

# *Women's History* **MAGAZINE**

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*Themed issue: Women and the Call of Nation*

*Catherine Collins on Women Soldiers in the American Civil War*

*Tiina Kinnunen on Images of Patriotic Women*

*Amy Thompson McCandless on Women at The Citadel*



***PLUS:***

*Six Book Reviews*

*Book Offers*

*Conference Report/Notices/  
Calls for Papers*

*Clare Evans Prize Competition*

*Women's Library Newsletter*

*Steering Committee News*

# 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Women's History Network

## **THINKING WOMEN** **Education, Culture and Society**

1 - 3 September 2006, Collingwood College,  
University of Durham

### **Plenary Speakers**

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## Editorial

Hello to all. The articles featured in this issue of *Women's History Magazine* explore the ways in which women have responded to the call of nation, as soldiers and as patriotic activists, and concurrently, how their actions have been both celebrated and censured in public discourse and debate.

In the current climate of the 'war on terror' and with conflicts raging across the globe, most notably in Iraq, these articles have particular resonance. Women are and have never been far from the battlegrounds, literally or symbolically. And their responses over time and across national boundaries have shaped our contemporary outlook.

Catherine Collins explores the ways in which numerous American women from the North and the South disguised themselves as men to fight in the Civil War (1860-1865). Whilst their individual motives ranged from the need to support their families to the desire to be close to their men, above all, as Collins argues, it was the call 'to defend what was most important to them' that ultimately drove their actions.

A European focus is brought by Tiina Kinnunen with her article on Lotta Svärd, the non-military, women's patriotic organization founded in Finland in 1921 and active during the Second World War. Drawing on literary as well as historical texts, Kinnunen highlights the ways in which the work of Lotta women was marginalized — even ignored — by the public memory in the wake of the war, and more damagingly, how their reputations were slandered by accusations of sexual promiscuity and collaboration with the enemy.

As Kinnunen explores how this auxiliary organization, driven by a 'separate spheres' ideology, became a site of contention about 'true Finnishness', a similar debate about national and gender identity raged in the United States in 1990s. This time, however, women followed in the footsteps of their Civil War sisters, moved out of the separate 'female' sphere, and demanded entry into the elite military academy, The Citadel. Amy McCandless demonstrates in her article that whilst the 'American South does not have a monopoly on either sexism or racism, the region's peculiar history has linked concepts of gender and race more closely than elsewhere in the United States'. Furthermore, McCandless shows how the crisis over women's inclusion in this bastion of Southern manhood mirrored earlier debates about racial integration 30 years before.

All three articles in this issue analyze the ways in which 'meanings of patriotism', to borrow Kinnunen's phrase, are continually re-negotiated over time and political climate. Women have always been subject to ridicule — even public opprobrium — when they have attempted to infiltrate a man's world — and no world is more 'manly' than that of war or the military. Yet these articles ably show that women's patriotism, their commitment to country, has been expressed in many forms — and that the discipline of women's history can reclaim reputations and restore women to the historical record, to the narrative of nation.

The 15th Annual Women's History Network Conference, Thinking Women: Education, Culture and Society, will be held at Collingwood College, University of Durham. You will see

the Call for Papers opposite: please note the 2nd and final deadline of June 1st for abstracts. We encourage all to book now for what will prove to be a popular gathering. The plenary speakers include the distinguished scholars Professor Elizabeth Ewan of the University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada and Professor Linda Eisenmann of John Carroll University, Ohio, USA. Professor Ewan, whose work focuses on medieval and early modern Scotland, is co-editor of *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh University Press, 2006). Professor Eisenmann has published widely in the area of women's education. She is editor of the *Historical Dictionary of Women's Education* in the United States and her book, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945-1965* is forthcoming from the Johns Hopkins University Press.

You will see from the Committee News that Charlotte Sands is stepping down from the Committee for personal reasons and that Jane McDermid, Senior Lecturer at the University of Southampton and a specialist in gender in 19th century Scottish education, stepping in. We thank Charlotte for her service to WHN, welcome Jane, and wish both women the best. We also welcome Karen Atkinson who has taken on the role of Publicity Officer.

As usual, the Magazine contains notices of many upcoming conferences and events and there are also some great book offers available from the Hastings Press and from Routledge, which we encourage you to take advantage of!

Gerry Holloway, Mary Joannou, Claire Jones, Jane Potter & Debbi Simonton

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# Masters of Disguise: Women Soldiers in the American Civil War

Catherine Collins

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In exchange for the role of mother, homemaker, or field-hand, hundreds of women pulled on baggy pants, cut their hair, and enlisted in the army during the American Civil War. These women exhibited great strength, intelligence, and courage as they risked their lives and reputations for their cause. Their comrades were astonished when some of their compatriots' stomachs, thought to be the mid-sections of men, swelled during pregnancy. Additionally, many women soldiers excelled in shooting rifles, became avid gamblers, and some were so talented in hiding their identities that they were not discovered until decades later.

The idea of becoming a member of the armed forces circulated through the female community in the early 1860s. Lucy Breckenridge stated, '[Women's] lives are not more precious than the men's, and they were made to suffer.'<sup>1</sup> She was one of the few women who believed the Confederate government would allow females into the ranks. Even women who did not consider enlisting formed organizations to become skilled in self-defense and to learn how to handle rifles. Several women proved quite skilled with guns, much to the surprise of husbands and friends who were accustomed to seeing women tend to household duties. Consequently, enrolment in the army ensued once women realized that they were capable of the demanding life of a soldier.

Though every potential soldier had to pass a medical examination, women fearlessly stood in line, breathing prayers that their identities would not be discovered. The U.S. War Department required that all soldiers strip while doctors searched for any illness or weakness, but a majority of soldiers passed exams after a brief question-and-answer session or an examination of their 'trigger finger.'<sup>2</sup> One must keep in mind that individuals did not have birth certificates, and social security cards did not exist until the 1930s. Anyone could change their name and appearance and take on a new identity. In the unlikely situation that a doctor performed a full examination, some physicians were moved by women's powerful determination and allowed them into the ranks.

Other women were not as fortunate. A native of

Cincinnati, 'Miss Martin' was denied admission into the armed services, not because of her sex, but because she was too short.<sup>3</sup> She persisted and was rejected four times. On her fifth try, doctors required 'Miss Martin' to strip, revealing her identity. She was not allowed to serve, but her endurance is an aspect of a typical woman soldier's personality.<sup>4</sup>

## Reasons for Enlisting

Several women enlisted in the army because they were trying to imitate Joan of Arc.<sup>5</sup> Joan of Arc was a peasant woman, a similar status to many woman soldiers. She embarked on a campaign against the English occupation of France and angered powerful men such as the King of England with her demands. She was wounded during her campaigns, but her adventures ended successfully.<sup>6</sup> Therefore her legacy inspired women who sought glory and adventure. 'Emily' of Brooklyn was the primary example of a woman desiring to become Joan.<sup>7</sup> She was infatuated with war so much that her parents sent her to Michigan to live with another family member. Despite her parents' wishes, Emily ran away to enlist and became a drummer for a Michigan regiment. Unfortunately, she was shot in the side at Lookout Mountain, and doctors discovered her gender. Before she died, Emily sent an apology note to her father saying, 'Forgive your dying daughter. I have but a few moments to live. My native soil drinks my blood. I expected to deliver my country, but the Fates would not have it so. I am content to die. Pray, pa, forgive me.'<sup>8</sup>

Emily was not the only woman soldier to lose the admiration of loved ones. Though the nineteenth-century press (and modern historians) view women serving in the Civil War as courageous, a dominant thought during the Civil War period was that women soldiers were 'mentally unbalanced and immoral.'<sup>9</sup>

Evidence supporting this theory states 'that many and probably most of women soldiers were prostitutes or concubines.'<sup>10</sup> This may be true, but it is difficult to believe that a woman would endure the rigors of army training only to reveal her femininity to a few soldiers for monetary purposes, especially when soldiers received pension and jobs such as nursing or aids were available.

Though prostitution is one plausible explanation for female enlistment, one can not ignore the overwhelming amount of stories of women who entered the ranks for other reasons. Most women soldiers were in the middle to low socio-economic class, grew up on farms, and were accustomed to using rifles, horseback riding, and obtaining food from the land. Upper class women upheld their social duties and remained on the home

front.

Therefore, because of their economic standing, women enlisted because they needed a soldier's income to provide for their families. An extraordinary example of a woman who enlisted to pay her father's debt was Sarah Rosetta Wakeman. She demonstrated strength and courage, writing to her family that, 'I don't feel afraid to go [to battle]. I don't believe there are any rebel's bullets made for me yet. Nor I don't care if there is.'<sup>11</sup>

Another (and more common) reason for joining the army was to be close to husbands, lovers or male family members. It took vast amounts of courage and love for any woman to follow a man into such a dangerous situation, and if the army discovered their identity and discharged them, some women could not endure separation from their loved ones. Two women attempted suicide, one by jumping into the Chicago River and the other by injecting arsenic.<sup>12</sup> Other women endured hardships after their loved ones passed away. Amy Clark continued her concealment and service with the army long after her husband died at the Battle of Shiloh.<sup>13</sup> The *Missouri Democrat* interviewed an anonymous soldier, an orphan and heir to her family's fortune, who followed her two brothers to war as a nurse, grew tired of the job, and became a soldier. She watched both of them die and fell deeply in love with an officer, whose name is unknown. He proposed after he discovered she was a woman, and she left the army to plan her wedding. Unfortunately, the police arrested this woman in August of 1863 because she was clad in male clothing. After a turn of events, she was released only to find that her ironic and romantic story warmed the hearts of readers while she was imprisoned.<sup>14</sup> She was the only female soldier to report an attempted rape but handled it well by shooting her attacker in the face.<sup>15</sup>

Like Clark and the anonymous soldier mentioned previously, Malina Pritchard Blalock also followed a loved one into battle. In fact, the Blalocks were the only couple to serve in both the Confederate and Union armies. Keith Blalock was originally pro-Union until his neighbors convinced him to enlist in the 26<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Infantry.<sup>16</sup> Malinda Pritchard Blalock was injured in her shoulder during combat, and her husband begged her surgeon to keep her identity a secret. He knew his wife would be discharged and did not want to leave her, so he 'rolled in poison oak until his skin was a mass of red eruptions. The surgeons, believing he had small pox or swamp fever released him.'<sup>17</sup> A few months later, the Confederate army wanted the Blalocks to return, but they escaped to the mountains of Tennessee where they met pro-Unionists. The Blalocks became recruiters for the 10<sup>th</sup> Michigan Cavalry and brought men from the south to enlist in the Union



Photo: Loreta Velazquez,  
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/velazquez/menu.html>

army.<sup>18</sup>

The most interesting women soldiers were not bored in their home lives, looking for money, or following loved ones. They damned their fate of being female and enlisted because of patriotism. An exceptional example of such a woman was Sarah Emma Edmonds, who enlisted because she wanted to get *away* from marriage because her father promised her to an old farmer. She changed her name to Franklin Thompson and was a successful door-to-door Bible salesman prior to the war. We know from her memoirs that not only was she a nurse and soldier but also a spy. Ironically, she 'disguised' herself as a woman during her espionage adventures. She even took several women out on dates to add to her illusion.<sup>19</sup> Loreta Velazquez, who published her memoirs, also took women out on dates for which she was 'terribly successful.'<sup>20</sup> Jennie Rodgers, known as Albert Cashier, reported having a girlfriend for two years and held correspondence with the Morey family who urged Cashier to introduce them to his sweetheart.<sup>21</sup>

### Blending in with the Men

Essentially women soldiers blended in with men by rejecting the conventional nineteenth century views of femininity. During that time, women did not wear trousers and were admired for their purity. Therefore, acting differently was considered completely scandalous, allowing for the success of their disguises. Activities in which women took part included smoking cigars, gambling, cursing and fist fighting. Rosetta Wakeman reported home to her family that she 'gave [Stephen Wiley] three of four pretty good cracks and he put downstairs with himself.' Wakeman failed to mention that Stephen Wiley was seven inches taller than she was.<sup>22</sup> Ella Rena was imprisoned because of her foul language toward an officer. Melferina

Peppercorn, who entered the ranks alongside her twin brother, could spit her tobacco as far as ten feet.<sup>23</sup> Margaret Catherine Murphy and another soldier nicknamed 'Canadian Lou' gave away their identities because of public drunkenness.<sup>24</sup> Quite the opposite, Velazquez was repulsed by men after hearing degrading conversation towards women.<sup>25</sup> She did not want to participate in any of their activities so she abstained, mostly to keep from accidentally revealing her identity.

Posing as a man was difficult because of numerous physical differences, and some women were better at concealing their sex than others. Sarah Collins from Wisconsin passed her medical exam but was dispatched before the army left town because of 'the way she put on her shoes and stockings.'<sup>26</sup> Several boys under the age of eighteen served in the army so lack of a deep voice and facial hair was not uncommon. Women could also pass as boys older than eighteen because most came from poor and rural areas where they were malnourished and smaller in size.<sup>27</sup> Velazquez was wealthy enough to have her uniforms tailored with 'six wire net shields under her uniform' to give herself a wider chest and waistline.<sup>28</sup> Women with less money simply 'bound their breasts' and added stuffing or extra fabric to their waists if needed.<sup>29</sup> The style of loose fitting Union and Confederate clothing also benefited women, and both men and women had to get used to carrying a fifty pound backpack.<sup>30</sup>

It was especially difficult to conceal a female in life outside of fighting. Sleeping with a bunkmate in the barracks was quite uncommon, and soldiers usually slept in tents. If a group of soldiers was stationed in one place for an extended period, they built community sinks for releasing their waste. These sinks were typically disgusting and full of disease, so women were never questioned when they released waste privately in the woods. Women did not fear discovery while bathing because soldiers went for months without washing or changing clothes. As far as menstrual cycles were concerned, women used wet rags or cotton swabs to clean themselves and changed clothes in private. Known as Charles Fuller, Elvira Ibecker's release forms stated she was discharged 'because she was female.' Because she was not injured, historians reasonably infer that she was detected because of her monthly cycle.<sup>31</sup> More often than not, women had amenorrhea, a medical condition where one does not menstruate because of severe stress, weight loss, or vitamin deficiency.<sup>32</sup> This did not alarm women soldiers; it was merely one less thing they had to worry about.

Though living the life of a man was obviously difficult,

at least one benefit existed for the women who clad themselves in trousers: the ability to vote. In the 1864 election, Martha Lindley, also known as Jim Smith, voted for President Abraham Lincoln. She was likely not the only woman soldier to do so.<sup>33</sup>

### **African-American Women Soldiers**

The soldiers mentioned thus far were Caucasian, but historians are aware of three African-American women soldiers and speculate that several more existed. One of the two women present at the siege of Petersburg was African-American. Her name is unknown but she was in the 29<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Infantry. Martha Lewis was an African-American who disguised herself as a white man. She was a member of the 8<sup>th</sup> New York Cavalry and was asked to be in the honor guard. In the army 'it was considered an honor to work for a general or to win assignment to some special duty.'<sup>34</sup> The honor guard gave the War Department seventeen captured Confederate flags.<sup>35</sup> Lizzie Hoffman was arrested as she sneaked onto a steamer with the 45<sup>th</sup> Coloured Infantry, and police forced her to go to Washington to get a dress in exchange for her male attire.<sup>36</sup>

### **Unveiling Disguises**

Officials discovered one African-American woman soldier when they noticed that she was pregnant. Her name is unknown, but a black sergeant named Joseph Cross wrote home to his wife, 'One Question I wish to ask: Did you ever hear of a man having a child? There is such a case in our regiment and in Company F. She played man ever since we have been out. The child was born February 28. It rained hard all day and now she is in the hospital.'<sup>37</sup>

Needless to say, childbirth surprised comrades who had previously gambled, discussed women, and cussed around the soldier-turned-mother. Once the shock subsided, childbirth was 'an affirmation of life in the midst of the death and destruction of the war.'<sup>38</sup> On one occasion, the government took \$8.00 out of one sergeant's paycheck when a woman soldier he was not married to gave birth. It was mind-boggling how this woman concealed her pregnancy because the child was large, indicating that it was a full-term baby.<sup>39</sup> Birth in the midst of the ranks led soldiers to write several excited letters to their families. Newspapers also enjoyed publishing articles of such events.

Another and more common way authorities discovered women soldiers occurred because they were injured and admitted to a hospital. Many women did not have their wounds treated because they feared that doctors would discover their sex. Mary Ellen Wise was wounded three

times. Her gender was not discovered the first two times, but after she was wounded at Lookout Mountain, doctors discharged her. She went to Washington and demanded her paycheck. The paymaster general refused, but once President Abraham Lincoln heard of the situation, he demanded that Wise receive her money.<sup>40</sup>

Though several women were discharged like Mary Ellen Wise, many re-enlisted under a different name. The risk of re-enlistment was the fact that acquaintances and friends sometimes recognized women soldiers and revealed their identities. Others, like Jennie Rodgers (Albert Cashier) were not discovered until after the war. Rodgers found that she had much more freedom and received more respect as a man, and therefore decided to stay one. She was a farmer and a lamplighter who hid her secret for fifty years until she broke her hip and doctors discovered her gender.<sup>41</sup> Conversely, some women were not discovered until burial. Many are still buried under their male pseudonyms today.

The extraordinary lives of female soldiers draw different opinions from the public. Some people view them as courageous and noble, while others believed them to be mentally unbalanced for enduring such daunting tasks. Regardless of controversy surrounding the idea of women in disguise, the soldiers' experiences were sculpted by their devotion to the cause on which they based their life work and personal ideologies. They succeeded in equaling their male comrades, who were much more physically adept than they were. They suffered from sexual harassment, marched hundreds of miles, witnessed death in its cruelest form, and because of this daring and aggressive behavior, these women deserve to be recognized as heroic soldiers, whose gender did not hinder them in their quest to defend what was most important to them.

