

Women's History **MAGAZINE**

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Charmian Cannon

on

*The Everyday Life of an Edwardian
Mother and her Daughters*

jay Dixon

on

*Englishness and Masculinity
in Georgette Heyer's Novels*

Cathy Hunt

on

*The National Federation of
Women Workers, Coventry, 1907-18*



Clare Evans Essay Prize 2003: Details

women's
HISTORY
NETWORK



WOMEN'S HISTORY NETWORK

Twelfth Annual Conference

Contested Terrains: Gendered Knowledge, Landscapes and Narratives

13th – 14th September 2003
King's College, University of Aberdeen, Scotland



(GWW Collection, University of Aberdeen)

Call for Papers

'Men make history; women are history.' One of the primary functions of women's history has been to contest Oswald Spengler's notorious *diktat*. In recent years some of the most challenging work in the field has deconstructed the processes by which women's history is 'made', in every sense of the word, and how women have been represented in the historical record. This has meant reconsidering not only those areas in which women have challenged men's claim to own the spatial and intellectual terrain, but also the means – discursive or visual - by which women have been constructed and constricted. The purpose of this conference is to bring together the great variety of work being done in this area. Strands may cover:

Hearth and Home
Travel and Empire
Science, Medicine and Technology
Intellectual and Cultural Terrains
Sexuality
Urban Space/Rural Space

Nation and Identity
Mapping the Female Body
Schools
Workplace
The Socio-Political Sphere
Health and Healing

(Other topics will be considered, but please ensure that they relate to the conference theme).

Please email abstracts of 250 words to Debbi Simonton by the 2nd deadline of 31 March 2003.

Email: conference2003@womenshistorynetwork.org or Fax: +44 (0) 1224 272445

For conference information, please see the Women's History Network website at
www.womenshistorynetwork.org

Welcome to the Spring 2003 *Women's History Magazine*. Since October's issue, the committee has been as busy as ever. We're building up to the big event of the WHN's year, the Annual Conference, to be held this year at the University of Aberdeen on 13-14 September. The conference theme is 'Contested Terrains: Gendered Knowledge, Landscapes and Narratives', and as you'll see from the call for papers opposite, the second deadline is 31 March so there's still time to submit a proposal, if you haven't already. Remember the theme is quite wide and we want to encourage a range of discussions around contested aspects of women's experience in a gendered world. There's a real sense of excitement about this conference: it's not often the WHN goes this far north, but we can assure you all that Aberdeen is easy and cheap to reach by air (without naming names, the key word is 'easy', and BA fares are also good if you book on-line flights soon). There is more information on the venue and about Aberdeen on the WHN website, and the conference details should be on the site by the time you receive this. Aberdeen has excellent facilities which we're sure will make the conference a memorable occasion. Professor Joni Seager (University of Vermont), will open the conference speaking on 'Blaming Women: Coming to Feminist Terms with the Global Population-Environment Debates'. You may have seen her recent book, *Putting Women in Place*, a historical-geographical approach to women. Professor Eileen Janes Yeo (Strathclyde University) will also give a plenary presentation, entitled 'Contested Terrains: Discoveries and Reflections.'

Our last magazine focused on women's work and education and, in response, in this edition we're pleased to present articles that blend studies of leisure, writing, and politics. Charmian Cannon's article 'Ladies of Leisure? The everyday life of an Edwardian mother and her daughters' uses the letters of an early-twentieth century family to suggest that women's activities do not fit into a neat dichotomy of 'work' and 'leisure'. Jay Dixon's piece on 'The Concept of Englishness and Masculinity in the Novels of Georgette Heyer' examines Heyer's historical novels, while Cathy Hunt's article, '“A little too nice”? The National Federation of Women Workers in Coventry, 1907-1918', assesses how gendered ideas influenced women trade unionists in the early-twentieth century. While Georgette Heyer was concerned with idealized versions of the aristocratic male, the women workers that Hunt discusses found themselves having to cooperate with male trade unionists, a relationship that was often problematic and required careful negotiation.

Elsewhere in this issue is the annual announcement of the Clare Evans prize, and a report by Amanda Capern, a longstanding member of the steering committee, on the progress of the WHN's sub-committee on women's history and schools. This is an area in which the WHN is keen to encourage debate, and discussions at recent annual conferences indicate that many of our members have an interest in getting better provision for women's history in secondary schools. We welcome your

comments or suggestions in response to Amanda's article.

On p.30 we have news of changes to WHN subscription levels. After many years without altering our fees, and offering the lowest possible rates to students/unwaged, we have had to raise those fees to £10 p.a. to cover costs. On the plus side, we have raised the 'low income' threshold to £16,000 p.a.. If you earn less than this, the fee is £15 p.a. If you pay by Standing Order, please take a minute to read the notice on p.30 to see if you need to change your payment.

As you know, the *Women's History Magazine* is a fully refereed publication and we encourage all our members to submit articles for future issues. Contact Elaine Chalus at ehchalus@aol.com if you would like to send either comments or papers for publication. If you'd like to submit a book review, please email our book reviews editor, Jane Potter, at jpotter@calculus.wolf.ox.ac.uk. The deadline for contributions to our next issue, which will be published in June, is 1 April.

Wishing you all a happy and fruitful 2003,

The WHN's editorial team:

Heloise Brown, Elaine Chalus, Debbi Simonton

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Cover image: Women Putting at St. Andrews, from the George Washington Wilson Collection, University of Aberdeen.

Ladies of Leisure? The Everyday Life of an Edwardian Mother and her Daughters

Charmian Cannon

Introduction

When Thorsten Veblen wrote *The Theory of the Leisure Class* in 1931 he was referring to the development of an upper class in America, for whom conspicuous consumption of both goods and the use of time for unproductive activities signalled a status not dependent on hard work, a status which could afford 'waste'. In the Victorian and Edwardian periods a hard-working professional, businessman or industrialist might display his success through his property — the size, décor and number of servants in his house, not to mention the dress, jewellery and accomplishments of his wife. He worked hard; she did not. She was a lady of leisure.

To put this in the broader context of class theory, Max Weber recognized that lifestyle is as important for status as life chances are for economic class.¹ In spite of the growth of a more 'meritocratic' society, in which status acquired by selection through education and work has encroached on status bequeathed by family, Daniel Bertaux and Paul Thompson have recently argued that the family 'remains the main channel for the transmission of language, names, land and housing, local social standing, and religion; and beyond that also of social values and aspirations, fears, world views, domestic skills, taken for granted ways of behaving, attitudes to the body, models of parenthood and marriage — resulting in the condensation of experiences characterising particular social class groups'.²

Within the family it is the housewives and mothers who have been mainly responsible for transmitting a style of life. They have fostered the solidarity of the family, arranged outings and festivities, ideas about the bringing up of the children, cooking, clothes, budgeting. The upper-middle-class Edwardian women whose lifestyle I have studied were able to employ surrogates for many of the tasks involved, such as domestic servants, nannies and governesses, but they were still responsible for the smooth running of the household. Working-class women would have been much too busy for 'leisure' or even much spare time, but they took the responsibility of establishing a day-to-day routine, passing on values to their children, seeing there was food on the table when their husbands came home, keeping in touch with the wider family. In other words women have been the agents of cultural reproduction.³

The Research

This study is based on the day-to-day lives of Peg Ellis and her daughters, Winnie, Daisy and Evelyn. My purpose is to bring together the two ideas of 'a leisured class' and of women as transmitters of family culture. Could Peg, an upper

-middle-class woman who was economically secure and could employ other women to undertake many tasks, be described as 'a lady of leisure'? Secondly, what kind of lifestyle did she pass on to her daughters and what part did leisure patterns have to contribute to this?

The analysis begins in 1903 when Peg was 44 and her daughters aged 12 to 14. It is based on the years 1903–7 and then moves to 1911 when Peg was 52 and the girls were grown up.⁴ They were members of a non-conformist (Unitarian) family living in Potters Bar, then a village on the borders of Middlesex and Hertfordshire with train access to London. Their Unitarian background with its Puritan ethic would have shunned conspicuous consumption. Peg's husband and the children's father, Henry (known by his family as 'Pope'), worked in marine insurance in the City, as had his father before him. Henry's grandfather had been an educational reformer who had founded several schools. Peg, upon whose daily life I will focus, was the daughter of a Victorian academic. There were five children in total, two boys, Edward and Bernard aged 17 and 16 in 1903, and the three girls.⁵

The sources for my research are diaries and photographs, but mainly family letters, written by Peg once a month from 1903 to 1943. They are addressed to her four brothers and sisters and their spouses, who contribute their own letters, and circulated round them all.⁶ They were passed to my mother on Peg's death and she passed them to me. They were not written to become part of women's history but for an immediate, communicative purpose. On the other hand, in my case, and in the case of other Victorian and Edwardian letter-writers, particularly men, there may have been half an eye on posterity — why otherwise were the letters kept and passed through three generations of women? The task of ensuring that they were written on time and sent to the editor was a feat of organisation which also fell to the women; first Peg's sister and after two years to Peg herself. She continued to be editor until 1943 when the number of contributors was reduced by death to three. If one is looking at the use of leisure time, one task was writing letters and admonishing other family members to add theirs in time for the deadline at the end of the month.

Of course, there is a problem of selection and distortion in the use of these or any personal letters, as in all documentary research. Margaretta Jolly has described the joys and hazards of using intimate letters as sources in her book about women welders in World War Two.⁷ Their wonderful quality is that, like oral histories, they give an ongoing account of daily life with all its fluidity and complexity. I have tried to find typical day-to-day occupations, to chart changes as the children grow up and to categorize the dominant themes that emerge.

The family lived in a large late-Victorian house built by Henry after his marriage in 1883. It had fourteen rooms, which included a nursery, sitting rooms, a drawing-room and bedrooms in a layout customary to such houses, i.e., these rooms were separated from the kitchen and scullery so that the work involved by the servants in maintaining the household was not visible from the family domain. According to the 1901 census the house had twelve residents: seven family members, a nanny, one visitor, and three servants (a cook, a housemaid and an under-housemaid). There were also three non-resident



'Peg pours out the tea. Family tea party, 1904!'

gardeners and a governess for the girls, who were educated at home. There was an extensive estate, including a hay field, a rose garden, (one of Peg's leisure activities was gardening, particularly growing roses), a tennis and croquet lawn, a summer house, a garden house (where one of the gardeners lived), a greenhouse, a nut walk and an observatory. Henry was a keen amateur astronomer. There were cats (Peg used to write letters with a cat on her lap as a cushion for the writing pad), dogs, chickens, a cow, a horse and a pig. This list, culled from letters and photographs indicates some of the family's leisure activities and the support system — indoor female servants, outdoor male servants — which made their lifestyle possible.

They must have been a very close family to have written in such detail about what they did everyday; they also exchange jokes, recipes and news of visitors. I can only guess at the content of the letters written by other members of the family, but it is clear that letters were the main way of keeping in touch before the telephone. In many literate families, men and women (but more often women?) must have had such an established letter-writing habit. The letters were a means of maintaining family solidarity when the members did not live within daily walking distance. They provide an on-going narrative of daily events and a running commentary.

They also show how Peg wished to present herself to her closest kin. When the letters began she had been married twenty years and her family was complete. She seems to have had a very strong sense of self and a conviction of the rightness of her role as family matriarch. She portrays herself as perpetually busy. Maybe her idle moments were not recorded as they would have been considered unworthy, though it is difficult to see how there could have been many if everything she does record is fitted in. She is also deeply absorbed in guiding and enjoying her children. She rarely expresses anything deeply intimate or emotional; according to the family ethos that would have been considered a frailty. But she is not afraid to express her vulnerability in new situations where unfamiliar reserves are called on, such as first attempts at public speaking.

The Everyday life of an Edwardian Family

The first problem I had in working with the letters was in deciding what counts as leisure. During the day Henry was away working in the City and the boys were attending a day school in Hampstead, so in term-time the household was made up of only women and girls. The female servants worked, but the female family members did not. Were they then ladies of leisure?

Claire Langhamer, building on the work of others, has developed a new approach to the concept of leisure, taking account of the everyday lived experience of women at home.⁸ She points out that histories of leisure use have tended to accept a male definition — a dichotomy between paid work and leisure, concentrating on organized leisure activities such as sport or informal street-based groups. Women's domestic life does not fit this dichotomy. Women's time is fragmented, the tasks are carried out in the same place and their nature blurs the difference. In her own work, based on the period 1920–60 and using oral history and Mass Observation sources, Langhamer found that the mothers she interviewed did not find the term 'leisure' meaningful in relation to their own lives. Rather they spoke of 'spare time' — mostly in terms of not having any! They enjoyed some of their family duties, however, particularly cooking or shopping. Socialising was an important way of relaxing. The meaning of an activity — its definition as 'work' or 'leisure' shifted according to context. With marriage, women became family-centred and individualized leisure pursuits were something they looked back on as part of a carefree youth.

The women Langhamer studied were lower-middle-class or working-class and the period is later, but her approach to the study of women's everyday lives is entirely appropriate to my work. In the *OED*, leisure is defined as 'free time at one's own disposal'; 'leisure' has only a short entry, while definitions of 'work' fill two pages. One definition is 'the application of mental or physical energy to a purpose'.⁹ Peg's days were certainly filled with that.

The establishment and maintenance of family routines was a kind of work in itself. Gwen Raverat, who came from a family with a similar passion for letter-writing and from a similar period, defined a lady as 'one who doesn't do things for herself'.¹⁰ Even if middle-class women did not do everything themselves, they were responsible for seeing that they were done properly. A look at advice manuals aimed at married women in the early twentieth century impresses with the variety of expertise required to run a household, even when the actual labour was mostly done by servants. *The Ideal Home*, for 1914, a tome of 970 pages written for newly married aspiring women has chapters covering pitfalls for young brides, ranging from furnishing and finding a house, unravelling the 'mysteries of the store room' and dealing with servants, through first aid, religion in the home and giving dinner parties, to details of recipes, carving and serviette-folding. It even advises on 'How to run a small dairy farm'. It looks more like a case of 'a woman's work is never done!'¹¹

So how did Peg and her daughters spend their days?

In 1900, when Peg took over from her sister the organisation of 'The Budget', as the circulation of letters was called, she wrote of herself and her sister thus: 'Our painstaking and practical Editress cannot possibly have time to do it now she is active minister's wife, and partly cook and nurse too! I am *only* Mama, dress maker and governess, and I do have time in the evenings when frock-making is looked at askance' (added emphasis).¹² All of her letters indicate how seriously she undertook her role as Mama, especially in the care and guidance of her daughters. They had a lot of freedom compared with many middle-class girls of the period — 'we are looked at as cranks by some neighbours', Peg comments in one of her letters in 1904. She set up an endless round of educational and cultural activities and was a great believer in the health-giving properties of fresh air: 'The girls must get out every day'.¹³

Education: To Peg's daughters their lessons would certainly have been seen as work, but as the three girls were educated at home, sharing their governess with two neighbours' daughters, and continuing their education informally, through lectures, visits to picture galleries and concerts, the distinction is not easy to make, and particularly not so when analysing the daily activities of their mother. Until 1901, when the governess was appointed, she had taught the girls in the mornings herself, with the addition of a French Mademoiselle and a music teacher. Although she admitted that her arithmetic was weak, she knew German well enough to teach it to her daughters all through their adolescence: 1904 finds her reading German classics with her son: 'Bernard is home [from Berlin], we will read Schiller together. I want to improve my German so that I can teach the girls better'.¹⁴

The letters reveal that the girls had long summer holidays free of lessons, which took place only in the mornings anyway. In summer they often took place under an oak tree. In winter they were sometimes postponed because there was ice on the pond so they could go skating. Although formal lesson time was short, the afternoons were busy. In 1904 drawing lessons were added on Saturday mornings. There were also music lessons and practice to be fitted in, and expeditions to London to the National Gallery: 'We spent the time with the Dutchmen to get better acquainted with the originals. We have a card game with which we trouble our friends. It makes them go to the National Gallery afterwards'. Sometimes they were accompanied by the governess: 'Miss Traves took her class of five to the National Portrait Gallery. They studied the period of history they have worked at lately and she says it was like an examination which all passed well'.¹⁵ In 1906 the girls started going to local University Extension lectures. After a bicycle tour in France undertaken by two of them and their father, they brought home a box of prehistoric animal bones to try and identify. They also went to Shakespeare and Molière plays in London, and to local Natural History meetings.

