the authoritative and official biography of the Rt. Hon. William Joynson-Hicks, First Viscount Brentford of Newick*, London, Stanley Paul, 1933: for Joynson-Hicks' earlier connections with the female suffrage movement before World War I, see 62-63, p. 89: for his role in the passing of the Equal Franchise Act (including a deconstruction of the myth that he passed it to redeem an absent-minded pledge to Lady Astor), see 280-285.

39. Viscount Brentford (as Joynson-Hicks became upon leaving the House of Commons in 1929) *Do We Need a Censor?* (London, Faber and Faber, 1929), 7



40. Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard*, 192.  
 41. *Ibid.*, 196.  
 42. Lock, *The British Policewoman*, Chapter 16, 135-146.  
 43. Wyles, 192-193: cf. 'Miss Savage's Five Hours at Scotland Yard' *Daily Mail* op. cit.: 'Miss Savage was also at the House. She remained waiting inside the entrance used by members of the Government behind the Speaker's Chair in case it might be necessary to refer any point to her'.  
 44. Draft resolution, in NA HO 144/17752/512746/56.  
 45. Sir John Simon to Sir William Joynson-Hicks, 21 May 1928, in NA HO 144/17752/512746/56.  
 46. PCs Badger and McLean to their Divisional Chief Inspector, 24 May 1928, in NA HO 144/17752/512746/64.  
 47. Statement of Detective Sergeant Clark of New Scotland Yard, 17 May 1928, in NA HO 144/17752/512746/31b.  
 48. Matthew 27:24.  
 49. Statement by Collins on 17 May 1928 (one of three in the same folder on the same subject) in NA HO 144/17752/512746/31b.  
 50. Majority report, published by HMSO in 1928, copy in NA HO 144/17753a/512746/110 (16).  
 51. Minority report, published with the majority report in one volume by HMSO in 1928, copy in NA HO 144/17753a/512746/110 (24).  
 52. *Ibid.*, 30.  
 53. *Ibid.*, 30-32.  
 54. For an account of the scandal, and a consideration of how far it extended through the Soho police force, see Clive Emsley, 'Sergeant Goddard: The Story of a Rotten Apple or a Diseased Orchard?' in Amy Gilman Srebnick and René Lévy (eds) *Crime and Culture: An Historical Perspective* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2005), 85-104.  
 55. Robert Reiner, *The Politics of the Police* (3rd edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000), 92.  
 56. Carrier, *Campaign for the Employment of Women*, ix-x.  
 57. Wyles, *A Woman at Scotland Yard*, 203.  
 58. Evidence by P.C. Branthwaite to the Royal Commission, quoted in Carrier 209  
 59. Lock, *The British Policewoman*, 200.  
 60. Reiner, *Politics of the Police*, 97-98.  
 61. See NA HO 144/17754/512746/141.  
 62. Martin Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain 1914-1999* (2nd edition, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2000), 32.

## 'A Good Cause Moks a Strong Arm', 1909 and 2009



*The 1909 Gude Cause procession in Princes Street, Edinburgh*

### 1909

On 9 October 1909 the supporters of the women's suffrage movement in Scotland staged a grand historical pageant through the streets of Edinburgh in an attempt to persuade its citizens that Scotswomen deserved enfranchisement. Organised by the Women's Social and Political Union and led by WSPU's Scottish organiser, Flora Drummond — known as The General — the procession was divided into three sections: 'what women have done and can do and will do'. It was headed by floats on which were famous and legendary Scotswomen, from Queen Margaret to 'Midside Maggie', followed by women from all over Scotland and from all occupations and social classes: graduates of the four universities, doctors and schoolteachers, nurses, fishwives and some prominent society figures, such as the wife of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, under banners saying 'Votes for Women' and 'A Gude Cause Moks a Strong Arm'. The march drew crowds ten deep along Princes Street and, although there was some heckling and flour throwing, it passed off peacefully. *The Edinburgh Evening Dispatch* wrote of 'a solid phalanx of resolute and unflinching womanhood bent upon obtaining the vote'.

### 2009

On 10 October 2009 nearly 3000 women, under hundreds of banners, paraded through Edinburgh (Princes Street was unfortunately out of bounds due to the notorious tram works) to commemorate and celebrate the Scottish suffrage campaigners and to persuade women that there are still issues, such as equal pay, child poverty and domestic violence, which need direct action and political involvement. As with its predecessor, the procession was divided into three sections: the past, the present and the future. A small group of members of Women's History Scotland marched in the 'present'

section. Our handsome banner — the blown up dust jacket of the Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women with Women's History Scotland in place of the names of the editors — attracted a lot of attention as bystanders tried to identify the pictures of famous Scotswomen. The hope of those organising the march and those taking part was that learning about the struggle to obtain the vote will politicise a younger generation. The last banner read: 'Use your vote — your ancestors are watching'.

### Ann Kettle



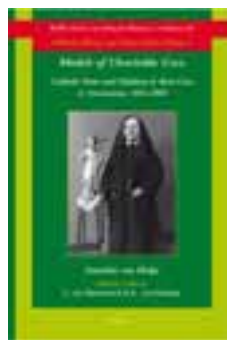
*The Women's History Scotland banner is carried past the National Museum of Scotland in 2009*

## Book Reviews

### **Annelies van Heijst, *Models of Charitable Care: Catholic Nuns and Children in their Care in Amsterdam, 1852-2002***

Brill: Leiden, Boston, 2008. € 99.00 / US\$148.00, ISBN 978-90-04-16833-6, pp. x + 414

Reviewed by Dr. Joos van Vugt  
*Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands*



Since the 1980s, the international historiography on religious institutes, especially those labelled 'active' in education or care, has grown considerably. Many convent archives have opened up. Our knowledge of the life and work of religious men and women has greatly increased. However, most studies focus on individual congregations or on individual establishments run by religious personnel. Most studies focus on one country. The result

is a multitude of publications on this or that religious institute and a distinct lack of studies which compare and evaluate congregations and their activities, nationally or internationally. Yet it is from comparison that we will gain insight into the historical meaning of nineteenth- and twentieth-century convent life. Personally, the deeper I go into this subject the more I become convinced that the blossoming of convent life between, say, 1800 and 1960 was not a continuation of timeless conventual tradition but rather a distinct phenomenon of the period — in the same sense that the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival was not a continuation of medieval Gothic architecture but a product of the nineteenth century itself.

Why did convent life, especially in its 'active' guise, experience such a sudden and spectacular flourishing in the first half of the nineteenth century and an equally sudden and spectacular fall after 1960? Its fortunes suggest a symbiosis with certain social and cultural developments. But which developments? On this point historians have so far failed themselves and their readers. There are as yet no serious discussions and consequently no convincing historical interpretations of modern convent life and on the significance of the huge amount of educational and charitable work that religious men and women performed.

Perhaps the input of strangers is required to break this stalemate and to stir up a discussion which transcends the fate of individual religious communities. For historians it always comes as a bit of a shock to have representatives of other disciplines — sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers, theologians — enter the field of historiography. Their gut reaction is often rejection: historical studies by non-historians cannot be any good. Often enough, these intruders are indeed to be faulted for their uncritical use of sources or their cavalier attitude to historical detail but some of them are very strong in the broad interpretation of historical facts, much stronger than many historians who swear by the virtues of description — and stick to that.

