

Women's History

MAGAZINE

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Women and Illness in
17th Century England*

*John Mercer on
Sylvia Pankhurst's
The Suffragette*

*Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen on
Entrepreneurship in early
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*Reclaiming Women's
Histories:*

*Jeremy Stoddart on
Kate Everest, PhD*

*Annabel Bloxham on
Rose Dempster Bonnor,
Portrait Painter*

Plus

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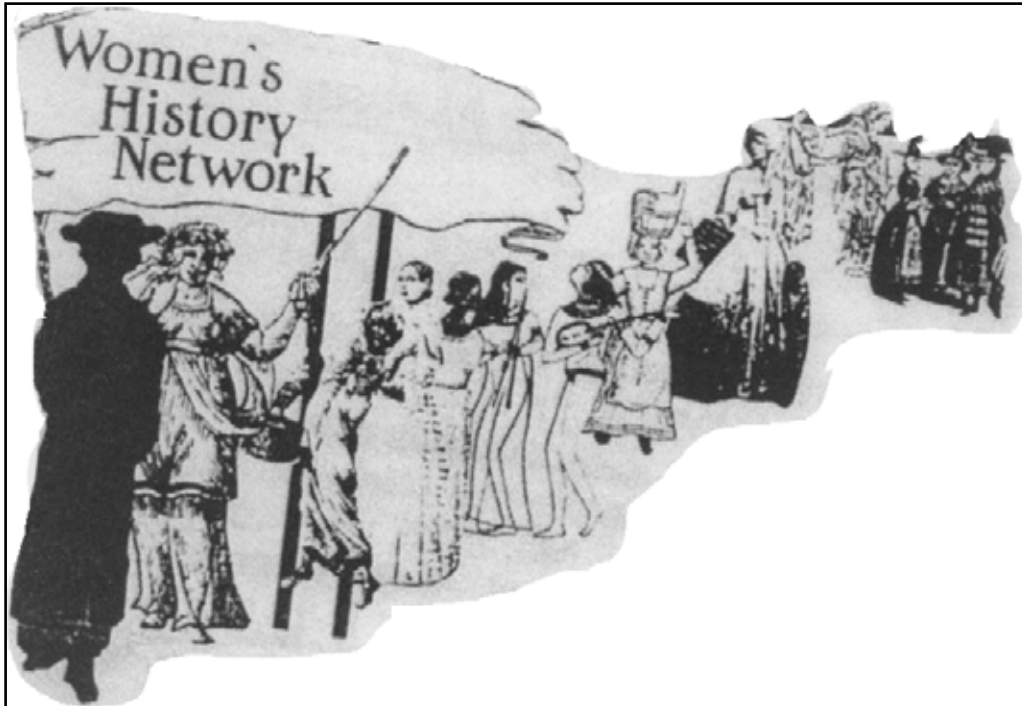
Collecting Women's Lives

16th Annual Conference

7th- 9th September 2007

West Downs Conference Centre, University of Winchester

'Collecting Women's Lives' can be interpreted in a number of ways. It enables us to focus on telling the stories of women and woman in the past and engage with the challenge of using an eclectic mix of documentary sources, visual and material artefacts, and the 'voices' of the women themselves. We can explore the construction of the archive, and those methodologies that have illuminated the experience of women in the past.



Papers cover the following themes:

Everyday lives

Working lives

Material culture

Oral history

Theory and historiography

For further information please contact one of the organisers (Joyce Goodman, Andrea Jacobs, Zoë Law, Camilla Leach or Stephanie Spencer) at the address below.

Please register by visiting www.womenshistorynetwork.org

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The image from the early Women's History Network Newsletters highlights WHN's endeavour to gather like-minded women together in order to collect women who have been 'hidden from history'

Editorial

The summer edition of the Magazine should see readers at the end of an academic year, on holiday, or at least taking a moment to relax in the busy lives we all lead. This issue brings you a varied assortment of articles and contributions with both a wide chronological and geographic spread. The Magazine has always intended to address women's history as it is lived, studied and analysed, and to represent the forefront of research as well as reclaiming the lives of our foremothers and address the way women are represented in history. It also hopes to speak to all women.

Marjo Kaartinen analyses the ways in which 'unwell' women in early modern Britain understood and reacted to their illnesses. Using diaries and letters of largely elite women she is able to demonstrate that even with the fear and anxiety that illness can generate, particularly in uncertain medical times like the seventeenth century, they often articulated illness as an interruption and irritation, they were pragmatic and they also recognised that being ill prevented them from fulfilling their central roles as women. Moving briskly to the modern period, John Mercer presents us with an analysis of *The Suffragette: the History of the Women's Militant Suffrage Movement*, by (Estelle) Sylvia Pankhurst. Written during the latter half of 1910, this history of the movement is often overlooked, or compared to the later (1931) memoir written by Sylvia, *The Suffragette Movement*. He thus attempts an analysis of this earlier publication in its own context, and in doing so is able to reclaim aspects of the movement which seem to have been underplayed in later publications, notably the link with the political left, for example. Staying with twentieth century, Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen looks at entrepreneurial activity as an income-generating strategy for women as they become older. She argues that business activity is far more a life cycle activity for women than for men, and that it is taken up by men and women at completely different points in the work-lifecycle and usually for quite different reasons.