When the oldest daughter, Win, reached the age of eighteen in 1905, she became partly emancipated from Miss Traves: 'She has more time for music as she only does French and History with her. She has made her own time table for the mornings ... She is collecting and describing, and drawing

fungi ... HAIR UP!' (putting up her hair was the other great emancipation for a girl at the age of eighteen).¹⁶

Music: Musical accomplishment was considered an important asset to Edwardian girls. In this family it included formal lessons in piano, viola and violin, playing quartets in the family in the evenings and attending Beethoven concerts, carrying the score to follow along. Music was taken seriously enough to involve examinations at the Royal Academy. In 1908 Peg reported that the girls were having fortnightly meetings with friends when they played and sang and excluded their parents.

Reading: Clearly Peg's earnestness in educating her daughters is supported by serious reading habits. Apart from reading Schiller, Faust and Goethe with her son, and Tolstoy — 'a courageous fine old man. But surely we don't have to give up *every* comfort to be good?' — she reported to her brothers and sisters in May 1906 that she was reading a pamphlet called *Six Views of the Education Question* (which dealt with the issue of secular vs. religious schools, on which she had strong views); *Girls' Physical Culture*, Ruskin, and Carlyle's *French Revolution*. Did she consider lighter reading not worth mentioning, or did she not do any? Possibly the latter, as she recorded her disdain for magazines which were becoming popular at the time: 'a waste of time'.¹⁷

Domestic work and Dressmaking: If frock making 'was looked at askance in the evening', plenty of it went on during the day, although it always seems to get squeezed out by other more interesting occupations. In the days before mass-production of cheap clothes, middle-class women would have employed a private dressmaker (which Peg did occasionally) or made their own and their children's clothes (which she usually did). In 1904 she wrote, 'I am deep in needlework with an ever-recurring resolve to be economical ... making a cream frock for Evelyn's dancing. I have material for frocks for the other two for best and tweed for myself. To be done in February. I made a skirt for E. on Thursday, and spent a week on a gathered one for W ... it wouldn't come right, I did it without a proper pattern. Please note a 'week' means the spare time of a week. Some days I have very little'. In 1911 she was still at it, although the girls were growing up and doing some dressmaking themselves: 'Things get in the way of my needlework, so things stay shabby longer than they should'. However she made two princess petticoats during the month and one flannel blouse, and re-covered two lampshades. The next month she made another blouse and two motor bonnets, one wet-weather one and one fine-weather one, and relined a muff — not to mention making sixty muslin bags to keep the wasps off the grapes in September. There were forty-eight wasps' nests to be destroyed (Henry's job — did he consider this an encroachment on his 'earned' leisure time?). This emergency made her late in sending off the Budget letters, a terrible crime.¹⁸

Nor was housework left entirely to the maids. Peg reported staining floorboards, turning out cupboards and mending, and helping with the mammoth yearly task of spring cleaning the whole house. But gardening was her great joy, particularly cultivating the roses. Her joy in her garden is captured at the beginning of her letter in May 1905: 'A Poet's May. The lilacs,

may and wild parsley have been a sight, We have lived in the garden half the time, lessons and tea being out there as often as not ... After yesterday's welcome thunderstorm I am writing indoors, and can see the red may and the bed of azaleas through the open window ... a laburnum tree has dangling gold ... among the shrubs'. There was also fruit from the orchard to be stored, and jam to be made. One year she and the girls collected enough blackberries to make twenty-eight pounds of jam.¹⁹

Are all these activities work or leisure? They are 'things to be done', some of which Peg enjoyed more than others. They are certainly purposeful, productive and often have a strong educational component.

Sociability and family fun and games: Under this heading are the most obvious 'leisure' activities. In scanning the letters it becomes clear that the family was hardly ever alone. Visitors arrive unannounced, or announced by telegram which sometimes arrived after they did. There was a constant flow in and out of neighbours and young men who were school friends of the boys or introduced through the Unitarian chapel. Peg was a surrogate mother to two of these adolescent boys, whose father was abroad, and they were with the family nearly every day in their holidays. There were also members of a large Indian family who had been students of Peg's father and relatives from France, Dorset, Hampstead, Hampshire and Sussex to visit and be visited by. The governess often stayed for tennis or a bicycle ride, and sometimes for the night. Local botany groups or temperance parties were given tea on the lawn.

Peg listed her visitors for June 1905, copying from her diary to impress her brothers and sisters: 'I find June is the sociable month. People have done their house cleaning and come out to enjoy the sunshine and gardens. So it is not easy to find time for letters and needlework. I have made three blouses this month and hope to finish a fourth. Chronicle of the month'. There follows a list of days and activities. Nineteen of the thirty days of June have visitors or outings, many of them tea parties on the lawn, but they also include concerts, shopping in town, going to the Bechstein Hall to listen to a forty-five-minute sermon and meeting visitors on the way home who stayed for the evening. There were also tennis parties and cycle rides: 'Cycled to Pinner with Win and Daisy and Leonard (visitor) 2.30-8 p.m. Tea there. Cut out two blouses and two skirts next day and out to tea'. On the 25th of June she notes that nobody came but Ray (who eventually became a son-in-law) and she was able to have a day among the roses, making a new map of them and budding some. This sociability is still apparent in 1911, although there are more dances as the girls grow up, some in the village hall. On 1 July 1911 she announced: 'I don't see how I can record all the sociabilities. Our house is somewhat elastic'.²⁰

Tennis and croquet were popular with the family, particularly tennis: 'Between tea and 7.30 dinner there is often tennis and sometimes golf-croquet'. The games took place with the family and friends on any summer evening with no need for a party. Under the heading, 'The Social Side of Home Life. Garden Parties and Afternoon Teas', the author of *The Ideal Home* wrote: 'Ever since croquet became the fashionable craze,

garden parties and afternoon teas have steadily grown in popularity and favour. When tennis took the place of croquet these afternoon teas became a necessity; for the game demands so much physical exertion that that the players look upon tea, coffee and refreshments as part of the sport'.²¹

Cycling had become a daily activity for middle-class women since the 1890s, the invention of the pneumatic tyre in 1889 having made it more comfortable, though there were plenty of punctures. The girls went for cycle rides every Thursday afternoon, for two hours or more, cycled to the skating pond in winter and sometimes went on cycling tours. They also played hide-and-seek around the house or garden, and card and paper games, progressive Ping-Pong and 'Cork grab', and other very childish games well into their teens. There were lots of high spirits. Daisy, writing in her diary in 1904, noted that one morning: 'we had a pillow fight in break - only upset three pots of flowers'. Peg on the other hand seemed to have no time for frivolity even if she had felt like it.²²

Looking through the pages of *Punch* for 1904, a periodical that Henry took, the most fashionable leisure occupations portrayed were hunting and driving motor cars. Women were increasingly involved in such activities but Peg and her daughters were not. The family was against blood sports, and there was no car in the immediate family until just before the First World War.

Political, Philanthropic and Community Activities: Although Peg's religious convictions were central to her social conscience, she was not a regular chapel-goer. There was no Unitarian chapel in Potters Bar but she and her daughters used to go to Hampstead Unitarian chapel occasionally, the chapel from which she had married and where there was still family living.²³ They also visited Essex Hall, the centre of Unitarianism, for lectures and sermons. She recorded one visit in 1906 to the local Mother's Union to hear the Bishop's wife address the meeting. This confirmed her mistrust of the Church of England: 'She thinks all women should work to prevent secularisation of our schools. A fearful danger that hangs over England! I came home boiling and lay awake planning all sorts of Liberal Women's meetings and arguing with the vicar!'²⁴

As well as being the power in her own home, Peg was active in her local community. Apart from helping to organize social evenings 'for those in the village who can't afford much',²⁵ she had two main outlets for her energy: Liberal politics and the women's temperance movement. She had particularly strong views on an important issue of the day — the role of the Church in education. Since Balfour's 1902 Education Act there had been a long-running dispute about the extent of secular control over Church of England voluntary schools and whether denominational religious education should be permitted in state schools. Non-conformists and secularists looked to the Liberals to oppose Church of England influence, and this may have increased the enthusiasm with which Peg supported the Liberal cause.

Apart from rejoicing at the Tory defeat in a local bye-election in 1904, Liberal politics are first mentioned in Peg's letters in 1906 when she canvassed for the Liberal candidate. She admits 'three gardeners, a coachman and the sweep did most of it'.

She thought the local Tories pretentious and was delighted at the Liberal victory: 'Result = joy! The Tories had glum faces and bitter tongues'. Her enthusiasm was carried over to her daughter Daisy who reported on 12 January in her diary that her mother was down at the committee rooms: 'Gentleman in train told us Balfour turned out! And whole of Manchester Liberal!!!! Joy!' By the 15th she records, 'at present 51 Libs and Unionist, to 14 Tories got in'. Local polling was not till 19th, when she accompanied her father to the polling station.²⁶

After this burst of excitement over the 1906 election, there was less mention of political activities, but by the 1911 election Peg had more freedom from tutoring and supervising her daughters, who were now young adults. Although still without the vote herself, Peg became more active in the Women's Liberal movement and gained confidence in presenting herself in public.

Her letters included reports to her family about her canvassing:

December began with politics and ended with festivities ... election day was the 9th. We reduced the Tory majority but they still held the seat. Tariff reform is beginning to be seen through. I talked Lords and Mrs. Lamb Free Trade. We can work well together. The night before polling day Pope was taken ill with a "bilious attack" so I was in the committee room instead from 8 am till 9pm. It was exciting at the end.²⁷

The next month there was another Women's Liberal meeting: 'I took the Chair'. There was one talk on Free Trade and another on Women and Politics. 'We had an audience of 22 women, with almost as many little girls and babies. I began, "Women, little girls and babies!" Whereupon an infant yelled. Tea ended the meeting. They all want another. Note that it was my first political speech. I fear not the last'.²⁸

In August she expressed her view on another issue of the day: 'Win and I went to hear Laurence Housman on "votes for women". He spoke eloquently, but as I don't like militant methods I shall not join the WS and PU. They have only 30 members at Barnet'. Her attitude to women's suffrage, however, was firm enough. In 1914 she had bought a dress for a daughter's dancing with what she considered an impractical narrow skirt. She wrote, apparently to convince her brother: 'Women's fashions are the ONLY argument against their having the vote perhaps. Yet aren't even they man-made, Rob? ... The more I see of the Liberal women speakers the more I admire them. They take trouble to master their subjects'.²⁹

While politics took a certain amount of Peg's time, especially in election years, it was temperance that was her main philanthropic work. Women had been involved in the temperance movement since the mid-nineteenth century, when it became part of the broader pressure for working-

class self-improvement. Temperance and women's Suffrage were causes that were often linked. Peg mentions temperance work occasionally in the early years, but by 1911 she was taking a major role in the local branch of the British Women's Temperance Association (BWTA) — and continued to be active in the cause until she was 85.³⁰

Jan. 29th. On Thursday a BWTA lantern lecture in the Village Hall ... Miss Stanley gave an excellent account of the British women's work and told of the starting of the Association in America ... our hall was full, but I should like to see more men there. However with Bands of Hope at the two chapels, and our band of 100 women, the next generation should be a sober one at Potty B. on the whole.³¹

Feb 29th. Successful 1st. AGM of BWTA branch at 2.30. The women turned up in as good a number as usual, tramping through the rain. We re-elected officers and were very business-like in our reports ... We got five new members, we are now 103. The meeting ended about 5 o'clock and we dispersed through the rain again. A poor old woman in knitted shawl seemed to enjoy it ... must find out more about her. Our social evenings once a fortnight are much appreciated.³²

In April she became treasurer of her local branch. In May she chaired a BWTA 'cottage meeting ... to give members practice in speaking, through 5 minute speeches'. Other reports of meetings in 1911 record a variety of events: 'Little White Ribboners. Tea party in a field nearby. Played games, mothers talked'; 'BWTA in someone's garden. 60 there and 11 infants'; 'I made a longer speech than usual. One lady told me I had "got on" since she last heard me, and another wrote to express her pleasure at what I said, so there was encouragement for the poor novice in the chair'; 'W and D [two of her daughters] played at BWTA social at village hall. Plumber made an excellent chairman. Tickets 2d each, enough audience to pay for the hall'.³³

Reading these letters provides a distinct sense of Peg's growing ability to handle public situations, to speak and organize others. She was not only the matriarch in her own home, but also becoming a public figure, able to influence opinions in the way many such women did before they could vote. She learned how to control meetings, keep proper records and started to reach across class boundaries to encourage less-educated women. There is a kind of naïve pleasure in the leadership qualities noted among the ranks of tradespeople. Her tone is both earnest and enthusiastic. Today it would sound patronising — it is certainly bossy! In all her letters Peg's personality comes across strongly. She hates making calls. Tea parties (except her own) bore her 'prodigiously'. She was certainly the moving spirit in maintaining an expansive and energetic family life. By her example and by the way she organized the day-to-day life of the household, she transmitted an ethos of service and of purposeful educational activity, coupled with a mixture of sociability and non-conformist asceticism.

Conclusion

If cultural transmission and maintenance of family solidarity were (still are?) largely mediated by women, their personalities must have made a huge difference to the result. How much was this family's life-style the product of non-conformist middle-class culture and how much the consequence of Peg's personality? Other Edwardian mothers might have had a very different impact; there are plenty of accounts from the same period showing how the lifestyle of families was influenced by the way the wife and mother interpreted her role. As individual personalities are embedded in family culture as well as helping to shape it, so family cultures are both specific and class-based. But it is not a case of passive reproduction: personal lives and public events together make history. Daisy's letters, dating from her marriage in 1915 to 1943, will make it possible to trace the process of class- and family-based cultural transmission in different historical circumstances, this time mediated by Peg's daughter.

What can I say about 'ladies of leisure' from this analysis? Peg was not just an affirmation of the status and probity of her husband, nor the daughters of their father. There was certainly no place for conspicuous consumption in the family, though there was plenty of fun for the daughters. Peg made it all happen and her everyday life was entirely family- and community-centred. She constantly writes of not having enough time for what she wants to do, or has to do, but there is considerable zest in the telling. The meaning she attaches to her activities changes according to the context and her immediate feelings, so that it becomes impossible to distinguish a clear category of 'leisure': she speaks of 'spare time of which I have very little', 'areas of work ahead', 'Dressmaking squeezed out by more interesting occupations'. It is obvious which of her activities she likes best — gardening, especially tending the roses — and for this there is never enough time. As the roles of 'mama, dressmaker and governess' became less demanding she was able to add 'public speaker' to her description of herself. Peg had more time at her disposal as her daughters grew up. What did she do with it? She threw herself into philanthropic and political action, as did many women from her social background. Not exactly a 'lady of leisure'.³⁴

NOTES

1. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power* (London, 1953), 21, 36.
2. Daniel Bertaux and Paul Thompson (eds.), *Between Generations: Family Models, Myths and Memories* (1993), as quoted in Brian Roberts, *Biographical Research* (Buckingham, 2002), 111.
3. Peter Wilmott and Michael Young, in *Family and Kinship in East London* (London, 1957), 61, writing of another time and another class, describe the transition of daughters from the excitement and freedom of adolescence to marriage. They show how they received support and advice from their mothers because, in their women's world, they had the same functions of caring for the home and bringing up the children. They describe the families as matriarchal. Perhaps the situation is changing today as new family structures arise in which young men participate

more in family life and an increasing proportion of women are out at work. I am aware that in my own approach I have not mentioned Peg's relations with her husband nor his influence on his children. Neither loom large in the letters.