This is where Annelies van Heijst's study *Models of Charitable Care* comes in. Theologian Van Heijst is a prominent representative of the 'ethics of care'-movement in the Netherlands, and well-known for her stance against managerialism and over-rationalization in health care. Her book is, in the final analysis, not about sisters but about care. Nevertheless, she provides much information and many insights into the history and the charitable work of the Dutch congregation of the Poor Sisters of the Divine Child or Sisters of 'The Providence'. This religious community specialized in the care for orphaned and abandoned children. Van Heijst's focus is remarkable: she points out that 'care' is not a one-way street but a relationship between care-giver and care-receiver. She chooses to emphasize the viewpoint of the care-receivers within the caring relationship. Because of this choice she has to resort to all kinds of personal recollections by men and women who, at one time during their lives, were dependent on the care of strangers. Van Heijst chooses this unusual and hermeneutically difficult perspective because it has always been neglected in historiography and because it refers to much bitter public controversy in

recent years. The reputation of religious care-givers has suffered tremendously from the numerous disclosures by former children in ward about harsh treatment, loveless upbringing and even physical and sexual abuse. On the other hand, many people who spend their young lives in homes run by religious sisters and brothers have happy memories and are appreciative of the efforts made to give them a good start in life. Clearly, this is a field of conflicting memories, resentment and appreciation, subjectivity and objectivity, and wildly diverging viewpoints between care-givers and care-receivers. Van Heijst, extremely knowledgeable in both the history of religious institutes and in the modern thinking on the phenomenon of care, is a clear-headed guide into this emotional and social minefield.

In this review I will not venture to summarize Van Heijst's insights into caring relationships but confine myself to her conclusions. Her story results in a discussion of three 'models of charitable care': charity as one-way action (giving), charity as two-way action (between elite and poor, giver and receiver), and charity as a three-polar dynamic (as a 'network of generous care', as a form of giving because God initiated all giving and humans are invited to join in his endeavour, and as a form of participation in God's generous love). Van Heijst warns that the perspectives of care-givers and care-receivers are not easily reconciled. Historians of charity should integrate both perspectives and allow for negative and positive evaluations as the inevitable outcome of this kind of caring relationships. Charitable care is ethically ambiguous, and at all times a fallible human enterprise.

Everyone who is interested in the charitable work performed by religious institutes in the last two centuries should read this book. It is a gold mine of insights. But do not expect a quick and easy read. Van Heijst is thorough and wordy. Per aspera ad astra.

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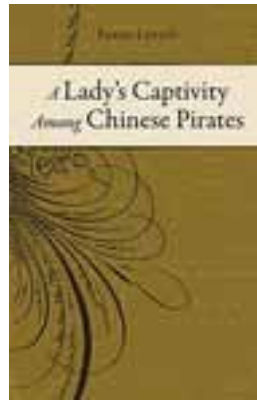
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**Fanny Loviot, translated from the French  
by Amelia B. Edwards, *A Lady's Captivity  
Among Chinese Pirates in the Chinese Seas***  
National Maritime Museum: Greenwich,  
London, 2008. £8.99, ISBN 978-1-906367-00-8  
(hardback), pp. x + 149

Reviewed by Carole Brost Reeves  
*Isle of Wight*



An introduction by Margaret Lincoln, deputy director of the National Maritime Museum, provides historical context for 'this reprint of a long-neglected true-life adventure'. In 1852 Fanny Loviot explains how she and her elder sister sailed for California to engage in 'commercial matters' in San Francisco, and Lincoln thinks this is a disguise for the fact that Fanny sailed from France by means of the Lottery of the Golden

Ingots, set up in France in 1850 with the political motive of raising funds to remove indigents and undesirables on a one-way ticket to California. At the time of the California Gold Rush (1848-55) many people went to California to 'seek their fortune' and women went too — to work in the saloons and dance halls. In my (American from California) opinion, this does not mean the worst concerning Fanny Loviot. She was an adventurer for sure, but beyond that nothing is written in stone.

The book begins as a true travelogue of a young French woman's journey in a small schooner from La Havre, France, across the Atlantic and around the Horn, to San Francisco, California. The first stop is Rio Janeiro to take on fresh water and provisions, and the author records her observations of Brazilian women.

Lounging nearly all day on sofas ... they disdain mere household matters ... it is no unusual sight to see these indolent women rouse themselves from their habitual lethargy to run long needles into the arms or bosoms of the negresses who wait upon them.

The weather begins to grow colder and the sea more boisterous as they approach and come in sight of Cape Horn, which is clad in ice. After thirteen days they round the Horn and sail up the side of the American continents to San Francisco.

A delightful cameo of the city is given as the author captures the vitality, bawdiness, and polyglot population in 1852. San Francisco is small, its situation at the end of the peninsula (between the ocean and the bay) limits its area, yet it seems enormous. The Spanish mission, Chinatown, ships at anchor showing the flags of many countries, all suggest a world larger than what she sees. Gold is the engine which drives all the enterprises, and gold is everywhere because the 'California Gold Rush' began in 1848.

After eighteen months living in San Francisco and



northern California, a disastrous fire in San Francisco with the loss of most of her possessions occasions her to accept an invitation from a French woman, Madame Nelson, whom she has befriended, to accompany her to the island of Java to visit friends. Twenty-four days later, while crossing the Pacific, Madame Nelson succumbs to an illness and dies on board ship, leaving the author alone. When they reach Hong Kong, and she is summoned to the French Consulate to attest to the death of Madame Nelson, the vice consul offers to assist her to return to California.

While she is waiting for these arrangements to be made, there is a delightful interlude in Hong Kong and Canton. The author has a gift for saying little but makes it a tantalizing peep, which invites the reader to wish to be there too.

On October 4, 1854, she boards the brig *Caldera*, which is flying the Chilean flag, and bound for California. Here the book changes from being a light travelogue to a description of a harrowing adventure for the remaining half of the book. A frightful chapter of the encounter with pirates — three Chinese junks, with thirty to forty pirates on each, surrounded the *Caldera* and boarded the ship using grappling hooks.

The author's treatment by the pirates is not brutal or disturbing but it is frightening. She was their captive for twelve days. She had an older Chinese man with her, who was also a captive, and he gave her reassurance and probably protection against the pirates' cruelty. But she was always terrified because she witnessed the pirates' cruelty to other foreigners on other ships they overtook in their search for plunder along the coast of China between Macao, Hong Kong, and Canton. Historically the pirate villages along the creeks of Canton, and the pirate Chinese junks, were dealt with by the British, and sometimes also the French, in exactly the way the author describes as she relates her dramatic rescue.

A happy conclusion to this adventure is followed with a final chapter of the author's travels back to France via Singapore, Penang, Ceylon, Aden, and Suez, before the canal was built. The isthmus was crossed using camels. Then it was on to Cairo, with a glimpse of the pyramids, Alexandria, and Marseilles, and finally, home.