In a new section on 'Reclaiming women's Histories' we have two stories, both by authors with a personal interest. Jeremy Stoddard writes on Kate Everest, the first woman to earn a Ph.D. in History in the United States (1893). Wishing to gain recognition for Rose Dempster Bonnor, portrait painter, who died in 1967, Annabel Bloxham's article is lavishly illustrated. But—we shall let them tell the stories. Joy Bone's passionate article last issue on the 'memorial' to women and war has stirred readers, and so this issue we are printing three of those responses. This engagement with our readers is a very welcome activity. We do want to hear from you, and it is heartening to know that some of the articles touch you.

Summer is also the time to check whether you have registered for the conference. Like our contributors, this year the Women's History Network Conference is on 'Collecting Women's Lives' and the papers represent a wonderful array of lives. There is an truly international feel to the papers, both from presenters and subjects; there are

roman sorceresses, Israeli women, colonials, Victorians, women in the media, business women, Chinese, American and Danish women --- you will be spoiled for choice. The abstracts are available on the website now. If you haven't registered yet, and have been telling yourself, 'I must remember to ...' now is the time to stop procrastinating.

Contributors and all our readers should also remember that the *Women's History Magazine* is your magazine, and we welcome your papers, shorter pieces, reflections, book reviews, or even web reviews. Send us your news, views and if you have something to advertise, let us know. And if you are going to the conference, think about taking some magazines with you to sell. We can arrange for them to be sent, and will advise on how best to manage the sales. Check the website or the inside back cover of this issue for more information on contacting us.

Gerry Holloway, Claire Jones, Jane Potter and Debbi Simonton

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Front cover:
Rose Dempster Bonnor, Self Portrait, 1916, by permission of Annabel Bloxham

Women and Illness in Seventeenth-Century England¹

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The Academy of Finland and the University of Turku

Illness is always a social, cultural, and historical construction,² and in the following, I will attempt to show the ways in which early modern lay experience of illness was constructed, and explore the meanings given to ill health in seventeenth-century English culture.³ The framework of my investigation is a focus on everyday illnesses, which usually were not life-threatening, and my gaze will be directed at seventeenth-century English elite women. Analysing their life writing, that is, their correspondence, journals, and autobiographies, I will ask what kind of roles sickness played in these accounts of their lives, and what were the ways in which they constructed their 'unwell' selves in these writings.⁴ How did they perceive not being well? And, what effects might illness have had on their roles as women in a patriarchal culture?

While the anatomy of the body might have been of lesser interest to early modern people, they were obsessed with health, well-being, and illnesses.⁵ They recognized the consequences of accidents or ailments such as toothaches and colds, and were perfectly able to diagnose several illnesses such as dropsy, ague (malaria), smallpox, gout, cancer, and so on.⁶ In close-knit communities and large households, illness was an everyday trouble. It is no wonder that in diaries and letters early modern women recorded both their own bodily complaints, and the ailments that troubled their families or acquaintances. Women put a great deal of effort and time, and used lots of paper, in noting down the states of their bodies.⁷ Without a doubt, there were several reasons for this: as mentioned, illnesses were part of everyday experience; being interested in health was fashionable; ill health made the body, as it were, become apparent, and further, as I will suggest, illness had such a dominant role (for instance in correspondence) because illness restricted women and created a nuisance and a hindrance to doing one's duty. In a patriarchal society, a woman who was not able to carry out her duties was only half a woman, and in a way thus betrayed her (religious) duty as a housewife. In order to conclude this chapter by analysing the experience of the ill woman in a patriarchal society, I will first present a general overview of early modern conceptions of illness and suffering.

Understanding early modern illness

Early modern people used, often simultaneously, two different types of explanation for illness: religious and naturalistic. The religious view promoted the role of providence as a guide in the days of bodily troubles, and constantly reiterated the idea that disease was inflicted upon the sinner because of the wrath of God. Importantly, the (religious) body was a temple of God, which one had an obligation to take great care of. If one did not fulfil that obligation, and died through neglecting oneself, one

indirectly committed suicide, and thus sinned gravely.⁸ Thus, religious attitude to disease, in everyday thinking, clearly predisposed people to being attentive to and taking care of their bodies. It was not indulgence, but common sense, and a natural part of fulfilling one's role as the vengeful heavenly Father's child.

Naturalistic explanations often coincided with astrological interests; natural events could cause an illness (for example cold weather, dampness, etc.). Especially the Galenic theory of the effect of *res non naturales* was essential to the early modern understanding of sickness. Non-naturals affected bodily health: they were air, food and drink, motion and rest, sleep and waking, repletion and evacuation, and the accidents of the soul (i.e., strong emotions and passions). Thus the appropriate way of life was to adhere to the middle path and cherish moderation in all things. It was easy to keep oneself healthy. The environment provided many such *res non naturales*, which played an important role in building up diseases. Relatively dry and elevated areas affected by light winds were considered ideally suitable for anyone who wanted to reside in a healthy place. It was best to stay away from marshy places, and extreme cold or heat was similarly best avoided. London was considered as an especially hazardous environment: its air was dirty and stank, the water was not very healthy, and dirt was everywhere. Consumption, rickets, and the plague were notorious urban distempers. The countryside was typically depicted as the opposite of this; leaving the city was often seen as an action that could improve health or avoid epidemic diseases completely.⁹