4. This is to enable me to make comparisons between the period when the daughters were still children to one when they were young adults (though still dependent), and to see how their mother's use of time changed with the change in her maternal responsibilities.
5. Daisy, the middle daughter, was my mother.
6. It was Peg and her sisters and sisters-in-law who wrote the letters, with some contributions from her brothers, confirming a tendency described by Dorothy Jerrome in her study of family kin recognition: 'Family rituals, customs, custody of heirlooms, linking over time tend to be those of mother's kin': see Dorothy Jerrome, *The Family in Time and Space: Personal Conceptions of Kinship* (Mass Observation Archive Occasional Paper, no. 6, Brighton, 1996), 8. I also have my mother's letters (she joined the letter-writing gang when she married) and my mother's diaries starting in 1902 when she was thirteen. I have found them a wonderful source even though it is difficult to achieve a suitably objective historical stance! I first started to write about my family for a study undertaken with a group of women at the University of the Third Age, published as Charmian Cannon (ed.), *Our Grandmothers, Our Mothers, Ourselves: A Century of Women's Lives* (London, 2001). Since then I have been working on different aspects of the material, including the relationship between women's letters and lives, the home education of the girls and the family's experience of the First World War.
7. 'Introduction', in Margaretta Jolly, *'Dear Laughing Motorbyk': Letters from Women Welders of the Second World War* (Scarlet Press, 1997).
8. Claire Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England, 1929–1960* (Manchester, 2000), esp. 187–91.
9. *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1970), i, 1127, 2448.
10. Gwen Raverat, *Period Piece: A Cambridge Childhood* (London, 1952). Charles Darwin was her grandfather.
11. M. Lees-Dods, *The Ideal Home: How to Find It, How to Furnish It, How to Keep It*. (London, [1914?]), Chs. 1–3, 7, 221, 37.
12. Letter 14.10.00.
13. Letter 1.10.04. This conviction seems to have been passed down to my mother, who had a similar obsession with the benefits of fresh air and exercise.
14. Letter 1.10.03. The influence of German Romanticism on Unitarianism including supplementing the education of boys in Germany in the mid-nineteenth century is noted by Kathryn Gleadle in *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement, 1831–1851* (London, 1998), 16. In this family the tradition seems to have continued into the early twentieth century. Several members of Peg's family had studied in Germany, including her father, both her brothers and her older sister. See H.S.Solly, *Life of Professor Henry Morley*. (London, 1898). Bernard was aged 18 when he spent a post-school year in Berlin. There are many sources indicating that proficiency in European

- languages was considered an important part of the curriculum for girls educated at home: e.g., Kathryn Hughes *The Victorian Governess* (London, 1993), 61.
15. Letter 28.2.04. I remember this game. The cards have pictures of famous works of art. The game is to match them to the artists who painted them.
 16. Letter 1.10.05.
 17. Letters 29.1.02, 29.5.06, 28.10.06.
 18. Letters 30.1.04, 29.1.11, 1.8.11
 19. Letters 29.5.05, 2.9.11.
 20. Letters 25.6.05, 1.7.11.
 21. Lees-Dods, *Ideal Home*, 623; Letter 28.6.05.
 22. Letters 30.10.04, 28.6.05; Diary entry 2.5.04. Rubenstein, 'Cycling in the 1890s', *Vict. Studies*, xxi, (1977), as quoted in Langhamer, 4, saw cycling as a symbol of women's emancipation, giving them a sense of independence and self-reliance. These girls showed independence and resourcefulness in their accounts of how they dealt with punctures and accidents on their cycling trips but on long rides they were always accompanied by a male relative. There is a vivid account of a cycling accident and how they coped with it, 'A Ride and a Smash', written by Daisy and included in her mother's letter, in August 1904.
 23. The long-standing link between Unitarianism and practical philanthropy is well documented. For example, Florence Nightingale and Octavia Hill were both Unitarians: see Gleadle, *Early Feminists*, 30.
 24. Letter 28.2.06.
 25. Letter 2.1.11.
 26. Letter 28.1.06; Daisy's diary. 15.1.06.
 27. Letter 2.1.11.
 28. Letter 29.2.11.
 29. Letter 29.8.11.
 30. The BWTA was a supporter of women's suffrage. In 1905 its National Council meeting passed a resolution expressing satisfaction at the growth of public opinion in its favour and calling on local branches to press the issue on Parliamentary candidates. Another resolution called on them to encourage women candidates for local elections and to educate women voters to use their votes. see 'Report on BWTA meeting', *English Women's Review*, xxxvi (1905) 105. I remember Peg wearing an enamel white ribbon brooch on her lapel, the badge of the BWTA. She kept a teetotal household and still attended meetings in 1944 aged 85.
 31. Letter 29.1.11
 32. Letter 29.2.11.
 33. Letters 28.5.11, 1.8.11, 28.11.11.
 34. For example, Thea Thompson *Edwardian Childhoods* (London, 1981). The descriptions of middle-class daughters' lives have much in common with the family life described here, but the personality of the mother and her surrogates make all the difference.

The Concept of Englishness and Masculinity in the Novels of Georgette Heyer

jay Dixon*

2002 marked the centenary of the birth of historical novelist Georgette Heyer, who was born in Wimbledon on 16 August 1902. She was the first child of Sylvia and George Heyer. Her mother was the daughter of a Thames tugboat owner and her father had been raised as a gentleman by his Russian *émigré* father, educated at King's College School, London and Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge. However, the family 'suffered a reversal of fortune', as Heyer might have put it, and her father became a French teacher at his old school King's College when it moved to Wimbledon in 1897. She had two younger brothers, Boris, born in 1906, and Frank, born in 1911.

Heyer's first novel, *The Black Moth*, set in the 1750s, was published in 1921 when she was just nineteen. The story goes that the seventeen-year-old Georgette Heyer, accompanying Boris on a convalescent holiday at Hastings, started telling him a historical adventure tale to relieve his (and presumably her) boredom. Her father overheard her, encouraged her to write it down, and sent it to an acquaintance of his, the literary agent, Leonard P. Moore. Moore promptly sold it to Constable in England and Houghton Mifflin in the USA, and it was published in 1921.

Her father died in 1925, the year of her marriage to Ronald Rougier. After her marriage, Heyer followed her husband, a mining engineer, to Tanganyika in 1927 and Macedonia in 1928, returning to England in 1929. In 1932 she gave birth to her son, Richard. In 1935 she published the first novel set in the period with which she will always be associated, *Regency Buck*. Meanwhile, Ronald was studying to become a barrister and was called to the Bar in 1939. During the Second World War they lived in a service flat in Hove, but in 1942 the Rougiers seized the chance to fulfil a long-held ambition of Heyer's and moved to the Albany. They stayed there till 1966, when they moved to a flat in Jermyn Street. In 1971 they moved to a flat in Knightsbridge. Georgette Heyer died of cancer on 4 July 1974, leaving behind her a body of work which included four contemporary novels, twelve crime novels and forty historical novels, the last of which, *My Lord John*, about Henry V's younger brother John, Duke of Bedford, was published posthumously in 1975.

Englishness and Masculinity

Georgette Heyer, is, of course, best known for her Georgian romantic adventure novels and her Regency comedies-of-manners. However, she also wrote other historical novels. Some, like the Elizabethan novel, *Beauvallet*, use completely fictitious characters, while others use historical figures and have a plot that closely follows actual historical events.¹ It is upon four of these latter novels that this article concentrates, particularly for the insight that they give into Heyer's concepts of Englishness and masculinity. They are, in order of publication: *The Great Roxhythe* (1923), *The Conqueror* (1931), *Royal Escape* (1938) and *The Spanish Bride* (1940). These four books are representative of her belief that English masculinity is founded on the attributes of loyalty, courage, firm leadership and intelligence. And that, throughout English history, these attributes are represented by the aristocratic male.

These novels are examples of two different types of fictional biography: *The Conqueror* is the portrait of a historical character as seen by a fictional character, whereas *The Great Roxhythe* takes a fictional character and puts him in the middle of actual political events. Both *Royal Escape* and *The Spanish Bride* weave stories round an actual event from history with all the protagonists based on real people. The last two use eyewitness accounts of those events; the former use historical texts by later historians.

Richard J. Evans points out in his 'Afterword' to G. R. Elton's *The Practice of History* that when researching and writing history books 'there has to be dialogue between the historian on the one hand and the sources on the other'.² In fictional biography this dialogue is often fuelled by the author's own interrogation of aspects of her own time — in this case Heyer's concept of Englishness and masculinity.

The heroes of these four texts fall into two character types — the behind-the-scenes manipulator and the warrior. Roxhythe and Charles II exemplify the former; William the Conqueror and Harry Smith (of *Spanish Bride*) the latter.

The Great Roxhythe was published in 1923. Set in the last ten years of Charles II's reign, it is the story of David, Lord Roxhythe, friend and confidant of the king. In Heyer's version of events it was Roxhythe who was Charles II's envoy in the secret negotiations between the English monarch and Louis XIV of France. Roxhythe is based on George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, a favourite of Charles II who was employed on secret missions to Louis XIV and William of Orange, as Roxhythe is. Presumably Heyer chose not to use Buckingham himself as, despite his intelligence, wit and ability

to fascinate men and women (attributes she gives Roxhythe), he was also an unprincipled bully, which Roxhythe is not.

There is little plot to fuel the story, which is more an exploration of male friendship and betrayal than adventure, although Roxhythe travels to France and Holland on secret diplomatic missions which are frequently fraught with danger. With no prominent heterosexual relationship, it is the story of the bond between men — of Roxhythe's love for and devotion to his 'little master' and of the blind adoration of his *protégé*, Charles Dart, for Roxhythe himself. The first half of the novel glories in the lushness of the age. However, with the opening of Charles Dart's eyes to Roxhythe's true character, as a man who will stop at nothing to serve his king, and his consequent parting from Roxhythe, the story takes on a darker emotional hue. Roxhythe becomes isolated at Court, with no man trusting him after his machinations on the king's behalf. His total loyalty is to Charles:

"I am your man until I die, or until I fall ...
The choice lay between King and Country
... I decided to kiss my hands to Country
... I have all a man wants; money, power,
the King his favour."

"And friends?"

"Say rather popularity, Sir."

"No; friends."

Roxhythe was silent for a moment.

"Then, Sir, not counting yourself, one.
Perhaps two."³

In the service of his king he sacrifices honour, friendship and, in the end, his life. He gladly meets his death by assassination after Charles has died, having been left feeling that he has nothing left to live for.

Alison Light has argued that, '[t]he post-war world had made the notion of the conquering [hero] unpalatable to some, and it needed to give way to a more modest, sometimes agonized sense of English manliness. Most writers solved the problem of embarrassment at aggressive virility by the age-old recourse of reinstating the clever foppishness of the aristocrat'.⁴ Heyer had already used this character type — a descendant of the Scarlet Pimpernel — to great effect in her first two Georgian books, *The Black Moth* (1921) and *The Transformation of Philip Jettan* (1923). Roxhythe is of their ilk, hiding his acute brain behind a mask of indifference:

He was something of an enigma. As indolent
and as licentious as his royal master,

possessing strong personal magnetism, many engaging qualities, and excellent abilities, he never interested himself in the affairs of the moment ... he was no statesman; his lazy unconcern was widely known... He had few friends, and some enemies ... but no one, for some inexplicable reason, ever intentionally annoyed him.⁵

The same type of effeminate masculinity appears again in a slightly different guise in *These Old Shades* (1926) and *The Masqueraders* (1928). Charles II, who plays a prominent role in *The Great Roxhythe*, where he is portrayed as a man who wears a constant public mask, is also of this character type.

In *Royal Escape*, the story of Charles II's escape from England after the Battle of Worcester in 1651, we see that man in the making. It depicts a young man — just 21 — who has only recently realised, after his time in Scotland, that he can trust no one: 'Those who had waved farewell to the youth who had set forth to try his fortune in Scotland, would see very little of that shy, slightly stammering boy in the taciturn young King who, in eighteen bitter months, had found his manhood, and had learnt to trust no man beyond his own interest.'⁷ He is portrayed as a king with the common touch, a man of cool courage, good temper and a sense of humour:

When he came to the account of his own adventures, the brooding look quite vanished from his face, for he was always very quick to perceive the ridiculous, even when it related to himself. His audience might be aghast at the tale of his hardships, but his inimitable way of describing all the unpleasant circumstances of the past week made them laugh in spite of themselves.⁸

He is also a womaniser: 'He knew too much of women not to know that he could have his way with her, if he chose to exert his power a little. But the profligate in him could never, all his life long, quite overcome the gentleman, any more than his lusty, urgent body could subdue his brain.'⁹

The later years of the 1930s were overshadowed by the coming war. In 1936 the Spanish Civil War had started, and in 1938 Germany annexed Austria and part of Czechoslovakia. *Royal Escape* reflects the divisions between different political ideologies these events represent. There is no love story, only memorable character sketches of the courageous men and women who helped Charles during his six weeks of journeying around England trying to find a ship to take him to safety in France. Traditionally, in romantic fiction, Oliver Cromwell's victory is presented as the defeat

of liberalism by a fanatical and totalitarian Puritanism that suppressed freedom of speech, subordinated women and ushered in a period of national depression, with the closure of the theatres and the forbidding of all celebrations — including Christmas. This authoritarian state, according to romantic ideology, was only ended with the restoration of Charles II to his throne in 1660. Although none of this is made explicit in *Royal Escape*, the book would have been read against this background, with Charles clearly depicted as the representative of British freedoms, which might be defeated temporarily, but which would ultimately prevail. It would have been a comforting philosophy for the reader watching Hitler's advance through Europe, aware of one war already being fought on European soil and wondering if — when — the clash of ideologies would bring Britain into a war she might not win.

The Conqueror, published during the Depression, in 1931, provides a portrait of a man who embodies the opposite qualities to the type of feminized masculinity exemplified by Charles. He is closer to Usborne's clubland hero, who is a 'beefy type of hero who was a man's man.'¹⁰ *The Conqueror* is the life story of William the Conqueror. The Prologue opens with his birth and his mother's prophecy that he will rule both Normandy and England. The first chapter opens nineteen years later, with the fictional character of Raoul de Harcourt, the son of a minor Norman nobleman, deciding to follow William whom he sees as the 'man ... with the will and power to bring order into the Duchy'.¹¹ From then on most events are related through the eyes of Raoul, who becomes the friend and confidant of the king. Raoul also befriends Edgar, a Saxon hostage at William's court. When, in 1064 Edgar's sister, Elfrida, appears at William's court in the train of the shipwrecked Harold, Raoul falls in love with her. Edgar is killed at the Battle of Hastings, leaving his manor free for William to grant to Raoul on his marriage to Elfrida. The book ends with William's coronation on Christmas Day 1066.

Heyer enjoyed the research she did for her fictional biographies and remembered in later years what a lot of work she had put into *The Conqueror*. As Hodge says, it 'shows her very much mistress of military strategy, with William's swift marches and brilliant siege technique brought vividly to life',¹² but William himself is distant. Seen through the eyes of his friend, the reader never gets inside his mind. Whereas with Roxhythe and Charles II the reader is given their thoughts, and thus some insight into their character, with William we are kept outside. Heyer portrays William as a man of strong leadership, a man with vision, who leads his country out of chaos into relative stability and wealth: 'Yea, I see he is indeed a ruler. I thought him only a man of blood.'¹³

For Heyer, the English state and Englishness start with the Normans. Always a Francophile,¹⁴ she depicts the Saxons as barbarians and the Normans as civilised, with William as a strong, visionary leader who brings peace and prosperity to his Normandy Duchy and, by implication, to England. He represents one type of English masculinity — the strong, silent male who is sure of himself and his destiny: ‘The truth was he never swerved from his purpose, and would go to any lengths to achieve it. Own him master and he would be your good friend; oppose him and there could be only one outcome.’¹⁵

For both her readers and herself, this fantasy of a self-confident male leader must have been a highly desirable state of affairs during the years of poverty, unemployment and consequent loss of male status of the 1930s. The 1930s were a period of chronic unemployment throughout the country and, although the Rougiers were never unemployed, they were years of financial anxiety for them. Ronald Rougier had resigned from his job as a mining engineer and opened a sports shop in Horsham while Georgette Heyer wrote the books that were their financial security.¹⁶

In 1939, Germany and Russia attacked Poland and Britain and France declared war. *The Spanish Bride* was published the next year, in the shadow of the Battle of Britain. Based on the *Autobiography of Sir Harry Smith*,¹⁸ it is the story of Dona Juana Maria de los Dolores de León, a fourteen-year-old Spanish girl who the then Brigade-Major Harry Smith met after the Battle of Badajoz in 1812, and married three days later. *The Spanish Bride* opens with the battle and continues through to the end of the Peninsular War, weaving together scenes of marches and battles with the often stormy story of Juana and Harry’s early married days. After the end of the Peninsular campaign, the story follows Juana’s time on her own in London while Harry is away fighting in the American War of 1812, their reunion before the Battle of Waterloo and his final promise to her, after the battle, that they will not be separated again.