There is one important inaccuracy relating to California, which should be mentioned. The mountains are not the Rocky Mountains — they are much further east — but the Sierra Nevada Mountains or the 'High Sierras'. Yet anyone interested in the California Gold Rush; French history at the time of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte; getting to San Francisco from Europe before the Panama Railroad, which was begun in 1850 because of the many people going to the Gold Rush, and finished in 1855; or the first arrival of (a few) Chinese in California should read this book.

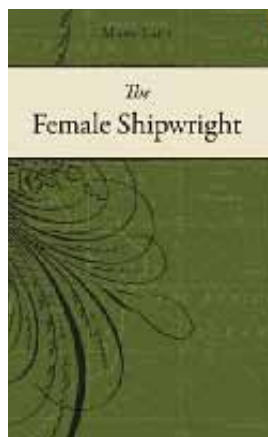
As to women's history, Loviot's story demonstrates some women had adventurous lives long before 'women's liberation'. They wore corsets and petticoats, some had money and some didn't, but they all used their wits and had courage. A wonderful example to us all.

## Mary Lacy, introduction by Margarette Lincoln, *The Female Shipwright*

Caird Library Reprints, National Maritime Museum: London, 2008. £8.99, ISBN: 978-1-9063677-01-5 (hardback), 144 pp.

## Margarette Lincoln, *Naval Wives and Mistresses*

National Maritime Museum: London, 2007. £20, ISBN: 978-0-948065-92-7 (hardback), 218pp + 38 colour plates.



Reviewed by Jo Stanley  
Centre for Mobilities  
Research, Lancaster  
University

Yo ho, my hearties!, a.k.a. 'chaps'. Seafaring traditionally - and still - excludes women. Even today, less than two per cent of the commercial navy worldwide are seagoing women. And in the UK's Royal Navy 7.5 per cent (about 2,000) are female, not necessarily

seagoing.

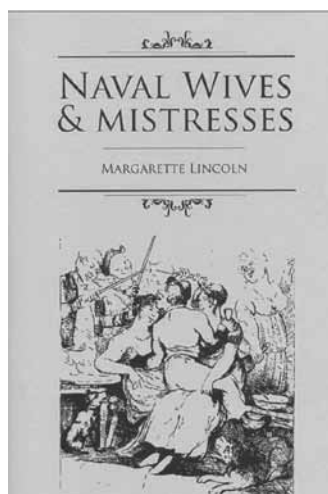
So, what role can women have had in relation to seafaring? These new books from the National Maritime Museum show the two principal connections: women who cross-dressed and worked at sea as 'men' (there were scores of them), and those women on land who were the wives and lovers of seafarers (there were thousands and thousands).

Not only did few women work at sea, even fewer wrote and published their story. A picaresque chancer, Mary Lacy (1740-1798) did so. In this reprint of her 1773 autobiography she describes first of all being 'William Chandler', a young carpenter's apprentice from 1759-62 on a warship, and secondly being apprentice shipwright in 1763-70, which often entailed her working and lodging on ships. The work gave her excruciating rheumatism, and at 32 she disclosed her sex, won an Admiralty pension and retired — to become a speculative house builder in London.

This elegant little green volume is not revealing. Want to know how women sailors dealt in gender ways with maritime tasks, hid their menstruation from male shipmates, or felt about the misogyny culture aboard? Sorry, there is no information there. Indeed, without Margarette Lincoln's modern introduction, it would be hard to make sense of Lacy's career. The introduction not only interprets and clarifies, it also adds newly researched information, for example, that Lacy — like many 'ramblin female sailors' — might have been a lesbian and living with her 'wife' Elizabeth Slade.

Mary Lacy's account is valuable for its revelations, both in the stories she tells and how she tells them. She represents herself as a naïve ladette who was often

wronged, but then made (over-neatly) good; she married a man. Strap on your detectors, read between the lines and you'll get a quirky picture of eighteenth-century working life and happenstance.



By contrast, *Naval Wives and Mistresses*, Margarett Lincoln's thorough, rich investigation of the thousands of women behind men on ships, requires much less sleuthing and scepticism. It is gratifyingly clear about women as unrecognised contributors to the hidden support system for the King's Navee, and as private sufferers — valiant, generous but struggling hard.

Being married to a seafarer is like being a grass widow. You endured huge absences, and saw him as little as once in five years. That meant being effectively head of the household, sole parent, manager of the children's futures, and the errand-runner who forever sent parcels of clothes, food and newspaper to his ship. Indeed, the book could be entitled 'Support — the women who give it, but seldom get it'.

Grounded in an economic and social history approach to a maritime past, this wise and incredibly detailed work has no truck with individualism or romantic fancies about Jack Tar's supposedly saucy Molls. Instead it understands real women's contexts and positions in Lacy's period, the late eighteenth century. Such a situated approach is helped very much by Lincoln's forthright division of the wives and mistresses into classes. After a clarifying introduction about women's context in society, especially focusing on naval women, three chapters deal with the aristocracy and gentry, the middling sort, and the labouring and criminal classes. The final chapter is about how war at sea affected women's lives — not just risk but also the rewards and attendant tricky status that went with victories.

This book is particularly strong on upper-class women. For example, it shows women as agents of their men's promotion ladder. The author also explains how wives and families could be neglected because the younger sons who tended to go to sea as officers were driven to placing fame and fortune first.

Unfortunately the lack of evidence about working-class women's lives, caused by their low literacy levels, means thousands of working-class women have been merged into the same chapter as the criminal classes. The reader gains the erroneous impression that domestic violence, alcoholism, infidelities and financial fiddles were only true of working-class marriages. Conversely, the availability of artfully written letters from and to elite women gives the false impression that tender supportive liaisons were only true of the more privileged classes.

There are three absences that deserve attention. Firstly, homosexuality. The book paints an entirely heterosexual picture, whereas evidence shows that men

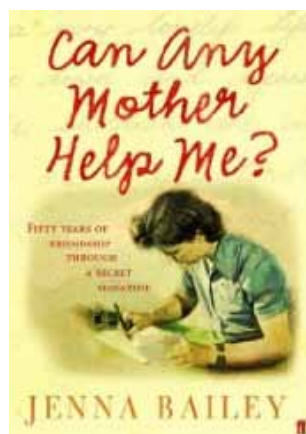
at sea had homosexual liaisons — which must have impacted on marriages. And surely lonely women turned to women, as well as men, for comfort in their husband's long absences? Secondly, it would have been good to know still more about family support and community support, so that the married couple was not posited as so separated from others. And thirdly, there is the issue of physical and mental health. Did not distressed women turn to chemical support such as alcohol and opiates?

My recent research into modern naval partners found many similarities to this eighteenth century picture. For example, communication continues to be vital for the seafarer and the stay-ashore partner. Now instant emails, Skype and webcam chats have replaced letters delayed for months by tides. Wives are still trusted — though now less astonishingly — to make major decisions, such as buying a house alone, or purchasing the family chaise/car. They marry the navy, and the ship is his mistress, their rival. That continues.

To read about wives' devoted (and taken-for-granted) support is to be struck by an awareness of how much today's male partners of seafaring women would be praised if they were as supportive: looking after the children on top of having a job, running the house, seeing to repairs, handling all the bills, buying and sending off her requests, such as shirts, shampoo and memory sticks. If ever a job necessitated support from those back home, especially if children are involved, seafaring is that job. This book admirably illuminates what that partnership necessitated 250 years ago.