Nonetheless, however much one wanted to escape to healthy areas, the weather could always play tricks on one's health. Sir Thomas Barrington, writing in the early autumn of 1631 to his wife Lady Joan Barrington, predicted that she could expect improvement in her state of health once the weather changed, as her ill health, or her exterior pains, was, in Sir Thomas's interpretation, caused by the ending of summer:

I am sorye to remember that I left yow no better at ease, and shall not fayle to pray to God for your perfect recovery, which I hope will be had after this alteration of weather, your suffering being only an exterior payne which coms by humors dispersed with the change of the season, which will retyre againe and soone leave yow as they found yow (at ease I hope), God willing.¹⁰

In the following spring Lady Judith Barrington wrote to Lady Joan Barrington that she was 'out of tune'. Everyone around her seemed to be unwell or even dying. Lady Judith observed that bad air caused all that trouble:

My desire to tendor my service to you makes me venture on my dulnes thus-farr, which did

perswade me to have made my excuse, for in truth I have been much out of tune ever since I came and I finde almost all my friends sick or a dyeng; the ayre is so bad this year, which may some what plead for our sickly househould at Hatfeeld of late.¹¹

Accidents of the soul were dangerous, and indeed, passions such as grief could be deadly. In London between 1629 and 1660, between seven and twenty-two people died each year of a condition identified as grief.¹² An enlightening example of emotional stress that caused a physical sickness can be found from Mary, Countess of Warwick's *Autobiography* in which she wrote about her husband's painful gout, which in a way became a family malady. Lady Mary suffered from pains and melancholy – 'a kind of physiological protest against her emotional burdens', as Sara Mendelson has characterized Lady Mary's early illness, since her attacks followed encounters with her furious and violent husband.¹³ Lady Mary also admitted that grief had struck her after her son's death, so that she 'was advised to go and drink the waters of Epsom and Tonbridge, to remove the great pain I had got constantly at my heart after my son's death; and by the blessing of God I found a great deal of good in them'.¹⁴ Even stronger was Lady Mary's reaction to the death of her long-suffering husband:

for though my son's death had almost sunk me, and my grief for him was so great that I thought it almost impossible to be more sensibly afflicted, yet I found I now was so; and though God had given me many years to provide for our separation by seeing my poor husband almost daily dying ... after his death I fell into very ill fits.¹⁵

Social, physical and psychological experiences were understood as a whole: the inside and outside of the body, personal and social, emotional or physical were not dichotomous pairs – the boundaries were perhaps softer than now, but they were lucid and apparent.

Pain

Illness was often detected because it was painful, but pain was not only a symptom of illness, pain was itself illness. Illness and pain were inseparable. John Locke observed that '[f]or if I know I feel pain, it is evident I have as certain perception of my own existence, as of the existence of the pain I feel'.¹⁶ Nonetheless, pain itself was, as it still is, a sensation unlike any other.¹⁷ In early modern England, suffering, to a certain extent, was seen as ennobling. Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter claim that early modern 'culture permitted the expression of suffering, though within an idiom circumscribed by moral dictates setting a premium upon individual responsibility and the maintenance of self-control'.¹⁸ Self-control indeed was the only way of managing painful illnesses or operations in a time where anaesthesia was not yet even imagined and where alcohol seems to have been the only widely

used analgesic. The effects of opiates, including the nasty side effects, were already well known, but they were not systematically used to alleviate pain.¹⁹ Thus, pain was a fact of life.

Pain was also gendered. Women suffered not only from the general diseases afflicting everyone, but also from their own gender-specific pains. Menstruation, pregnancies, and childbirth were obvious sources and causes of women's pain.²⁰ Menstrual pain must have been common, even though we do not easily find direct reference to this in women's texts.²¹ It is possible, however, every now and then, to find indirect evidence by following up patterns of sicknesses in diaries. For example, Lady Margaret Hoby quite frequently mentions 'being poorly', and if these notes are correlated with a calendar, a pattern emerges. A typical note may read like this, and being 'weak' might mean that Margaret Hoby had her period:

After I was readie I praied priuatly, and, because I was weak and had paine in my head, I wret a litle but wound yearne and walked tell dinner time: after which I went about the house, and did walke abroad, workinge litle all that day because of my weaknes.²²

There were also other conditions, more threatening, which frightened women more than 'female troubles' usually did. The fear of women's illnesses, it could be said, partially moulded their identities. Among the most abhorred diseases was cancer in the breast, common enough to be widely feared. Accounts of the disease's devastating progress or of horrible mastectomies made sure that the reputation of the disease did not mellow. Because of this fear, even minor breast problems caused anxiety in women – rightfully so as it was well known that dying from cancer was a long and painful process.²³

Chronic pain was a different matter, of course. It moved the sufferer from the sphere of everyday experience to somewhere else beyond reach, perhaps, as Elaine Scarry has suggested, even beyond communication: '[p]hysical pain does not simply resist language but actively destroys it, bringing about an immediate reversion to a state anterior to language, to the sounds and cries a human being makes before language is learned'.²⁴ The case of Anne Conway is telling. She was born in 1631, suffered from a serious fever at twelve, and was left with headaches which tormented her all her life. She died in 1679, and by then had become a complete invalid because of her condition. Anne Conway searched actively, as women in general seem to have done, for a cure for her pains, all kinds of cures from faith healing to salivation; it is perhaps a sign of desperation that she even went to France for trepanning (this operation was not performed.)²⁵ She was under the care of the most famous doctors of her time and famously tried all the miracle drugs available – to no avail.²⁶