It obviously caught the mood of the time. *The Observer* of 14 April 1940 listed it as the book most in demand from libraries and as one of the top seven best-selling novels of the week.¹⁹ It came out at a time when women were agitating to be allowed to do war work (a request granted in the summer of that year with the introduction of female conscription), and Heyer’s female readers must have empathized with Juana’s desire to be a ‘good soldier’. Rationing had just been introduced and Heyer’s readers must also have sympathized with the deprivations Juana shared with the soldiers she lived amongst. The descriptions of water rationing and living off acorns must have made the reader’s own fare look positively luxurious.

F.C.G. Page describes Harry Smith as ‘a vain and somewhat self-satisfied character’,²⁰ but Heyer eschews such an unflattering depiction and portrays him as energetic, courageous, loyal to his friends and as deeply in love with his wife as she was with him:

The same ardent spirit which sent him headlong into the thickest part of any battle drove him headlong into marriage ... his [face], deeply tanned, with a close-gripped mouth, a masterful, aquiline nose, and bright almond-shaped eyes, tremendously alive under their rather heavy lids. He was fined down to bone and muscle ... his slight frame a small, tough thing, compact of energy. Not a handsome man, Harry Smith: he would improve with age, like his Commander-in-chief; not a big man, nor one to use many graces in his dealings with his fellow-men; but a vivid, vital creature, instinct with a force, far removed from mere charm, which was a strong magnetism: the quality which made him, in spite of his impetuosity, his quick temper, and his flaming impatience, a born leader of men. There was something fierce about Harry, the look of a hawk in his eyes.²¹

According to Jonathan Rutherford, ‘[s]ince the seventeenth century and the puritan revolution, English nationalism and the emergence of Britishness have been integrally linked to the rise of the English middle classes as an economic and political power’,²² but in Heyer’s works it is the aristocracy who carry national identity. This is a personal choice. Heyer was a snob, as her son, Sir Richard Rougier cheerfully admitted in an interview with Cassandra Jardine in 1996, ‘[s]he was a snob, but not a cold snob.’²³ Heyer was not interested in the ‘little man’ or woman — indeed, she was not interested in the women of history at all. No feminist, she preferred the company and conversation of men, perhaps as a result of her closeness to her father, whose interests she shared. In using the male as her main protagonist, Heyer turned away from one of the enduring models of interwar historical fiction, the ‘concept of graceful femininity permanently victimized by men’.²⁴ Heyer had no time for passively borne victimization, by men or by women.

Helen Hughes has argued that in the historical fiction of the early part of the twentieth century the English state is shown as ‘free and democratic, yet firmly led, to the benefit of all, by the upper and upper-middle classes’.²⁵ Certainly this resonates with Heyer’s fictional biographies, where two heroes are kings, one the confidant of a king and the fourth from the landed gentry, fighting for his country in a position of command, with the ear of military leaders.

Conclusion

With the rise of the cinema and the increase in popularity of women's magazines, the interwar years saw an increase in demand for 'light' fiction, especially romantic fiction, as women readers became more prominent.²⁶ The hero of this type of romantic fiction in the 1920s and 1930s was often younger, poorer, physically inferior and not as well educated as the heroine — a boy hero who looks back to the young men who died in the First World War.²⁷ The heroes of the four Heyer novels discussed here, however, follow a different trajectory. The young man cannot carry the necessary qualities of leadership Heyer demands of her heroes.

William the Conqueror is the warrior with a 'reckless daring in the field ... and [an] ... uncomfortable personality ... All through his life men were to fear him.'²⁸ He is the leader Britain will need in order to win the coming war against Hitler. Of the forty monarchs who have ruled England since William the Conqueror, Charles II is one of the few who represents another type of Englishness — not the stiff upper lip of Victorian masculinity, but the luxurious licentiousness characterized by three periods in English history — the Restoration, the Regency and the Edwardian. In *Royal Escape* we see him as a man who inspires love and loyalty in those around him, who meets hardship with a sense of humour and who, like William, has a strong belief in his own destiny — to be King of England. In *The Great Roxhythe* he is the sexually virile monarch who loves women, but who is also politically wily — a master manipulator who retains the love and loyalty of his court and country as he works to attain his own ends. Roxhythe is of the same type of aristocratic male — a foppish man, living in luxury, with a spine of steel and, like his king, a 'nimble, competent brain'.²⁹

Smith is unique in Heyer's canon. He is an example of the type of commander who the people trust to win the battles of the war. 'Often ... sworn at for a madman by his friends',³⁰ he does not wear a mask and is not an enigma. However, he, like the other three, is courageous, loyal and intelligent — attributes Heyer always admired and which she considered to be more masculine than feminine. Given, as they are in her works, to aristocratic English men, they become the essence of Englishness, carried by noble families who, down through the generations, provide the rightful leaders of the country.

Apart from the uncompleted *My Lord John*, which she worked on in fits and starts from 1948 to her death, *The Spanish Bride* is the last fictional biography Heyer wrote. By

then she had discovered the Regency period, an age of quick wit and social rules which suited her talents and her nature and which gave her the opportunity to explore the nature of Englishness without the restrictions imposed by historical characters.

NOTES

- * With thanks to Barbara Sedlock and Tricia de Wolfe who gave valuable comments on various drafts of this article.
- 1. As far as I can discover there is no universally accepted terminology that differentiates between the three types of historical novels. For the purposes of this essay, Georgian covers the reigns of the first three Georges (1714–1810), the Regency period runs roughly from 1810–30 (the period of George IV's regency and reign). Historical fiction refers to novels which use fictional characters in a historical background other than Georgian or Regency; and fictional biography refers to those novels which use historical figures as the main protagonists, or uses a fictional character caught up in actual historical events, whatever period they are set in.
- 2. G.R. Elton, *The Practice of History* 2nd edn (Oxford, 2002), 178–9.
- 3. Georgette Heyer, *The Great Roxhythe*, (New York, 1923), 180.
- 4. Alison Light, *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism between the Wars* (London, 1991), 72.
- 5. *The Great Roxhythe*, 2.
- 6. *Ibid.*, 3.
- 7. Georgette Heyer, *Royal Escape*, (London, 1938; 1983), 95.
- 8. *Ibid.*, 139.
- 9. *Ibid.*, 191.
- 10. R.A. Usborne, *Clubland Heroes: A Nostalgic Study of some Recurrent Characters in the Romantic Fiction of Dornford Yates, John Buchan and Sapper* (London, 1974), 3.
- 11. Georgette Heyer, *The Conqueror* (London, 1931, 1976), 28.
- 12. Jane Aiken Hodge, *The Private World of Georgette Heyer* (London, 1984), 32.
- 13. *The Conqueror*, 120.
- 14. When war was declared in 1914, Heyer was living with her family in Paris, where her father, who spoke fluent French, was working.
- 15. *The Conqueror*, 68.
- 16. Between 1931 and 1942 Heyer published ten historical and nine crime novels.
- 17. *The Conqueror*, 292.
- 18. He was to become Governor-General of South Africa, naming Ladysmith after his wife and Harrismith after himself.
- 19. Kathleen Bell, 'Cross-Dressing in Wartime: Georgette Heyer's *The Corinthian* in its 1940 Context', in Pat Kirkham and David Thoms (eds.) *War Culture: Social Change and Changing Experience in World War Two* (London, 1995), 158.
- 20. Brigadier F.C.G. Page, *Following the Drum: Women in Wellington's Wars* (London, 1986).
- 21. Georgette Heyer, *The Spanish Bride* (London, 1940, 1976), 45–6.

22. Jonathan Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Masculinity and Empire* (London, 1997), 6.
23. Cassandra Jardine, 'Georgette Heyer made me a good Judge of Character', *Daily Telegraph* (19 Dec. 1996), reprinted in Mary Fahnestock-Thomas (ed.), *Georgette Heyer: A Critical Retrospective* (Saraland, USA, 2001), 474.
24. Anthea Trodd, *Women's Writing in English: Britain 1900–1945* (London, 1998), 112.
25. Helen Hughes, *The Historical Romance* (London, 1993), 66.
26. Joseph McAleer, *Passion's Fortune: The Story of Mills & Boon* (Oxford, 1999), 43.
27. Jay Dixon, *The Romance Fiction of Mills & Boon, 1909–1990s* (London, 1999).
28. *The Conqueror*, 68.
29. *The Great Roxhythe*, 3.
30. *The Spanish Bride*, 12.

'A little too nice'? The National Federation of Women Workers in Coventry 1907–18*

Cathy Hunt
Coventry University

The National Federation of Women Workers (NFWW) was formed in 1906 under the guidance and influence of the Women's Trade Union League.¹ The long-term aim of the Federation's president, Mary MacArthur, was to ensure that women workers were fully integrated and welcomed into all trade unions. She felt that men needed to be educated to accept women as trades union members and so believed that a separate organization of women provided the best chance of effective organization in the short term. In Coventry, the intention to educate men was apparent from the moment the branch was set up in 1907: member Sally Griffiths declared that 'if men trade unionists knew about the movement, they might help us a great deal'.² There is no national NFWW archive.³ Little research has been undertaken on the Federation⁴ or on women's trade unionism. Sarah Boston reflected that 'it has usually been assumed that to talk of the trade union movement is to talk of an exclusively male movement'.⁵ There are no branch records for the NFWW in Coventry. My own research is based on oral history,⁶ the NFWW journal⁷ and local press reports.⁸ It offers a tantalizing glimpse into this period of women's trade unionism and raises questions that point to the need to uncover more regional information in order to build a more informed picture of how the NFWW operated. This article focuses on my research on the Coventry NFWW and the commitment of its leaders to the principles of trade unionism.

Edith Mayell, who became a member of the Coventry branch of the NFWW before the First World War, recalled that a

woman comrade in the labour movement had always thought that the women of the Federation were 'a little too nice'.⁹ Mayell described founder members in Coventry as 'two very nice young ladies who didn't really have the vim to push the thing along'.¹⁰ My feeling on hearing these remarks was that the Federation may have had a local reputation of being rather refined and removed from the experiences of the factory workers it aimed to organize. I was biased by the fact that the 'little too nice' comments were made by Alice Arnold, the subject of my PhD, a woman who became a women's organizer for the Workers' Union in Coventry during the First World War.¹¹ In the years preceding the War, the Federation and the Workers' Union were the only unions in the city catering for women factory-workers employed in Coventry's cycle and motor-car industries, and the textile trade.¹² The local leadership of the Workers' Union, which was established in Coventry in 1907, was forthright, influenced by the ideals of the Social Democratic Federation, militant and prepared to take on and do battle with the exclusive craft unions who did not admit Coventry's semi- and unskilled workers to their ranks. Alice Arnold embraced the motto of her union, which claimed that it was 'open to all',¹³ and she believed that women should be organized with men in the same unions. The Workers' Union was suspicious of seemingly trendy attempts to organize women into separate organizations. Its pre-war leadership complained that 'these are days when Trade Unionism is the fashion and when even highborn ladies descend to patronise the organisation of women'.¹⁴ During the First World War, the Workers' Union was proud to proclaim the working class credentials of the women it employed as organizers, women who 'came into contact with the rough side of life at a very early age'.¹⁵ Although the NFWW did have paid organizers, it relied heavily on unpaid volunteers, not all of whom were not from industrial backgrounds.

This article questions whether its leaders were too removed, either by class or economic differences, to be able to recruit and represent women workers adequately or whether its methods were merely different to those employed by the Workers' Union. It also examines whether the Federation, in relying on the support of the established craft unions, was unable to build a strong identity of its own.

One example of possible distance between the Federation leadership and the rank and file is illustrated by the choice of venue for union meetings.¹⁶ Before the First World War, the Workers' Union women's branch in Coventry held their weekly meetings at the Workers' Union Institute, perhaps not the most woman-friendly arena. Attending could have been a nerve-racking experience for those women who had either no family connections with the union or no background of going to political meetings. The Coventry branch of the Federation began its life in 1907 at the Alexandra Coffee Tavern, described by a male contemporary as 'a popular working class café ... where they sold a good working man's dinner, with meat and two veg for sixpence'.¹⁷ By 1907 the Alexandra had become intimately associated with Labour politics and was used by the Trades Council, several of the established craft unions, the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and the Labour Representation Committee (later to become the Labour Party). Several of the Federation's founder members were likely to

have already been attending ILP and Labour meetings here for several years, thus gaining a political education, making contacts with the men of the craft unions and getting used to walking into a male-dominated environment. Despite this, it is unlikely that the atmosphere at the Alexandra was any more conducive to new NFWW members than the Workers' Union Club.

Although both the Trades Council and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers gave support to the newly formed National Federation of Women Workers, numerous instances exist of open or thinly veiled hostility towards women factory-workers in Coventry. Much of the support given has, I believe, to be seen in terms of a decision to limit the damage caused to male livelihoods, wages and pride by women's industrial employment. Just three years earlier, the Coventry Trades Council had objected to the introduction of female labour into the city's factories and a skilled union resorted to the use of leaflets to publicize the need to remove women from Coventry cycle factories.¹⁸ While the Federation Branch leaders may have been tough enough to deal with, and even enlist the help of, the male leaders of the various sections of the labour movement who congregated at the Alexandra, the women who they sought to recruit may not have been so willing to step into this environment.

The Federation relocated to the Lecture Room at St Peter's Vicarage in 1908. This was the home of Helen Dawson, WSPU member, housekeeper to (and later wife of) the Christian Socialist vicar, P. E. T. Widdrington. Widdrington had come to Coventry in 1903 after the death of his wife, Enid Stacy, a prominent suffragist and ILP member. St Peter's has been described as 'the light to which most people in the city looked if they had any sympathy whatever with the aspirations of the new Labour movement'.¹⁹ Dawson had written to the local press in February 1908 urging women workers to 'come forward and join our branch of the National Federation of Women Workers'.²⁰ If it was the intention of the leaders of the Branch to encourage more women to attend meetings held in a quieter, male-free zone, it would be interesting to know if the move was a success. Or did potential women members feel even more alienated and out of place in a house described as famous for accommodating Labour lecturers, refugees from the Cat and Mouse Act and streams of visitors from every element of the town?²¹

Mayell refers to honorary members of the Branch, women such as Helen Dawson and Mrs Williams, who paid their dues and helped out, but were not in paid employment in the city and so could not be full members of the Federation.²² This may have contributed to a belief that NFWW leaders were out of touch with their members. Some, like Dawson, did not have experience of factory life and others, like Williams, had employment histories similar to the women they were trying to recruit, but had left their paid work when they got married. One of their key roles appears to have been volunteering to interview and negotiate with management during disputes, attempting to protect the reputations of working members such as Mayell.²³ Sometimes the role of the honorary members, however good their intentions, may also have unwittingly conflicted with the interests of its

members. Mayell recalls a dispute at Courtaulds in which the Federation negotiator was persuaded by the management at the factory to give them the names of every woman involved in the dispute. 'Every one of them', said Mayell, 'got stopped' — meaning sacked.²⁴ She was equally dismayed by the decision of one of the branch leaders, an honorary member, to stay and have a cup of tea with the bosses after negotiations were completed!²⁵ There is of course no proof of what the leader's motives were, but it is worth considering that this might not have been an example of political naïveté. It could have been an attempt by an older, more experienced member to smooth over the waters muddied by her young, enthusiastic companion.