### **Jenna Bailey, *Can any Mother Help Me? Fifty Years of Friendship Through a Secret Magazine***

Faber and Faber Ltd: London, 2007. £16.99, 9780571233137(hardback), pp. xii + 329. £ 7.99, 9780571233144 (paperback) pp. 368.



Reviewed by Katherine Holden  
University of the West of England

This absorbing book opens a window onto the lives and interests of a group of educated, geographically dispersed British women between the mid-1930s and 1990. Its author, Jenna Bailey, was fortunate enough to discover a cache of magazines from the Co-operative Correspondence Club in the Mass Observation Archive at the University of Sussex, deposited in 1998, by one of the surviving members. The club, the oldest of 200 similar correspondence magazines known to have been circulating in the UK, was formed in 1935 as a result of a cry for help by a lonely, depressed, mother with limited reading material and no social life. Written under the pseudonym

Ubique, she sent a letter to the correspondence column of a widely read motherhood magazine, *Nursery World*, asking other readers for suggestions for an occupation that would intrigue her, stop her brooding over past hurts and cost nothing.

So many readers responded from all over the UK that Ubique suggested forming a fortnightly correspondence magazine in which each member would contribute an article on any subject. Many of the contributors were, like her, intelligent, university educated women, denied the opportunity to work and not ideally suited to the roles of housewife and mother, particularly as standards of home making and child care became increasingly high in the mid-twentieth century. The articles, hand stitched together in decorative covers, were read in turn by each correspondent and forwarded on to the next member often annotated by readers with comments on the subject matter or notes of sympathy and encouragement. Only one copy was kept, so members numbering up to twenty-four at any one time were never able to hang on to the magazine for long, making its arrival in the post a very significant event. Astonishingly, the great majority of members, who joined mainly in the 1930s or 40s, continued corresponding in this way until they died or became too infirm to continue writing. In this age of instant messaging, the longevity and closeness of this correspondence is an important reminder that friendship groups between women who never (or rarely) met flourished in the past without email or social networking sites and arguably with a greater depth of communication.

Bailey has made an excellent job of editing extracts from the magazines which she has arranged thematically with chapters on children, anecdotes of everyday life, wartime experiences, marriage, working mothers, experiences of loss, and growing older. Interestingly, members had made an agreement that children should not be the focus of the magazine, yet childless women were still excluded from the group. Bailey points out that, since in the early years of the magazine children infiltrated every aspect of these women's lives, discussions about childrearing were inevitable.

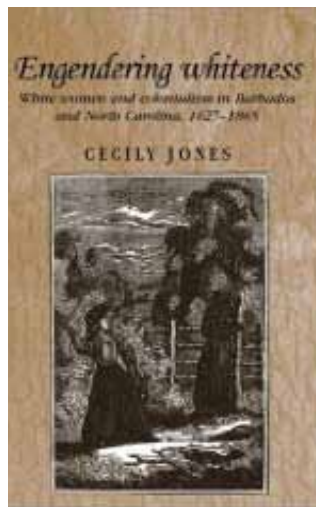
The introduction gives a very useful account of how the magazine was run (only members were allowed to read it), recruitment of contributors, their locations and backgrounds and changing editors and editorial policies. A fascinating section on views about sex might have been extended into a chapter, particularly as such frank, personal accounts from this period are a rarity. Bailey also suggests a wide range of other topics, including current events, class, politics, religion and literature, not all of which are given prominence in the body of the book.

There is a wealth of information about the correspondents featured, gleaned partly from interviews with surviving members of the club and their families. Biographical details of key contributors together with contextual information for the extracts are included within the body of the book and further biographies in an appendix give backgrounds, where available, for all women whose names are mentioned. The careful and sympathetic treatment of these women's life histories indicates Bailey's close identification with her subjects. There is however

some repetition which had it been avoided might have left space for a stronger historical context to locate individual experiences. An index and bibliography or further reading would also have been welcome additions. These quibbles aside, this is an immensely enjoyable book, sensitively edited, which in addition to being a good read provides some very useful source materials for students of women's history.

**Cecily Jones, *Engendering Whiteness: White Women and Colonialism in Barbados and North Carolina, 1627-1865***

Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007. £55.00, ISBN 978 0 7190 6432 6 (hardback), pp. xi + 237



*Reviewed by Valerie Johnson  
The National Archives*

**E***ngendering Whiteness* examines how African slave-based societies shaped the place of white women in two colonies, Barbados and North Carolina, the first of which remained a colony throughout the period of Jones's study and the other of which left it in 1770s. By choosing to look at women in these two slave-owning

societies, where the role of white women was complex and contested, one of Jones's key aims is to interrogate the idea and concept of whiteness.

Jones argues that women as a group were 'important determinants of Britain's success as a colonial and imperial power' (2). Women were physical 'reproducers of whiteness' by giving birth to white children, but they were also reproducers of the cultural boundaries of whiteness. As slave owners they were active agents of empire as well as participants in various parts of the plantation economy. White women as part of the dominant white group were granted rights and power over others, and Jones argues that a previous failure to acknowledge the power of colonial women has obscured their role, though she stresses that women were victims as well as agents.

Jones's first chapter focuses on poor relief in a Barbadian parish, using the records of the church Vestry Committee. Though she states that sexual relations were important in preserving racial boundaries, she admits that there was no legislation banning inter-racial sexual relations as there was in other colonies, a fact which, unexplained, undermines her argument. Why did Barbados not go down this route? She then claims that white male strategies concentrated on poor white women. The problem with this is that as Jones is using the records of poor relief on which to base her discussion, it is clear that she is going to find little evidence of wealthy upper-



class women in it.

The chapter as a whole is frustrating. In numerous instances, no evidence is offered for assertions, such as, 'the long-held belief in the promiscuity of poor white women' (29). Economic factors were clearly important. Tantalising hints of their centrality appear throughout the chapter, but need greater development and fuller theorising. Jones discusses how abandoned wives were such regular receivers of poor relief that an Act was passed requiring that names be given of those intending to leave the island along with security to stop male desertion without support. It is also clear (35) that men were prosecuted for recovery of parish funds spent on illegitimate children. Jones touches on these issues but they are never expanded.

Jones's second chapter moves on to North Carolina. As in the previous chapter, some of her evidence does not support her case. Discussing the huge transgression that an illegitimate child represented for a white woman, only worsened when the child was mixed race, she then quotes a case from 1772 where a white married woman bore a mixed race child (fathered by a black slave), which she murdered. She was tried, yet her husband stood by her, she was freed, and had further children with the husband. So where does this leave her argument? She argues (46) that because the woman was from a powerful family, that the court would not find her guilty, and that lower-class women could have their children removed as they were less powerful. Yet, her argument in the previous chapter is that upper-class white women were easier to control, as they feared social sanction, whilst poor women had already fallen outside it.

There then follows an excellent discussion about how sexual relationships between white women and free black men were seen as threatening because they raised the spectre of non-whites owning property. This is a good point, and interesting as it problematises the purely racial and gender issues with other social and economic factors, particularly that of money. Jones then goes on to discuss the complex relations of poor white women to labour and paid work. Poor white women often worked alongside slaves, as well as in domestic employment, and by the mid-nineteenth century, in cotton factories, and this role of women as productive labour blurred all sorts of boundaries. This is very interesting material and often overlooked and it is to Jones's credit that she has unearthed this neglected area and treated it with such sophistication.