## Notes

1. George Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 151.
2. DeAnne Blanton and Laren Cook, *They Fought Like Demons: Women Soldiers in the Civil War* (New York: Random House, 2002), 27.
3. *Ibid.*, 29.
4. *Ibid.*, 29.
5. Mary Massey, *Women in the Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 78-79.
6. Herbert Thurston, "St. Joan of Arc," <[http:// www.newadvent.org/cathen/08409c.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08409c.htm)> (28 November 2005).
7. Blanton and Cook, 36.
8. *Ibid.*, 93.

9. Massey, 79.
10. *Ibid.*, 79 & 84.
11. Laren Burgess, *An Uncommon Soldier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 42.
12. Blanton and Cook, 32.
13. Massey, 81.
14. Blanton and Cook, 148 & 149.
15. *Ibid.*, 149.
16. Judith Harper, *Women During the Civil War: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 36-39.
17. *Ibid.*, 36.
18. *Ibid.*, 38.
19. *Ibid.*, 125-128; Peter Copeland, *Famous Women of the Civil War* (New York: Dover Publications), 17
20. Blanton and Cook, 54.
21. *Ibid.*, 54.
22. Burgess, 60.
23. Blanton and Cook, 55.
24. *Ibid.*, 53.
25. Massey, 82.
26. *Ibid.*, 80.
27. Harper, 265 & 256.
28. Blanton and Cook, 48.
29. Harper, 264.
30. Thomas Streissguth, ed., *The Civil War: The South* (California: Greenhaven Press, 2001), 128-129.
31. Blanton and Cook, 112.
32. *Ibid.*, 46.
33. *Ibid.*, 40.
34. *Ibid.*, 67.
35. *Ibid.*, 67.
36. *Ibid.*, 123.
37. *Ibid.*, 6, 67 & 123.
38. *Ibid.*, 104.
39. *Ibid.*, 104.
40. *Ibid.*, 94.
41. Copeland, 23.

# Images of Patriotic Women and Contested Concepts of Patriotism, post 1944 Finland

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## Introduction

Patriotism implies a deep commitment to one's country and nation and even a willingness to devote one's life to the national cause. Even if death for the nation was, in the nationalistic discourse emerging in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, declared to be a male prerogative,<sup>1</sup> women also fell in the battlefields when fulfilling their duties either as combatants or in auxiliary forces. During the Second World War, Finland and the Soviet Union fought two wars against each other, the Winter War (1939-1940) and the Continuation War (1941-1944).<sup>2</sup> On both sides, women were engaged in national defence. Whereas in the Soviet Army women fought side by side with male combatants,<sup>3</sup> in Finland the gender order remained intact. Approximately 40 % of the Finnish women who took over auxiliary tasks near the front lines belonged to an organisation called the Lotta Svärd.<sup>4</sup>

The Lotta Svärd, founded in 1921, was a patriotic women's organisation, which occupied a prominent position in Finnish society from the early 1920s to the end of the Second World War. In 1944, the Lotta Svärd had over 200,000 members, out of a population of less than four million people. Since 1944, Finland was forced to adopt political reorientation after defeat against the Soviet Union. In the Soviet notion, the Lotta Svärd was anti-Soviet and thus, fascist. Consequently, the Finnish government was forced to dissolve and forbid the whole organisation. For decades, until the late 1980s, the work that the members of the Lotta Svärd had carried out near the battlefields and on the home front was mainly ignored in silence or marginalized. Despite protests and counter claims, the dominant public image of the members, the Lottas, was that of politically incorrect or sexually loose women.<sup>5</sup>

Fields of historical representations can be conceived as struggle fields where the relation between dominant and dominated memories and representations is bounded by politico-cultural shifts.<sup>6</sup> From 1944 until today, there has been a dramatic shift in the public image of the Lotta Svärd which corresponds to changes in Finnish-Russian relations and related to these, in the political climate in Finland herself. The focus of this

article is on the dominant public representations and images of the Lotta Svärd from 1944 until the late 1980s. In the late 1980s marginalization started to turn into idealisation.

In this article, my aim is to illuminate how the concept of patriotism has been subject to renegotiations caused by political changes and thus, has to be seen as a highly contested one. Further, I suggest that partly, meanings of patriotism have been renegotiated through sifting images of the Lotta Svärd. The sexualised body of a Lotta especially was a terrain for struggles over meanings of 'true' Finnishness. My analysis is related to feminist interpretations about the constitutive role of the female body and sexuality in national constructions and imaginaries. In different settings, the construction of sexually pure femininity is applied to underpin the idea of a morally intact nation or an ethnic group.<sup>7</sup> In the Finnish case discussed in this article, we deal with opposite images.

## Contextualisation: The Lotta Svärd in Finnish Society in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

From the mid 1940s to the 1970s, Finnish society experienced a tumultuous period in several ways. In international relations, the government had to develop co-operation with the 'arch-enemy', the Soviet Union. In tandem with this reorientation, domestic policy social-democrats and communists strengthened their position after having been marginalized for decades, due to the civil war fought in 1918. This shift in power relations was equally caused by changes in the socio-economic structure, Finland having turned gradually from an agrarian into a modern economy. Consequently, the mental and cultural climate of the nation was, at least, partially reshaped. The concept of 'true' Finnishness that had dominated the national imaginary before and during the Second World War was challenged especially by the radical youth that in the 1960s and 1970s fought for their share of the cultural hegemony.<sup>8</sup>

The notion of 'true' Finnishness that came under attack was based on a Christian, agrarian-bourgeois worldview. Additionally, militarism was conceived as an integral part of patriotism whereas socialism, communism and pacifism were declared to be incompatible with it. In the 1920s and 1930s, an important proclaimer of this kind of patriotism was the Lotta Svärd. The history of this organisation dates back to the civil war fought in 1918 when the social-democratic Red Guard was defeated by the bourgeois White Guard. Both Guards were supported by like-minded women. In 1921, women who had supported White Guardists founded an organisation that was named after a patriotic female figure in an early 19<sup>th</sup> century poem.<sup>9</sup> The purpose of the Lotta Svärd was, as a



helpmate of the agrarian-bourgeois male Civil Guard, to promote national defence and more widely, 'national' values, 'religion, home, and fatherland'.<sup>10</sup>

As a result of the civil war, Finland was torn apart by a deep clash between the victors and the defeated. The Red soldiers with their families were, in many cases, treated as traitors in the national narrative.<sup>11</sup> The civil war resulted from long-term tensions, socially and politically. After being an autonomous part of the Russian empire for about 100 years, Finland gained independence in December 1917, some months before the outbreak of the civil war. For the political and cultural elite, the nation-state was a fulfilment of national aspirations that had emerged in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1917, the socially and economically deprived land workers and industrial workers and their families, in their everyday struggle to survive, could not, however, participate in the national ecstasy. Inspired by the revolution in Russia and supported by Russian soldiers still in Finland, they took up arms. They were confronted by the White Guard, supported by German troops, and determined to defend the newly won independence and to re-establish order in the new nation-state.<sup>12</sup>

The Lotta Svärd's concept of patriotism, 'true' Finnishness, was based on Christian,<sup>13</sup> agrarian-bourgeois values. Reinforced through the experiences of the civil war, the Lottas looked at the Soviet Union with deep antipathy. In their worldview, anti-socialism mingled with Russo- and Soviet-phobia. Consequently, women from working-class neighbourhoods were excluded from membership in the Lotta Svärd until 1940. Thus, the ideology and everyday practice of the Lotta Svärd was class biased and highly political. Formally, however, the organisation stood beyond party politics. Contrary to today's understanding of the concept 'political', the Lottas themselves saw their engagement for the nation as non-political. According to them, patriotism and political engagement were mutually exclusive because the latter addressed class interests and thus, undermined national unity. Contrary to Lottas' own perception, people with a social-democratic or a communist background experienced and interpreted the Lotta Svärd as representative of the repressive political hegemony of the post-civil war society. Many Lottas were schoolteachers who had a crucial role in the attempts of the national elite to socialise the lower, politically suspect classes into 'proper' Finns.

Both in Lottas' way of thinking and in their practical work, nation was gendered. The idea of women bearing arms was strictly opposed. In addition to practical work, such as nursing, clothing, and cooking for the Civil Guard, emphasis was placed on Lottas' own moral self-improvement along Christian lines and on their duty to

civilise their male counterparts. The emphasis on female superiority in moral issues and thus on a woman's duty to civilise men dates back to female moral reformism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup>

During the Second World War, political tensions dating back to the civil war were played down. In 1940, to underline the national reconciliation the Lotta Svärd and the organised social-democratic women made an agreement about the possibility of a double membership. The Lottas worked among other Finnish women voluntarily and unarmed both near the battlefields and on the homefront. In Finland, like in other belligerent nations, women's morality was seen as the cornerstone of the nation's moral fibre. Lotta Svärd, being a mass organisation, could not keep a watchful eye on every single member, despite relatively strict control at the grass root level. Various rumours, concerning women's, including the Lottas', behaviour circulated at the front and on the home front. In press a crusade against women's relationships with German soldiers, stationed in Northern Finland, was launched.<sup>15</sup>

Following defeat in the Continuation War the Finnish government was forced to sign a peace agreement with heavy obligations.<sup>16</sup> In addition to this, a Control Commission dominated by the Soviets came to Finland in order to supervise the fulfilment of the agreement. The years of living in the shadow of the Control Commission was an extremely hard time for Finns, except for the communists who had been suppressed in the pre-war period and who now took advantage of the reverse order. Among other obligations, the Finnish government was forced to dissolve and forbid a number of organisations, among these the Lotta Svärd, declared by the Soviets, and the Finnish communists, as anti-Soviet and thus, fascist.

In the long run, the suppression did not have any severe social or political consequences for the former members of the Lotta Svärd. The know-how the Lottas had gained when carrying out their various tasks was made good use of in civic organisations and party politics. Despite of counterclaims, delivered especially in the 1990s, and suggesting the opposite, the Lottas and other people from patriotic circles were never totally silenced in post-war Finland. This was because Finland, for all the concessions to the Soviet Union, remained a country with democratic structures and a (relatively) free civic society. The dualism between silence and remembrance is evident in commemoration of the Second World War. Beside the policy of official silence caused by the Soviet existence there was a strong internal discourse with popular historical writing and public commemorative rituals.<sup>17</sup> However, in this internal culture of memory emphasis was put on men

and male experiences whereas women, Lottas included, and children were given marginal roles in the national narrative. Those who were construed and commemorated as patriotic heroes were fallen male soldiers.

### **Post war images of the Lotta Svärd: Fascist and promiscuous femininity**

“Some time later he passed a solitary Lotta standing beside the road. Raili Kotilainen had not found a husband on the campaign, but she had made up for this by taking an extraordinary number of lovers. It seemed years since the day the adjutant had taken a snapshot of her beside a captured Russian trench mortar in the early days of the war. Then Raili had still been a glowing maiden, but like everybody else she had been worn out by war.”<sup>18</sup>

In my reading, this quotation from the novel *Tuntematon sotilas* (1954) (*The Unknown Soldier*) addresses the complex nature of nations as gendered, embodied and sexualised communities. Historically, there are several female personifications of a nation. In Finland, this personification, or embodiment, has been called the ‘Suomi-neito’, the Finnish Maid. During the so called russification period starting in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and coming to its end when Finland gained her independence in 1917, the nation was represented through the image of the Maid being threatened and even sexually abused.<sup>19</sup> In the 1920s and 1930s the Lotta Svärd took a prominent position in the semi-official representational system of the young republic. For example, prominent Lottas carried out representative tasks at official visits by foreign delegates.<sup>20</sup> I argue that after 1944 meanings of ‘true’ Finnishness were partly renegotiated through images of the members of the Lotta Svärd. Due to their central role in the civic society of the 1920s and 1930s, both on the national and local level but also due to their gender, in the post-war discourse they were treated as the embodiment of the White Finland.

Mentally, the post-war years were hard for many Lottas. The dissolution of the organisation was seen as dictated by the outcome of the war. More embarrassing and insulting were the public representations of the Lotta Svärd that were disseminated in the press and literature. As mentioned above, until the late 1980s, the dominant public image of the members, the Lottas, was that of politically incorrect or sexually loose women. Counter images were produced, both in fiction and non-fiction, but they did not attract publicity. Despite their politically opposite commitments, Red women, on the one hand, and the Lottas, on the other hand, had similar, gendered experiences. After the civil war in

1918, the personal honour of socialist women was called into question and they were defamed as ‘Russian brides’. Also their right to motherhood was opposed. This never happened to the Lottas.<sup>21</sup>

The post-war years ushered in a new political orientation. In the late 1940s, the People’s Democratic Party (SKDL) that combined communists with other leftist groups achieved success in the elections. Its press disseminated a highly politicised image of the Lotta Svärd. The members were divided into two groups: those basically innocent ones, who had been misled, and those incurable ones, who continued to disseminate anti-Soviet and thus, fascist ideas. The ‘evil’ ones were declared to be fascist and thus, non-patriotic, to have acted against the national interests of the Finnish people. The core of the Lotta Svärd was also supposed to be continuing their work within cover organisations, waiting for a political change to be able to enter public life again.

From the communist point of view, the concept of patriotism needed redefinition. In the hegemonic discourse of the 1920s and 1930s, socialism and communism were conceived as incompatible with patriotism. Encouraged by new circumstances, the communist press claimed the opposite, blaming the representatives of the White Finland, Lottas included, to be the real threat to freedom, democracy and good relations with the Soviet Union and thus, to real patriotism. The image of a fascist Lotta had its heyday in the politically febrile years of the late 1940s. However, it figured in the public debate until the mid 1980s. At that time a statue commemorating the history of the Lotta Svärd was erected in Lappeenranta, a small garrison town. It produced a storm of protest among Finnish communists and led to critical comments by the Soviets. The statue is of modest height — the figure herself is 160-170 centimetres — presenting a young woman, a Lotta, who is just leaving home in order to go towards an unknown future in the service of the nation. From its opponents’ point of view, it symbolised the fascist heritage of the Finnish past and thus, posed a threat to Finnish-Soviet relations.

The image of a fascist Lotta did not stir up wider public debate, unlike the image of a promiscuous one. It was represented in the post-war literature, especially in Väinö Linna’s *Tuntematon sotilas* (*The Unknown Soldier*), published in 1954 and quoted above, and in Paavo Rintala’s *Sissiluutnantti. Proosaa rinta- ja kurkkuaänille* (*The Commando Lieutenant*), published in 1963. In both novels there was only one female protagonist. In both she was a Lotta leading a loose life, mainly with officers. The writers themselves had

divergent experiences from the war. Linna was on the front whereas Rintala was too young to be conscripted.

In my reading, defamation of the Lottas, the women declared as morally pure implied an attack on the construction of 'true' Finnishness maintained by the representatives of White Finland, the winners of the civil war. The violating images of the Lottas can be seen as equivalent to treatment of women in concrete conflicts even if they were not physically attacked. In concrete conflicts, women are raped by enemy soldiers and thus, the honour and integrity of the nation or a subgroup is dishonoured.<sup>22</sup>

In a very significant passage in the *Unknown Soldier*, the Lotta called Raili Kotilainen and an aged soldier meet each other — the war is nearing its end. Very exhausted, she would like to have a lift on his cart. He refuses, openly showing his contempt: 'I've never yet carted dung on Sunday. And sure as hell I'm not going to start now.'<sup>23</sup> In his opinion, she had come to the front solely in order to marry an officer. In order to compensate her failure, she had given sexual enjoyment to several men, even ordinary soldiers. This Lotta represents the opposite of the ideal Lotta femininity. She did not have a civilising influence on the nation, on the contrary. In *The Commando Lieutenant* the Lotta is even more sexually active. She and the male protagonist are presented as more or less animals, having furious sex together.

Due to the Lottas' self-concept stressing the non-political nature of their work for the nation, the image of a fascist Lotta could not affect their self-image very seriously. Additionally, Lottas who had joined the organisation during the war had experienced national reconciliation, instead of political confrontations. The image of fascist agency could be marginalized as a figment of the communists' imagination and the accusations of anti-Soviet sentiments played down with the argument that they were normal patriotism at time of war. In a more profound way, the Lottas were confronted by the image of sexual activity. It was in sharp contradiction to the image of morally pure femininity construed in the organisation and disseminated in public until 1944. Nor did it correspond to the self-image and experiences of Lottas themselves either, as far as those members who participated in the debates caused by the novels are concerned.<sup>24</sup>

Both of the novels caused storms of protest characterised as literary wars. In the debate concerning the *Unknown Soldier*, the focus was not solely on the Lottas. It was equally debated whether the officers were so incompetent and the soldiers so undisciplined as they were depicted. The debate produced by *The Commando Lieutenant* related almost exclusively to the behaviour of the Lottas.

It was fiercely debated whether they lived up to the ideal of moral purity or not. Those defending the Lottas, both former members and soldiers, from the lowest to the highest ranks, accused the authors of telling grave lies.

If the novels are taken at face value the Lottas could justifiably feel offended because the hard work they had done during the war was not only marginalized but also dishonoured. The image in the novels could be equated to rape. A former Lotta I interviewed told me that she would have liked to wash herself again and again after reading *The Commando Lieutenant*. However, according to my reading, the authors did not want to defame individual Lottas. Instead, they wanted to raise the question of 'true' Finnishness; how it was constructed in the past and how it should be reshaped in the future.