The fact that some of the Federation members were also members of other political organizations might also have complicated matters at times. For example, there were two Miss Olivers, both full members of the Federation. One was in the confectionery trade and the other in dressmaking. Mayell felt that their hearts were in the right place, but they lacked the drive to advance the aims of the Federation.²⁶ Yet, despite her concerns, one of the Miss Olivers and Helen Dawson became involved in a four-day mission held in Coventry in 1910 by the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), during which lunchtime meetings were staged outside two of the city's factories.²⁷ Both factories employed women and it is possible that both were targeted by the Federation, who also used factory-gate meetings to publicize their aims. The following example of a lunchtime meeting held by the Coventry Women's Suffrage Society outside Courtaulds' factory, which employed hundreds of women, illustrates how difficult it was for speakers to get their message across: the speaker was drowned out by the shouts and laughter of the girls.

"Now", said the speaker, "if you go on like this it's of no use for me to continue is it?"
"No", shouted the young women good humouredly. It was only when the speaker explained to the audience that obtaining the vote would in turn raise wages for women that she gained their attention. In the end they got so carried away that she had to call them to order by yelling, "Now don't be silly".²⁸

While this story shows what outdoor speakers were up against, it also shows that what got the women's attention was the mention of wages. The Federation may have had more attentive listeners than suffrage speakers, but there may have also been a real danger of audiences being unable to separate the principles of two different organizations when there was an overlap of personnel, especially when the speakers were themselves removed from the workplace, either by class or trade. It is arguable that Mayell is suggesting not that the Miss Olivers lacked the courage and determination to address a meeting but that their specific commitment to trade unionism lacked direction because they were involved in a wider women's movement. The NFWW, like the Workers' Union, recognized that its most effective recruitment tactic was the strike, because of its immediate relevance to the workers' lives.²⁹ Outdoor meetings that were not focused on an ongoing or imminent

strike needed to state a clear case for the organization of women.

The Federation journal was, in 1916, urging Coventry members to 'pluck up heart. An organizer is coming down from the Federation this week and with our splendid local help, great things can be done'.³⁰ Was an organizer needed because the volume of work had become too much for the branch leaders and the national Federation, keen to recruit as many women from the munitions factories as possible, saw further potential being reached by a full-time organizer? Or was it because the branch no longer had experienced workers to co-ordinate the recruitment? There is no local record of branch activity in these years. When evidence re-emerges in 1916, there is no mention of the names of several of the Federations' early activists, such as Dawson and the Miss Olivers. Mayell, who had married in 1912, gave birth to her daughter in 1916; Mrs Williams emigrated to Canada.³¹ Some of the early activists may have become involved in other types of war work instead of working with the NFWW, but it is worth considering whether their political associations had caused a temporary interruption to work and necessitated a change of leadership. Mayell stated that she had been introduced to the ILP through other NFWW members, such as Williams and Griffiths and we have already noted Dawson's involvement in the ILP. The labour movement was fractured by the outbreak of war. The ILP, in contrast to the mass of the labour and trades-union movement, was against the war. In Coventry, according to contemporary sources, it 'lay low' until 1916 when it re-emerged to hold pacifist meetings.³² This would have given a new and very different focus to any Federation leaders who were not pursuing the single issue of trade unionism.

The local help referred to by the Federation journal included that of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE). Nationally, the Engineers had entered into an agreement with the Federation in 1915. In return for the Engineers' assistance with recruitment, the Federation agreed that at the end of the War it would withdraw its members from occupations that the Engineers considered rightfully belonged to its male craftsmen. It was not until September 1917 that the Engineers agreed to the affiliation of the Federation branch in Coventry.³³ The full-time organizer was to be Henrietta Givens, one of the early Federation members in Coventry. An article in the Federation journal in 1917 with the rather ambiguous headline — 'Thank You Mr Givens!' — heaped lavish praise on Henrietta's husband, Walter Givens, Coventry Branch secretary of the Engineers, 'whose advice and assistance to the Federation has at all times been invaluable'.³⁴ Presumably he was being thanked for providing the Federation with a subsidy to pay an organizer, rather than for his permission in allowing his wife to take up the role! The Federation remained heavily dependent on the support of the Engineers and wasted no opportunity to heap praise on Walter Givens's continued help in acting for women munitions workers in negotiations with employers.

It would appear, therefore, that although the Federation's existence could have been undermined by a pre-war failure to establish for itself a strong identity within the labour movement, it was helped back on track during the First World War by the support of the Engineers. The groundwork for that support had been done by the Federation's pre-war leaders

whose endeavours to win the co-operation of the craft unions should perhaps be seen as pragmatism and realism: the women who held the Branch together were politically experienced enough to know that they needed to have the men on their side. Both Trades Council records and the local press contain examples of antagonism towards women factory-workers in Coventry and it is arguable that women such as Edith Mayell and Henrietta Givens showed considerable skill in ensuring that the Federation won at least nominal support from the men's unions.

It is important, however, not to get carried away by any ideas that the welfare of women workers was uppermost in the Engineers' minds, for although Isabel Sloan, a national Federation officer, had been in Coventry in January 1916 asking the Engineers' to assist the Federation, it was not until September 1917 that the Coventry Engineers agreed to the affiliation of the Federation Branch. This was *twenty months* after Sloan's appeal and *two years* after the national agreement between the two unions. One reason why the Engineers' agreed to work with the Federation was because its determination to do all in its power to thwart attempts by the Workers' Union to become more powerful. I would suggest that the women of the Coventry Federation were merely tolerated by the Engineers who longed for the day when they could once more eject them from their building and have their Saturday afternoon meetings to themselves again. Not that integration was ever wholly achieved: one Federation member, May Ford, recalled that the women held separate meetings from the men at the ASE until the men reluctantly agreed to let them attend their meetings. However, she said that they were never made to feel all that welcome.³⁵

By 1914 the Federation Branch in Coventry had 450 members,³⁶ and the Workers' Union Women's Branch, 110³⁷ (there were over 3,000 male members of the Workers' Union³⁸). These figures have to be viewed with caution. When they were published, the Federation had just achieved what the Trades Council called 'a well-deserved success',³⁹ the outcome of a dispute at a blouse-making factory and this had resulted in the recruitment of many new members. The problem lay in maintaining membership at post-strike levels. Once the euphoria of a strike had died down, it was then up to the local leaders to convince members of the long-term benefits of trade unionism. This was a problem shared by the Federation and the Workers' Union in the years before the War. So, while the Workers' Union Women's Branch looked numerically weaker than that of the Federation, this cannot be taken as an indicator of its general success and commitment. There was no women's organizer for the Workers' Union in Coventry until Alice Arnold was offered the post in 1917. Before the War the responsibility for the recruitment of women in Coventry lay with the local male leaders. The Workers' Union claimed to be a voice for women as well as men and the existence of a women's branch is proof that this was not just empty rhetoric. What is not known, however, is whether the union leaders actively sought to recruit women or whether they were content to leave the initiative with the women workers in the factories and hope that they would follow the men's example. Allowing women into the union is clearly not the same as working to encourage women's participation.

Nothing other than names is known of any of the women who appear to have been active in the Coventry branch of the Workers' Union before the War; therefore, there is no definite information about these women's political allegiances or whether any of them were political activists. During the War the Workers' Union determined to turn itself into 'the most powerful Union for women as for men, the world has ever seen'.⁴⁰ Members were urged to do all that they could to recruit women. The union leaders exhorted them to 'Get at it — stick to it — hammer away at it'.⁴¹ That the welfare of women workers was uppermost in their minds is questionable. The language of the male leadership of the Workers' Union throughout the war reveals that its main concerns were expansion, organizational strength and power.⁴² Its ambition to be the biggest general union determined its enthusiastic drive towards an increased female membership.

It has been suggested that the low numbers of women trade unionists in Coventry before the War may be in part attributed to a lack of co-ordination between the Workers' Union and the National Federation of Women Workers. A labour historian, Frank Carr, cites attempts by both unions to recruit women at Courtaulds, claiming that they appeared to view one another as rivals and therefore worked in isolation from each other.⁴³ In 1912, Louisa Young, from the Federation HQ, was joined on the platform at a meeting by several prominent members of the local labour movement.⁴⁴ Carr points to the fact that no one was there from the Workers' Union and that the Federation campaign had the support of many of the established unions. It is difficult to see how the Federation and the Workers' Union could have worked together or shared a platform when the leadership of both was so different. The Federation leaders, as argued earlier, were pragmatic, diplomatic and aware that they needed the support of the craft unions. Diplomacy was not a familiar concept to the Coventry leaders of the Workers' Union. The Workers' Union, as has been seen, was intent on becoming a strong general union which could undermine the power of the craft unions. It did not need, and certainly did not choose to employ, diplomacy and co-operation in its dealings with other unions.

When it comes to all women's organizations, historians have generally found it easier to criticize than to praise. I set out in this article to explore the work of the NFWW in Coventry but I had not in fact admitted to myself that I had another agenda. I was prejudiced by the remarks of a rival trade unionist that meant that I fell into the trap of actively seeking examples that would prove that her reported comments on the niceness of the Federation were valid. Mayell described Arnold's tactics as being altogether more 'aggressive' than those used by Federation leaders⁴⁵, and from what I have learned about Arnold, her political outspokenness seemed to be better suited to the Workers' Union than the NFWW. However, her employment background was little different to several of the Federation leaders: both Mayell and Arnold were working-class Coventry women who had worked in industry from an early age. I would suggest that both chose the union that most closely resembled their political allegiances. When Mary Macarthur toured the country to encourage the setting up of branches, many of the women

who heard her appeal, such as Dawson and Williams, had already formed a political consciousness. For them, trade unionism was part of a whole ideology rather than being an answer in itself. For Alice Arnold, working-class politics began in the workplace and industrial organization was at the heart of her philosophy. Mayell, who became Midlands secretary of the NFWW, deeply admired Arnold and believed that 'you couldn't have a better organiser'; she was 'excellent, energetic and active'.⁴⁶ Because so little is known of the pre-war Workers' Union, it is impossible to conclude whether it was as committed to the recruitment of women workers as the Federation. There is no suggestion that one union was more successful than the other.⁴⁷ The two unions had different tactics, different goals and different support systems. For women who had no experience of labour politics and who lacked the confidence or the freedom to attend evening meetings to listen to the arguments of the union leaders, there was arguably no real choice of which union to join. Whichever organization came into the workplace to give assistance with a dispute was likely to be the one that benefited. However, I *do* feel able to conclude that the Federation leaders were politically astute enough to realise that they could not operate effectively without the support of men, even those who were only prepared to give their support as a damage-limitation exercise. The leaders who were not working women (and this did not only mean middle-class women but also working-class women with children and those who were too old to work in industry) took their part by doing work that may have adversely affected the employment chances of their working colleagues. 'Nice' some of them may have appeared, but there is considerable evidence of pragmatism as well — a pooling of resources and talents to ensure success for women's trade unionism.

NOTES

- * I wish to thank Mrs Enid Trent, Edith Mayell's daughter, for her help, support and encouragement in this research.
- 1. The Women's Trade Union League was founded in 1874 by Emma Paterson, and was originally called the Women's Protective and Provident League. Its aim was to give help with the setting up of unions in every trade in which women were employed.
- 2. *Woman Worker* (Nov. 1907).
- 3. See, however, the Gertrude Tuckwell Collection (TUC Library) which contains press cuttings, pamphlets and manuscripts relating to women's trade unionism from 1890–1920 and includes material on the Women's Trade Union League and the NFWW. In 1920 the NFWW voted to merge with the National Union of General Workers.
- 4. See, for example, D. Thom, 'The Bundle of Sticks: Women Trade Unionists and Collective Organisation before 1918', in D. Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War One* (London, 1998, 2000); B. Drake, *Women in Trade Unions* (first publ. 1920; London, 1984); and E. Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland 1850-1914* (Oxford, 1991).
- 5. S. Boston, *Women Workers and the Trade Union Movement* (London, 1987), 10.
- 6. Coventry University Library, Kenneth Richardson Collection of Audiotapes (1967–72), recorded as research for Keith Richardson, *Twentieth Century Coventry*

- (Coventry, 1972): no. 73–4; correspondence and interview with Mrs Enid Trent, Mar. 2002.
7. *Woman Worker*.
 8. Coventry and Warwickshire Local Studies Collection, *Midland Daily Telegraph*, *Coventry Herald*, *Coventry Sentinel* (cuttings).
 9. Richardson Collection, no. 73–4 (Mayell).
 10. *Ibid*.
 11. My PhD is based on the work of Alice Arnold in the Coventry labour movement. Arnold (1881–1955) was a women’s organizer for the Workers’ Union, a Labour city councillor in Coventry from 1919 and became Coventry’s first woman mayor in 1937. I am currently in my fourth year of part-time study at Coventry University.
 12. The Census of England and Wales for 1911 reveals that Coventry’s population was 106,349: 13,060 women over the age of 14 were in employment; 2,830 worked in branches of the textile industry and 925 in the cycle trade. Of 37,322 occupied men, 28,423 were engaged in the metal trades, including 11,775 involved in the manufacture of cycles and cars.
 13. Workers’ Union, *Record* (Nov. 1918).
 14. *Ibid.*, (July 1914).
 15. *Ibid.*, (May 1923).
 16. The issue of venues for meetings is discussed by J Bornat, ‘Lost Leaders: Women, Trade Unionism and the Case of the General Union of Textile Workers, 1875–1914’, in A. V. John (ed.), *Unequal Opportunities: Women’s Employment in England, 1800–1918* (Oxford, 1986), 227.
 17. J. Yates, *Pioneers to Power* (Coventry Labour Party, Coventry, 1950), 25.
 18. In 1904 the Coventry Trades Council Annual Report referred to the introduction of female labour into Coventry factories as an ‘evil’ and a ‘standing disgrace’. Steps were taken ‘to abolish the evil where possible’. In 1908 the Society of Amalgamated Brassworkers and Metal Mechanics issued a leaflet urging parents and friends of females working in Coventry cycle factories to ‘persuade them not to do this dirty and unhealthy work, as they sacrifice their health, their lives will be shortened, and they will receive no more than they would obtain in a cleaner and healthier trade’. *Woman Worker*, (Oct. 1908).
 19. Richardson, *Twentieth Century Coventry*, 162.
 20. *Midland Daily Telegraph* (5 Feb. 1908).
 21. See M. B. Reckitt, *A Study in Vocation and Versatility: PET Widdrington* (SPCK, London, 1961).
 22. Richardson Collection, no. 73–4 (Mayell).
 23. This appears to have been NFWW policy. On several occasions a national organizer was sent to Coventry to help in negotiations and try to prevent the victimization of women members by their employers: *ibid*.
 24. *Ibid*.
 25. Interview with Mrs Enid Trent, March 2002
 26. Richardson Collection, no. 73–4 (Mayell).
 27. *Coventry Sentinel*, cuttings 1908–10.
 28. *Midland Daily Telegraph* (2 May 1910).
 29. Strikes also provided effective advertising. During the Cradley Heath chainmakers’ strike of 1910, the NFWW arranged for several of the women chainmakers to visit Coventry, wearing chains around their necks to symbolize their slave-like conditions. They raised so much money at a football match that a taxi had to be hired to transport the collection back to the Alexandra Tavern. Richardson Collection, no. 73–4 (Mayell).
 30. *Woman Worker* (Apr. 1916).
 31. Richardson Collection, no. 73–4 (Mayell). The date of Williams’ departure is not given.
 32. Yates, *Pioneers to Power*, 58.
 33. Coventry Records Office, Amalgamated Society Engineers (ASE) Coventry District Committee Minute Books, 1914–18.
 34. *Woman Worker* (Feb. 1917).
 35. Richardson Collection, no. 64, interview with May Ford. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers Coventry District Committee Minute Books for 1914–18 contain several examples of the men’s suspicion of women war workers. Men from the branches sent in regular reports of the introduction of ‘girls’ at various factories and the District kept a careful eye on firms to ensure that their members were not being ‘displaced’ by women.
 36. Coventry Trades Council Annual Report (1914).
 37. *Ibid*.
 38. F Carr, ‘Engineering Workers and The Rise of Labour’, (PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1978), 36.
 39. Coventry Trades Council Annual Report (1914).
 40. Workers’ Union Annual Report (1915).
 41. *Ibid*.
 42. See, for example, the Workers’ Union *Record* and Annual Reports.
 43. Carr, ‘Engineering Workers and The Rise of Labour’, 37.
 44. *Ibid*.
 45. Richardson Collection, no. 73–4 (Mayell).
 46. *Ibid*.
 47. In 1914 the Workers’ Union had 7,500 women members and this figure had reached 80,000 by the end of the War, representing a quarter of the union’s total membership. The NFWW had 10,000 women on its books in 1914 and 80,000 at the end of the War. Figures are from Barbara Drake, *Women in Trade Unions* (London 1920).