Picking up on the link between property and social standing raised in chapter 2, Jones's third chapter on female property holders in Barbados develops this theme further. Her point is that political rights were often dependent on property, itself a marker of free status, itself linked to race. Jones links this to the status of black slaves as 'property', while whites remained free, though not equally. Though the nature and extent of the differences and their implications are still under debate, Jones makes it clear that in this particular colonial context, white women benefitted from far greater freedoms than in England, and were able to take advantage of far wider opportunities to enhance their own status through property interests and ownership. However, it is not until the Conclusion that Jones states that neither Barbados nor North Carolina

prevented free blacks from accumulating land (223), and this highly relevant fact should have been a key fact in this discussion.

A fourth chapter describes the shaping of Sarah Hicks Williams, a newly married white woman, into a slave mistress. Daughter of abolitionist parents, and the holder of anti-slavery beliefs herself, Williams married a slaveowner. Jones documents the process of Williams's gradual alteration in views. In line with her alternating chapters, Jones then returns to Barbados in the next chapter, for an extended discussion of the will of a white woman. The will shows the woman owning slaves and therefore displays her power over the bodies of others. Jones then follows with a good discussion refuting the arguments and associations made by some feminists that Africans and women were the same by analogy: both subservient to men. As Jones points out, white women could not be enslaved and could, in their turn, 'own' others. Jones does not shirk from acknowledging this role of women as themselves perpetrators of inequality and discrimination, stating that when white women could own black women, notions of shared victimhood through female status are shown to be false. In the remainder of the chapter, Jones goes on to show that women were not necessarily victims or passive plantation mistresses, but could be active economic partners in the maintenance of slave society and the white racial group. In fact, Jones argues that 'it was in their ability to access slave labour that the racial and gender distance from black women was established' (164). She says ownership of slaves 'secured white social status' (166) by marking a line between free and unfree, though again it is only in the Conclusion that Jones reveals that an 1833 Act in North Carolina established the right of free non-whites to own slaves, a highly relevant fact that should have been included here. The chapter ends strongly with a sophisticated and nuanced discussion of how female oppression intersected with domination, and how class, race and gender were intertwined. A final chapter turns on an analogous discussion of property and inheritance from a woman of North Carolina.

Jones concludes that the institution of slavery in the colonies shaped the world of white women, whom she rightly does not treat as a single category. Part of the Manchester University Press series, 'Studies in Imperialism', Jones's discussion would have benefitted from some of the literature coming out the imperial history arena. The work of Catherine Hall and Ann Laura Stoler, both of whom are only lightly touched on, is of key importance to Jones's work, and there is a complete absence of recent works on gender and empire from Philippa Levine, Helen Callaway, Clare Midgley, Margaret Strobel and Angela Woollacott, none of whose works appear in the bibliography.

It is however, unusual and very welcome to see such a prevalent position given to the role of women in the economy, a much neglected arena, and Jones is much to be praised for this. *Engendering Whiteness* is a book of contrasts, where subtle and nuanced examples are marred by some of Jones's assertions, as if, in trying to control the mass of new material she has opened up, she has nailed it down into bald generalisations that do an injustice to her widely conceived and important exposition.



## Carol Adams Prize

*An annual £100 prize for the best AS, A2 or Scottish Highers or Advanced Highers essay on women's history*

The Women's History Network will award a £100 prize for the best AS, A2 or Scottish Highers or Advanced Highers essay on women's history. This award was set up in honour of the late Carol Adams (first Chief Executive of the GTC) who helped pioneer women's history in schools.

### Essays

- can focus on any aspect of women's history
- should be no longer than 1,500 words
- should include a bibliography
- be word processed
- the front page should include your name, the name of your school and the title of the essay

If you require any further information please contact Dr Paula Bartley at [jandpdudley@t-online.hu](mailto:jandpdudley@t-online.hu). Essays should be sent to this email address.

**Deadline:** The deadline for submission is 31 May 2010. The prize will be awarded in September 2010.



## WHN Book Prize

**An annual £500 prize for a first book in women's or gender history**

The Women's History Network (UK) Book Prize is awarded for an author's first single-authored monograph which makes a significant contribution to women's history or gender history and is written in an accessible style. The book must be written in English and be published the year prior to the award being made.

Entries (books published during 2009) should be submitted by 15 March 2010.

For further information please contact Professor Ann Heilmann, chair of the panel of judges Email: [bookprize@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:bookprize@womenshistorynetwork.org) Professor Ann Heilmann, Department of English, University of Hull, Cottingham Road, Hull HU6 7RX, UK

## Clare Evans Prize

*An annual £500 prize for a new essay in the field of GENDER AND HISTORY*

In memory of Dr Clare Evans, a national prize worth £500 is offered annually for an original essay in the field of women's history or gender and history. Essays are considered by a panel of judges set up by the Women's History Network and the Trustees of the Clare Evans Memorial Fund. Subject to the normal refereeing criteria, the winning essay is published in Women's History Review.

Clare Evans was an outstanding woman who died tragically of cervical cancer on 30 November 1997, aged just 37. Born in Bath, she read history at the University of Manchester, graduating in 1982. She continued her studies, registering for a PhD at the University whilst preparing and delivering seminars on feminist history, creating the first feminist historiography course in collaboration with Kersten England and Ann Hughes. Clare would have approved of an award which helped women to publish for the first time, giving them the confidence to further develop their ideas.

To be eligible for the award, the candidate must be a) a woman who has not yet had a publication in a major academic journal, b) not in a permanent academic position, and c) normally resident in the UK.

The article should be in English and of 6,000 to 8,000 words in length including footnotes. We welcome submissions from any area of women's history or gender and history.

Please send completed essays to Ann Hughes by 31 May 2010. Please also include brief biographical details (education, current job or other circumstances) and include a cover sheet with title only (not name) to facilitate anonymous judging.

Those wishing to apply for the prize should first email or write for further details to:

Ann Hughes, Department of History and Classics, University of Keele, Keele, Staffs, ST5 5BG. Email: [hia21@keele.ac.uk](mailto:hia21@keele.ac.uk)



## Carol Adams Prize Awarded



The Women's History Network has awarded a £100 prize to Rachel Young (pictured left) of Portsmouth Grammar School for her essay 'What was the real role of gender in the Early Modern European witch hunts?' The judges (Paula Bartley, Hilary Bourdillon, Cathy Loxton) had a set of criteria with which to judge the essays. These criteria were: originality of essay; argument of a case; relevance and accuracy of historical knowledge and understanding; range and depth of coverage of issues; historical evaluation and analysis; historiographical awareness; and finally quality of spelling, punctuation and grammar.

The judges were impressed by this young pupil in the first year of her 'A' level studies. In their view Rachel drew critically on current research to present a well-argued and coherent account within a very limited 1,000 words. Rachel's essay had an ambitious geographical span comparing attitudes to witchcraft in Hungary and England with that of Iceland and Estonia. (Future students might benefit by focusing on one country only.) There was some historiographical awareness in Rachel's essay (as when she questioned Sharpe's analysis that the 'witch figure was essentially a refiguration of the bad mother'). To her credit Rachel wrote with clarity and precision and even realized that gender was

historically constructed. The judges hope that readers will enjoy this essay from a young woman who is just beginning her historical studies, which is printed on the opposite page.