The contemporary general public did acknowledge this underlying challenge posed by the novelists. But in the same breath those sympathising with the Lotta Svärd regretted that 'innocent women' were made an object of such rude remarks. I argue that the contemporaries did not realise that the attack on the hegemonic value system the Lotta Svärd was part of and representative for was the more effective, the ruder the symbolic rape was. The Lottas were captured by the logic of nation building where women and femininity were assigned the role of moral cornerstone, symbolically and in practice. Ironically, the Lottas themselves very actively had contributed to gendering the Finnish nation building. Internationally, in countries occupied by the German Army, the requirement that women live out and thus symbolise the nation's moral strength was put into action in humiliating ways. After the occupation, thousands of women who had had or were believed to have had relationships with Germans had their heads shaved.<sup>25</sup> In (western) Germany itself, it was claimed that German women threw themselves at the Americans, just for one cigarette, and thus, betrayed their nation.<sup>26</sup>

The *Unknown Soldier* deconstructs the repressing structures and mentalities of the Finnish class society of the pre-war period. In the confrontations between officers and soldiers depicted in the novel the former are ridiculed whereas the latter are presented as heroic. The elite is accused of militarism and thus, made responsible for the catastrophe, whereas the ordinary soldiers are absolved from responsibility. Their patriotism is depicted as simple, pure love for their country and as willingness to fulfil their male duty. The author did not declare pacifism but he refused the chauvinism that according to him prevailed in pre-war bourgeois circles.

In my reading, the Lotta figuring in Linna's construction can be seen from two intermingling angles. She embodied the White Finland and thus, the social, political and cultural hegemony of the pre-war society. Thus, the image of a promiscuous Lotta can be seen as a symbolic rape. To defame a Lotta implied an assault upon the construction of 'true' Finnishness created by the winners of the civil war. In similar vein, Lynn Hunt argues that in revolutionary France, the accusations of sexual degeneration of the ruling elite were politically motivated, challenging the legitimacy of the political order. In this discourse Marie Antoinette was a frequent target for defamation.<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, the Lotta can be conceived as embodiment of the whole nation. In the quotation above Raili Kotilainen, once 'a glowing maiden', had been 'worn out by war'. She was a fallen Finnish Maid, embodying a bankruptcy of a nation that had been misled by an incompetent elite. The image of the Lotta embodying a nation in need of reorientation is underlined by a counter-image. After having occupied Eastern Karelia, Finnish soldiers became acquainted with the local population. In the novel, a small group of them visited a Russian communist woman called Vera. She danced for them but 'gave him (a Finnish soldier) a long look in which he divined a warning against further advances.'<sup>28</sup> I argue that it was not an accident that the woman who insisted on her dignity was a communist, after the civil war the embodiment of evil for the nationalist circles.

I suggest that like Linna's representation, Rintalas's image of the Lotta can be interpreted from two intermingling angles. *The Commando Lieutenant* is a very religious and pacifist text, the author discussing the effects of war and militarism on human morality. In my reading, the Lotta stripped of her dignity and thus, the fallen Finnish Maid, symbolises the fallen nation. On the other hand, equally, the image of a promiscuous Lotta can be seen as a symbolic rape. It implied an assault upon the concept, very strongly prevailing in Finland in the 1920s, 1930s and still after the war, according to which male patriotism inevitably required a willingness to take up arms. *The Commando Lieutenant* was a part of the wider discourse of the early 1960s, in which radical groups of youth, especially students, refused the concept of militaristic patriotism. The author of *The Commando Lieutenant* especially attacked the militarization of the Lutheran church. Embodying the intermingling of Christianity and militarism the Lotta was an ideal terrain for a debate over interpretations of patriotism.<sup>29</sup>

The militaristic understanding of patriotism was very strongly promoted by the Lotta Svärd in the practical

every day work where the Lottas cared for male combatants. The leading Lottas were also very strongly opposed to divergent public opinions about 'true' patriotism. This came up in the pre-war confrontation with the Finnish section of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom. Women belonging to it refused the idea that rearmament and patriotism were inextricable. This interpretation was declared by the prominent Lottas to express communist inclination. Due to their strong position in pre-war Finland, they could marginalize their opponents.<sup>30</sup>

As mentioned above, in the public memory of the late 1980s the marginalization of the Lotta Svärd started to turn into idealisation. Public memory is continually changing, being part of the larger pattern of social and political change. In Finland, public representations of the nation at war multiplied after the mid 1980s. At the same time the (male) veterans themselves spoke out about their dissatisfaction concerning their public image. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s removed the last obstacles to reevaluate Finnish-Russian / Soviet relations, and especially the history of the Second World War. Being part of this process, the history of the Lotta Svärd was re-valued and the former members were able to increase their positive visibility in the public sphere. In 1991, the efforts of the organisation during the war were commemorated by the government for the first time since 1944. In the 1990s, there has been a boom in public memory about the Lotta Svärd: the narrative of 'how it really was to be a Lotta' has been told in memoirs, on theatre and opera stages and on television. A film entitled *Lupaus* ('Promise') premiered in December 2005 and was financed by the Lotta Svärd Säätiö (Lotta Svärd Foundation), which has dedicated itself to preserving the legacy of the Lotta movement. Even cartoons have been a medium for such public re-evaluation: *Rintamalottien Korkeajännitys* depicts Lottas serving their country near the battlefields (published October 2005). To academic historians these narratives pose an interesting challenge. I argue that without knowing the images and debates concerning the Lotta Svärd from the period discussed in this article it is difficult to understand the new images, many of which emphasise the Lottas' pure patriotism. The new representations draw on old, positive images but also provide critical comments on the more negative interpretations created in the post war period.

## Notes

1. See e.g. Karen Hagemann, 'A Valorous Volk Family: The Nation, the Military, and the Gender Order in Prussia in the Time of the Anti-Napoleonic Wars, 1806-15' in Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations. Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000) 179-205; Karen Hagemann, 'German heroes: the Cult of the Death for the

Fatherland in Nineteenth-Century Germany' in Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, John Tosh, eds., *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004) 116-134.

2. In 1944-45, Finland and Germany, the former allies, fought each other after the Finnish government was forced by the Soviets to expel the German troops stationed in Lapland. An introduction to Finnish history: Osmo Jussila, Seppo Hentilä and Jukka Nevakivi, *From Grand Duchy to a Modern State: a Political History of Finland since 1809* (London: Hurst & Company, 1999).

3. See e.g. John Erickson, 'Soviet Women at War' in John Garrand and Carol Garrand, eds., *World War 2: Selected Papers from the Forth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Harrogate 1990* (New York 1993) 50-76.

4. The most current research on the history of the Lotta Svärd includes the following studies: Annika Latva-Äijö, *Lotta Svärdin synty. Järjestö, armeija, naisuus 1918-1928 (The Birth of the Lotta Svärd. Organisation, Army, Femininity 1918-1928)* (Helsinki: Otava, 2004); Pia Olsson, *Myytti ja kokemus. Lotta Svärd sodassa (Myth and Experience: The Lotta Svärd at War)* (Helsinki: Otava, 2005). Prior to the 1990s there was hardly any academic research on the Lotta Svärd. In the 1990s and in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, several academic studies have been produced. Before the 1990s, the history of the Lotta Svärd was mainly written by amateur historians and presented both in fictional and non-fictional forms.

5. This article is part of my ongoing project on the Lotta Svärd entitled 'Lotta Svärd, post-1944 – Agency and Images' in which I explore the history of the organization in 1944. Further, I explore the life of former members after 1944 and the representations of the Lotta Svärd in Finnish public memory from 1944 until 2005. I have discussed my research in a number of conference papers, including 'The female body as a terrain for struggle over national values: a Finnish debate in post-war literature', CISH 2005, Sydney. In this article, my discussion on the Lotta Svärd is based on analysis of diverse primary sources, such as newspapers and magazines and oral history.

6. See e.g. the articles in Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, eds., *Contested Pasts. The Politics of Memory* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

7. See e.g. Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation* (London: Sage, 1997); Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, Introduction to Anthias and Yuval-Davis, eds., *Woman – Nation – State* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1989) 1-15.

8. See e.g. Marja Tuominen, 'Me kaikki ollaan sotilaitten lapsia' ('We are All Soldiers' Children'). *Sukupolvihegemonian kriisi 1960-luvun suomalaisessa kulttuurissa (The Crisis of the Generational Hegemony in the Finnish Cultural Life of the 1960s.)* (Helsinki: Otava, 1991).

9. The poem and the poet Johann Ludwig Runeberg who created it played a important role during the 19<sup>th</sup> century when concepts of Finnishness were constructed.

10. See e.g. Latva-Äijö 2004.

11. See e.g. Anne Heimo and Ulla-Maija Peltonen, 'Memories and Histories, Public and Private' in Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, eds., *Contested Pasts. The Politics of Memory*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003) 42-45. The Social Democratic Party was split after the civil war into social democrats and communists. The Communist Party was forbidden at the beginning of the 1930s and its members went underground.

12. See e.g. Jussila, Hentilä and Nevakivi (1999), 101-112.

13. In his book *Lotta Svärd – Uskonto ja isänmaa* (The Lotta Svärd – Religion and Fatherland) Helsinki University Press 1999), Kaarle Sulamaa argues that the Lotta Svärd was basically a protestant order. In his reading, the religious commitment was a constitutive element in the ideology and practice of the Lotta Svärd. His interpretation is, however, controversial.

14. In the Finnish context, the history of female social reform has been studied by Pirjo Markkola, *Synti ja siveys. Naiset, uskonto ja sosiaalinen työ Suomessa 1860-1920* (Sin and Morality: Women, Religion and Social Work in Finland, 1860-1920) (Helsinki: SKS, 2002).

15. Marianne Junila, *Kotirintaman aseveljeyttä. Suomalaisen siviiliväestön ja saksalaisen sotaväen rinnakkainelo Pohjois-Suomessa 1941-1944 (Coexistence Between the Finnish Civilian Population and the German Troops in Northern Finland in 1941-1944)* (Helsinki: SKS, 2000), 146-165.

16. The agreement that was signed in Moscow in 1944 was preliminary by nature. It was ratified in Paris in 1947.

17. Petri Raivo, 'Finnish War Landscapes' in T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, eds., *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* (London: Routledge, 2000), 149-150.

18. Väinö Linna, *The Unknown Soldier* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1986), 282. (First English translation 1957).

19. Johanna Valenius, *Undressing the Maid: Gender, Sexuality and the Body in the Construction of the Finnish Nation* (Helsinki: SKS, 2004). See also e.g. Silke Wenk, 'Gendered Representations of the Nation's Past and Future' in Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), 63-77.

20. I thank M.A. Terhi Tuononen, University of Joensuu, Finland, for this information. It is based on her ongoing research for a doctoral thesis. The subject matter of her thesis is the international networking of the Lotta Svärd.

21. See e.g. Ulla-Maija Peltonen, *Muistin paikat. Vuoden 1918 sisällissodan muistamisesta ja unohtamisesta (Sites of Memory – On Remembering and Forgetting the 1918 Civil War in Finland)* (Helsinki: SKS, 2003), 137-144.

22. In her chapter 'The Military Trials of Sexual Crimes Committed by Soldiers in the Wehrmacht, 1939-1944', Birgit Beck argues against the universal applicability of the theory of rape as a strategy of warfare. According to her, there is no evidence that the military leadership of the German Wehrmacht used rape to humiliate the enemy

civilian population. Instead, soldiers who had committed rape were brought to trial. However, there were differences between the practices at the eastern and the western front (in Karen Hagemann, ed., *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany* [Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002], 268).

23. Linna (1986), 282.

24. Historians, academic and non-academic alike, have proved that the image of a sexually loose Lotta did not correspond to social reality. Only a very small number of the members were expelled from the organisation because of misconduct. Therefore, it can be asserted that the Lottas lived decent lives. See e.g. Olsson (2005), 135-146.

25. See e.g. Anette Warring, *Tyskerpiger – under besættelse og retsopgør* (København: Gyldendal 1998); Fabrice Virgili, *Shorn Women, Gender and Punishment in Liberation France* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002).

26. Susanne zur Nieden, 'Erotic Fraternization. The Legend of German Women's Quick Surrender' in Hagemann, *Home/Front*, 297-310.

27. Lynn Hunt, 'The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution' in Lynn Hunt, ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 119.

28. Linna (1986), 282.

29. Tiina Kinnunen, "'Kun lottaharmaata häväistään". Näkökulmia Sissiluutnantti-debattiin' ("The Lotta - movement is dishonoured": Interpretations of the Debate Caused by *The Commando Lieutenant*) *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 1/2001.

30. I thank M.A. Terhi Tuononen, University of Joensuu, Finland, for this information. It is based on her ongoing research for a doctoral thesis. The subject matter of her thesis is the international networking of the Lotta Svärd.



## In a White Man's World: Women at The Citadel

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The Citadel, a state-supported military college in Charleston, South Carolina, like its counterpart, The Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, Virginia, fought hard to exclude women from its corps of cadets. Much of the opposition centered on the impact coeducation would have on gender identities and relationships. These concerns about the social disruption that might result from women's entrance to all-male institutions resembled those voiced earlier by opponents of racial integration. Although the American South does not have a monopoly on either sexism or racism, the region's peculiar history has linked concepts of gender and race more closely than elsewhere in the United States. An examination of women's experience at The Citadel in the last decade suggests that regional stereotypes of gender and race have made it difficult for women to enter the white man's world of the Southern military college despite the assimilation of women into the nation's service academies and military forces decades earlier.

### The Southern Military College: Protecting the White Man's World

The Citadel's origins were tied to the maintenance of slavery. After an abortive slave rebellion in Charleston in 1822, the South Carolina legislature passed an act to establish a municipal guard for the protection of the city's white citizens. In 1842, an academy was attached to the guardhouse, and The Citadel's role as an educational institution — The South Carolina Military Academy as it was then called — began. Although the school remained in session during the Civil War, most of its cadets left to fight for the Confederacy. The school closed when federal troops occupied the city in 1865 and did not reopen until 1882.<sup>1</sup>

When the Civil Rights Movement led to the desegregation of South Carolina's public institutions of higher education in the 1960s, The Citadel integrated its corps of cadets. The first African-American graduate, Charles Foster, enrolled in 1966. As novelist Pat Conroy illustrated in his quasi-fictional account of his own undergraduate years, *The Lords of Discipline*, many whites were determined to keep the institution 'pure' and did everything they could to make life difficult and indeed dangerous for black students.<sup>2</sup>

Incidents of racial hazing lessened in the 1970s and 1980s but did not disappear. In October 1986, five white upperclassmen entered the room of a sleeping black knob (first-year student), Kevin Nesmith, and burned a paper cross, a symbol of the Ku Klux Klan. Although the five were put on restriction, Nesmith resigned from the corps of cadets, citing repeated racial harassment.<sup>3</sup> One faculty member, hired by the school in 1987 as the first woman in the history department (the first woman professor, Aline Mattson Mahan, was appointed associate professor of psychology at The Citadel in 1974),<sup>4</sup> credited the bad publicity resulting from the incident for her appointment. 'The Citadel had got this horrible national reputation ... and...they were anxious to prove that they were progressive....I think they hired me because I'm wonderful of course, but they really, really, really wanted women and black professors of any gender to come in and be treated well.'<sup>5</sup>

In the view of The Citadel's administration — and, it seemed, the courts — the federal mandates applying to race did not apply to gender. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, or sex. But, like the Equal Pay Act of 1963, it allowed discrimination based on sex (but not race) if it were 'a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business enterprise.' Similarly, Title IX of the Education Act Amendments of 1972, that prohibited discriminatory admissions policies at schools receiving federal funds, included several significant exclusions: 'certain religious institutions, elementary and secondary schools, military institutions, and undergraduate institutions that have been traditionally and continually single-sex from their inception.'<sup>6</sup>

Because The Citadel was a state not a federal military school, it was not affected when Congress opened the service academies to women in 1976. Although all Citadel undergraduates were required to be members of the corps of cadets, they were not required to enter the military upon graduation. Its ROTC Departments offered commissioning opportunities in the Air Force, Army, Marines, and Navy, but only about 40 percent of the graduating seniors elected this option.<sup>7</sup>

The constitutionality of publicly funded, single-gender institutions of higher education was increasingly questioned in the 1970s and 1980s. Mississippi University for Women and Texas Woman's University were both forced to admit men to their undergraduate programs on the grounds that their admissions policies violated the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment.<sup>8</sup> The 1990 U.S. Justice Department suit against Virginia Military Institute (VMI), the only other all men's state-supported military college brought the question of The Citadel's admissions

policies to the public's attention. Citadel officials, as those at VMI, contended that the rigorous military training and barracks life of a cadet were not suitable for women. Coeducation, they argued, would destroy the male bonding that arose from the single-gender experience. 'There's a feeling of brotherhood,' one Citadel student explained. 'Women would drive a wedge of division between us.'<sup>9</sup>

The participation of women in the Gulf War in 1991 led South Carolina Representative Sarah Manly to introduce a bill into the General Assembly that would withhold state funds from any public institution that discriminated against individuals because of their sex. Wearing a button which said 'Women are in the gulf war; why aren't they in the Citadel?' Manly led the fight for what was dubbed The Citadel bill. The measure was quickly tabled in committee.<sup>10</sup>

In June 1992, two female Navy veterans sued for the right to attend day classes at The Citadel. Neither woman wanted to live in the barracks or drill with the cadets; they simply wanted to have the same options for classes as the male veterans. Only three degree programs were available in the evening program; seventeen, in the mornings and afternoons. Worried about a sex-discrimination lawsuit, The Citadel responded by eliminating its day program for veterans altogether.<sup>11</sup>

### **Manning the Gender Barricades**

The Citadel's battle to keep women out of its day classes soon intensified. In December 1992, a South Carolina high school senior, Shannon Faulkner, became involved in a class debate over a *Sports Illustrated* article on hazing at The Citadel. One thing led to another, and the students ended up discussing the school's all-male admissions policy. On a whim, Faulkner went down to the Guidance Office and picked up an application. She asked the counselor to delete references to her gender on her school records and sent off her application. Shortly thereafter, she was offered a place in the corps.<sup>12</sup>

When The Citadel discovered its mistake and rescinded Faulkner's acceptance, she sued, arguing that the admissions policy denied her equal protection under the law as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment and asking to be admitted to the corps of cadets as a 'knob' in the fall of 1993. In June 1993, the U.S. government joined her suit, expanding the case to demand the admission of all qualified women.<sup>13</sup>

Women faculty and staff and even women graduate students were one thing; women in the corps of cadets,

quite another. This was the last bastion of manhood. As Pat Conroy wrote in an essay on Charleston, 'The Citadel is Charleston's shrine to southern masculinity, the primacy of the testes and the South's reverence for things military. There is still a strong nostalgia in the city for young men dying for lost causes.'<sup>14</sup> Many administrators, alumni, and students thought that the admission of women to the nation's military academies was a bad thing; it had altered training methods and physical standards to the detriment of the armed forces. Only The Citadel and its counterpart VMI preserved the 'adversative system' necessary to make men out of boys.<sup>15</sup>

The measures both schools adopted to avoid coeducation paralleled those employed earlier in the twentieth century to avoid racial integration. VMI proposed a 'separate but equal' Virginia Women's Institute for Leadership (VWIL) to operate at Mary Baldwin, a private women's college located nearly 30 miles away.<sup>16</sup> The Citadel proposed a women's leadership program similar to the one put forward by VMI, located at Converse, a private women's college almost 200 miles away.<sup>17</sup>

The threat to male identities and roles posed by the admission of women was a pervasive theme during the legal challenges. Cadets claimed 'that coeducation [would] destroy tradition, force longtime habits to change, dilute the alumni network, diminish the stature of the Citadel man, lower standards, remove privacy and the special bonding experience Citadel men enjoy, and change the ethical, intellectual makeup of the Citadel man.' Bumper stickers pleaded 'Save the Males' and t-shirts proclaimed 'Better Dead Than Coed'.<sup>18</sup> When the courts required The Citadel to admit Shannon Faulkner to classes while they debated her admission to the corps of cadets, a new t-shirt appeared depicting male bulldogs (the school mascot is a bulldog) in cadet uniforms and one female bulldog in a red dress. The caption read, '1,952 Bulldogs, 1 Bitch'.<sup>19</sup>

Critics countered that some traditions — such as those that demeaned women and blacks — were worth destroying. In her book on Shannon Faulkner, Catherine Manegold compared the compliance required of new knobs (first-year students, also known as fourth classmen) to that of slaves, the dominance of upper classmen to that of plantation slave masters, and the appearance of the campus to that of the Charleston workhouse (the place where antebellum slaves were sent for punishment). Just as poor whites could always count on slaves to provide a 'mudsill' class, so too 'rats' could always find some solace in taking digs at those yet lower on the social scale. Blacks and women fit that role.<sup>20</sup> The term 'rats' was, in fact, not used at The

Citadel, although it was what new students were called at Virginia Military Institute. The treatment of Citadel 'knobs' paralleled that of VMI 'rats'.