‘Significant Women’ in Schools

Amanda Capern
University of Hull

Over the last year, a sub-committee of the Women’s History Network Steering Committee has worked to establish what provision of Women’s History there actually is in schools. The following report presents a few findings.

Since 1978 public schools throughout the United States have celebrated Women’s History Week tying it in with International Women’s Day on 8 March. Teachers run special programmes and kids join local parades, enter essays in competitions and put up exhibitions celebrating the role of women in America’s past. In the 1990s this was deemed such a

success that Women's History Week turned into Women's History Month. Following the terrorist attack in New York on 11 September 2001 the theme for Women's History Month seems to have been chosen to link up with the teaching of 'citizenship', bringing gender into line with national identity and responsibility. In March 2002 children in schools throughout the country studied 'Women's Role in Celebrating the American Spirit' using resources provided on the Web and curriculum materials supplied by the National Women's History Project.

'Woman's place is ... in the curriculum' is a common motto used and this year's Women's History Month looks forward with the theme 'Women Pioneering the Future'. What equivalent is there in Britain? Have women secured a place here in the National History Curriculum?

The answer to the first question, of course, is 'none', though there are undoubtedly committed teachers out there individually inventing the wheel every year by celebrating International Women's Day in their schools (please let us know, if you are there). The answer to the second question is a qualified 'yes', but only if they are 'significant women' and I will come to what this means in practice later.

The National History Curriculum is divided into 4 Key Stages covering ages 5–7, 7–11, 11–14 and 14–19. The overall objective of the curriculum is to instil in school students historical skills and the ability to think historically. In Key Stage 1 in the area of 'Chronological Understanding' a school child learns how to 'place events and objects in chronological order' and understand concepts like 'before, after, a long time ago'. In Key Stage 2 s/he progresses, placing 'events, people and changes into correct periods of time' and using historical dates and vocabulary such as 'ancient' and 'modern'. In other words, the National Curriculum is designed as a series of skills building-blocks aimed at educating a child to think historically. The relationship of historical topics, like the Crusades or the English Civil War, to these building blocks is not entirely clear and this has major implications for the teaching of Women's History in schools.

At Key Stage 1 teachers can choose any topic on 'Britain and the wider world', but by Key Stage 3 the rubric is more prescriptive and teachers need to combine three European and 'World' topics with three British topics (medieval, early-modern and modern to 1900). Detailed prescription about what to include within these topics is absent and there is clearly room for teachers to embed women's history within every topic they teach whether it be 'Vikings' at Key Stage 1 or 'Tudors' at Key Stage 2. However, there are two very important factors that work against Women's History being a real feature of History teaching in Britain's schools. The first is that the National Curriculum at every stage deploys the language of 'significance'. Teachers are pushed heavily in the direction of an almost Victorian way of thinking about history as the history of 'great events' and 'great men'. In 2002 it is 'significant events' and 'significant men'. The addition of 'significant women' makes little difference to the women who are included in the historical account because women like Elizabeth I were always co-opted as honorary men anyway. A generation of school children are entering universities thinking

that Women's History involves learning about female monarchs. A recent student questionnaire on a module I run at Hull University on European Women's History came back with the comment that it should have involved a series of lectures on 'great women such as Queen Victoria' rather than topics like women's work. This student, at least, had imbibed the National Curriculum message that there are 'significant women' and, by logical extension of that argument, 'insignificant women' in the past. Meanwhile, at Key Stage 2 my eight year old son has learned all about Florence Nightingale, helping to maintain ideas amongst even the youngest generation that 'significant women' are strong on morals and play occupational service roles.

The second reason why Women's History is not as solid a feature of the curriculum as it could be and should be is that decisions about what will actually be examined at GCSE, AS- and A-Level are taken by the exam boards: AQA, CCEA, Edexcel, OCR and WJEC. Schools choose a board and the topics then taught are dictated by the exam board, supposedly within the guidelines of the National Curriculum. However, all boards are, frankly, setting exam questions that could have been in papers 50 years ago and the topics available for teaching to these older pupils are out of kilter with the gender-inclusive spirit of the National Curriculum. A survey of the four main exam boards for England reveals topics on War, the Middle East, the Labour Party, Ireland, Chartism, state welfare history, the role of the state in education, protest and unionism, trade, economics, Russian Revolution, Indian nationalism, and so on. Within such topics, of course, there is scope to study women. However, the exam papers themselves overwhelmingly favour 'significant events' and 'significant men'. A-Level students who studied Britain 1841–1914 in 2001 for AQA exams *could* have learnt about the Great Exhibition and cultural exchange, art, literature, music, theatre, urbanization, women historians, travellers, Victorian science and much more. However, if their teachers had led them to the sort of cultural history that is cutting-edge in the tertiary sector, they would never have been able to answer the questions on old-fashioned political history about Chartism, parliamentary party politics, foreign policy, Irish home rule, Gladstone, Salisbury, Grey ('significant men'), etc. etc. Although the exam board's prescribed topics included 'the changing status of women' (bundled into a paragraph with 'railways'), the only exam question about women was on women's suffrage. Every teacher I spoke to knew this and primed her pupils for the exam accordingly.

Outside schools there is a lot going on in women's history for school children that is very exciting. High-quality websites abound. Aimed specifically at school children, *BBC Learning* (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/learning/>) has resources for women's history that are informative and compelling and the *Virtual Library* has a Women's History page (<http://www.iisg.nl/~womhist/vivalink.html>). The latter is hugely useful as a gateway to other Women's History resources. Channel 4's History web site is more lurid with titles such as 'Sex and Sleaze' on a walk through 'the dangerous and filthy streets of Tudor London' (the information that follows is, in fact, quite dull). However, 'most of Henry VIII's wives finish badly' is a classic line for a jaded Friday afternoon class to consider. Teachers know all of this already, but discovering the extent to

which their hands become tied to dry homocentric political history as children get older has been a sobering find. GCSE and AS/A-Level students learn political history and women tend only to get into modules that include women in war and the women's vote.

The sub-committee on Women's History in Schools currently comprises Paula Bartley and Sue Johnson working in the Midlands region and Amanda Capern working in Kingston upon Hull. All three visit schools on the invitation of teachers to talk to students about women's suffrage and the Midlands Women's History Network runs a prize for the best A-Level essay written on a Women's History topic. The first such prize was awarded to Kezia Gaitskell for an essay on women and medicine. Many teachers will know that *The Historian* (the magazine of the Historical Association) runs an A-Level essay competition and we would urge members in the teaching profession to encourage their students to enter essays on Women's History topics. Promoting Women's History is also possible through offering papers to local branches of the Historical Association and inviting teachers and their school children to attend. Opportunities for promoting Women's History in schools also now exist through government initiatives such as the Excellence in Cities and Widening Participation projects. Tertiary-sector teachers running summer schools and classes for school children in these programmes can seize the chance to inspire their audiences, even if, at the moment, they have to do it through 'significant women'. We need help with the work of promoting Women's History in Schools. If you would like any further information on the Women's History Network's promotion of Women's History in Schools, or you feel you can help in some way, contact Amanda Capern (A.L.Capern@hull.ac.uk)

CONFERENCE REPORT

Report on Brides of Christ: Towards a History of Women Religious in Britain and Ireland Symposium

12 October 2002, St Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham

Caroline Bowden and Carmen Mangion

Fifty-five delegates from international academic and religious communities converged upon Strawberry Hill for a one-day symposium exploring the history of women religious in Britain and Ireland. This interdisciplinary forum brought together scholars whose papers illustrated the depth and breadth of women's religious life from the medieval to the modern period.

The keynote guest speaker, Dr Nicky Hallett of the University of Kent, challenged us to explore notions of representations in her paper '*Lives on the Edge*': *Touching nuns from medieval to*

early modern and beyond. Her research into the life-writing of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Carmelites revealed much about the ways in which these women formulated and affirmed ideas about community and faith in a period of on-going devotional change and reform.

The first session contained three literary Medieval papers. Jill Stevenson from CUNY Graduate Center discussed the interpretation of the Barking Abbey Easter drama as an alternative form of preaching. She demonstrated that active communal participation was one of the ways that late medieval female religious might have approached devotional practice and countered spiritual lethargy. Miranda Hodgson of Linacre College, Oxford examined Aelfric's brief style and his treatment of the virgin martyrs Agnes and Agatha. She posited that his strategy of covert subordination appears to be an integral part of the speech of all types of female saints, be they virgin martyrs or not. Juliana Dresvina of Moscow State University presented a double portrait comparing the East Anglican religious women, Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe.

The second session moved forward a few hundred years to the early modern period. Dr Virginia Bainbridge explored the geographical and social origins of the Bridgettines and suggested why these women were drawn to a contemplative vocation both at Syon and in exile. Ruth Manning of University College Oxford re-examined the reasons for closing the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary by placing Mary Ward's foundation in the context of contemporary active orders for women.

A session with three nineteenth-century papers introduced us first to La Sainte Union. Sister Grace Donovan discussed the development of this congregation, a French order in exile and examined issues of ethnicity and integration in Britain. Dr Barbara Ward assessed the business acumen demonstrated by women religious showing the scope of the financial and management work of the foundations. Finally, Carmen Mangion of Birkbeck College, University of London analysed the relationship between social class and leadership in the houses of the Daughters of Charity arguing that opportunities were presented for women of poorer backgrounds to exercise authority in the convents.

In the final session Henrietta Blackmore of Regent's Park College presented a paper on the structure of the North London Deaconess Institution and the nature of the vocational work of its members in the local parishes 1860-1900. Dr Yvonne McKenna's paper was based on oral interviews with Irish women religious about their entry into religious life in the twentieth century. She analyzed the reasons given for entering religious life and the different meanings the women and their family/society attached to their decision to enter religious life.

Our final session placed us firmly in the twentieth century. Two Buddhist women religious Vajrasara and Joanna Hughes discussed their reasons for seeking ordination and a lively discussion followed as delegates compared Christian with Buddhist religious life.

A brief work in progress session introduced us to research being done on medieval Scottish women religious and Margaret Anna Cusack. Also discussed were the resources available for scholars at the Catholic Archives Society and religious archives.

The opportunity for meeting others working on similar topics, hearing how others from different methodological backgrounds approached the material and meeting with current women religious provided some real insights into the different traditions of religious life. This symposium challenged assumptions but also laid the basis for future meetings and networks. A second symposium is being planned for 2003. Those interested in receiving details or helping in the organization of such an event, please contact the organizers at bowdenc@smuc.ac.uk or carmenmangion@freeuk.com

JUNE 2002 ISSUE—AUTHOR UPDATE:

We have been asked to point out that Katherine Storr, author of the article in the June 2002 issue of *Women's History Magazine* entitled 'Belgian Refugee Relief: an Example of 'Caring Power' in the Great War', is a postgraduate student at the University of Sussex and is funded in this activity by the ESRC. We are happy to provide this clarification.

LETTER TO THE EDITORS

The Editor
Women's History Magazine
16 January 2003

Dear Editor

Since the appearance in *Women's History Magazine*, Issue 42, October 2002, of the review by Jad Adams of my book *Emmeline Pankhurst: a biography*, I have been inundated with emails. One person suggested that the reviewer sounded like 'a nostalgic refugee from the Socialist Workers' Party' while another claimed that the reviewer was obviously a member of the 'Old Left, with all its hang ups'. But the most frequent question put to me was 'who is she?'

Jad Adams is not a 'she' but a 'he'. His life of Tony Benn, the left wing MP, was published by Macmillan in 1992. I have also been informed that he has written books on Gandhi and Ernest Dowson, and is a reviewer for national newspapers. As far as I am aware, he has published nothing on women's history.

Apparently Jad Adams was commissioned by The Guardian to write a review of my book but this was turned down in favour of one by Michael Foot, the distinguished socialist and critic, and former leader of the parliamentary Labour Party. Jad Adams then contacted Routledge, my publisher,

since he wanted a website or some such forum where he could place his review. Routledge got in touch with me and I made some suggestions, including this Magazine.

Michael Foot's review of my book, which was published in the Review Section of The Guardian on 2 August 2002, was very complimentary. In particular, he spoke of 'the vicious misrepresentation' that Emmeline Pankhurst has suffered from historians and how, at long last, I had done her justice. In my book I claim that the dominant source for this misrepresentation has been derived from The Suffragette Movement, the influential text written by her daughter, Sylvia, a socialist-feminist whose views were often at odds with those of her mother and Christabel, the eldest and favoured daughter.

In particular, Sylvia presents her mother as a weak leader, driven by the hated sister Christabel, and as a woman concerned with a narrow aim, the winning of the vote, rather than with wider radical reforms. She also portrays herself as the heroine of the suffrage campaign, the socialist radical who, with her charwomen, won votes for women.

Strangely, Jad Adams mentions none of my questioning of this dominant narrative which, I think, is hard for many socialists to accept. Sylvia is an icon for many on the Left and her story of her mother has all too readily been accepted as 'the truth'. It is certainly upheld with great vigour in Martin Pugh's book *The Pankhursts*. Is this why Jad Adams calls his book 'perceptive', hardly an adjective that one applies to Pugh's writings about women?

In my view, Martin Pugh has little understanding what feminism is about and is mainly concerned with putting forward a male or 'masculinist' view. For example, on page 288 of his *March of the Women: a revisionist analysis of the campaign for women's suffrage, 1866-1914* (2000) he states, 'Unfortunately the Pankhursts [i.e. Emmeline and Christabel] had no desire to be treated as frail women in need of male protection.' In *The Pankhursts*, he presents the widowed Emmeline and her children as a 'dysfunctional' family and reiterates the Sylvia scenario. Further, he makes no reference to that vast bulk of feminist literature on women's suffrage that has been published during the last ten years. Would a publication by a female historian on men in the First World War that avoided reference to any of the current debates in the field be described as 'perceptive'? I doubt it.

For Martin Pugh and Jad Adams, feminism only makes sense when it is allied to socialism and to working with socialist men. If either had read the more recent research on women's suffrage in Britain, they would have found out that the WSPU membership included socialist women as well as women of other political persuasions, a point made in my book. What united them all was their common interests as women. To rob all those non-socialist women of their suffrage victory and to claim it only for socialism is disgraceful.

To claim, as Jad Adams does, that Emmeline Pankhurst is a 'spiritual mother to Mary Whitehouse' is to grossly distort her views. Emmeline Pankhurst was deeply concerned about the advocacy of 'free love' amongst the Bolsheviks since she thought it exploited women, especially working-class women

who bore the triple burden of employment, motherhood and home making. To say also that she was 'a great performer, but no thinker' is also a vicious misrepresentation. Emmeline Pankhurst's speeches and statements reveal a deep compassion for the downtrodden status of Edwardian women and a call for women to rise up and do something about it. She clearly articulated her feminist views which did not fit easily into any of the male centred agendas of the main political parties. That she was very critical of the policies and politics of the parliamentary Labour Party, which engaged in a range of manoeuvrings in order to win electoral success, is no surprise.