## WHN Book Prize Awarded

This year seven very strong entries were submitted for the £500 Women's History (UK) Book Prize and were considered by a panel of six judges (Kathryn Gleadle, Ann Heilmann, Ann Kettle, Clare Midgley, Penny Summerfield and Alex Shepard). The winner was Sarah Pearsall for her monograph, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2008). Sarah is a lecturer in Non-European History at Oxford Brookes University. Her book was found to be a thoroughly engaging exploration of the role of letters in creating and sustaining families and family identities in the Atlantic World in the eighteenth century. Beautifully written, it was thought to form a major contribution to both family and gender history.



## Clare Evans Essay Prize Awarded



The Clare Evans prize attracted a high quality field in 2009, mainly of postgraduate and recent doctoral students, who submitted essays on topics ranging from the medieval period to the twentieth century, and including the history of medicine, of photography and of crime. The winner was Jennifer Evans of Exeter University for an essay on '“Its caused of the womans part or of the mans part”: the role of gender in the diagnosis and treatment of sexual dysfunction in early modern England'. Jennifer's supervisor, Dr Sarah Toulalan, is herself a former winner of the prize. Leonie Hannan (Royal Holloway) was highly commended for 'Reconsidering the Intellectual: Women, Letters and the Life of the Mind'. The prize continues to encourage early career women historians to prepare work for publication and success has aided the careers of many previous winners. The judges for 2009 were Amanda Capern (Hull University); Elizabeth Harvey (Nottingham); June Hannam (University of the West of England); Ann Hughes (Keele, Chair). Elizabeth and June are standing down this year and we thank them very much for their years of service. They will be replaced by Kath Holden (UWE) and Karen Adler (Nottingham). The prize was presented to the winner at the Oxford conference by Clare's daughter Merlin, and Merlin has also agreed to join the judges from 2010.

# What was the Real Role of Gender in the Early Modern European Witch Hunts?

Rachel Young

Portsmouth Grammar School

The witch craze in Early Modern Europe began in the 15th century after the Papacy declared witchcraft a *Crimen exceptum* in 1468. This craze lasted for approximately two centuries before it became discredited and declined in popularity. During this time, around 40,000 and 50,000 people were executed for crimes associated with witchcraft. Whilst it is true that 'most accused witches were women', men are accountable for around 25 per cent of those executed.<sup>1</sup> Although these statistics imply a gender divide in terms of witchcraft, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that witchcraft was not a tool used to suppress women in European patriarchal society but more a reflection of aspects of that society. Women were more likely to become victims because of their socio-economic position, which meant they were often poor, powerless and vulnerable.

Cultural beliefs contributed to the mass of women accused. Whilst cultures in Greece and Rome believed in the presence of the supernatural and witchcraft, even using 'the word "witch" in connection with their magical practitioners', this did not result in a fury of executions.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Western world, their belief in the supernatural did not stem from images created by the Christian faith. It is the figure of witches created by Christianity that resulted in thousands of persecutions.

The Western world of this era was rooted in biblical culture. The fears, which erupted from Christianity, were combined with their belief in the devil from which sprung up their image of a stereotypical witch. Therefore, it is no surprise that their cultural beliefs about women led to their accusations. In the story of Adam and Eve in the Bible, Eve is depicted as weak because she succumbed to temptation by eating a forbidden apple. This story is a major factor in contributing to the idea at the time that women were weak and vulnerable to temptations, thus making them more likely than men to agree to a pact with the Devil and become a witch.

The social status of women during the witch-hunting period made them open for accusations, especially amongst the elderly and those who lived alone. Society believed that women were more open to sexual temptation and that in their elderly years they were sexually frustrated, resulting in 'a belief that some women had sex with the devil, were won over to Satan's service because they were over-sexed.'<sup>3</sup> Contrastingly, men had enough will-power to resist these temptations; therefore, there were less male witches amongst society. Some even deemed women to be too unintelligent to realise when they were entering into a satanic pact 'Pierre de Lancre stated that the Devil 'wins over more women than men, because they are naturally more imbecile.'<sup>4</sup> We

might consider that it was often post-menopausal women who were accused because there were 'societal fears of pollution or of the perceived redundancy of women beyond their fertile years'.<sup>5</sup> Mothers often felt their child-care threatened by these elderly women, particularly because children were thought to be extremely vulnerable to harm from witchcraft, resulting in maternal women accusing the elderly of witchcraft, in order to protect their offspring. This provides evidence that witchcraft accusations were not a consequence of an oppressive patriarchal society as some historians believe. Sharpe states that 'based on Kleinian psychology, that the witch figure was essentially a refiguration of the bad mother', which reinforces the maternal ferocity shown against the elderly women who could no longer become mothers.<sup>6</sup> However, this is a provisional point with no tangible evidence to support it because assertions based on a degree of psychology are harder to prove in practice.

Similar to the belief of witches in Greece and Rome, witchcraft was associated with magical practitioners and activities. In Western culture these were procedures in childbirth, preparation of food, care of animals and tending to the sick, which are activities predominantly associated with the female sphere of life. Some historians believe that the accusation of witches in this instance was due to 'the male suppression of women healers'<sup>7</sup> because the 'Church and state believed that only men should be allowed to practise medicine'<sup>8</sup> and so implicated their female rivals as satanic. However, this does not explain why the accusations were predominantly from women and why there were a minority of men also accused. In addition, men formed the majority of the accused in Russia and Iceland, which suggests significant geographical variations.

The fact that all identified professional witch hunters are male, such as Matthew Hopkins, suggests that the suppression of women and role of gender plays a part in witchcraft. However, while men were often convicted of witchcraft, male and female crimes often differed. Whilst women were often accused of fornicating with the devil and killing unborn children, men were accused of killing or bewitching horses and sometimes creating wealth. The crimes that the men were accused of were easier to disprove than the crimes for which the women were accused, implying that it was simpler to clear one's name if one was male due to the nature of the crime. Significantly, most men who were accused of witchcraft were shepherds or men related to women accused and therefore 'guilty' by association. Perhaps shepherds were amongst the most accused in concerns to male witchcraft because they were usually solitary, vulnerable people? The amount of time

spent alone with animals also allowed people to believe that there was opportunity to bewitch them and that some might even be familiars.<sup>9</sup>

It is correct that overall women were accused of witchcraft more than men; however, in some local areas there was a preponderance of men accused. Briggs writes: 'men accounting for 90 per cent of the accused in Iceland, 60 per cent in Estonia and nearly 50 per cent in Finland'.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, there were 'regions where 90 percent ... were women; these include Hungary, Denmark and England'.<sup>11</sup> These two quotations suggest that prosecution for witchcraft was not specific to one gender but varies widely across Europe.