The analogies to slavery were exaggerated, but the racial and gender comparisons were not. Although the various court cases challenging the single-gender admissions policies at The Citadel and VMI repeatedly referenced earlier desegregation rulings, opponents of coeducation denied the parallels. The 'prohibition against "separate but equal" treatment,' one Citadel sympathizer explained, 'has never applied to gender.... This is because race and gender are fundamentally different.... we instinctively cringe at the notion of separate bathrooms for the races, but not at the existence of men's and women's rooms.'<sup>21</sup> The author seemed unaware that fifty years earlier few had cringed at the notion of segregated restrooms.

Articles in *The Brigadier*, The Citadel student paper, criticized Faulkner for possessing 'personal interests' that were 'not the interests of the school'. One cadet wrote with disgust about Faulkner's comment that she was 'proud of some of the academy's traditions and much of its history — but not all of it.' He could not fathom why she was glad, for instance, that the Confederacy lost the Civil War.<sup>22</sup> The same student probably found it equally difficult to understand why African-American cadets opposed flying the Confederate Flag or singing 'Dixie' at football games. Although 'Dixie' was no longer sung at sporting events after 1998, Confederate lore remains part of the 'Knob Knowledge' all new cadets must memorize. The current 'flag of the Corps of Cadets includes eight battle streamers representing the [cadets' Civil War] engagements and one streamer representing the Confederate States Army.'<sup>23</sup>

Faulkner's court-ordered admission to the corps of cadets on August 12, 1995, ended six days later with her voluntary withdrawal from the school. 'I just realized it was a burden too big for anyone to bear alone. I just realized that too late,' she told interviewers on ABC's Prime Time Live. Male students tossed their hats in the air in victory. Even some supporters criticized Faulkner for not being prepared enough to be the 'first'. That same fall young women enrolled in the parallel programs established by VMI at Mary Baldwin and by The Citadel at Converse, and a new plaintiff, Nancy Mellette, announced her intention to seek admission to the corps of cadets at The Citadel. Although Mellette eventually accepted an appointment to West Point instead, she kept her name on the lawsuit.<sup>24</sup>

In the spring of 1996, the Supreme Court agreed to rule on the constitutionality of VMI's admissions policy. Although The Citadel was not a party to *United States v. Virginia et al.*, lawyers acknowledged that the ruling



would affect its single-gender status as well. In a seven to one decision the Supreme Court ruled 'the Constitution's equal protection guarantee precludes Virginia from reserving exclusively to men the unique educational opportunities VMI affords.' Significantly, the Court concluded that neither VMI's 'goal of producing citizen-soldiers' nor its 'adversative method of training' was 'inherently unsuitable to women.'<sup>25</sup> Nor did it consider the parallel program for women at Mary Baldwin equal to that provided for men at VMI. The Court compared VWIL to programs established fifty years earlier to keep blacks out of the flagship universities of the region.<sup>26</sup>

### **Breaching the Walls of The Citadel: the Advent of Coeducation**

The Citadel bowed to reality and accepted four women for admission in fall 1996. Although the administration hastily prepared rooms in the barracks, they did little to facilitate the transition from an all men's to a coeducational institution. The controversial departure of two women cadets forced administrators to rethink their assimilation policies. Kim Messer and Jeanie Mentlavos withdrew after only one semester, alleging that they had been physically and mentally harassed.<sup>27</sup> The Citadel initially claimed that the women had fabricated the charges to justify their own poor academic performance. Although fourteen cadets were later disciplined for the incidents, officials insisted the hazing was not 'gender based' but rather related to endemic problems in the Fourth Class System. Indeed, the commandant of cadets claimed 'that the women were so well accepted that male cadets treated them like any other first-year students. He noted that two male cadets also had their shirts set afire after being doused with nail polish remover.'<sup>28</sup>

The national media were skeptical of claims that the mistreatment had nothing to do with gender.<sup>29</sup> Faced with a public relations crisis, officials canceled classes and held a day-long session of sensitivity training. Brigadier General Emory Mace, a Citadel graduate and father of Nancy Mace, one of the two remaining female cadets, was hired as new commandant of cadets, and school officials pledged to reform the Fourth Class System of its abuses. Consequently, when the second class of women entered The Citadel in August 1997, they found not only two upper-class women cadets on campus, but also two adults in each barracks to oversee cadets at night, a new female assistant commandant, and revised regulations for the treatment of knobs. Suzanne Ozmont, Professor of English and Dean of Undergraduate Studies, was given the additional title of Dean of Women.<sup>30</sup>

Despite this rocky start, the number of women applying for admission to the corps increased annually, and in 1999 Nancy Mace became the corps' first alumna. In

2002 the first African-American women graduated from the corps. Today, 7.12 percent of all cadets are black and 6.25 percent women.<sup>31</sup> Given that the Citadel has been racially integrated since 1966 and coeducational since 1996, is it fair, then, to continue to describe the institution as a white man's world? Are instances of racial and/or gender discrimination remnants of the college's Confederate past or are they similar to problems universities all over the United States face in dealing with diversity on campus?

In a panel discussion commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the desegregation of Southwest Louisiana Institute (now the University of Louisiana-Lafayette), historian Clarence Mohr argued that the 'Civil Rights movement ... spelled the death of the "Southern University," and ushered in the Americanization of southern academic life.'<sup>32</sup> Did the Supreme Court rulings against single-gender, publicly supported colleges and universities similarly make The Citadel less Southern and more American?

Interviews with Citadel cadets, faculty, and staff conducted between 1999 and 2005 reveal a variety of opinions on women in the corps.<sup>33</sup> If women cadets agreed on anything, it was their dislike of regulations, organizations, and activities that highlighted gender differences. One cadet recalled how her class of second-year women refused to be separated from their male classmates for special female sessions: 'Let them pull all of us, but we're not going.'<sup>34</sup>

But, like the first African-American students at Southern universities decades earlier, women often found it difficult to disguise their 'difference'. In her memoirs of her years as a cadet at The Citadel, Nancy Mace considered it ironic that she 'was assigned to a squad with the only black, and the only Jewish knobs in my platoon....Politely nicknamed the "Diversity Squad," we referred to ourselves as the "Odd Squad: the Jew, the Black, and the Chick," and quickly became very tightly bonded. Each of us knew how it felt to be different, to be "the only one," and in spite of our personality differences, we developed a strong bond.'<sup>35</sup>

The first women were especially cognizant of the resentment their presence in the corps aroused. An international student who entered The Citadel in 1998 confided, '[N]ever in my life have I regretted that I'm female, until I got here.' Despite her achievements as a cadet, she found it difficult to make rank. In fact, a number of males took her aside and demanded that she tell the company commander that she didn't want rank so 'they'll put one of our guys on.' She found it frustrating that 'No matter how hard you try, how good you are...you're never good enough because you're a

girl.' Yet she confessed that she too was harder on the female knobs. 'They have to be ten times better than the guys to be just equal.'<sup>36</sup>

A number of the cadets felt regional gender stereotypes hindered the assimilation of women into the corps. 'Stereotypical Southern women,' one male concluded, would find it hard 'to survive The Citadel.' To do well women 'have to be demanding; you have to sometimes be very aggressive, to force yourself saying this is how I feel.' A sophomore from an Air Force family thought 'it would be easier to integrate an all-male college in the North than it has been, and is, in the South.'<sup>37</sup>

One man who grew up in a military family felt that his military background made him more willing than most to accept women as his equals, but he observed that this was not always the case with other cadets. The failure of any one woman to meet physical training or marching standards, he noted, was often generalized to the entire sex.<sup>38</sup> The fact that The Citadel adopted the physical training (PT) standards of the army with different thresholds for men and women led many males to claim that women were given preferential treatment.<sup>39</sup>

The combination of Southern and military stereotypes made for a potent combination. 'This is definitely a testosterone breeding ground,' one cadet noted. The 'macho' attitudes of many of the men made it difficult for them to relate to women. 'They get here, and they got females, and some of them are by their definition "more manly than them."' Not only are they intimidated by the fact that females can be stronger and tougher than them, but the fact that they can still be female.'<sup>40</sup>

Female cadets often had a difficult time with gender stereotypes as well. Some of the women 'try so hard to fit in that they want to be like one of the guys.'<sup>41</sup> One psychology major observed that 'female cadets here are viewed as men....Freud,' he mused, 'said that women are just failed men. A lot of my classmates...tend to view them as more of a macho attitude, tomboyish type, rather than the traditional, go to another college, get married, have kids, stay at home and all that good stuff.'<sup>42</sup>

After noting that 'there are not many girls here from the South,' another cadet explained that in his home state of South Carolina 'girls' were brought up expecting their brother to go to The Citadel while they were to 'marry a Citadel guy.' In fact, he was incredulous that a well-bred woman would want to go to a military school. He also had trouble viewing women as authority figures: 'I saw female upperclassmen as girls,

the opposite sex, before I saw them as someone to be feared like I saw males.'<sup>43</sup>

Some women shared these negative views of female cadets. Nancy Mace contended that 'the worst abuse in public usually came [not from the corps, but] out of the mouths of...perfectly groomed women....I soon learned why the wealthy Charleston women who formed the backbone of Citadel social support were sometimes referred to as the "SOBs".'<sup>44</sup> As Charleston insiders would recognize, Mace's acronym had a double edge. The sumptuous antebellum homes associated with Charleston's planter elite were largely located south of Broad Street. Thus, anyone who wanted to be identified with 'old money' sought a fashionable 'SOB' address. In popular parlance, of course, 'SOB' stands for something rather less attractive.

An African-American knob conceded that most of the problems faced by the corps were 'either gender motivated or racially motivated,' but he nevertheless felt that the *esprit de corps* was so strong that it could eventually overcome racial and gender prejudices. 'As soon as you can prove yourself,' he insisted, '[discrimination] pretty much goes away.'<sup>45</sup> Nancy Mace concurred. After receiving her degree in 1999, she wrote: 'No one makes it alone at The Citadel, and my survival was a tribute to the Corps and the administration....I had not only survived. I had distinguished myself. I knew I would be pointed to as a role model for every woman that followed me, and I took that responsibility very seriously....I had proven myself in a man's world, and I had done it without giving up my womanhood.'<sup>46</sup>

Interviews with the first black women graduates reveal a similar pride in their Citadel degrees. Sha Peterson thought she was well-prepared for 'life in a White, male-dominated society. I believe being here has been an eye-opener and an experience in dealing with people who are different from myself.' Renee Hypolite agreed. 'If you want to be successful in the real world, come to the Citadel first. Learn from the different issues here, deal with them and when you succeed here, you will succeed out there.'<sup>47</sup>

Citadel faculty and staff are generally positive about the changes wrought by coeducation. Over 30 percent of the roster faculty are women; over 10 percent minority. There is even a sprinkling of women and blacks in the senior administration and on the Board of Visitors.<sup>48</sup> Under the directorship of a young African-American professor, the Citadel has begun a Black Studies Program to 'encourage an appreciation for the contributions of people of African descent and to emphasize the importance of diversity to the Corps of Cadets and the surrounding community.'<sup>49</sup> A young woman professor

offered the first gender history class in the spring of 2005.<sup>50</sup>

During the legal struggles to keep women out, most faculty supported coeducation. As one professor put it, 'There was a survey taken during the Shannon Faulkner years that showed that 82 percent of the professors were in favor of coeducation, proving that we are a more normal group because we're hired on equal opportunity and by national searches as is the law.' She thought the administration, alumni, and students, on the other hand, 'were dead against it'. Some expressed antediluvian views of women and blacks. 'I had a student that got within two paces of saying slavery was okay.' When asked about the changes brought by coeducation, she concluded that the entire school's reputation changed for the better.<sup>51</sup> A colleague concurred: 'I think the school has made tremendous strides in ten years....If you look at the academic side of it, there's much, much greater emphasis now on academics.'<sup>52</sup>

Not all alumni opposed coeducation. Pat Conroy was a self-described 'white Southern male and Citadel graduate who fought with every fiber of his being for women to come to my school.' U.S. Senator Fritz Hollings and Charleston Mayor Joe Riley also advocated the admission of women to their alma mater. Nor did those who opposed coeducation necessarily remain opposed. Conroy noted that by 1999 'Men who screamed at me in restaurants now call to ask me if I know of any high school girls who would make good Citadel cadets....Two women came up to me at a parade last Spring when it was finally deemed safe enough for me to return to The Citadel campus. "Mr. Conroy, sir," one of them said. "We want to thank you for fighting for us, sir." "It was a pain in the behind. I'd never do it again. I thought those people were going to kill me," I said. "Sir," the other young woman said, "We're doing good, sir. You can be proud of us sir." And I was....' Conroy concluded, 'The making of the brotherhood at The Citadel is a thing of great passion and beauty and strangeness but its central tenet has been men in love with other men bound by a mutual suffering. It will now expand to include a sisterhood and I think a new and greater Citadel is in the process of being born.'<sup>53</sup>

One issue the 'new Citadel' has had to deal with is fraternization. The racial desegregation of Southern universities focused initially on academics, and classrooms were often integrated years before residence halls, cafeterias, sports teams, and social clubs. Coeducation at The Citadel, however, meant the immediate integration of women into the battalions and barracks as well as into the classroom. One of the first items grappled with by the Board of Visitors after they voted for coeducation was a statement on 'Cadet

Senior/Subordinate and Inter-Gender Relationships.' Although dating was permitted among upperclassmen, cadets could not 'date a member of his or her Chain of Command,' and dating between upper-class and fourth-class cadets (first-year students) was forbidden. Cadets who visited the rooms of cadets of the opposite sex had to keep their doors fully open. More specifically, 'Cadets may not engage in any form of sexual activity on The Citadel campus. Such activity includes kissing, hand-holding, laying together, groping and fondling. Cadets cannot occupy the same piece of furniture together (e.g., bunk or chair).'54

Opponents of coeducation not only feared that women might dilute the standards of the corps but also that their presence might lead to promiscuous 'mixing'. When a Citadel cadet became pregnant by another cadet during the academic year 2003 – 2004, it confirmed many of the alumni's fears. The Citadel's Pregnancy Policy, established in 1997, considered pregnancy 'a temporary disability', and following the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act, the administration refused to give out any information on the pregnant cadet or on the cadet who impregnated her. Pressured to reveal the names and details, then President Grinalds and Board Chair Jenkinson sent a letter to alumni explaining the school's position. 'While members of the Board of Visitors and the administration may agree personally with some points alumni express,' the letter conceded, 'the fact is that The Citadel teaches obedience to the law. To follow only those laws with which we agree would be sending the wrong message to cadets and to society.'<sup>55</sup> This was a very different message from that sent to alumni opposing coeducation in the 1990s (or, one might add, a very different response from that shown by the institution in 1860).