A chronic illness and pain such as Anne Conway's greatly damaged one's possibilities to keep in touch with friends. In 1664 Anne Conway gave an account of her state to her friend Henry More whose letters she had not

been able to answer in two months:

I have been so much worse then I was when I writt last that since good fryday I have not been able to goe abroad, and am very little off of my bed. I find myself very faint and weak, but yet as little strength as I seeme to have, I still indure those violent paines (which I alwayes thought would be accounted intollerable by a stronger body then I ever had), and that more frequently then ever. I cannot dissemble so much as not to professe myself very weary of this condition.²⁷

Letter writing was such an important form of sociability that even shorter illnesses that prevented writing or answering letters were brought up in correspondence. Lady Elizabeth Masham dictated a letter to Joan Barrington: 'I thanke God my throate is somewhat better, though not so well that I can write you an answer my selfe',²⁸ and Anna Seafield excused herself in a letter to Lord Deskford: 'I cannot write to your father this night, because I am not able to write with my own hand. My cough is increas'd to a great degree, and I truely have no good health',²⁹ and wrote to the Earl of Findlater that she was 'sumtymys so seek that I can not wret'.³⁰ Anne Newdigate suffered from a painful leg and bad eyes, and wrote to her servant William Henshawe who was in London to apologize to him for not writing sooner but also for not being able to write to her friends in London:

I was so ill uppon thursday that I could not write to you & am not much better at this time, my legg much trobleing me, altoughe little paine ... Excuse me to al my friends at this time I write not to, for I can ill endure to sitt long. Also my eyes are not well able to endure to write.³¹

Illness and pain made a person become so much involved in their own condition that it made an impact on their relationships. At a point, retirement from the world became inevitable, but correspondence was a means to approach the world, a bridge towards friends.

The Suffering Woman

What Anne Conway had to suffer from her chronic pains went beyond the everyday realities of most women, but her experiences offer us a glimpse of pain in an age before the invention of anaesthesia and analgesics. In a patriarchal society which demanded that a woman undertook a strong role as a housewife, a functioning body was indispensable. Therefore I suggest that any malfunction such as illness could be read as a failure. Below, I discuss women's failing and ailing bodies from this perspective.

In premodern society, illnesses, even ones we might consider minor, were a possible threat to life. They were taken quite seriously, and with good reason; because they were so threatening, illnesses were ever present and habitually discussed in elite correspondence. But because

letters were less often written when seriously ill, they more often conveyed a sense of relief that the attack was over, and that the body remained mostly unharmed, than commented on the nature of current illnesses. In this vein, Brilliana Harley would write to her son Edward Harley in Oxford that '[o]n tuesday night I had a greate fitt of the stone, but now, I thanke God, I am better',³² or that 'I am reasnabell well, but that I haue bine much trubled with a swelling in my fase and mouth'.³³ Although these glimpses of her ailments are brief, they do reveal the effect they had on Brilliana Harley's life: she was worried and anxious. We cannot know if this worry was caused by pain, or by her concern for her looks, or by the fact that she did not know what caused the condition, but we do know that it had an effect on her. It is quite possible that she worried about all those issues.

Worries about future or current illness were a recurrent aspect of life, which emerges from many texts. In February 1601, Margaret Hoby's travelling was interrupted by sickness, and after her return home, she recorded in her diary that she suffered a violent attack of the stone:

I Came that night to Linton, wher I, beinge sicke, staid there from the 10 to the : 18: of March : and then I Came home to Hacknes wher I remained very well vntell the 25, which night I was Verie sicke of a fitt, as I think of the stone, and Collike, for one hower and an halfe : after which time, I praise god, I, hauinge ease, tooke good rest all the night after.³⁴

In April 1602 Joan Thynne was concerned about possibly having caught a disease which seemed to have had hit many in her vicinity: writing to John Thynne, she noted that she was 'in no great ease, fearing my turn will be next to lie by it. For yesterday Bess Townshend fell sick and so I think we shall do all'.³⁵ In the later part of the seventeenth century, in July 1688, Mary Woodforde noted in her diary: 'I was taken ill in my head and stomach, which makes me very ill for the present, but blessed the God it went off again'.³⁶ The significance of providence customarily came up in these thankful notions the women put down on paper, reinforcing the sense of relief at being saved from (further) harm.

If illness followed one's voluntary acts, one's worry was tainted with remorse. Lady Fanshawe wrote in her *Memoirs*: 'This winter I fell sick (in Portugal) of an aguish distemper, being then with child; but I believe it was with eating more grapes than I am accustomed to, being tempted by their goodness, especially the Frontinicac, which exceed all I ever eat in Spain and France'.³⁷ This sickness, and the danger to her life, was self-inflicted, she felt, and probably felt some remorse since she remembered the illness, and the overindulgence that was its cause, years afterwards. Gluttony, of course, was a sin, and gluttony in fruit was known to be especially dangerous to constitutions that did not comply with cold and moist nutrition.