Overall, more women were accused with witchcraft but not so much directly as a result of patriarchal dominance. Generally, women were accused more frequently because of cultural beliefs stemming from biblical roots, the social status of women at the time and their traditional association with magical activities, such as healers and herbalists. Yet, both the men and the women who are accused of witchcraft were vulnerable with no one there to protect them from suspicions and accusations. Therefore, witchcraft seems to be an attack on the weak regardless of their gender. However, as women were disproportionately weak in Early Modern Europe, it is no surprise that they tragically provided the great majority of victims

#### Notes

1. Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft*.
2. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Witchcraft, A History*.
3. Ann Barstow, *Witchcraze*.
4. Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours*.
5. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation*.
6. James Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England*.
7. Maxwell-Stuart, *Witchcraft, A History*.
8. Maxwell-Stuart, *Witchcraft, A History*.
9. A spirit, usually in animal form, which acts as an assistant to a witch.
10. Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours*.
11. Briggs, *Witches and Neighbours*.

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Sharpe, James, *Witchcraft In Early Modern England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

## Conference Report

*The eighteenth Annual Conference of the Women's History Network  
Women, Gender & Political Spaces: Historical Perspectives  
St Hilda's College, Oxford, 11-13 September 2009*



*Tea on the Lawn: from left June Purvis, Jessica Holloway Dyker, Gerry Holloway and Nicola Phillips*

Annual conferences get ever bigger and better. This year nearly 170 participants gathered in Oxford from all over the world; in addition to the usual large contingent from the USA, there were one or two delegates each from Canada, Australia, Japan, India, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy and Ireland. There were, excluding the four plenary lectures, 35 sessions at which 95 papers were delivered. These papers were cleverly woven into six strands: women's relationship to the state; gender, cultural life and cultural production; gender, work and economic agency; religion, belief and selfhood; philanthropy, activism and local perspectives; household, family and gendered bodies. It must have been a logistical nightmare to ensure that those attending each session fitted in (and found) the right rooms but it all worked out extremely well, thanks to the skills of organising committee. St Hilda's was an ideal venue, with its mixture of old and new buildings; each of the six seminar rooms was fully equipped with visual aids and coffee and tea were within easy reach.

The plenary sessions took place in the delightful Jacqueline du Pré Building with its fine auditorium. Linda Kerber talked first on 'The paradoxes of place: the spaces women inhabit', then Malavika Karlekar from the Centre for Women's Development Studies, New Delhi, spoke on 'The photographic visual in research on gender'. It was disappointing that Olwen Hufton was unable to attend but her slot was ably filled by Karen Hunt who presented a fascinating paper on 'The politics of food as a site for women's neighbourhood activism in First World War Britain'. The conference ended with the double act of Alison Oram and Judith Lewis on 'Elite Spaces: Rethinking Gender and Heritage'.

Lest anyone be lured away by the fleshpots (and bookshops) of Oxford or the prospect of a punt along the river, a full programme of entertainments had been



arranged, starting with a 'Women's Suffrage Oral History Event' featuring the outstanding collection of interviews recorded by Brian Harrison in the 1970s. On Saturday afternoon there was the choice between a suffrage walk around Oxford or a guided tour of the Museum of Modern Art. Before the conference dinner, at which Vera Baird, the Solicitor General was the speaker, there was a drinks reception at which three new books and a new magazine (*HerStoria*) on women's history were launched to a musical accompaniment.

Thanks are due to Kathryn Gleadle and her team for the meticulous organisation of a large and complex conference: every detail was attended to — including arranging perfect weather. Drinks on the lawns of an Oxford college in the late afternoon sunshine will be a difficult act to follow but it is hoped that this account of the 18th Annual Conference will whet members' appetites for the 19th conference at the University of Warwick next September.

*Ann Kettle*

## Bursary Holder's Conference Report

The 18th Annual WHN conference at St Hilda's College, Oxford proved to be an inspiring and engaging event, drawing delegates from across the globe to discuss the theme of 'Women, Gender and Political Spaces'. Reflecting the WHN's customary inclusiveness, the conference was a wonderful gathering of established academics, students and independent researchers. The setting at St Hilda's proved not just congenial, with excellent facilities all near at hand, but the College's own recent history prompted further reflection. Originally founded in 1893 as a women's college, in October 2008 male students were admitted for the first time. This significant shift in the gendered ordering of space certainly gave an added context to the conference setting.

The packed programme afforded many opportunities to reflect on representations and interpretations of women's political spaces. The plenary sessions proved fascinating, prompting lively discussions both during questions and afterwards in more informal settings. Linda Kerber's incisive and inspiring presentation on women's changing status in the contemporary world set out many important themes on a broad canvas, including the many educational and social disadvantages faced by women and girls in the developing world. Malavika Karlekar's plenary on visual sources and the interpretation of gendered space in modern India was absorbing, offering a host of insights into the challenges and rewards of using photographs as historical sources. As with the other plenary sessions, these papers gave much pause for thought, adding breadth and depth to debate throughout the three-day conference.

With nearly 100 papers in the parallel sessions, choosing what to attend was not always easy. One of the most thought-provoking panels I went to looked at the gendered ordering of space in northern America. Claire Gallagher focussed on the relationship between women

architects and philanthropy, Liz Millward considered lesbian social networks in Canada, while Georgina Hickey looked at feminist responses to 'dirty bookstores' in Minneapolis. Each of the speakers offered fresh insights, leading to a very fruitful discussion about the impact of the 'spatial turn' on women's history.

Like most people, I find conferences more relaxing once I have delivered my own paper: thankfully, my panel was on Friday afternoon. A historian of popular culture in modern Britain, I spoke on women's drinking during the Great War, looking at the public house as a site of contention in feminist debates about sexual double standards. The questions and comments I received have helped me to look afresh at my arguments, and in particular to look once again to other time periods and countries for inspiration.

One of the most memorable conference events was the Women's Suffrage Oral History evening, centred on the interviews conducted by (now) Sir Brian Harrison with suffragists and suffragettes in the 1970s. Sir Brian's reflections on the project were extremely interesting, and promoted an absorbing discussion about changing methodological approaches to oral testimony in recent years. Jill Liddington and Elizabeth Crawford introduced extracts from the original tapes, their reflections drawing out the unique richness of the interviews. Like a great many others, I found listening to Maude Kate Smith's memories of hunger-striking and force-feeding moving as well as informative. Likewise the recording of Birmingham WSPU member Edith Fulford playing 'The March of the Women'. The Oral History evening was a fantastic addition to the programme and a real highlight of the conference.

Overall, the three days were inspiring and thought-provoking. The friendly atmosphere encouraged a sense of collegial scholarship, with old friends catching up and new links being forged, while the quality and diversity of the papers left us with a great deal to reflect upon. I look forward to next year's conference.

*Stella Moss, University of Oxford*



*The Women's Suffrage Oral History Event: From left, Jill Liddington, Teresa Docherty, Karen Hunt, Brian Harrison, Elizabeth Crawford*

# Steering Committee Report, 2008-9

This is an edited version of the speeches given by the convenor and treasurer at the AGM at the 2009 annual conference in Oxford

This has been a year of consolidation for the Network following a period where we had to be very careful not to over-stretch our resources. We have increased our membership and built up a stronger membership base. Our financial position is much better this year and this should enable us to build new activities on a firmer base. We have increased substantially our commitment to web development as the best way of reaching our members and keeping them in touch with current activities. During the year we launched an electronic WHN newsletter and, thanks to the professional services of Claire Jones, greatly enhanced the WHN website.