### **Making it in a White Man's World**

Demographically, The Citadel may still be a white man's world, but in many ways it is a far different place from The Citadel of the 1960s or even the 1990s. As former President John S. Grinalds told the *Charleston Post and Courier* in 2000, 'Changing the face of the corps has not come without challenges. Nor has this blending of genders and races occurred without the concerted commitment of the institution and the cadets. Our shaky beginnings with coeducation are a well-documented part of our...history, and a chapter which we will apparently be forced to remember every time an enterprising writer sees a good story in our angst. But the unheralded story is that The Citadel has emerged from its troubled beginnings with coeducation and can be proud of the success we have achieved.'<sup>56</sup>

Women have become part of the campus rivalry with VMI. A February 2004 headline proudly proclaimed 'Citadel Women Outshoot VMI Men.' Jeff Hartsell, the *Post & Courier* author of the article, quipped, 'Some VMI alumni were alarmed to learn recently that their men's rifle team had lost a match to The Citadel. The Citadel's women's team, that is. But before Citadel alums start in with the jokes — "Women at The Citadel? What's next, men at VMI?" they should consider that the Bulldogs' women's team has beaten The Citadel's men's team this season, as well.'<sup>57</sup>

The Citadel's campus minister, Rocky Hendrix, compared the institution's experience with coeducation to his church's experience with integration. 'I can't imagine going to a church that's all white again. I just wouldn't feel comfortable. And I just think a school with no women — that's no fun. I think it's worked out better than anybody thought it would. And of course, it will all be taken over by women.'<sup>58</sup>

Reverend Hendrix's optimism notwithstanding, it has not all been 'taken over by women.' Neither The Citadel nor its counterpart VMI has attracted a 'critical mass' of women students. Compared to the U.S. Coast Guard Academy where women make up 30 percent of the enrollment, the Air Force Academy where they are 22 percent, and West Point and the Naval Academy where they are 16 percent, women make up only 6.25 percent of the student body at The Citadel and VMI.<sup>59</sup> This is in stark contrast to percentages of women enrolled in other undergraduate institutions. In 2005, women made up 56 percent of the baccalaureate enrollments nationwide.<sup>60</sup>

Citadel cadets interviewed in 2005 — almost a full decade after *United States v. Virginia, et al.* — still expressed ambivalence about women's place in the corps. A third-year student from Florida whose father was a Citadel graduate explained that the school 'still has a long way to go before women are really accepted here.... I think women are viewed as scapegoats.... [A]ny...bad thing that's happening...from...crappy food to whatever, you know, is our fault.' She thought that coeducation had worked better in the federal service academies because they were located outside the Deep South. 'I think there's definitely the chauvinist aspect that comes with indigenous people to South Carolina that prevails here; you know I'm gonna display my rebel flag with pride and I don't care who it offends and I think that does influence how women are affected.' When asked if she would choose The Citadel again if she had it to do over again, she replied emphatically, 'No. I would not. I've recently become really disillusioned about how alumni are actually being integrated....I'd have done like my other

friends...gone to UNC [University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill] and joined a sorority.'<sup>61</sup>

A number of students expressed the belief that The Citadel's location in South Carolina explained the persistence of antebellum attitudes of race and gender at the institution. One junior, who considered herself lucky because she had good relationships with the men in her company, conceded that male cadets from other companies seemed to resent this closeness: 'They're not supposed to be friends with girls here.' Then she added, 'It's not just the thing with girls. It's with the different races.' She contended that women and blacks were both viewed more negatively than in her home state of Oregon. So, too, were non-Southerners. 'There are guys in my company who do not like boys from other states being here. They want it to be just South Carolina boys. It's not just girls....I know it would be a lot different if it wasn't in the South, you know, especially South Carolina...one of the strongest states down here for racial discrimination and whatnot. It's not just being a girl.'<sup>62</sup>

Not all women cadets were unhappy with their experiences at The Citadel or with its Southern culture. One final-year student from Maryland, turned down West Point to go to The Citadel because of 'the tradition'. She loved the family-oriented atmosphere of the city. 'The hospitality is just amazing....People down here seem to really love cadets....It's a lot more friendly down here.' Although she conceded that males were sometimes jealous of females who had higher PT scores or who were elevated in rank over them, 'now that the school has really seen females in all aspects of life and company life, I think it's coming around and the stereotypes are going away.' All in all, she concluded, 'this place is definitely a leadership laboratory.'<sup>63</sup>

### Battling the Past

While some criticize The Citadel for holding on to outdated concepts of women and blacks, others complain that the college has gone too far in appeasing these groups. Jon Rawl, a South Carolinian who graduated from The Citadel in 1993, has founded a nonprofit group, The Citadel Men Foundation, 'to give voice to alumni that disagree with some of the college's recent decisions, such as the admission of women into the Corps of Cadets, the removal of the song "Dixie" from some college functions and a ban against prayer before meals.' When asked about his opposition to coeducation, he replied, 'Don't get me wrong, I love women, I just don't think they belong at The Citadel.' Thomas Moore, a Virginian who graduated from The Citadel in 1970, expressed similar sentiments when he returned to campus for homecoming weekend. 'I think there is a great deal of anxiety among alumni about the direction of the school.'

Like Rawl, his ideal of The Citadel juxtaposed traditional views of gender and race. 'The women are just part of a deeper problem with a creeping tide of political correctness,' he asserted, as he picked up a lapel sticker proclaiming 'Dixie Is My Fight Song!'<sup>64</sup>

Several of the cadets interviewed blamed alumni for the slow pace of integration. One woman, who had a four-year Marine Corps scholarship and grew up in a Marine family, contended that, despite its claims, The Citadel did not offer a military education for the twenty-first century. 'They've got alumni, which rule the school and dad's money. So that's how The Citadel works; it's nothing like the military.' Although she felt that the ROTC Department for the Marine Corps was 'awesome', she wondered how men in the program made the transition to the real military. 'If [they] pulled the crap at the Marine Corps that they pull here, they'd get kicked out so fast.' In her first company, 'I was tripped, I was kicked, I was spit on, I've never been so disrespected in my whole entire life....The only thing that could make it worse was if I was a minority....You can't lead on fear. That's the worst way to lead.'<sup>65</sup>

To be fair to The Citadel, similar complaints of gender harassment were lodged by the first women to attend the service academies. As one Citadel cadet put it, 'It's been 8 years [since the admission of women]. Usually it's about a 15-year mark. Like that's how the other academies were, so hopefully this school changes.'<sup>66</sup> Lance Janda, author of *Stronger Than Custom: West Point and the Admission of Women*, argued that, if anything, the comparison between The Citadel and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point 'demonstrated how much West Point had done right when they admitted women....The Academy, after all, had no mobs openly celebrating the departure of women cadets and graduated just under half of the women who arrived as New Cadets in 1976.' A member of the Class of 1980 agreed: 'her experience "was never in its worst hour as bad as anything I've seen on television at VMI or The Citadel."<sup>67</sup>

Sharon Hanley Disher, a member of the first class of women to enroll at the Naval Academy in 1976, thought 'time' was indeed an important factor in winning acceptance to the white men's world of the military academy and armed forces. In 1997 Disher queried a classmate who had been appointed to a committee to review the Naval Academy programs, 'Please tell me it has changed....Tell me things are better.' Her classmate replied, 'In some respects, they are....When we were there, it seemed like 80 percent of the men didn't want us there, and the other 20 percent didn't know how they felt about us. Now I would say there is a majority of men who graciously accept the fact that women are there to

stay. I attribute their acceptance primarily to the changing of the combat-exclusion law. Since women now can fight, they are taken more seriously.' Disher found that by the 1990s the attitude of most women to men who opposed their presence at the Naval Academy was: 'It's the men's problem. They should get a life or leave.'<sup>68</sup>

The integration of women into the corps of cadets at The Citadel was both similar to and different from the gender integration of the federal military academies. The first classes of women at The Citadel, like the first classes of women at the academies, faced emotional and physical challenges as they tried to assimilate to an environment that defined itself by its maleness. Like the African-American students who integrated the universities and the armed forces decades earlier, they were often seen as lowering standards and thrusting themselves into places where they were not wanted. Women, like blacks of both genders, had to prove themselves over and over and over again. Equaling the performance of white men was not enough; they had to be better. As the years passed, discrimination lessened but did not disappear. Of course, nowhere in the world have sexism and racism been eliminated.

Women's experiences at The Citadel differed in important ways, however, from those of their counterparts at the federal military colleges. For one thing, The Citadel's implementation of coeducation occurred twenty years after the integration of the service academies and at a time when women had already proven themselves in military settings. By 1996, women had engaged in combat on land, air, and sea. If there were any doubt that women could 'cut it' in the military, it should have been dispelled by the appointment of Lt. Gen. Claudia J. Kennedy as a three-star general in 1997.<sup>69</sup> But The Citadel was a Southern school in a State that prided itself on its reverence for tradition and custom, tradition and custom associated in the public mind with the antebellum era. Symbols of the Old South were everywhere. Docents graced historic mansions dressed in long dresses. Re-enactors dressed in Civil War garb re-fought crucial battles and encamped at battlefield sites. Until 2000, the Confederate flag flew from the Capitol dome in Columbia.<sup>70</sup> For better or worse, the experiences of women at The Citadel could not but be affected by the Southern milieu that enveloped the institution, the city, and the state. The majority of Citadel students, faculty, and staff interviewed between 1999 and 2005 felt that regional stereotypes of gender and race made it more difficult for women to enter the white man's world of the Southern military college than it had been for women to integrate the federal service academies.

## Notes

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24. "Citadel Wants Faulkner's Name Removed From The Lawsuit," *The Virginian-Pilot* (Hampton Roads, VA), 25 August 1995; Linda L. Meggett, "Girl with Citadel ties wants in corps," *Post & Courier* (Charleston, SC), 1 September 1995.
25. *United States, Petitioner v. Virginia et al. and Virginia, et al., Petitioners v. United States*, 116 S. CT. 2264, June 26, 1996, 28, 23, 80.
26. *Ibid.*, 28, 23, 80.
27. Sybil Fix, "Women at The Citadel: What Went Wrong?" *Post & Courier* (Charleston, SC), 9 March 1997; Peter Applebome, "Citadel's President Insists Coeducation Will Succeed," *New York Times*, 14 January 1997; Richard Green, Jr., "Mentavlos adds Citadel to suit; state may pay bills," *Post & Courier* (Charleston, SC), 24 August 1999.
28. "24 Women Accepted At Citadel for Fall," *New York Times*, 31 January 1997.
29. Adam Nissiter, "Woman Who Left the Citadel Tells of Brutal Hazing Ordeal," *New York Times*, 18 February 1997.
30. "Citadel Offers Detailed Plan For Women," *New York Times*, 23 May 1997; Sybil Fix, "School Sets New Tone for Corp of Cadets," *Post & Courier* (Charleston, SC), 24 August 1997; "The Citadel Female Assimilation Plan Revisions for SY 97-98," <http://www.citadel.edu/r3/pao/docs/pre2003/97assim.html>.
31. "First Black Women to Graduate from the Citadel," *Jet*, 22 April 2002; Common Data Set, 2005 – 2006, "Enrollment and Persistence," The Citadel - Office of Institutional Research, <http://www.citadel.edu/instresearch/05cds/enroll.htm>.
32. Clarence Mohr, "Civil Rights and the Death of the Southern University," conference presentation, Fifty Years Later: Commemorating the Desegregation of Southwestern Louisiana Institute, 10 September 2004.
33. Because my own university, The College of Charleston, has a joint M.A. in History program with The Citadel, I had professional and social contacts with a number of the faculty and staff when I embarked on this project in 1999. In September 1999, I approached the then Dean of Women, Suzanne Ozment, about interviewing women students, faculty, and staff about their experiences at The Citadel. In addition to allowing me to interview her personally, she arranged for my graduate assistants (first Tess Thomas, then Holly Presnell, and more recently Courtney McIndoe) to conduct taped interviews with cadets, staff, and faculty. I worked with the graduate

students to develop and modify the questionnaire so that it not only elicited descriptive information on the women's own experiences but also asked for their perceptions of the institution's attitudes towards women and African Americans. When Dr. Ozment was offered a position as Provost at another school, I subsequently worked with Patricia McArver, Vice-President for Communications at The Citadel to arrange the interviews. The tapes and transcripts of all the interviews are in my possession.

34. Tess Thomas, Interview with Crystal Dawn Spring, The Citadel, Charleston, SC, December 1999. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

35. Nancy Mace with Mary Jane Ross, *In the Company of Men: A Woman at The Citadel* (New York and London: Simon & Schuster Books for Young Readers, 2001), 132.

36. Tess Thomas, Interview with Vlasta Zekulic, The Citadel, Charleston, SC, December 1999. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

37. Tess Thomas, Interview with Jai E. Kim, The Citadel, Charleston, SC, December 1999. Tape and transcript in possession of the author; Tess Thomas, Interview with Morgan Lynn, The Citadel, Charleston, SC, December 1999. Transcript in possession of the author; Tess Thomas, Interview with Megan Gentry, The Citadel, Charleston, SC, December 1999. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

38. Tess Thomas, Interview with Michael McPherson, The Citadel, December 2000. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

39. Quite a few cadets expressed this sentiment at a 6 October 2003 Lutheran Campus Ministry meeting where I gave a presentation on Women at The Citadel. Likewise, history professor Katherine Grenier thought that gender tensions resulted from the males' belief "that the female students get rank or special privileges because they're female and so you have to promote the women." See Holly Presnell, Interview with Katherine Grenier, The Citadel, 18 March 2004. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

40. Thomas, Interview with Michael McPherson.

41. Ibid.

42. Tess Thomas, Interview with Taylor Morris, The Citadel, December 2000. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

43. Tess Thomas, Interview with Ben Hodgins, The Citadel, December 2000. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

44. Mace, *In the Company of Men*, 115.

45. Thomas, Interview with Taylor Morris.

46. Mace, *In the Company of Men*, 207, 208, 209.

47. Quoted in "First Black Women to Graduate from the Citadel."

48. Common Data Set, 2005 – 2006, Instructional Faculty and Class Size, <http://www.citadel.edu/instresearch/05cds/instruct.htm>.

49. Quoted in "Citadel Launches Black Studies Program," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 22 September 2004.

50. Holly Presnell, Interview with Joelle Neulander, The Citadel, 16 September 2004. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

51. Interview with Jane Bishop.

52. Holly Presnell, Interview with Jennifer Speelman, The Citadel, 14 September 2004. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

53. Pat Conroy, "Shannon Faulkner," open letter to Jonathon Segal [critiquing the Manegold book on Faulkner], 5 October 1999, [http://www.patconroy.com/patconroy/shannon\\_faulkner.htm](http://www.patconroy.com/patconroy/shannon_faulkner.htm).

54. Minutes of the Board of Visitors, folder dated 27 July 1996, The Citadel Archives & Museum, 137.

55. Letter to Alumni on Pregnancy Policy, 18 February 2004, <http://www.citadel.edu/pao/newsreleases/sy03-04/pregnancyltr.html>; The Citadel, like the nation's service academies, does not allow cadets to be married or to have custody of a child. Two West Point cadets who married after having a baby together "avoided expulsion" in 1998 "by getting an annulment." See "Legal Group Asks VMI To Rescind Policy," *Capital Beltway News*, 22 March 2004.

56. John S. Grinalds, "Citadel Strengthened by Addition of Women," *Post & Courier* (Charleston, SC), 30 January 2000.

57. Jeff Harsell, "Citadel Women Outshoot VMI Men," *Post & Courier* (Charleston, SC), 12 February 2004.

58. Holly Presnell, Interview with "Rocky" Hendrix, Pastor of St. Barnabas Lutheran Church and Campus Pastor at The Citadel, St. Barnabas Lutheran Church, Charleston, SC, 30 March 2004. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

59. Tim Grant, "Valley Forge No Longer a Males-Only Military College," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 30 October 2005.

60. Digest of Education Statistics, 2004, Table 380. College enrollment and labor force status of high school completers, by sex and race/ethnicity: 2002, 2003, and 2004, [http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d04/tables/dt04\\_380.asp](http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d04/tables/dt04_380.asp).

61. Courtney McIndoe, Interview with Sarah Williford, The Citadel, Charleston, SC, March 2005. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

62. Courtney McIndoe, Interview with Mary Catherine Park, The Citadel, Charleston, SC, March 2005. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

63. Courtney McIndoe, Interview with Megan McAuliffe, The Citadel, Charleston, SC. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.

64. Ron Menchaca, "Citadel alumni protest change: New foundation's head longs to hear strains of 'Dixie'," *Post & Courier* (Charleston, SC), 15 November 2005.

65. Courtney McIndoe, Interview with Danielle Holewinski, The Citadel, Charleston, SC, March 2005. Tape and transcript in possession of the author.
66. Interview with Danielle Holewinski.
67. Lance Janda, *Stronger Than Custom: West Point and the Admission of Women* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), 189.
68. Sharon Hanley Disher, *First Class: Women Join the Ranks at the Naval Academy* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1998), 360.
69. "Lt. Gen. Claudia Kennedy: Women in the war against terrorism", CNN.com/Community, 8 October 2001; <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/COMMUNITY/10/08/kennedy.cnn/>.
70. "South Carolina takes Confederate Flag down from Capitol dome", CNN.com, 1 July 2000, <http://>

## Book Reviews

Whitney Chadwick & Tirza True Latimer (Eds.)  
***The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris Between the Wars***

New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2003.  
\$29.00, ISBN 0-8135-3292-2 (paperback), pp. xxiv + 259

Reviewed by Fiona Hackney  
*Course Leader History of Art & Design, University College Falmouth*

The photograph reproduced on the cover of this fascinating and challenging collection of essays, originally taken for *Vogue* in 1927 and depicting a young woman (the notorious novelist and celebrity Colette and the topic of Isabelle de Courtivon's chapter), fittingly captures the subject and spirit of the book. Glamorous and original in equal measure and seated at the wheel of a low-slung sports car she is emphatically 'in control' and 'going places'. In contrast, her dreamy and contemplative expression and immaculately made-up face act as a feminine foil to her masculine costume and close-fitting driving cap. A figure of action and ambiguity, this is an iconic image of the modern woman, or '**la femme moderne**', the phenomenon this interdisciplinary work sets out to revisit and reassess.

Taking a visual emphasis, book is structured around processes and modes of appearing, looking and display. It includes chapters on performance, such as Amy Lyford's essay on the transvestite trapeze artist

Barbette and his manipulations of gender; Jazz Age music and the dynamics of interracial relations by Tyler Stovall; fashion photography and advertising in Mary Louise Roberts's chapter on *la mode garçon* or Tag Gronberg on simultaneous fashions in mass produced magazines; and fine art genres, from the portraiture of Romaine Brooks and Tamara de Lempicka (Tirza True Latimer and Paula Birnbaum) to the collaborative photographic projects of Claude Cahon and Marcel Moore (Jennifer Shaw), and Whitney Chadwick's comparative analysis of Man Ray's photographs of Lee Miller made for fine art and fashion contexts. Including literary authors and texts, others (Carolyn Allen on Djuna Barnes and Joe Lucchesi on Radclyffe Hall, for instance) explore the relationship between literary and painterly modes of representation and self-representation in relation to the characterization of lesbians.