Pregnancy increased ill women's anxieties as it did Lady Fanshawe's above. Her *Memoirs* described another frightful episode in her life when deadly ague hit her family

and herself:

... but I being with child, none thought I could live, for I was brought to bed of a son in November, ten weeks before my time; and thence toward until April 1658, I had two fits every day, that brought me so low that I was like an anatomy. I never stirred out of my bed seven months, nor during that time eat flesh, nor fish, nor bread, but sage posset drink, and pancake or eggs, or now and then a turnip or carrot.³⁸

Lady Fanshawe's pregnancy at the time of her ague made her serious illness even more dangerous, as there was a further danger of harming the unborn child. Similarly, Brilliana Harley wrote to her husband Robert Harley of a cold being especially bad because of her pregnancy: '[i]t pleases God that I continue ill with my coold, but it is, as they say, a new disceas: it trubelles me much, more becaus of my being with childe; but I hope the Lord will deale in mercy with me'.³⁹

Sometimes women seem to have neglected their bodies. Brilliana Harley was seriously troubled with a prolonged suffering after a miscarriage in early 1640. She remained ill until the summer.⁴⁰ Her condition fluctuated: at times she was better, and out of her bed, at other times much worse and bedridden again. Her physician worried about her not eating enough and not taking care of herself. She wrote to her son Edward that 'he toold me, he absarued I neglected meself'.⁴¹ In March she bravely assured him that she was sitting up many hours per day, and thus sent a message to her son that she was willing to get better.

Women might be bothered because their condition incapacitated them, or in a milder form, forced them to remain indoors. In letters and diaries, a very common complaint is that one could not go out of the house or one's chamber. Being confined to a certain space felt limiting and frustrating, although at times these confinements were self-imposed: women who felt unwell might decide it was not safe to go out. Lady Judith Barrington felt that illness in her lungs 'will hinder my corage from being bould with all weathers'.⁴² Fresh air was, of course, considered good for one's health, and improving without fresh air was, in a way, a contradiction in terms; but self-imposed confinement was understood as taking good care of one's body, not as neglecting it or subjecting it to unnecessary risk – which facing severe weather for example might be.

Thus, common colds kept women inside and they wanted to be relatively well before they ventured into the outside air. In March 1630 Lady Elizabeth Masham wrote to Lady Joan Barrington: 'I thank God my coulede is prety well gon, yet I have not stured into the ayre'.⁴³ It was important to be cautious even though one felt better, and certainly one should not move if the cold was still on. Margaret, Lady Oxinden, caught a cold in 1637 when her coach horse made a stop and she had to come out into the cold air. She felt ill in her head and throat, and wrote to Henry Oxinden that she did not dare to 'stir out of dores'.⁴⁴

Brilliana Harley, when almost chronically ill with an

undiagnosed ailment in June 1641, was advised by Edward Harley to go out and enjoy the fresh air; she thanked him, but argued that she could not do so yet, although she was now able to sit away from the bed:

I thanke you for puting me in minde of takeing the ayre; I beleeeue it would doo me good, but as yet I haue not made triall of it; but I hope to doo, and if your father weare with me I should doo it with more cheerefullness. I thanke God I am now abell to site out of my beed, and finde meself indeferent well.⁴⁵

In July she was well enough to walk a little outdoors, and was greatly pleased with her progress. On the sixteenth she wrote that she was better since she rose earlier than usual. When Doctor Wright came to see her, she was in her bed, and the doctor made her get up. The following day, after taking some medication, she felt so good that she went out of the gate, but no further. Brilliana Harley again wrote to her son Edward, and now thanked for God's mercy toward her that she was now able to 'gaine some more liberty out of my beed, which I thinke the keeping of it dous me much hurt'.⁴⁶ Incapacitating illness, she seems to have felt, fed itself, and made one worse if not able to leave her chamber. In August of the same year she had an attack of the stone and was once again delighted when finally able to move outside her chamber.⁴⁷

Women's lives were so deeply involved in household duties and so ordered by work, both in the house and on the grounds, that they were troubled by being bed-ridden. They did not welcome having to abandon their duties or their duty to God since running a flawless household was a part of women's religious duty. Lady Margaret Hoby saw a disorder in her stomach as a punishment for her sins, and was especially distressed if she could not carry out her extensive household duties.⁴⁸ Katherine Oxinden, suffering from cough and a painful wrist, wrote to her son Henry Oxinden in 1636: 'i have binn veri ill with a coffe sence which is not yet gon i had a lamenes in my wrist which cased a great paine in my haun that i cold not doo ani thinke'.⁴⁹ That she could not do any thing should not be read as empty words: it was at least a nuisance.