I am reminded of a statement Christabel Pankhurst made in 1910, 'According to the old tale of men's making, it is not in women to unite and to work with one another. Women have only now discovered the falsity of this, and they are rejoicing in their new-found sisterhood.' It is, unfortunately, a tale that too many male reviewers still tell.

Yours sincerely

June Purvis

School of Social, Historical and Literary Studies, University of Portsmouth (june.purvis@port.ac.uk)

BOOK REVIEWS

Kathleen Canning and Sonya O. Rose (eds.)

Gender, Citizenship and Subjectivities

(Oxford: Blackwell, 2002). ISBN 1-405100026-5. pp. vi+ 239, £16.99 (paperback)

Review by Stephanie Spencer

This diverse edited collection is brought together by an excellent introductory chapter by Kathleen Canning and Sonya Rose. They provide a comprehensive review of the historical and theoretical accounts of citizenship and the ambiguous relationship that women have experienced within such frameworks. Citizenship, as they observe, has joined the mantra of class, gender, race and ethnicity in terms of recent debates within the humanities and social sciences. T.H. Marshall's model of citizenship as a linear progression towards civil, political and social rights has been critiqued by Carole Pateman who argued for a more nuanced gendered understanding of the politics of inclusion. Pateman argued that models of modern liberal citizenship contained inherent contradictions, promising equality yet instituting social, political and economic constrictions which excluded or marginalized women. Ruth Lister's recent work focuses on these anomalies in order to claim citizenship as a category of analysis and a site for the contestation of meanings of gender. The remaining chapters build on these arguments, highlighting the place of citizenship within understandings of subjectivity. Canning and Rose argue that constructions of citizenship have implications for the subjectivity of those in positions of power, those defined as

citizens *and* those excluded and on the margins of citizenship.

Geographically the chapters range from the Eurocentric cultures of France, Britain, Spain, Russia and Switzerland as far as Australia and Bengal. The disparate nature of the topics addressed might suggest that the links between the chapters are tenuous. Tanika Sarkar's discussion is specifically focused on nineteenth century Bengal where Hindu women's campaign for the recognition of their rights was sometimes in conflict, rather than in sympathy, with the struggles for Indian nationhood. In contrast, Elizabeth Wood's chapter on 'Citizens in Training in the New Soviet Republic' focuses on the 'agitation trials', fictional courtroom dramas where amateur actors condemned pre-revolutionary forms of behaviour. Some of these trials served to underline the still ambivalent nature of women's full participation in the new system, despite the well-publicised rhetoric of equality. The framework of citizenship *and* subjectivity illustrates the importance of gender as a contributory factor in the claiming of rights and the integral relationship between individuals and their communities; between the omnipresent 'woman' and individual women's construction and understanding of self.

Carol Harrison's chapter on the relationship of the development of science to citizenship in post-revolutionary France is particularly interesting. Women's marginalisation from the field followed the decline of the effete gentleman amateur in favour of a robust masculinised construction. The pursuit of science, she argues, became a marker of status (and consequently full citizenship) as much as the production of knowledge, and therefore had to be protected from female 'encroachment'. Elisa Camiscioli's chapter on 'Producing Citizens' in twentieth century France considers the relationship of demography to citizenship. The population crisis ensured that women's obligation as citizens was inevitably linked to their reproductive role. Camiscioli discusses the debates over the appropriateness of different races for marriage with French women. In contrast Brigitte Studer cites the case of Swiss women who forfeited their Swiss nationality upon marriage to a foreigner.

The discursive nature of women's domesticity and its ambivalent relationship to citizenship is highlighted by Pamela Radcliff in her study of women in the New Spain. Feminist principles embodied the ideals of democracy. At the same time, feminists were seen as speaking for private sectional interests when the Franco-ist notion of women as constricted within the private domain was outmoded. Laura Mayhall's chapter focuses on the rhetoric of slavery and citizenship used by the suffragist movement. She suggests that suffragists used texts such as Mazzini's *Duties of Man* and Mill's *Subjection of Women* to justify their claims that the ethics of the family had also to be the ethics of the state.

Marilyn Lake explores the campaign for Aboriginal Rights in Australia in terms of the alliance between three women; a black South Sea Islander, an Aboriginal and an upper class white feminist. She teases out the anomalous situation whereby successful campaigns against racial discrimination and policies of assimilation also resulted in a loss of distinctive culture and identity. Faith Bandler who campaigned against exclusion faced resentment by her male colleagues threatened by 'the

ascendancy of women and whites'.

The collection would be a useful addition to reading lists, serving as an introduction to the complexities of global concepts of citizenship, gender and the construction of identities. For those of us whose research tends to focus on one country or historical time period, the book offers a welcome insight into the wider implications of more detailed case-studies.

Mona Scheuermann, *In Praise of Poverty. Hannah More Counters Thomas Paine and the Radical Threat*

Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002. Pp. 256
ISBN0-81-3122228

Review by Susan Skedd

In 1792 the Bishop of London, Beilby Porteus, persuaded the celebrated Evangelical moralist and bluestocking, Hannah More, to write a series of tracts for the poor as a counterweight to the radical and republican ideas popularised in cheap editions of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791). More was ideally qualified for the task as her philanthropic work of setting up charity schools in the Mendips had brought her into daily contact with the poor and given her first-hand knowledge of their economic and spiritual deprivations. Over the next six years she wrote more than a hundred short moral tales, collectively known as *Cheap Repository Tracts*, which promoted conservative political values and Christian principles. More claimed that two million copies were sold in one year alone and, though this figure has been contested, the Tracts were undoubtedly a publishing phenomenon.

In her welcome new study of Hannah More's *Village Politics by Will Chip* (1793) and *Cheap Repository Tracts* (1795-8), Mona Scheuermann argues that in these works More wrote primarily as a political, rather than moral or religious, writer, who eagerly engaged 'in conscious and direct battle with Paine' (p.50). Fearful that the poor might be stirred into revolution by the example of the French Jacobins and by the writings of British radicals such as Paine, More explicitly ridicules the notions of liberty, equality and the rights of man and instead champions the virtues of loyalty and subordination. Scheuermann describes in great detail how More's conservative concept of society as static, hierarchical and paternalist inspires her praise of poverty. So, in one of these little stories, written in a plain, common-sense style, the 'Shepherd of Salisbury Plain' proclaims happiness with the lot that is appointed to me' despite extreme poverty, the dilapidation of his house, the ill-health of his wife and the meagreness of what he can provide for his large family (p.140); he even declares that 'our lives have been crowned with mercies' (p.141). Scheuermann concludes that More's characters represent 'the upper class's ideal, fantasy poor' (p.37) and accuses her of acting as 'a hired polemicist for the upper classes' (p.105).

What is missing from Scheuermann's analysis of More's political philosophy is a discussion of her middle class origins (her father was a schoolmaster) and sensibilities and

the strong Evangelical faith that motivated her philanthropy and writing. By casting her as the apologist of the upper classes Scheuermann fails to acknowledge that More was as critical of their morality as of the failings of the lower classes. Indeed, she had attempted to reform upper class manners in two bestselling tracts, *Thoughts on the importance of the manners of the great to general society* (1788) and *An estimate of the religion of the fashionable world* (1790). Moreover her charity school work had brought her conflict with local landowners, who ironically feared that teaching the poor to read would turn them into Painite sympathisers, and with the local clergymen, who mistook More's Evangelicalism for Methodism.

Scheuermann is at her best in close textual reading of More's tracts. She is especially sharp on how More specifically answers the arguments put forward by Paine in *Rights of Man*. What is less convincing is her attempt to contextualize More's attitudes towards the poor by comparing them with those of Joseph Townsend, Josiah Wedgwood and Mary Wollstonecraft. This is surely not a wide enough sample to conclude that 'the very conservative ideas of More with respect to the poor and the place of the poor in man's society and in God's order are part of the core set of beliefs of her time' (p.208). Scheuermann unnecessarily confides in the reader her own distaste for these prescriptive views and makes her 'own discomfort with More's perspectives apparent at many points' (p.19), mostly in arch asides that undermine an otherwise objective tone. It is a pity that, contrary to the author's intention, the concluding chapter does not draw the book together. Instead it introduces new and weighty subject matter: a comparison of More's and Wollstonecraft's ideas on education to demonstrate 'the belief that the printed word can change society is equally powerful on both sides of the political gate' (p.207). This is worth a separate study.

In her day More was arguably the most prominent, and certainly the most prolific, female writer in Britain. However, her conservative and patriarchal politics have been inadequately studied by historians and literary scholars next to those of Wollstonecraft, no doubt because they appear 'repugnant' (p.18) to a modern audience. This valuable account of More's writings for the poor, together with the new biography by Anne Stott, will ensure that her significance 'as a public spokesman in the trying and dangerous political atmosphere of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' (p.2) is given due attention.

CALLS FOR PAPERS (NATIONAL)

The Politics of Friendship:

A Symposium on Friendship, Gender and Nation in Australia, Britain And the Empire will be held at the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies in London on **26-27 June 2003**

Convenors: Professor Barbara Caine and Dr Anne Pender

'If I had to choose between defending my friend and defending my country, I hope I should have the courage to defend my friend...' wrote E. M. Forster in his *Two Cheers for Democracy*. Forster's statement points both to the central importance accorded friendship and personal relationships in Bloomsbury in the early 20th century, and to the disdain he shared with many contemporary writers and intellectuals for nationalism, patriotism and the political manipulations practised in their name. Forster's interests in friendship extended also to the imperial realm: to the possibilities and the subversive implications of friendships between British and Indians living under the Raj.

Questions about the ways in which friendship allowed for new forms of political alliance, and for the forging of links and relationships across established class, ethnic, racial and imperial boundaries will provide the focus for this conference. It will also explore changing cultures of friendship over time and in different societies. Feminist and literary friendships will also be examined to show their importance in enabling women to negotiate an often hostile world. We hope throughout to explore the ways in which the new interest in friendship offers insights into social and cultural as well as political relationships.

Proposed themes:

Changing cultures of friendship; Cross-racial friendships in Australia and the Empire; Imperial friendships; Feminist friendships; Literary friendships

Please send a synopsis of about 100 words to either:

Professor Barbara Caine, School of Historical Studies
Monash University, Vic 3800, Australia

Fax: 61 (03) 99052210 Phone no. 61 (03) 99052197

Barbara.Caine@arts.monash.edu.au or

Dr Anne Pender, Menzies Centre for Australian Studies

King's College London, 28 Russell Square London WC1B 5DS

Telephone +44-020-7862-8856

Fax +44-020-7580-9627

anne.pender@kcl.ac.uk

Social History Society

Annual Conference, 8-10 January 2004, with the University of Rouen

marking also the launch of

Cultural and Social History: the Journal of the Social History Society

From 2004, the Social History Society will change the format of its annual conference. Instead of a single theme for each conference, it is introducing thematic strands which will run through successive annual conferences. This change will parallel the publication from 2004 on of the Society's new journal: *Cultural and Social History*.

This Call encourages proposals for papers promoting wide-ranging discussions of the present state and future of cultural and social history, reflecting these exciting new developments in the Society's history. Papers will be considered for publication in *Cultural and Social History*. Proposals are welcomed from scholars interested in reflecting on policy and practice in social and cultural history, including those with backgrounds in cultural studies, history of art and the visual

arts, literary studies, law and criminology, anthropology and the social sciences in general.

The six thematic strands are as follows. For further information please contact the strand organisers:

Cultures and Identities, (contact Shani D'Cruze-shani@d-cruze.freemove.co.uk)

Self and Society (contact Lauren Kassell - ltk21@cam.ac.uk)

Life Styles and Life Cycles (contact Mary Clare Martin - mc-martin@talk21.com)

Deviance, Inclusion and Exclusion (contact David Nash - dsnash@brookes.ac.uk)

Production and Consumption (contact Barry Doyle - Barry.Doyle@tees.ac.uk)

Cultural Mapping and Transnational Exchanges (contact David Hopkins: DMH@arts.gla.ac.uk)

See also the Society's website (<http://sochist.ntu.ac.uk>), which includes more detailed calls for each strand or contact the Society's Secretary, Judith.Rowbotham@ntu.ac.uk.

Proposals are invited for papers in any historical context, period or culture. They should consist of title and abstract (around 350 words; no more than a side of A4). Proposals from postgraduate students are particularly welcome. Submission of sessions or panels of three related papers (plus chair, if liked) are encouraged, and especially those for panels which would signal engagement between historians working on different historical periods, or panels exploring links between history and other disciplines. Suggestions for alternative forums of debate are also invited.

There will be two submission dates for abstracts. Those abstracts accepted which were submitted by **1 May 2003** will be notified by 15 June 2003; those abstracts accepted which were submitted by **10 September 2003** will be notified in early October.

Abstracts should be sent to: Mrs. Linda Persson, Administrative Secretary, SHS, Lancaster University, Bailrigg, Lancaster, LA1 4YG (tel: 01524-592605; Fax: 01524-846102 Email: l.persson@lancaster.ac.uk) for distribution to the conference committee. Submitters of proposals are encouraged to indicate the strand(s) they feel most appropriate for their papers, but the ultimate decision will be made by the conference committee. For further information on the conference and its location, please visit the Social History Society's website: <http://sochist.ntu.ac.uk>.

SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN RELIGIOUS

CONSECRATED WOMEN . . TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF WOMEN RELIGIOUS OF BRITAIN AND IRELAND

11 October 2003,

London, England

Contributions are invited for this interdisciplinary conference on women religious of Britain and Ireland. Academics,

postgraduate students, teachers, archivists, and others are invited to offer short papers, group sessions with chair, or contributions to workshops on any aspect of the history of women religious of Britain and Ireland. This programme provides a stimulating and congenial forum for the discussion of the history of women religious and seeks to reflect the diversity of the experience of women religious throughout time.

We welcome submissions from all disciplines with an interest in the topic. Please send abstracts of 250 words by Friday, **28 February 2003** to Dr. Caroline Bowden at bowdenc@smuc.ac.uk or Carmen Mangion at carmenmangion@freeuk.com.

Further details of the conference and booking forms will be available from March from either of the organisers above

Women's History Network Midlands Region Conference: Call for Papers

The next Conference will be held on May 24th 2003, 9.30 - 4.00 pm, at University College, Worcester. The theme is '20th Century Women'.

Abstracts for papers are welcome - please send to Sue Johnson, email S.Johnson@worc.ac.uk (History), University College Worcester, Henwick Grove, Worcester WR2 6AJ.

CALLS FOR PAPERS (OVERSEAS)

WOMEN AND CONFLICT: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Saturday and Sunday, October 11-12, 2003
University of California, Santa Barbara

UCSB's First Annual Graduate Student Conference, entitled "Women and Conflict," invites individual interdisciplinary paper proposals in women or gender studies that address the conference theme from a historical perspective. Studies of conflict could include but not be limited to domestic, political, social, cultural, trans-regional, and ideological themes. The Program Committee especially welcomes papers that break boundaries of time, place, disciplines, and methodology. We aim to bring together graduate students and faculty who are thinking about women's and gender history from trans-regional and comparative perspectives.

Faculty wishing to serve as chairs or commentators should email the Conference Committee with their area of expertise. The Keynote Speaker will be UCSB alumna, Dr. Angela Woollacott of Case Western Reserve University.

We aim to house graduate student participants free of charge.

Paper proposals must be received via email attachments in Microsoft Word or snail mail by **April 1, 2003** and must include:

1. Cover letter with the name, address, phone number, email address, and institutional affiliation. (Panelist must be enrolled in a graduate program on the Conference date);
2. One-page abstract of the paper;
3. One-page curriculum vitae.