Drawn together by their focus on Paris in the years between the two world wars, these diverse explorations of modern challenges to traditional notions of femininity are united by a shared preoccupation with the complex interrelationships among the institutions, practices and discourses of modernity. Divided into four sections: 'Imagining Modernity', 'Modern Manners', 'New Identities', and 'Embodying the Modern', the volume builds up a nuanced picture of the complex and often contradictory ways in which modern identities were imaged, coded, communicated, embodied, performed, invoked and fantasised about. 'Becoming Modern' was a struggle and no less so in France, as the authors remind us in their opening essay where, for instance, in 1923 abortion was legally defined as a capital crime punishable by decapitation. The tensions, ambiguities and paradoxes that lie behind the self-assured, autonomous appearance of the modern woman are never far from the surface in these essays; women's inferior status under the Napoleonic Civil Code is evidenced in a useful appendix.

Perhaps the most innovative aspect of this collection, however, and one that also depends upon and demonstrates the distinctive nature of Parisian culture in this historical moment, is its focus on the lesbian expatriate. The majority, although not all (as a French national Colette is one exception) of the essays concern expatriates: from England and America, Russia or Germany. For such 'women of the Left Bank' as Natalie Barney, Romaine Brooks or Djuna Barnes Paris provided a means of escape, a space (both literally and figuratively) for experimentation, and offered modes of identification that were 'outside' conventional ties to nation or family. A space for cultural experimentation, this was equally importantly a space for sexual experimentation for, as this collection ably demonstrates, being actively modern meant, above all, being sexually active. Chadwick and Latimer declare that the lesbian



expatriate, 'crystallized much of what it meant for a woman, in 1920s and 1930s Paris, to be modern.'

This book provides an important corrective to the assumption of heterosexuality underlying feminist art histories. Nevertheless, its necessary focus on practitioners (many of whom came from wealthy and privileged backgrounds) — the collection derived from a symposium and retrospective exhibition of Romaine Brooks' work — results in its own exclusions. Significantly the experiences of women who were not artists, nor particularly wealthy or privileged but for whom the image of the modern woman, encountered principally through mass consumer society: film, popular novels, advertising and dress is, if not entirely absent, not so clearly articulated. In her chapter on bobbed hair, Mary Louise Roberts provides an illuminating example of this, demonstrating how female identity was a site for the larger ideological project of a nation coming to terms with rapid social and cultural change. Unsurprisingly, this collection privileges representation over reception, creation over (wider) lived experience, the 'doings' of an artistic and social elite over more ordinary, everyday lives. In doing so, it productively opens a space for further exploration of the complex ways in which the modern woman has figured and been understood, and the multiple subject positions occupied by women in modernism.

Pauline Perry

***The Womb in Which I Lay: Daughters Finding their Mothers in Life and in Death***

London: Souvenir Press, 2005.

£9.99, ISBN 0-285-63719-3 (paperback), pp. ix + 163

Reviewed by Ruth M. Larsen  
*University of Derby*

This personal and sometimes moving book explores the relationship between mothers and daughters in twentieth-century Britain. Its central argument is that following the death of her mother, an (adult) daughter is forced to reassess both her mother and the nature of their relationship; this reassessment often allows the bereaved to understand the deceased with better clarity than she had enjoyed while the mother was alive. Pauline Perry explores this through the use of various literary, autobiographical and anthropological materials and a series of interviews with ten women. These successful and, in many cases, influential women spoke frankly about their feelings towards their mothers, and their testimonies provide an interesting and personal insight into changing attitudes towards female roles in the twentieth century.

*The Womb in Which I Lay* is not an academic book, and it is clearly marketed as a book 'for all women'. This means that there are a number of issues which historians may feel are missing or over simplified. The use of oral testimonies is not problematised and the complex issues regarding memory are not discussed, despite the book's reliance on recollections and conversations. The methodology is not clear, and we do not know why the ten women were chosen. They have been given pseudonyms to protect their identities, but despite their various upbringings it is clear that they have enjoyed financial success in later life, and so are not representative of wider society. It is also a book where the author plays a major role in the story, as Perry's own experiences following the death of her mother, especially her confusion as to whether she had ever enjoyed maternal love, shape much of the argument. One feels that the conclusion of the book, that all mothers love their daughters, may have been rather different, in presentation at least, if written by someone less emotionally involved in the topic.

However, a number of the 'popular' elements of the book make it an interesting read, and it encourages the reader to rethink various issues, especially with regards to maternal instinct; personally, I found it a good book to argue with. It also uses a number of sources which do not usually appear in more scholarly texts, such as the autobiography of Anne Robinson, the poetry of Wanda Barford and a number of modern novels. These along with the testimonies of the ten women provide historians of the twentieth century with a number of new and different resources. These will be useful when thinking about the way the women have perceived their public and private roles, and their feelings towards the social limitations that constrained their mothers' lives and from which they have fought to break free.

Academic readers may find the relaxed writing style and the lack of detailed analysis irksome in places, and the discussion of feminist thought rather limited; however, they are not the target audience. Pauline Perry writes that she wants the book to provide 'food for reflection, thought and comfort to daughters who are grieving for their mothers'. While I feel that the recently bereaved may find this a difficult read, it does offer support by demonstrating that the feelings of love and grief and the search for one's identity following the death of a parent are not unusual. Although a reader coming to this work looking for a detailed analysis of female grief in the twentieth century may be disappointed, for many of her readers, Perry will have succeeded in her aims.

Jane E. Schulz

***Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America***

University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill & London, 2004.

US\$34.95, ISBN 0-8078-2867-x (hardback) pp. xiv + 341

Reviewed by Joyce A. Walker  
*University of Aberdeen*

As Jane Schulz points out in her Introduction, official records of medicine during the American Civil War barely, if at all, refer to the nurses who were so vital in the provision of care to the wounded of both sides. The assumption was made by those writing at the time (and who should have known better) that there was an organised movement to provide trained nurses for bodies such as the US Sanitary Commission in the North — that the nurses just ‘appeared’ when needed and, as women, instinctively knew what to do.

In recent years, there have been quite a few good books produced which redress the balance somewhat, covering the roles of nurses in the American Civil War, both North and South, and Jane Schultz’ book is a most welcome addition to this growing library. She, however, has extended her study well beyond the usual parameters and includes a section on women who were employed as laundresses, cooks and other domestics. She shows how they were, in times of crisis (and in war-time, most times are times of crisis) seconded, bullied or forced to do ‘nursing’ work. She, therefore, brings the element of class once more into the story: it is apparent that class was the main divisive factor between nurses and ‘other ranks’ of female workers but that this line could be broken when expedient — and put back in place just as easily. The role of black women domestic hospital workers in the North, lives even more proscribed than that of their white working class sisters, is also examined closely.

However, to me it is in the second section of her book that Schulz excels. Her chapter on the struggle of former Army nurses to obtain pensions for their war service shows how long it took for the US Government to acknowledge the debt owed to these women: in 1892 Congress passed the Army Nurses Pension Act, which paid \$12 monthly to nurses who had served for six months or more. Of course, this act excluded all those women who had worked for a shorter time (and may have had to quit because of injury); it excluded all those who had nursed but whose records had been destroyed, lost or who had not been registered

formally; and it excluded all ‘other ranks’ of cooks, laundresses etc., whose nursing had been on an *ad hoc* basis.

Schultz then provides an insightful chapter on the writing of historical memoirs by former nurses. In both North and South, this was often done as a matter of dire financial necessity, especially in the years before a pension was available. Many of the women wrote using pseudonyms, as it was still not considered ladylike to publish; less so if there was a hint of financial desperation in the matter! The literary merit of some of the writings is dubious, and some were written purely to prove to the pension awarding bodies that Miss So-and-So had indeed nursed, but they offer a unique first-hand account of the lives and actions of a remarkable group of women.

Schulz ends by contemplating whether the experiences of women during the American Civil War had politicised them in any real way, leading to involvement in the Women’s Movement. Drew Gilpin Faust, in her book *Mothers of Invention* (1996) has clearly shown that this did not happen to any real extent in the South, and Schulz shows just as clearly that it *was* a driving factor in many Northern women becoming politically active: their own campaigning for pension rights and other forms of official recognition naturally made a good number of them gravitate to other forms of female political action.

This is a wonderful text for anyone interested in women’s lives during and in the aftermath of the American Civil War. With intelligible graphs and interesting photographs, and based heavily on original archival research, Schulz has produced a readable, hugely enjoyable and intellectually stimulating text which is to be highly commended for its scope, content and clarity.

Angela K. Smith

***Gender and Warfare in the Twentieth Century: Textual Representations***

Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004.

£45, ISBN 0-7190-6574-7 (hardback), pp. 223

Reviewed by Carol Acton

*St Jerome’s University; University of Waterloo, Canada*

The topic of war and gender has received considerable attention in scholarly writing over the past ten years, but this collection of essays, focusing on wars throughout the twentieth century and drawing on a range of interdisciplinary perspectives and sources, is an important contribution that encourages new approaches to this discussion. In looking beyond the canon or examining

canonical texts and writers in the context of less well known material and unexplored theatres of war, this collection broadens our understanding of how constructions of gender and war can be approached. It includes a useful balance of very specific discussion of individuals and texts alongside the broad ranging and inclusive. The two essays that frame the collection, Zilboorg's very specific focus on Richard Aldington's and H.D.'s personal and intellectual struggles surrounding representations of gender and the First World War, and Walsh's broad ranging analysis of constructions of masculinity, war and violence from Second World War films to the present, are representative of the scope of the collection as a whole.

One of the main strengths of this book is its drawing together of a range of diverse discussions of texts so that collectively as well as individually it challenges the parameters that define war writing, taking the reader not only beyond the binaries of home and front, non-combatant and combatant, but to new stories and new ways of reading them. The home/front binary is quickly collapsed in two early chapters that look at constructions of wartime masculinity and femininity as interdependent. Thus Zilboorg on Richard Aldington and Svarney on Huxley's 'Farcical History of Richard Greenow', examine how these writers investigate the precarious nature of masculinity as it is challenged at the front and by pacifism at home.

Each essay in the collection is related to the whole by bringing together, to a greater or lesser extent, the themes of war and gender with the concept of performance that makes for a particularly rewarding approach to gender constructions in wartime. This interrogation of gender and war is particularly noteworthy in two central chapters. Jenny Hartley's reading of the less well known Clemence Dane beside the canonical Virginia Woolf in 'Clothes and Uniform in the Theatre of Fascism: Clemence Dane and Virginia Woolf', allows her to explore the extent to which clothes and particularly uniform create not just the fascist dictator but also community belonging, and at the same time to examine how such militarized behaviour is a form of theatre. The interrogation of gender and dress here is extended by Juliette Pattinson's 'The best disguise': Performing Femininities for Clandestine Purposes during the Second World War', which reads the behaviours of women members of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) through Butler's theory of performativity, allowing Pattinson to examine both the theoretical aspects of femininity as performance as well as providing a discussion of the very real role it played in undercover sabotage operations in occupied France, Holland and Belgium, an area that has been all but ignored by scholars. Likewise, Bennett's discussion of women and

the Battle of the Atlantic in the Second World War reminds us of the lack of scholarly attention to women's participation in the war at sea, arguing that we must examine the reasons behind the versions of femininity employed during the war both in reporting on women's behaviour and deaths at sea and in images of propaganda at home.

An important aspect of the book is its moving beyond the two world wars to include an essay on the Spanish Civil War and, in the three concluding essays, to look at texts from the Vietnam War and the first Gulf War. In doing so it reveals the importance of collapsing the parameters of time and space that define individual wars, emphasising the degree to which gender and performance in the twentieth century are essential to the construction of war as a cultural activity that is not confined to a specific war, or to a particular theatre of war. As Smith argues in the introduction: '[T]he focus on gender offers an informed debate on a range of political issues,' a position well defended through the essays included in the collection (p.3).

Since much scholarly interest on the Vietnam War has focused on American male combatant narratives of the war, it is refreshing to see this war approached from the perspectives of women and family in American and Vietnamese writing in essays by Marion Gibson and Angela K. Smith, both of which confront issues of masculinity and femininity in the context of patriarchal power structures. Interestingly, Smith's discussion reveals that the Vietnam War combatant writers manifest the same insecurities about masculinity and behaviour in war that confronted soldiers in the First World War. Walsh's wide ranging essay that concludes the book interrogates femininity, masculinity and nationality in war films from John Wayne in Second World War films to recent works like *The Thin Red Line* (1998) and *We Were Soldiers* (2002), concluding that only in *The Thin Red Line* does a director finally succeed in collapsing the John Wayne myth of American manhood at war: '[I]ts men are lost souls not good American citizens' (p.214).

Overall, this is an important collection at the level of individual essays and as a whole in pushing the limits of writing about war and gender. It offers scholars in the area as well as students a stimulating range of ideas and texts and suggests new ways of continuing the conversation on gender and war.

**Book Reviewers Sought**

**Please see notice on p. 36.**

Ronald Morris

***The Indomitable Beatie: Charles Hoare, C.B. Fry and the Captain's Lady***

Sutton Publishing Limited: Gloucestershire, 2004.  
£16.99, ISBN 0-7509-3710-6 (hardback), pp xix + 160, 16 plates

Reviewed by Jo Stanley  
*Lancaster University*

'Never at Sea'. The WRNS' motto for most of the twentieth century sums up the way that historically women have been actively excluded from seafaring work, especially in the Royal Navy.

Ironically, however, there was an oddly authoritative space for women's input. It is barely remembered today but women worked in the sea training schools that provided the foundations for the nation's navy. Indeed some founded the schools. They include reformer Mary Carpenter, who initiated the idea in the 1840s, and shipping widow Mrs Gibbs, whose donation enabled the Headlands School in Penarth just before World War One. Others, such as Sarah Jane Rees of Llangrannog, taught navigation classes in a local village school from the late 1850s classes. Others, such as Janet Taylor (1804-1870) ran a sort of dame school for mariners.

Predictably the women working in such schools usually had a matronly role, caring for boys' welfare like housemothers of the extended 'family', as John Masefield describes of the Mersey-based officer training ship *Conway* 1877-1930. They were school matrons, nurses, teachers and live-in wives of teachers. But many also were involved in the nautical side, for example teaching rowing and navigation.

These rare women had little recorded history, certainly no biographies, until Ronald Morris wrote this biography of Beatie Fry (1862-1946). He has therefore opened up knowledge of a very interesting aspect of maritime history. Hopefully, an historian of women will follow on by investigating the women who worked on similar establishments (a context to which the author could usefully have referred) asking that key question 'What difference did gender make to sea life?'

The extent to which training ships offered preparation for seafaring, as opposed to just educative semi-penitentiaries for impoverished lads, varies. But certainly in the late 1850s seventeen navigation schools opened up. And from that time on there were industrial training ships, officer cadet ships, reformatory ships and ships for destitute/voluntary boys.

Beatie Fry's ship was part of this last category. From its inception in 1885 until 1946 (it closed in 1968) Beatrice Holme Sumner (later Holme Fry) ran *The Mercury*. It was initially near Binstead on the Isle of White and then, from 1892, on the Hamble. How did she come to run such a school? Her married lover, banker Charles Hoare, bought it for her by as an outlet for her energies. When their long, convention-flouting relationship broke up he seemingly arranged for her to marry the school Secretary (CB Fry), as someone who would let her continue her regime.

Beatie Holme Fry, from a high class family, ran her training school with seemingly unchallenged authority and 'unmotherly' harshness. Morris describes a 'grim intense woman who left her mark on the minds and bodies—literally as well as figuratively—of thousands of boys who came into her charge.' [68]. Fry was additionally exceptional because she rowed boats until she was in her 70s, climbed aloft (a hundred feet above deck) masts, walked decks barefoot winter and summer and sometimes wore men's clothes. Surely a suffrage campaigner, you might think. Apparently not, says the author. But certainly two of her daughters attained the very high rank of commander in the WRNS in World War Two.

Morris himself was trained in Mrs Fry's school in 1946. Obviously, it is an asset if a biographer has met their subject. In this case, I suspect it was also encumbering. If an impressionable young twelve year old boy, away from home, encounters someone whom he experiences as a dominatrix (albeit one fuelled by Christian zeal), then there must surely be consequent anger, plus guilt at his fascination with such a figure, and confusion at the hatred/self-loathing that is part of such sadism-focused relationships. Such complex early obsessive feelings would provide material for a lifetime of psychotherapy sessions. They must certainly hinder the creation of a balanced portrait, when an angry riposte or a public act of self-vindication might feel more urgent.

But this is a careful and restrained book. It struggles not to offend her relatives. It also contains oddly little direct—rather than circumstantial—evidence. We don't really know what motivated Fry. Nor do we really know what she actually did at the school: how much did she teach, was she actually an owner?

The author has constructed an elegantly written, literary biography. It is not 'feminist', but it does convey a clear economic understanding of how class enabled a woman to turn out valued future seafaring men in an exceptional way. The book doesn't provide a picture of a women's role on training ships in the early twentieth century. Rather it is portrait of a particular branch of high society,

and of what some people thought of—and crucially *projected upon*—a woman in a situation of remarkable authority.