Any illness was soul threatening if it interfered with women's devotional practices. They felt oppressed by any sickness which might thus compromise their souls -- hardly surprising when discussing pious women who lived in an age when religion dominated all spheres of life. Mary Woodforde wrote in her diary: 'God grant it may help my Body as to make it more serviceable to my Soul'.⁵⁰ When Lady Margaret Hoby suffered from terrible toothache for a week she complained more about not being able to go to church than the pain that caused all this trouble. This, she wrote in her diary, 'was much greffe vnto me, beinge by that means deprived of the word and Sacrementes'.⁵¹

One's relationship to God naturally became more intensive (and shows more in writing) when an illness was life-threatening. It mattered much less if one's kitchen was in disorder if one thought death was imminent. In a letter to the Earl of Findlater, dated in 1685, Anna Seafeld expressed her relief at her recovery but did not express concern about the loss of time or about work undone:

for severell dayes was in great danger, bot nou I bliss God I am prity weall. My extrem fenting med me think that I was to expek present dath. My stomak and saydes was so sor for severell dayes after my vomoting of blood, that I could not sufer the woght of the clothes on them.⁵²

In 1630 Jane Hook wrote to Lady Joan Barrington almost exclusively to describe her sufferings. Her ague and back pain made her almost ready to leave this world: I besech you pray for me, for I am brout very low throughe the good hand of God; my ague dos yet contingu and begines to renew its strength. Oh that it may please God to renew that inward grace of his holy sperit in me which is more worth than x thousand worldes.⁵³

Jane Hook's words quoted above were not just passing words of ill feeling. She reported more fully on her condition, and did so with a certain air of resignation under the eyes of God. Without analyzing how she suffered, and wanted to let her reader, Lady Joan Barrington, understand how serious her situation was. Resignation, however, did not mean merely surrendering to the ailment without seeking help: if one's own remedies were unhelpful, one would turn to friends and to professionals.

Death was ever present in early modern lives, and there was no illness that could not prove lethal. In October 1643, Brilliana Harley diagnosed herself having a cold, but she died only a few days after writing to her son Edward, now Colonel Harley: 'I haue taken a very greate coold, which has made me very ill thees 2 or 3 days, but I hope the Lord will be mercifull to me, in giuing me my health, for it is an ill time to be sike in'.⁵⁴ Thus Brilliana Harley's last written words convey a tension: she knew she was in danger and that there was nothing else to do but to rely on God's mercy.

If pain and suffering had consumed the patient's all energy, it was time to give up hope, and wish for a release. Anne Conway wrote to Henry More that she was waiting for death:

... should I adventure upon a presage concerning my owne condition, from the redoubling of my afflictions, the continuednesse of my great paines, increase of weaknesse, with additionall new distempers, I might fancy my release also not farr of, from these weighty sufferings, I have groaned under so many yeares longer then he was exercised with his disease, but life and death are in the hands of the Almighty, and what he designes for me, I desire, I may be enable to give myself up to, willingly with out murmuring who onely knows what measure of sufferings are necessary for me.⁵⁵

Concluding remarks

Illness is ever present in seventeenth-century women's life writing, which conveys a myriad of emotions

illness generated: worries and fears for one's own life and for the well-being of the unborn ones. I have argued that frustration at not being able to carry on one's duties was a major driving force in women's writing. It was not only customary to write about things undone, but I suggest that we should rather read such a custom to convey a deeper meaning. In a patriarchal culture a woman unable to perform her household duties did not fulfil her role as well as she could as a wife, a mother and a housewife. This is why women wrote so eagerly about their frustrated state and their anger at illness: they wanted to prove that they were not lazy, careless or unruly wives even though they were now forced to stay in bed.

I propose that regardless of the visible role of illness in their life writing, most seventeenth-century women did not *take* a sick role. If they thought their own actions had brought illness on them, they were full of remorse, but even though they were afraid of becoming and being ill, they did not want to be weak: women who were ill and wrote about their sicknesses typically reacted very pragmatically to their diseases. They were not merely complaining about feeling ill, they expressed great anxiety and even fury that they could not go out, go to church, or take care of their households. In a patriarchal world, sickness was a distressing interruption in the flow of everyday life.

Notes

1. My warmest thanks go to Anu Korhonen, Kate Lowe, Keith Battarbee, and everyone who has commented on my paper, anonymous or otherwise, as well as to the Academy of Finland for providing me with research funding. This chapter is a part of an ongoing project on the history of early modern breast cancer.

2. The body in general was constructed to such extent that Laura Gowing attests that '[t]he gendered body of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is almost unrecognisable to modern eyes'. Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies. Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven and London, 2003), 2. On early modern histories of the body, see also Barbara Duden, *The Woman Beneath the Skin. A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge MA, 1997); Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed. Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, 1993); Laurinda S. Dixon, *Perilous Chastity. Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (Ithaca and London, 1995); Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned. Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London 1995); Anu Korhonen, 'Fellows of Infinite Jest. The Fool in Renaissance England' PhD, Turku, 1999; Marjo Kaartinen, *Religious Life and English Culture in the Reformation* (Basingstoke, 2002); *Bodily Extremities. Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg (Aldershot, 2003); Mary E. Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies. The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2004); Nancy A. Gutierrez, 'Shall She Famish then?' *Female Food Refusal in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2003); *Practices of Inclusion and Exclusion in Premodern Culture*, ed. Eva Johanna

Holmberg and Tom Linkinen (Turku, 2005).

3. I shall exclude the experiences of childbed, as it had a very different role in women's lives. On childbed, see for example Sharon Howard, 'Imagining the Pain and Peril of Seventeenth-century Childbirth: Travail and Deliverance in the Making of an Early Modern World', *Social History of Medicine*, 16(3), 367-82. For essential works on the history of medicine in seventeenth-century England, see Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration. Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660* (London, 1975); Lucinda McCray Beier, *Sufferers and Healers. The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1987); Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, *In Sickness and in Health. The British Experience 1650-1850* (London, 1988); Margaret Pelling, *The Common Lot. Sickness, Medical Occupations and the Urban Poor in Early Modern England* (London, 1998); Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge, 2000).