Last year, because our reserves were low and the financial situation looked bleak, we decided to reduce the issues of the WHN Magazine from three to two. Thanks to an increase in subscription income, we can now afford to go back to three issues of the Magazine a year. To sustain the advance in our finances, everyone should try to recruit just one new member and perhaps follow the example of one member who donates an additional £5 a month by standing order.

The convenor wished to promote two areas in particular for the coming year:

- Everyone, especially those in the regional networks, is encouraged to plan events for Women's History Month next March.
- We should think of ways in which we can publicise and promote more research in women's history in schools, colleges and universities.

## Steering Committee membership changes

Thanks to the following who have stepped down during the year or at the AGM: Rachel Newness, Zilan Wang, Jessica Holloway Dyker, Louise Wannell, Jean Spence and Jane McDermid. A warm welcome to new members: Katie Barclay, Krista Cowman, Grainne Goodwin, Ann Heilman (Book Prize chair), Anne Logan, Julliette Pattinson, and Sarah Richardson (2010 Conference). Brief biographies (and photographs) of all the members of the Steering Committee can be found on the WHN website.

## Next Meeting of the Steering Committee

All members of the WHN are welcome to attend meetings of the Steering Committee as observers. Meetings are held at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU. For further details please email [convenor@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:convenor@womenshistorynetwork.org).

# Publishing in *Women's History Magazine*

*Women's History Magazine* welcomes contributions from experienced scholars and those at an earlier stage in their research careers. We aim to be inclusive and fully recognise that women's history is not only lodged in the academy. All submissions are subject to the usual peer review process.

Articles should be 3000-8000 words in length. Contributors are requested to submit articles in final form, carefully following the style guidelines available at:

[www.magazine.womenshistorynetwork.org](http://www.magazine.womenshistorynetwork.org)

Please email your submission, as a word attachment, to the editors at

[editor@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:editor@womenshistorynetwork.org)



# What is the Women's History Network?

The WHN was founded in July 1991. It is a national charity concerned with promoting women's history and encouraging women interested in history. WHN business is carried out by the National Steering Committee, which is elected by the membership and meets regularly several times each year. It organises the annual conference, manages the finance and membership, and co-ordinates activities in pursuit of the aims of the WHN.

## Aims of the WHN

1. To encourage contact between all people interested in women's history — in education, the media or in private research
2. To collect and publish information relating to women's history
3. To identify and comment upon all issues relating to women's history
4. To promote research into all areas of women's history

## What does the WHN do?

### Annual Conference

Each year the WHN holds a national conference for WHN members and others. The conference provides everyone interested in women's history with a chance to meet and it has become an exciting forum where new research can be aired and recent developments in the field can be shared. The Annual General Meeting of the Network takes place at the conference. The AGM discusses issues of policy and elects the National Steering Committee.

### WHN Publications

WHN members receive three copies per year of the Women's History Magazine, which contains: articles discussing research, sources and applications of women's history; reviews of books, conferences, meetings and exhibitions; and information on calls for papers, prizes and competitions, and publication opportunities.

## Joining the WHN

### Annual Membership Rates

Student/unwaged	£15*	Overseas minimum	£40
Low income (*under £20,000 pa)	£25*	UK Institutions	£45
High income	£40*	Institutions overseas	£55
Life Membership	£350		

\* £5 reduction when paying by standing order.

Charity Number: 1118201. Membership application/renewal, Gift Aid Declaration and Banker's Order forms are available on the back cover.

# Women's History Network Contacts:

## Steering Committee officers:

*Membership, subscriptions*

**membership@womenshistorynetwork.org**

*or write to Dr Henrice Altink, WHN Membership Secretary, Department of History, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD*

*Finance, Dr Helen Meller:*

**treasurer@womenshistorynetwork.org**

*Committee Convenor, Dr Katherine Holden:*

**convenor@womenshistorynetwork.org**

*Web Team:*

**webadmin@womenshistorynetwork.org**

*WHN Book Prize, Chair, Professor Ann Heilmann:*

**bookprize@womenshistorynetwork.org**

*UK Representative for International Federation for Research into Women's History, Prof June Purvis:*

**ifrwh@womenshistorynetwork.org**

*Charity Representative, Dr Sue Morgan:*

**charityrep@womenshistorynetwork.org**

*Newsletter Editor, Katie Barclay:*

**newsletter@womenshistorynetwork.org**

## Magazine Team:

*Editors, submissions: Dr Debbi Simonton, Dr Jane Potter, Dr Sue Hawkins, Ms Ann Kettle:*

**editor@womenshistorynetwork.org**

*Book Reviews, Dr Jane Potter:*

**bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org**

*or send books to her at Oxford International Centre for Publishing Studies, Oxford Brookes University, The Buckley Building, Gipsy Lane Campus, Oxford OX30BP.*

*Advertising, Ms Ann Kettle:*

**advertising@womenshistorynetwork.org**

*WHN Administrator: Dr Nicola Phillips*

*For magazine publishing, including back issues of magazine, and all other queries please email:*

**admin@womenshistorynetwork.org**



## Membership Application

I would like to \*join / renew my subscription to the Women's History Network. I \*/ enclose a cheque payable to Women's History Network / have filled out & returned to my bank the Banker's Order Form / for £ \_\_\_\_\_ (\* delete as applicable)

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Postcode: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_ Tel (work): \_\_\_\_\_

Tick this box if you DO NOT want your name made available to publishers/conference organisers for publicity:   
Detach and return this form with, if applicable, your cheque to Dr Henrice Altink, WHN Membership Secretary, Department of History, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD

Email: membership@womenshistorynetwork.org

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### Gift aid declaration

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Name : .....

Address: .....

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I am a UK taxpayer and I want the charity to treat all donations (including membership subscriptions) I have made since 6 April 2000, and all donations I make from the date of this declaration until I notify you otherwise, as Gift Aid donations.

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### Notes

1. If your declaration covers donations you may make in the future:

- Please notify the charity if you change your name or address while the declaration is still in force
- You can cancel the declaration at any time by notifying the charity—it will then not apply to donations you make on or after the date of cancellation or such later date as you specify.

2. You must pay an amount of income tax and/or capital gains tax at least equal to the tax that the charity reclaims on your donations in the tax year (currently 28p for each £1 you give).

3. If in the future your circumstances change and you no longer pay tax on your income and capital gains equal to the tax that the charity reclaims, you can cancel your declaration (see note 1).

4. If you pay tax at the higher rate you can claim further tax relief in your Self Assessment tax return.

If you are unsure whether your donations qualify for Gift Aid tax relief, ask the charity. Or you can ask your local tax office for leaflet IR113 Gift Aid.

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### Banker's Order

To (bank) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Account no.: \_\_\_\_\_

Pay to the account of the Women's History Network, Account No. 91325692 at the National Westminster Bank, Stuckeys Branch, Bath (sort code 60—02—05), on \_\_\_\_\_ 20\_\_, and annually thereafter, on 1 September, the sum of

(in figures) £ \_\_\_\_\_ (in words) \_\_\_\_\_.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_