Laura Gowing

***Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England***

New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.  
£25, ISBN 0-300-10096-5 (hardback), pp. viii + 260

Reviewed by Amanda L. Capern  
*University of Hull*

*Common Bodies* is a book which draws together ideas about women's bodies from the testimonies that can be found in seventeenth-century court records and family papers. Gowing uses depositions especially in cases of fornication, rape, illegitimacy and infanticide brought before the Consistory Court and Assizes and lays the findings alongside the medical treatises and midwives' manuals for the period. The result is a rich and detailed panoply of ideas about the adult woman, her menses, sexuality and desire, conception, pregnancy and parturition. By the end of the book Gowing convinces us that the early-modern body was 'imagined differently' (p. 2), but along the way the reader learns much about early-modern social structures like the family and the way in which the public theatre of the law court was the critical space in which women were able to air their secrets rather than maintain the silence that constructed feminine modesty.

Gowing talks of an 'uncertain knowledge' about the body peddled in a medical discourse that was dominated by recycled controversies. The authority of Aristotelian and Galenic texts was used to assert that women's bodies were inferior, unfinished versions of men's and the vagina was just 'the yard turned inward' (p. 20). Humoral theory underpinned the notion that infertility was due to women's cool, moist bodies and less prevalent in men because of their heat. Male infertility was associated with impotence or underdeveloped genitals, the latter a sign of effeminisation. However, knowledge of the body was, according to Gowing, much more widely constructed than this and incorporated competing ideas sometimes expressed in a variety of metaphors and superstitions that circulated in oral and cheap print culture. Men and women were given a lace for their bodies; the man's too long leaving a tag [the penis] and the woman's too short leaving the stitching job unfinished in a gaping hole [the vagina]. Women's outer genitalia were like 'marigolds' and penises were 'hammers' with 'purses' hanging below them. One of the most important points made in this book is that 'at the heart of these understandings was a

discourse which depended on metaphor to describe sexual difference' (p. 21) and the metaphors themselves were a mainstay of seventeenth-century language rendering intelligible 'uncertain knowledge' to an audience that relied as heavily on picture as word to make sense of the world. Women, used as they were to making cheese, understood the formation of the foetus as a series of stages in the curdling process. Babies did not 'grow', as in modern terminology; they slowly (and precariously) 'coagulated'. The time at which babies took shape from blood and mass was also uncertain—in 1663 Gertrude Law told her neighbours that she had not been pregnant when 'big-bellied' but had a swelling because 'for the space of eighteen weeks...she had not had the benefit of nature after the custom of women' (p. 143). This language of uncertainty about pregnancy combined with discourses of female sexuality; for example, abortions were usually interrogated for information about illicit sex rather than potential murder/infanticide.

*Common Bodies* contains echoes of Gowing's earlier work, *Domestic Dangers*. For example, it reveals men's anxieties about the wet and 'leaky' nature of the female body. Class and sexual politics led to a 'politics of touch' and to bodies that were 'ideologically loaded narratives' (p. 3). Gowing argues that 'like women's sexual voracity, the leaky body could pose a grotesque comic threat to male control' undermining men's authority with urine and vaginal discharge. Penny jest books contained servant girls who emptied their bladders uncontrollably when they were fearful or lachrymose and 'vaginas...were active devouring organs' (p. 22-5). There are interesting observations on the flexible nature of the 'household' and the inversions of the social hierarchy that could result from employers and servants sharing the same space. So there are many sad tales about female servants being sexually abused by masters but there is also the story of Mary Fox, a young woman anxious about possible pregnancy, whose fingers reached out in the night for the belly of the female servant with whom she shared bed in order to make comparison with her own. The invasion of her servant's body provides a picture of a world in which the politics of sex made women their own watchdogs for men, pushing and pulling at each other's breasts, bellies and genitals for signs of sexual activity and pregnancy. Gowing takes issue with the idea of the empowerment offered by 'female culture'. She argues, for example, that the lying-in ritual during childbirth not only excluded single women from crucial knowledge-sharing but created 'divisions between women that helped enforce gender order outside the birth-room' (p. 150). The 'politics of touch', according to Gowing, led women to careful dress-coding and protection of bodily space. The female body was seen

as sexually available in a world of 'erasure of female consent' (p. 99), a world in which men's violence during rape was described by women as men's uncontrolled sexual desire.

Gowing is interested in the intellectual conundrum created when historians speak of the body as 'a product of culture' finding that this tells us nothing of how it 'felt' (p. 4). The choice of source material helps her to overcome the problem. Listen, for example, to the words of the servant Elizabeth Chappin who, after two hours of being in labour alone, told her midwife that she had lied about the father of the child and that 'all the devils in hell might tear her in pieces' if she lied about it really being her master (p. 161). Her accusation was liberated by the painful bodily torment she felt and that we can vicariously feel today when we read her testimony. The book raises questions about whether or not there are universal bodily experiences, ones that 'feel' the same no matter how uncertain is the knowledge or firm the cultural construction that surrounds them. Maria Thynne shared sexual jokes with her husband in dodgy Latin and confessed to him that the suggestive tone of his last letter 'made my modest blood flush up into my bashful cheek' (p. 108). Her early-modern body was modest and bashful, but it filled with a desire that a young woman today would 'feel' even if the bodily experience might by her be differently described.

Gowing's work offers extended reflection on the idea first fashioned by Thomas Laqueur and taken up by Anthony Fletcher of the 'one-sex model' of the body. Gowing argues that 'the one-sex model was a part of the landscape of early modern bodies, not the whole world'. Some of the metaphorical tropes about bodies persisted well into the eighteenth century suggesting knowledge-stasis rather than the clear chronological shift from 'one-sex model' of the body to the idea of sexual difference posited by Laqueur/Fletcher. Gowing's final conclusion, that 'the politics of the body made women awkward subjects of patriarchy, and brought them to participate in its enforcement' (p. 209) paints an unfortunate picture of women's thrall to 'uncertain knowledge', when midwives gained disproportionate power over other women (for example, withholding help to labouring women until they confessed the names of fathers of illegitimate children) and 'women's bodies were constrained [because] they could be minutely scrutinised for evidence of immodesty' (p. 31). Obviously this gloomy view of women's embodied experience is partly a product of Gowing's use of particular source material, but, that said, her book leaves a powerful impression of how women's bodies could become instruments of men's control over women in early-modern England.

## BOOK OFFERS

Please note that these offers are strictly available only to members of the Women's History Network. Please quote your membership number when ordering (found on the envelope/label when you receive your magazine) or by emailing to:

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

**Hastings Press** - WHN members are eligible for discounts on the following publications:

**Helena Wojtczak (2005) - *Railwaywomen: Exploitation, Betrayal and Triumph in the Workplace*** Reviews and excerpt available at [www.railwaywomen.co.uk](http://www.railwaywomen.co.uk) Offer price: £15 + £4.60 p&p (RRP £30) 384-page hardback.

**Helena Wojtczak (2002) - *Notable Women of Victorian Hastings*** Offer price: £4 + £1 p&p (RRP £5.99) 87-page paperback.

**Helena Wojtczak (2002) - *Women of Victorian Hastings 1830-1870*** Offer price: £4 + free p&p (RRP £5.99) 187-page E-book on CDROM

**Helena Wojtczk (2003) - *Women of Victorian Sussex 1830-1870: Their Status, Occupations and Dealings with the Law*** Offer price: £7 + £2 p&p (RRP £9.99) 256-page paperback.

For more details about these books please visit [www.hastingspress.co.uk](http://www.hastingspress.co.uk). Books can be inscribed and signed by the author and on request can be gift-wrapped and sent direct to the recipient of your gift at no extra charge.

**How to Order:** Please send a cheque with details of order to The Hastings Press, PO Box 96, Hastings TN34 1GQ. Enquiries and Paypal payments to [hastings.press@virgin.net](mailto:hastings.press@virgin.net)

**Routledge** - WHN members can save 20% on the following books:

**Deborah Simonton (ed) - *The Routledge History of Women in Europe since 1700*** A landmark collection of essays providing the most coherent overview of women's role and place in western Europe, spanning the era from the beginning of the eighteenth century until the twentieth century. Offer price: £68 (Hb)

## Conference Report

### Consecrated Women: Cambridge University, September 16 & 17 2005

The Consecrated Women conference, devoted to the research of women religious in Britain and Ireland, met at Cambridge University's Divinity Faculty through the sponsorship of the Margaret Beaufort Institute for its fourth annual meeting on September 16 and 17. Sixty-five scholars and archivists attending this year's conference — coming from all parts of the world from Ghana, Australia, North America, Europe and of course Britain and Ireland. Presentations included two keynote addresses, one by Barbara Mann Wall of Purdue University on the uses of textual analysis and the other by Ann Matthews of the National University of Ireland, Maynooth on the history of the work of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart with unwed mothers and their babies. The rest of the papers spanned a wide range of eras and disciplines covering the period of the Middle Ages through to the twentieth century and treating women religious of the Catholic, Anglican, and Church of Scotland traditions through historical, literary, or sociological frameworks. Throughout the conference, the presenters making excellent use of visual materials, integrated the analysis of particular case studies with discussions of different methodologies useful for the study of women religious.

In the first panel on material culture, presentations focused on the ways we can glimpse the daily lives of nuns by studying items central to their lives and worship including the convents in which they lived and the books of hours with which they prayed. Through marginal notes, added prayers, or even recipes for remedies for various illnesses, medieval books of hours reveal much about the world in which the sisters who used them lived. They can illustrate the convent's experience of drought, political turmoil, and relationship with Church authorities. Similarly, studying the location and floor plan of early London convents allows us to understand something of the practical details of establishing a new religious community with its need for adequate drainage and source of clean water, as well as the benefits of being near a major thoroughfare likely to be used by pilgrims. Convent fixtures such as coverings for floors, walls, and beds met both the needs for warmth and privacy, but through their embroidery, became aids to prayer. The second panel on material culture focused on art in early modern convents in Portugal and Spain as used to reflect spirituality and perceptions of women, particularly Mary Magdalene and La Divina Pastora. The final presentation in this panel addressed questions

**Gerry Holloway - *Women and Work in Britain since 1840*.** An essential student resource which works chronologically from the early 1840s to the end of the twentieth century and examines over 150 years of women's employment history and the struggles they have faced in the workplace. Offer price: £48 (Hb) £15 (Pb)

**Elizabeth Crawford - *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain and Ireland: A Regional Survey***  
A comprehensive study providing the first survey of women's suffrage campaigns across the British Isles and Ireland, focusing on local campaigns and activists. Offer Price: £80 (Hb)

**Sue Morgan (ed) - *The Feminist History Reader***  
*The Feminist History Reader* gathers together key articles that have shaped the dynamic historiography of the past thirty years, and introduces students to the major shifts and turning points in this dialogue. Offer price: £48 (HB) £14 (Pb)

**Hannah Barker, Elaine Chalus (eds) - *Women's History: Britain 1700 - 1850*.** A comprehensive history of the women of Britain during a period of dramatic change, this publication provides a thorough and well-balanced selection of individual chapters by leading field experts and dynamic new scholars. Offer price: £44 (Hb) £14 (Pb)

#### **Carol Dyhouse - *Students***

This compelling and stimulating book explores the gendered social history of students in modern Britain, drawing upon wide-ranging original research including documentary and archival sources, newsfilm, press coverage and life histories. Offer price: £52 (Hb) £18 (Pb)

***Women's History Review* - 15% discount on personal subscriptions for WHN members.**

*Women's History Review* is published by Routledge from 2006. WHN members qualify for a 15% discount on a personal subscription to the journal, bringing the cost to £38 pa (reduced from £45).

To order, please apply on line with the special Routledge/WHN **application form**  
(visit [www.womenshistorynetwork.org](http://www.womenshistorynetwork.org))

To keep up to date with conferences,  
etc., visit our website:  
[www.womenshistorynetwork.org](http://www.womenshistorynetwork.org)

of visual representation of the painted life-cycle of Mary Ward. These papers lead to lively discussions of art and iconography as an enhancement of written and oral sources.

Several presentations explored the question of nuns' authorial voice. Analyzing letters, biographies of founders, nuns' literary works and accounts of life on the missions is another way of understanding the flesh and blood women behind the images of submissive nuns. Sisters' writings reveal the complexities in relationships with bishops, as well as their ability to carve out a space to do their work as they saw fit despite official Church prescriptions. Sisters on the periphery, away from Rome or diocesan authorities delivered babies, and performed manual labor such as chopping wood despite official prescriptions against these. The session on oral history explored both methodological questions such as the uses of various technologies, preservation of the oral histories and the kinds of questions likely to elicit useful responses as well as illustrating the ways that oral history reveals the daily lives of Sisters inaccessible in other sources.

At its general meeting, the group discussed both this year's conference as a whole, but also brainstormed about important issues in the study of women religious. One crucial issue is access to archives, and the group discussed how researchers and archivists can work together to insure that the stories of various communities are accurately told. In addition, participants suggested important themes for next year's conference including a study of hidden voices, the further exploration of nuns as missionaries, and the ongoing discussions of the importance of including nuns more fully in the field of women's history. Next year's conference will be held at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth in Dublin, Ireland on 15-6 September 2006.

By Moira Egan, City University of New York,  
m.egan@erols.com

**WHN Regional Organisers** can request current and back numbers of this magazine to sell at conferences. I have copies of most of the issues since the revamped magazine started with Issue 40 in February 2002. Issues cost £4 each, and are sent out to you on a sale or return basis. I also have available some Women's History Network T-shirts, in a range of sizes, in black or white cotton, and these can also be sent to you. They retail at £10 each.

Please contact Joyce Walker by e-mail at:  
admin@womenshistorynetwork.org  
or c/o History Dept., University of Aberdeen, Crombie  
Annexe, Meston Walk, Old Aberdeen AB24 3FX.

## Conference Notices & Calls for Papers

### CALL FOR PAPERS

**British Society of Sports History**  
**Friday 1 September-Sunday 3 September 2006**  
**St Martin's College, Lancaster**

St Martin's College, Lancaster is pleased to invite you to the 25th annual conference of the British Society of Sports History on 1-3 September 2006.

The conference will run on an 'open theme' basis. Papers should be a maximum 20 minutes in length, with 10 minutes for discussion. Abstracts for papers should be no longer than 200 words and sent to Dr Carol Osborne at the address below by **1st May 2006**.

The Richard W Cox Postgraduate Prize will be awarded for the best paper by a postgraduate student. *Please indicate when you submit your abstract if you wish to be considered for this award.*

The Sir Derek Birley Annual Memorial Lecture, to be delivered this year by Professor Allen Guttman, will open Saturday's proceedings.

**Please send abstracts and any questions to: Dr Carol Osborne, School of Sport and Outdoor Studies, St Martin's College, Bowerham Road, Lancaster, LA1 3JD, UK. Tel: 01524 526540; Email [c.osborne@ucsm.ac.uk](mailto:c.osborne@ucsm.ac.uk)**

*The aim of the BSSH is to stimulate, promote and co-ordinate interest in the historical study of sport, physical education, recreation and leisure, with special reference to the British Isles.*

### CALL FOR PAPERS

**Women's Studies Group 1558 - 1837**  
**2005-2006 Programme**

The Women's Studies Group: 1558 - 1837 is a small, informal multi-disciplinary group formed to promote women's studies in the early modern period and the long eighteenth century. We are currently seeking papers for our 2005 - 2006 programme.

We are quite informal and we give good feedback. Papers on ANY aspect of women's studies within this chronological period, in ANY field of scholarly or critical enquiry, are welcome. You do NOT need to be a woman, OR a member, to deliver a paper to our group. Moreover, we welcome work in progress and papers that have been



given at another venue. The group meets from 2.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m. on Saturdays at the Senate House of the University of London, on Malet Street, W1. Paper length is quite flexible—anything from 20–50 minutes is fine!

One paper is needed for **Saturday 20th May 2006**; also for **September and November 2006** (dates to be confirmed).

Please send your proposal to [loisneil@themutual.net](mailto:loisneil@themutual.net)

For further information about our group please visit our website at

[www.womensstudiesgroup.org.uk](http://www.womensstudiesgroup.org.uk)

### CONFERENCE

**WHN - Midlands Region**

**'If there is a job to be done, women can do it.' Women and Work - 1850 - 2000**

**May 13, 2006 - University of Worcester**

For further information contact: Sue Johnson, Department of A.H.S.S., University of Worcester, Henwick Grove, Worcester WR2 6AJ.

Email: [s.johnson@worc.ac.uk](mailto:s.johnson@worc.ac.uk)

### CONFERENCE

**Single Women in History: 1000-2000**

**23 - 24 June 2006**

**University of the West of England, Bristol, UK**

### Plenary Speakers

**Amy Froide, University of Maryland-Baltimore County**  
The Spinster and the Old Maid: Representations of Never-Married Women in Early Modern England "

**Katherine Holden, University of the West of England**  
The Shadow of Marriage: defining the single in twentieth century Britain

The links between gender and marital status have been insufficiently explored or theorised within women's history. This conference will bring new perspectives to a neglected area of research by examining the lives of single women during the last millennium in any period and any country. Speakers may focus on different categories of female singleness including spinsters, lone mothers, widows and divorcees and discuss single women's involvement in areas such as health and welfare, politics, work, religion, culture, family, friendships, partnerships and networks.

The original inspiration for this conference came through discussions in April 2004 at Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis during the course of their project: 'Gendered Passages in Historical Perspective: Single Women'. Ex-Fellows from the Rutgers project have now joined with the West of England and South Wales Women's History network in the UK to host a conference which we hope will attract international interest and offer important new insights into this area of research.

**For further information contact Kath Holden**  
email: [Katherine.Holden@uwe.ac.uk](mailto:Katherine.Holden@uwe.ac.uk)

### CONFERENCE

**Reformation Studies Colloquium**

**Wednesday 5 April - Friday 7 April 2006**  
**Somerville College, University of Oxford**

The Reformation Studies Colloquium is the principal forum in Britain for historians of the Reformation period. This biennial conference is being held at Somerville College, Oxford in 2006, at which the keynote speakers will be:

**Lyndal Roper** (Oxford) *Luther and Biography*;  
**Ronnie Hsia** (Penn State) *Dreams and Conversions in the Catholic Mission in China during the 16th-17th Centuries*; **Margo Todd** (Pennsylvania) *Enlisting the community: The laity in Scotland's urban reformations*

For further information and registration form contact: Dr Andrew Spicer, Department of History, Oxford Brookes University, Gypsy Lane Campus, Headington, Oxford OX3 0BP.