4. These accounts must always be seen as constructions. For recent works on life writing in early modern England and its uses, see especially *Gender and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle (Aldershot and Burlington, 2007). See also Sharon Cadman Seelig, *Autobiography and Gender in Early Modern Literature. Reading Women's Lives, 1600-1680* (Cambridge, 2006); Susan Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue. Women, Writing, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2006); and the special issue on life writing of *NORA Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*, 15(1), 2007. See also Kirsi Tuohela, 'Being Ill in the Past: Historicizing Women's Experiences of Body and Illness', in *Time Frames. Negotiating Cultural History*, ed. Anu Korhonen and Kirsi Tuohela (Turku 2002), 75-87.

5. Porter and Porter, *In Sickness and in Health*, 6, 47; Rosemary O'Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450-1800: Servants of the Commonwealth* (Harlow, 2000), 185, 205; Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (London, 2003), 227-43.

6. Andrew Wear, 'Puritan Perceptions of Illness in Seventeenth Century England', in Roy Porter (ed.) *Patients and Practitioners. Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge, 1985), 86-7. It should be added here that the number of bodily distempers was believed to be limited: Porter and Porter write of Gilbert Sheldon, who had a 'distemper in his head' and promised to pay a thousand pounds for anyone who could afflict gout on him – gout would drive his distemper away. Porter and Porter, *In Sickness and in Health*, 133, 148. Evidence to confirm this belief can be found in Lady Mary Gerard's letter to her mother Lady Joan Barrington, who was suffering from gout, in December 1628. Lady Mary writes: 'I am sorry your lamenes doth deprive me of your good company this winter which would have beene no small comfort unto Mr Gerard and my seulf. But God in his wisdom knowes what is best for us. I hope it will be a means to preserve your life because it is so heilthfull a disease'. *Barrington Family Letters 1628-1632*, ed. Arthur Searle (London, 1983), 45.

7. Joan Lane, "'The Doctor Scolds Me:' The Diaries and Correspondence of Patients in Eighteenth Century England', in *Patients and Practitioners. Lay Perceptions*

of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge, 1985), 205-248, gives a general overview on the contents regarding medical matters in letters and diaries. Madeleine Foisil, 'The Literature of Intimacy', in *A History of Private Life. Vol. III: Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge, MA, 1989), 355, notes that the French were much less interested in their bodies than the English.

8. Beier, *Sufferers and Healers*, 154-81; Jenni Meriläinen, 'Uskonnon merkitys sairastumisessa ja parantumisessa 1600-luvun Englannissa: potilaan näkökulma' M.A. thesis, Turku, 2004; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic. Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1997), 83-6; Wear, 'Puritan Perceptions', 62-3, 70, 71, 75; Andrew Wear, 'Interfaces: Perceptions of Health and Illness in Early Modern England', in *Problems and Methods in the History of Medicine*, ed. Roy Porter and Andrew Wear (London, 1987), 236-41; David Harley, 'The Theology of Affliction and the Experience of Sickness in the Godly Family, 1650-1714: The Henrys and the Newcomes', in *Religio Medici. Medicine and Religion in Seventeenth Century England*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (Aldershot, 1996); Sharon Howard, 'Imagining the Pain and Peril'.

9. For an excellent introduction, see Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, 154-209. See also Wear, 'Puritan Perceptions', 75, 82-3; Porter and Porter, *In Sickness and in Health*, 156-7; Heikki Mikkeli, *Hygiene in the Early Modern Medical Tradition* (Helsinki, 1999); Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1999); Timo Joutsivuo, 'Medikalisoitu ilma - kaupunki-ilman vaarat 1500-1700-lukujen lääketieteessä', in *Kaupunkikuvia ajassa*, ed. Timo Joutsivuo and Markku Kekäläinen (Helsinki, 2005), 179-208.

10. Sir Thomas Barrington to Lady Joan Barrington 11 September 1631, *Barrington Letters*, 201-2.

11. Lady Judith Barrington to Lady Joan Barrington April/May 1632, *Barrington Letters*, 214-5.

12. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 210-11; Beier, *Sufferers and Healers*, 138.

13. Sara Heller Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women. Three Studies* (Brighton, 1987), 109.

14. Mary Countess of Warwick, 'Autobiography of Mary Countess of Warwick', in *Early English Poetry, Ballads and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages. Vol. XXI*, ed. T. Crofton Croker (London, 1868), 31.

15. Mary Countess of Warwick, 'Autobiography', 33-4. The Countess provides further confirmation of the effects of passions on the body: she contracted smallpox in 1648, but was recovering, when she heard of the execution of the king; immediately, she grew worse, as she was so distressed to hear the horrifying news. *Ibid.*, 24-5. See also Jari Eilola, "'Ehkä se on Jumalasta, mutta voi se olla pahoista ihmisistäkin ..." Sairauden kokeminen, tulkinta ja parantaminen uuden ajan alussa', in *Vanhuus, vaivat erilaiset*, ed. Heikki Roiko-Jokela (Jyväskylä, 1999), 21.