Mail proposals to:

WOMEN AND CONFLICT: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES
Department of History, University of California, Santa Barbara, California 93106

Email proposals to:

U.S.-related papers: Alexandra Epstein: ae0@umail.ucsb.edu

Modern Non-U.S. papers: Sandra Dawson: sdrn@umail.ucsb.edu

Ancient, Medieval, and Early-Modern-related papers: Katie Sjursten: sjursten@umail.ucsb.edu

NATIONAL CONFERENCES

One day Symposium: 3 April 2003 **Advice and the Teenage Girl**

Following the success of our first one day symposium Cleanliness, Dirt and Women's Roles we are organising a second symposium to accompany our exhibition Grow Up! Advice and the Teenage Girl. The exhibition looks at advice given to girls 1880 - 2001, how they took it, and traces changes in expectations and aspirations for teenage girls.

This one day, inter-disciplinary symposium on 3 April 2003 will explore issues around gender, young women and advice. The symposium will focus on the relationships between girls, their peers and adults and the role of advice in concepts around the representation of girls, their perceptions of themselves, aspirations and roles. Themes may include; fashion and consumption, teenage literature and publishing, photography and film, sexuality and health, education, careers and work, leisure activities, sub cultures, drugs, homelessness, parenthood and prostitution.

Contact: Hilary Clay,

hilary.clay@thewomenslibrary.ac.uk, at The Women's Library, London Metropolitan University, Old Castle Street, London, E1 7NT.

Royal Musical Association Annual



CLARE EVANS PRIZE

for a new essay in the field of GENDER AND HISTORY

In memory of Dr Clare Evans, a national prize worth £250 is awarded annually for an original essay in the field of women's history or gender and history. The essays will be considered by a panel of judges set up by the Women's History Network and the Trustees of the Clare Evans Memorial Fund. The closing date is 31 May 2003 and the prize will be presented by Clare's daughter at the Women's History Network Annual Conference in mid September.

Clare Evans was an outstanding woman who tragically died of cervical cancer on 30 November 1997, aged 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. By examining census material gathered by Quakers, Clare saw how the changing attitudes to women's participation in the workplace were revealed through the responses to major subsistence crises in the early to mid-nineteenth century. As part of this work, Clare showed how men were constructed as sole wage-earners yet women offered sewing schools to create a new Victorian model following mass unemployment in the cotton mills (a result of the American Civil War). Focusing on textile workers in the Nelson and Colne districts of Lancashire, she uncovered the reality of women's lives to free them from contemporary ideas as dependents within family wage ideology. 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,
- c) normally resident in the UK.

The article should be in English, 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. It is anticipated that the winning essay will be published in the *Women's History Review* (subject to the normal refereeing criteria).

Those wishing to apply for the prize should first e-mail, or write for further details, to Ann Hughes (hia21@keele.ac.uk; Department of History and Classics, University of Keele, Keele, Staffs, ST5 5BG).

Please send details of proposed title by e-mail, or in writing to Ann Hughes (hia21@keele.ac.uk; Department of History and Classics, University of Keele, Keele, Staffs, ST5 5BG).

The completed essay should be sent to Ann Hughes by **31 May 2003**. 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.

Conference 2003: Music Historiography

Department of Music, Cardiff University
12-14 September 2003

The keynote speaker at the conference is Gary Tomlinson (University of Pennsylvania). Four themed sessions are already planned:

Multidisciplinary in Medieval Music Studies: participants to include Ardis Butterfield (University College London), Elizabeth Eva Leach (Royal Holloway College London), Margaret Switten (Mount Holyoke College)

Lesbian Historiography: participants to include Rachel Cowgill (Leeds University), Suzanne Cusick (New York University), Sophie Fuller (Reading University), Matthew Head (Southampton University)

Music Theory and Historiography in the Nineteenth Century: participants to include Suzannah Clark (Merton College, Oxford) and Alexander Rehding (Princeton University)

Historicizing Popular Music: participants to include Nicholas Cook (Southampton University), Kenneth Gloag (Cardiff University), Sarah Hill (Southampton University)

This is a residential conference. University accommodation will be available for booking from April 2003. Cardiff also offers a wide range of hotels and guest houses.

Contact: Dr Charles Wilson, Lecturer, Music Department, Cardiff University, 31 Corbett Road, Cardiff, CF10 3EB
Tel: 029-2087-6656 Fax: 029-2087-4379
email: WilsonC@cardiff.ac.uk

Information and Social Knowledge: From Gossip to the Internet

14th Annual Workshop of the Economic History Society Women's Committee, Institute of Historical Research, London, 7-8 November 2003

This workshop brings together social and economic historians, historians of science and technology and social scientists to explore the various applications of the concept of information in historical studies and discuss the ways in which attention to people's access to knowledge and the systems (formal and informal, human and mechanical) for its transmission can help us to understand social order and economic action. We are reminded daily that we are experiencing an 'information revolution', that since the second half of the 20th century we have been living in an 'information society' and that in the 21st our children will have to find their place in a 'knowledge society'.

Accounts of this purported epochal shift in the social functions of information focus on the dialectic between a growing demand for specific knowledges and the development of uniquely powerful and dynamic technologies for generating, storing and communicating

data. The social and imaginative impacts of digital and computer technologies have been described in terms of actual transformations in the labour process and the conditions of economic life, and a potential for radically new kinds of relationships among individuals, between individuals and society, and between human and machine. Historians have begun to test this model. They have questioned the uniqueness of our own experience in the light of evidence for earlier 'information revolutions'. At the same time the understanding of information and knowledge as commodities, tools or social goods whose transmission is central to social production and reproduction, and the associated concepts of information networks, systems and regimes, have been adopted in historical studies whose objects range from material culture to imperial governance. The underlying questions of who gets to know what, and how, and how this affects the way life is lived, remain pressing ones for both economic theory and historical explanation.

The gender politics of information and knowledge constitute a common theme of the workshop. Topics include early-modern credit networks, nineteenth-century wealth transmission, women in the academic knowledge community, finding one's way in the modern city, rumour and survival in World War II, information technologies and political participation in the 19th and 20th centuries, the social making of digital computing, the internet as a source of lay medical knowledge.

Speakers include: Alison Adam/Helen Richardson (Salford), Jon Agar (Manchester/London), David Green (London), Flis Henwood/Sally Wyatt/Angie Hart (Brighton), Claire Jones (Liverpool), Sandra Mols (Manchester), Adelheid von Saldern (Hannover), Judith Spicksley (Hull), Penny Summerfield (Manchester)

The workshop will begin with a roundtable discussion on the evening of 7 November, and conclude at 4.15 p.m. on 8 November. For further information, contact: Dr Eve Rosenhaft, School of Modern Languages, University of Liverpool, Liverpool L69 7ZR E-mail: dan85@liv.ac.uk

REGIONAL MEETINGS

Midlands Interdisciplinary Victorian Studies Seminar (MIVSS) 2002/3 Programme

Saturday 10th May, 2.00 p.m.

Jonathan Reinartz (University of Birmingham): Uncommon Scents: Smell and Victorian England

David Nash (Oxford Brookes University): Republicanism and the Victorian Middle Class: Radical Fantasy or Cultural Triumph?

All meetings are held in the Shakespeare Room, Birmingham Central Library, Chamberlain Square, Birmingham.

For more information contact Nicola Bown (Birkbeck College) n.bown@bbk.ac.uk, Rosie Miles (University of Wolverhampton) R.Miles@wlv.ac.uk or Marion Thain (University of Birmingham) m.thain.2@bham.ac.uk



**University of
Sunderland**

The International Centre for the Study of Violence and Abuse (ICVA) 2002/2003 seminar series

31st March 2003

Professor Marianne Hester, Professor Jalna Hanmer, Maria Morahan, Susan Coulson and Amina Razak (all from ICVA, University of Sunderland)

Domestic Violence: Making it through the criminal justice system – why and how cases drop out.

8th May 2003

Professor Keith Pringle (ICVA, University of Sunderland), **Professor Jeff Hearn** (University of Manchester, and the Swedish School of Economics, Helsinki, Finland) and **Lynne Harne** (ICVA, University of Sunderland)

Part one - Men and Masculinities: Recent Developments in Theories and Research

Part two - Men and Masculinities: European Perspectives

Part three – Men and Masculinities: Violent fathers

NB. This seminar will run from 1pm – 4.30pm

16th June 2003

Dr Carol Ann Hooper (Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of York)

Rape Trials in the Moroccan Courtroom

Our seminars are free and open to everyone.

Unless otherwise stated all seminars start at 4.30pm ~ please join us for refreshments at 4pm.

Seminars are generally held in Room C24 at - International Centre for the Study of Violence and Abuse (ICVA) School of Health, Natural and Social Sciences, Priestman Building, Green Terrace, Sunderland, SR1 3PZ For more information about the ICVA or our seminar series please visit our website at www.sunderland.ac.uk/icva or e-mail nicole.westmarland@sunderland.ac.uk



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

A Ford Foundation "Emerging Leaders, New Directions" Initiative at The Women's and Gender Studies Program of Macalester College

Sustainable Feminisms: Enacting theories, Envisioning Action: A Cross-border conference

**Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota,
USA, Friday, October 3 - Sunday, October
5, 2003**

THEMES: The crises we face daily and over time-poverty, dislocation, marginalization, delegitimation, attack, or disenfranchisement--have compelled us, in our anti-discriminatory work, to imagine as well as enact challenges to dominant policies and practices. We have learned about, debated, and modified these challenges inside and outside our institutions, our neighborhoods, our conference halls, and our homes. And we have encountered them in diverse and often separate ways, through single-issue or multi-issue politics that open categories such as gender, race, citizenship, sexuality, class, religion, and nation to mutual redefinition.

It is urgent, particularly at this moment in our histories, to review and re-imagine our diverse and separate engagements. This conference invites you - artists, scholars, community organizers, educators, policy-makers, lawmakers, students, and people who live in more than one of these identities. Are we content with divisions such as theorist vs. activist, inside vs. outside our institutions (educational, legal, political), socio-political work vs. intellectual work? It welcomes you to argue whether we have already been practicing across such divisions as well as across local, national, and international borders. It asks you to analyze how and why we have created/create such collaborations. It seeks to open up for discussion how feminisms, and your interpretations of them, contribute to such collaborations. And it supports conversations on how sustainable forms of feminisms, through various generations, can tackle the needs of our times.

The conference website will appear soon at www.macalester.edu/wgs and will be updated every month. Visit the Macalester WGS website for information about the program and its initiatives.

For other details, please contact Sonita Sarker (sarker@macalester.edu) or Scott Morgensen (morgensen@macalester.edu), Women's and Gender Studies, Macalester College, 1600 Grand Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55105, USA.

COMMITTEE NEWS

NOTIFICATION TO MEMBERS OF A CHANGE OF FEE STRUCTURE FROM 01 SEPTEMBER 2003

Following discussion at last year's AGM it has been decided to raise the student/unwaged subscription rate to the WHN from £5 per annum to £10. The hike is to cover production costs of 3 copies of the new Magazine per year. It has also been decided (following comments and letters from several members) to raise the low income threshold from £10,000 to £16,000 per annum. The figure decided upon is intended to reflect the starting salary of any member in a full-time job. Institutional rates will remain the same. The new fee structure for individual members from 1 September 2003 will therefore be:

Student/unwaged	£10
Low income (under £16,000)	£15
High income	£30

THE STEERING COMMITTEE NEEDS YOU!!!

Volunteers are needed to replace members of the Steering Committee who are stepping down at the next Annual Conference in September.

Term of office: two years, renewable for a further two.

If you would like your name to go forward for the ballot, please send brief details to the Convenors, Jane Potter and Fiona Reid by: **1 JUNE 2003**

Email: jpotter@oup.co.uk Fiona.Reid@uwe.ac.uk

The new Women's History Network Committee members, elected in September 2002.

(We apologise for not printing this list in the October 2002 issue, but pressure on space meant that it had to be held over until now. We regret any inconvenience caused.)

ANNE ANDERSON is a senior lecturer in the History of Art and Design at Southampton Institute. Her publications include articles in *Women's History Review*, *The Journal of the History of Education* and *Women's History Magazine*. Her research interest is Victorian women and culture.

CLAIRE JONES is currently working as one of the publicity officers co-opted onto the Steering Committee earlier this year. She has an MA in Women's History from Liverpool University and is currently doing a PhD on Gender, Mathematics and Science c. 1900.

ELISABETH KLAAR is currently working as one of the publicity officers co-opted onto the Steering Committee earlier this year. She has a BA in Childhood Studies from Birmingham University, does voluntary work for Amnesty International and plans to do an MSc in Global Ethics.

MAUREEN MEIKLE lectures in the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Sunderland. Her research interest is early-modern women's history and she is a co-author of *Women in Scotland, c.1100-c.1750* (Tuckwell, 1999). She is currently working on a biography of Anne of Denmark.

JUNE PURVIS is Professor of Women's and Gender History at the University of Portsmouth and is Founding and Managing Editor of the Women's History Series with Routledge. She has published extensively on women's history with particular interests in women's education and female suffrage and her most recent publication is *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (Routledge, 2002).

WOMEN'S HISTORY NETWORK - FULL STEERING COMMITTEE [2002-3]

Anne ANDERSON, Yvonne BROWN, Amanda CAPERN, Krista COWMAN, Megan DOOLITTLE, Janet FINK, Anne HUGHES, Karen HUNT, Sue JOHNSON, Claire JONES, Elisabeth KLAAR, Carmen MANGION, Maureen MEIKLE, Jane POTTER, June PURVIS, Fiona REID, Debbi SIMONTON, Stephanie SPENCER, Tessa STONE.

SUBMISSION DEADLINES FOR ARTICLES FOR INCLUSION IN WHN MAGAZINE

Deadlines as follows:

**Summer 2003: 1 April
Autumn 2003: 1 August
Spring 2004: 1 November**

**Submissions by e-mail please to the addresses
below.**

Our Publicity Officers

The following people should be contacted on matters relating to publicity:

Claire Jones, who concentrates on academic groups and peer reviewed material. She can be contacted by email: claire@jones5.com or at 16 Manor Farm Close, Mickle Trafford, Chester CH2 4EZ. Tel: 01244 300550; Fax: 08700 524592.

Lissy Klaar, who concentrates on the amateur and local historical groups and journals. Her contact is elisabethklaar@yahoo.co.uk

WHN Regional Organisers can request copies of this magazine to sell at conferences on a sale or return basis. Please contact Joyce Walker by e-mail (j.a.walker@abdn.ac.uk) or c/o History Dept., University of Aberdeen, Meston Walk, Old Aberdeen AB24 3FX.

WHN CONTACTS

To submit articles or news for the WHN magazine, please contact any of the editors at the addresses below:

Elaine Chalus, School of Historical and Cultural Studies, Bath Spa University College, Newton Park, Bath BA2 9BN. Email: e.chalus@bathspa.ac.uk

Deborah Simonton, KEY Learning Opportunities, University of Aberdeen, King's College, Aberdeen AB24 3FX. Email: d.l.simonton@abdn.ac.uk

Heloise Brown, Email: heloise.brown@btopenworld.com

For book reviews, please contact **Dr Jane Potter**, Wolfson College, Oxford, OX2 6UD. Email: jpotter@oup.co.uk

To update contact details, or for any membership inquiries including subscriptions, please contact **Amanda Capern**, at the following address: History Department, University of Hull, Hull, HU6 7RX Email A.L.Capern@hull.ac.uk

What is the Women's History Network?

The WHN was founded in July 1991. It is a national association 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
5. To establish a database of the research, teaching and study-interests of the members and other related organisations and individuals

What does the WHN do?

Annual Conference

Each year the WHN holds a national conference for WHN members and other. The conference provides everyone interested in women's history with a chance to meet and 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 *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 (*revised cost from Sept. 2003)

Student/unwaged	£5 (*£10)	Overseas minimum	£30
Low income (under £16,000 pa)	£15	UK Institutions	£35
High income	£30	Institutions overseas	£40

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 for £ _____. (* delete as applicable)

Name: _____

Address: _____

Postcode: _____

Email: _____ Tel (work): _____

Tick this box if you DO NOT want your name available to publishers/conference organisers for publicity:

☐

Detach and return this form with your cheque to **Amanda Capern, at the following address: History Department, University of Hull, Hull, HU6 7RX, UK.**