### CONFERENCE

**Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation and American Empire 1812 - 1938**  
**An International Conference**  
**April 27-29, 2006**  
**Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford**

This conference is sponsored by the Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford, UK, the State University of New York at Binghamton, USA, the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, USA, the Huntington Library, California, USA, the American Studies Foundation in Japan, and the Institute for Women's Studies at Tokyo Woman's Christian University, Japan.

For more information and registration please visit:  
<http://womenandmission.binghamton.edu/>

**CONFERENCE & CALL FOR PAPERS  
(Deadline April 30 2006)**

**A Woman's Island? Women in Shetland - Past, 20 - Present & Future  
22 April 2007**

**Organised by Women's History Scotland and Shetland Museum & Archives  
Shetland Museum and Archives, Hays Dock, Lerwick, Shetland**

The conference organisers invite paper proposals and expressions of interest for this event which aims to bring together the past and the present, creating a dialogue between those who study Shetland's past (historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, museum and archive experts) with individuals and organisations representing the Shetland of today.

Shetland's history has a powerful influence on the ways in which the islands' inhabitants perceive themselves and their identity. The combination of a wealth of scholarly studies on Shetland and the local interest in the past, as well as the development of a £10 million centre for Shetland Museum and Archives presents an unrivalled opportunity to consider the dominant representations of Shetland's past. In particular we aim to investigate the connections between the idea of Shetland as a female dominated society in the past and present-day gender relations as they are manifested in a variety of contexts: work, art, literature and poetry, textiles, music and so on.

We are keen to encourage a variety of forms of participation which might include:

- Papers by academics, scholars, community activists, heritage workers, artists etc
- Creative activities by craft, artistic and cultural groups or schools
- Exhibits and/or performance pieces
- Other forms of participation which might straddle those above or take entirely different modes of expression

*No topic is excluded. In particular we would like to encourage dialogue between those who study and work/live in Shetland and other Nordic communities (including the island communities around Scotland as well as Faroe, Orkney, Iceland, Norway etc).*

Proposals (up to 250 words) and expressions of interest should be sent to:

Lynn Abrams, Department of History, University of Glasgow, 2 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QQ or by email: [L.Abrams@history.arts.gla.ac.uk](mailto:L.Abrams@history.arts.gla.ac.uk) by 30 April 2006.

**CONFERENCE**

**The Professionalisation of Decoration, Design and the Modern Interior 1870 - Present  
Dorich House 8th Annual Conference  
Thursday 18th & Friday 19th May 2006  
Kingston University, London**

Organised by the Centre for the Study of the Design of the Modern Interior and hosted by the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture at Kingston University, London.

Key note speaker: Joel Sanders, Associate Professor, Yale School of Architecture.

Through selected papers presented by both theorists and practitioners of interior design, the 8th annual Dorich House conference seeks to explore the history and contemporary practice of the making of the modern interior.

Further details can be found at:

[www.kingston.ac.uk/dorich](http://www.kingston.ac.uk/dorich)

To book contact Nina Hunt, Short Courses Design, Kingston University, email:

[shortcourse.design@kingston.ac.uk](mailto:shortcourse.design@kingston.ac.uk)

**CONFERENCE**

**Beyond the Widening Sphere: New Transatlantic Perspectives on Victorian Women  
8 -9 July 2006  
Royal Holloway, University of London**

Since Martha Vicinus' seminal *Suffer and Be Still* opened the debate in 1972, the field of Victorian women's history has expanded dramatically. Scholars on both sides of the Atlantic have explored the lives of British and North American women in the Victorian period, shedding new light on diverse aspects of their worlds. The social, economic, and cultural lives of working class, middle class and aristocratic women have been examined. A rich and complex picture has emerged, spanning representation and lived experience, fashion, material culture, domestic life, education, philanthropy, imperialism, empire and political participation. The growth of studies of gender and masculinity has added much to this picture, inspiring reflections on the nature of femininity. Scholars of art, history, literature and social geography have all contributed to this burgeoning field. This conference will reflect on the fruits of thirty four years of scholarship, comment on the current state of the field and assess its future development. The conference will draw together a range of disciplinary perspectives, comparing the lives of British and North American

women in this period, and allowing scholars from both sides of the Atlantic to exchange their views.

Organised by the Bedford Centre for the History of Women in collaboration with the Centre for Victorian Studies requests for further information should be sent to Sarah Wiggins, [sxwiggins@ualr.edu](mailto:sxwiggins@ualr.edu) or Jane Hamlett, [j.hamlett@rhul.ac.uk](mailto:j.hamlett@rhul.ac.uk)

## CONFERENCE

**Gender, family and property in legal theory and practice: the European perspective from 10th - 20th centuries**

**21 - 23 September, 2006**

**Crete (Greece)**

**To be held under the aegis of the Department of History and Archeology, University of Crete, and the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymno, Crete.**

This conference will examine issues relating to the theme of gender, family and property in legal theory and practice as attested in European societies from 10C to 20C. Possible topics might include (but are not limited to) the following:

- \* State law, customary law and legal practice - The legislator, the notary and the judge
- \* The implications of the system of dowry and inheritance - Inequalities, discrimination and conflict
- \* Town v countryside as factors for economic and cultural differentiation
- \* Gender relations in law and legal practice

There will be two keynote lectures, one of which will be given by Professor Leonore Davidoff, Research Professor at the Department of Sociology, University of Essex (UK). There will also be up to 20 communications of 25-30 minutes each to allow time for discussion. The conference will conclude with a panel discussion.

The language of the conference will be English.

For more details please visit the conference website at:  
[www.history-archaeology.uoc.gr](http://www.history-archaeology.uoc.gr)

## EXHIBITION

**The Duchess of Curiosities: The noble naturalist, forgotten by history**

**19 Mar 2006 - 01 Mar 2008**

**The Harley Gallery  
Nottinghamshire**

The Harley Gallery present, *The Duchess of Curiosities* - the first exhibition to narrate the forgotten life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Portland, one of the 18<sup>th</sup> century's greatest collectors.

Margaret Cavendish, a woman of science before her time, one of the greatest collectors of the 18<sup>th</sup> century who assembled the world-famous Portland Museum; patron of Captain Cook and with a circle of friends and associates who included some of the most radical intellectual and creative thinkers of the time.

*The Duchess of Curiosities* explores her extraordinary life:

- Daughter and grand-daughter of collectors and brought up in the company of great writers and artists including Alexander Pope, Jonathon Swift
- Heiress to a family collection stretching back to the Earl of Arundel
- Married her 'Sweet William', 2nd Duke of Portland and was mother of six children
- Owner of one of the largest natural history collection in 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain
- Friend to poets, painters, philosophers, scholars and Royalty including Joshua Reynolds, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, David Garrick and Samuel Johnson
- Creator of lost gardens, a zoo and an aviary
- Owner of the Portland Vase

Further information Susan Sheritt  
[ssheritt@harley-wellbeck.co.uk](mailto:ssheritt@harley-wellbeck.co.uk)  
01909 501700

The Harley Gallery  
Welbeck, Worksop  
Nottinghamshire, S80 3LW

Opening Times: Tuesday – Sunday 10am – 5pm  
Admission: Free  
Facilities: Full disabled access, Craft Shop, Cafe.  
Website: [www.harleygallery.co.uk](http://www.harleygallery.co.uk)

**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 2006 and the prize will be presented by Clare's daughter at the Women's History Network Annual Conference at Durham in 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; School of Humanities, University of Keele, Keele, Staffs, ST5 5BG).

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

*Childbirth and the Display of Authorship in Early Modern France*, Lianne McTavish (Ashgate)

*Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton & EJ Yeo, eds. (Edinburgh University Press)

*Joan of Arc in French Art and Culture (1700-1855): from Satire to Sanctity*, Nora M. Heimann (Ashgate)

*Loose Theatre: Memoirs of a Guerilla Theatre Activist*, Margaretta D'Arcy (Women's Pirate Press/Trafford)

*The Modern History of Sexuality*, HG Cocks & M Houlbrook, eds. (Palgrave)

*Octavia Hill's Letters to Fellow-Workers, 1872-1911*, Robert Whelan, ed; Anne Hoole Anderson, associate ed. (Kyrle Books)

*Students: a Gendered History*, Carol Dyhouse (Routledge)

*Local/Global: Women Artists in the Nineteenth Century*, Deborah Cherry and Janice Helland, eds. (Ashgate)

*Women, Art and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520-1580: Negotiating Power*, Katherine A. McIver (Ashgate)

*The Women's Movement in Britain & Ireland: a Regional Survey*, Elizabeth Crawford (Routledge)

## CALL FOR REVIEWERS

If you would like to review any of the above books, please contact Jane Potter by email to:

bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org

## Women's Library News

### NEWS FROM THE WOMEN'S LIBRARY

#### New Material

A number of new donations have been received recently by The Women's Library. These include the personal papers of Louisa Garrett Anderson, doctor and suffragette (reference 7LGA). This archive consists of letters from Louisa to her mother Elizabeth Garrett Anderson from Holloway, letters to her family from the Women's Hospital Corps, Paris during First World War, a scrapbook relating to Endell Street Military Hospital and a series of photographs. The records of the Writer's Club c.1891-1900 (reference 6WCW) have also been recently acquired. This collection consists of 48 manuscript letters concerning the Writer's Club, the majority addressed to committee members Miss Florence Routledge and Miss EE Dickinson concerning subscriptions, meetings, membership, recommendations, and well wishing. Another new addition is a small donation of books from the library of Vera Brittain, some of which are annotated by Brittain or her circle. A number of archives have been recently catalogued and are now available to researchers. These include the papers of Harriet Martineau (reference 7HRM), consisting of the literary manuscript of 'Life in the Sick-room', manuscript correspondence with Mr Henry Reeve and Dr Ogle (1839-1901) and photocopied correspondence containing references to Harriet Martineau. The papers of Edith Maud Hull (reference 7EMH), author of a series of desert romances published in the 1920s and 1930s are now available for consultation. We have also catalogued the records of more recent campaign groups, Mothers in Action (reference 5MIA), a pressure group for unsupported mothers covering the period 1965-1989 and the Campaign Against Pornography (reference 5CAP) for 1985-1997. In addition all of the Library's Greenham Common material is now available for research. This comprises of the records of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp (reference 5GCW), mainly concerned with Yellow Gate camp, and the Greenham Common Collection (5GCC) comprising of periodicals, pamphlets, and badges from 1982-1982. Collections of Greenham Common related press cuttings and ephemera are also available for consultation. All this material can be consulted in The Women's Library Reading Room. Further information about newly catalogued archives can be found on the archives and museum collections online catalogue at:

<http://www.thewomenslibrary.ac.uk/archivemuseumcatalogue>

Newly catalogued books are listed on the printed collections catalogue at:

<http://www.thewomenslibrary.ac.uk/catalogue>

Donations of printed books from WHN members, particularly review copies, are most welcome and details of potential donations should be sent initially to Beverley Kemp by email to:

[beverley.kemp@thewomenslibrary.ac.uk](mailto:beverley.kemp@thewomenslibrary.ac.uk)

#### The English Woman's Journal

The Women's Library has made available its copy of the *English Woman's Journal 1858 to 1864* to be digitised as part of the Nineteenth Century Serials Edition (ncse). The project aims to develop an exemplary edition of six nineteenth-century newspaper and periodical titles, including this key feminist periodical, in electronic form featuring full-text facsimiles, including adverts and illustrations. Further information about the project is available on the ncse website at

<http://www.ncse.kcl.ac.uk/>

The *English Woman's Journal* should be freely available for searching online in Summer 2006.

#### Web archiving

The life of an average website is estimated to be about 44 days and there is a danger that valuable cultural and scholarly information, published only on the web, will be lost to the research community of the future. The Women's Library has been concerned for some time that the websites of women's organisations and campaigns are particularly vulnerable and we have therefore embarked on a collaborative project with The British Library to address the long-term preservation of women's information on the web. Over the last six months we have been identifying and nominating relevant sites which are currently being archived, catalogued and made available on the 'Women's Collection' section of the UK web archiving consortium website at

<http://www.webarchive.org.uk>

The list of archived sites is growing weekly and is intended to give a snapshot of women's activity on the web. I am pleased to report that the website of the Women's History Network has been archived as part of this project.

#### Events for Spring 2006

A full programme of events at The Women's Library is scheduled for the Spring, including talks, feminist films, short courses, and creative writing workshops. There's a chance to stretch legs as well as minds on a

guided walk to explore the East End and find out about the women associated with the area, or to discover how to care for your own books and documents at a conservation workshop. The Women's Library has also launched a Reading Group with sessions promising lively debate planned up to July. Full details of the Reading Group and all other events are available online at

<http://www.thewomenslibrary.ac.uk>

and in our events programme, available from the Library

## Committee News

### Personnel Changes

The Committee is sad to be losing Charlotte Sands (who has had to resign due to personal reasons) and wishes her well for the future. Jane McDermid, Senior Lecturer at the University of Southampton, has stepped up to take her place. New committee member Karen Atkinson has taken on the role of Publicity Officer.

### Women's History in Schools

The Committee has reaffirmed the importance we attach to women's history in schools, an area pioneered by former committee members Sue Johnson and Amanda Capern. New initiatives are anticipated in this area — watch this space for further details.

### WHN Banner

The committee is investigating the possibility of commissioning a Women's History Network banner for use at conferences and other events. We are liaising with women textile designers and anticipate that the chosen design (if any) would represent women's history in some way, be produced with colour and feature the WHN logo.

### Membership

There are currently over 371 WHN members. A very few members are still paying an out-of-date subscription rate of £5 or less, despite recent calls for everybody to check that they are paying the correct rate. As this is economically unsustainable for the WHN, we will be writing to these members to inform them that, if they do not respond, we will no longer be able to send *Women's History Magazine* to them.

### Financial Support

The Committee continues to receive requests for financial support and has recently contributed to a

highly successful study day at the Black Country Museum in Dudley. Gerry Holloway is to manage our continuing relationship with the Museum.

### Clare Evans Prize

We are also grateful to Gerry for stepping up to be the WHN representative on the judging panel for the annual Clare Evans Essay Prize. This year's competition deadline is 31 May — please see the notice on p. 36 of this issue for further details.

### Women's Library

The excellent working relationship with the Women's Library in London continues. A box of WHN materials has been deposited and the Committee has agreed to contribute to the cost of its cataloguing.

### Steering Committee Meetings

All WHN members are welcome at meetings of the national steering committee. The next meetings are scheduled for 12 noon on Saturday March 18th and Saturday June 17th at the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, University of London, Malet Street, London WC1. If you intend to join us, please email [enquiries@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:enquiries@womenshistorynetwork.org) first, just to ensure that there have been no last minute changes of plan.

### Please note the following WHN contact email addresses

[magazine@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:magazine@womenshistorynetwork.org)  
*Women's History Magazine* editors

[enquiries@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:enquiries@womenshistorynetwork.org)  
currently Claire Jones

[bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org)  
*Women's History Magazine* and book review editor,  
currently Jane Potter

[advertising@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:advertising@womenshistorynetwork.org)  
currently Gerry Holloway

[liaison@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:liaison@womenshistorynetwork.org)  
currently Mary Joannou

[publicity@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:publicity@womenshistorynetwork.org)  
currently Karen Atkinson

### 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

### What does the WHN do?

#### Annual Conference

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

#### WHN Publications

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

### Joining the WHN

#### Annual Membership Rates

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

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

## WHN CONTACTS

To submit articles or news for the *Women's History Magazine*, please contact any of the editors at the addresses below:

**Deborah Simonton**, Department of English and Danish, University of Southern Denmark, Engstein 1, 6000 Kolding, Denmark. Email: [magazine@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:magazine@womenshistorynetwork.org)

**Claire Jones**, 7 Penkett Road, Wallasey, Merseyside, CH45 7QE.  
Email: [enquiries@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:enquiries@womenshistorynetwork.org)

**Jane Potter**, Oxford International Centre for Publishing Studies, The Richard Hamilton Building, Headington Hill Campus, Oxford, OX3 0BP. For **book reviews**, please contact Jane; books for review must go to this address.  
Email: [bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org)

**To update contact details, or for any membership inquiries (including subscriptions), please contact Dr. Moira Martin, at the following address: HLSS, University of the West of England, Bristol, BS16 2JP. Email: [membership@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:membership@womenshistorynetwork.org)**

## Membership Application

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

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

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

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

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

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

Detach and return this form with, if applicable, your cheque to **Dr Moira Martin, HLSS, University of the West of England, Bristol, BS16 2JP. Email: [membership@womenshistorynetwork.org](mailto:membership@womenshistorynetwork.org)**

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Gift aid declaration

Name of Charity: **Women's History Network**

Name : .....

Address: .....

..... Post Code: .....

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

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date ...../...../.....

Notes

1. If your declaration covers donations you may make in the future:
  - Please notify the charity if you change your name or address while the declaration is still in force
  - You can cancel the declaration at any time by notifying the charity – it will then not apply to donations you make on or after the date of cancellation or such later date as you specify.
2. You must pay an amount of income tax and/or capital gains tax at least equal to the tax that the charity reclaims on your donations in the tax year (currently 28p for each £1 you give).
3. If in the future your circumstances change and you no longer pay tax on your income and capital gains equal to the tax that the charity reclaims, you can cancel your declaration (see note 1).
4. If you pay tax at the higher rate you can claim further tax relief in your Self Assessment tax return.
5. If you are unsure whether your donations qualify for Gift Aid tax relief, ask the charity. Or you can ask your local tax office for leaflet IR113 Gift Aid.

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Banker's Order

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

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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

Pay to the account of the Women's History Network, Account No. 91325692 at the National Westminster Bank, Stuckeys Branch, Bath (sort code 60-02-05), on \_\_\_\_\_ 200\_, and annually thereafter, on 1 September, the sum of

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

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