16. Cited in Elaine Forman Crane, "'I Have Suffer'd Much Today:' The Defining Force of Pain in Early America', in *Through a Glass Darkly. Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill, 1997), 391. On the fear of

disease, see David Gentilcore, 'The Fear of Disease and the Disease of Fear', in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester, 1997), 184-208.

17. On pain, see especially Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago, 1999); Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain* (New York 1985); David B. Morris, *The Culture of Pain* (Berkeley, 1991); Roselyne Rey, *The History of Pain* (Cambridge, MA, 1998).

18. Porter and Porter, *In Sickness and in Health*, 116.

19. Porter and Porter, *In Sickness and in Health*, 102. Opiates were also used, but not systematically.

20. Crane, 'I Have Suffer'd Much Today', 393. For example Beier, studying Jane Josselin's illnesses from her husband's diary during the first twenty-one years of their marriage, has counted 131 instances of being unwell, of which seventy-three were related to pregnancy and childbirth. See Beier, *Sufferers and Healers*, 187.

21. On menstruation, see for example Patricia Crawford, 'Attitudes to Menstruation in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Past and Present* 91(May 1981), 47-73.

22. Sat 18 Aug 1599, *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady. The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605*, ed. Joanna Moody (Stroud, 1998), 7. (Hereafter this work will be referred as *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*).

23. For more on the history of breast cancer in early modern Britain see my forthcoming book.

24. Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 4.

25. Salivation meant drinking large quantities of mercury, and it was used to cure several diseases, from venereal to cancerous ones.

26. Porter and Porter, *In Sickness and in Health*, 126-7; Sarah Hutton, 'Of Physic and Philosophy: Anne Conway, F.M. van Helmont and Seventeenth-Century Medicine', in *Religio Medici*, 228-46; Robert Crocker, 'A "Sanative Contagion": Henry More on Faith Healing', in *The Practice of Reform in Health, Medicine, and Science, 1500-2000. Essays for Charles Webster*, ed. Margaret Pelling, Scott Mandelbrote (Aldershot, 2005), 112-118.

27. Anne Conway to Henry More, Lisburne, 24 May 1664, *The Conway Letters. The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684*, ed. Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (Oxford, 1992), 224.

28. Lady Elizabeth Masham to Lady Joan Barrington 24 November 1629, *Barrington Letters*, 105-6.

29. Anna Seafield to Lord Deskford, Cullen House, 11 May 1708, *Seafield Correspondence From 1685 to 1708*, ed. James Grant (Edinburgh, 1912), 475-6.

30. Anna Seafield to the Earl of Findlater, Whitehall, 11 Mar 1699, *Seafield Correspondence*, 259-60.

31. Anne (Fytton) Newdigate, Nov 1617, *Gossip From a Muniment Room. Being Passages in the Lives of Anne and Mary Fytton 1574 to 1618*, ed. Lady Newdigate-Newdegate (London, 1897), 144.

32. 5 Jun 1641, *Letters of The Lady Brilliana Harley*, ed. Thomas Taylor Lewis (London, 1858), 133.

33. 26 Apr 1639, *Letters of Brilliana Harley*, 46.

34. 28 Feb 1601, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, 140.

35. Joan Thynne to John Thynne, 30 Apr 1602, *Two Elizabethan Women: Correspondence of Joan and Maria*

Thynne 1575-1611, ed. Alison D. Wall (Devizes, 1983), 25.

36. 12 Jul 1688, 'Mary Woodforde's Book', in *Woodforde Papers and Diaries*, ed. Dorothy Heighes Woodforde (Bungay, 1932), 1-25.

37. *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, Wife of Sir Richard Fanshawe, Bart. Ambassador from Charles the Second to the Courts of Portugal and Madrid*, ed. Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley (London, 1830), 149.

38. *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, 121-2.

39. 8 May 1630, *Letters of Brilliana Harley*, 5.

40. On 8 May she notes that she is not well and still in bed. It is possible, however, that not all this was a result of the miscarriage. *Letters of Brilliana Harley*, 93.

41. 28 Feb 1639/1640, *Letters of Brilliana Harley*, 84.

42. Lady Judith Barrington to Lady Joan Barrington, early October 1629, *Barrington Letters*, 96.

43. Lady Elizabeth Masham to Lady Joan Barrington, March 1630[?], *Barrington Letters*, 140-1.

44. Margaret, Lady Oxinden, to Henry Oxinden, 1637, *The Oxinden Letters 1607-1642. Being the Correspondence of Henry Oxinden of Barham and His Circle*, ed. Dorothy Gardiner, (London, 1933), 132.

45. 19 Jun 1641, *Letters of Brilliana Harley*, 135.

46. 16 Jul 1641, *Letters of Brilliana Harley*, 140.

47. 7 Aug 1641, *Letters of Brilliana Harley*, 143-4.

48. 17 Aug 1599, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, 7.

49. Mrs. Katherine Oxinden to Her Son Henry Oxinden, 14 Jan 1636, *The Oxinden Letters*, 122.

50. 28 Aug 1685, Mary Woodforde's Book, 13.

51. Fri 29 Feb 1600, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, 64.

52. 21 Dec 1705, Anna Seafield to the Earl of Findlater, *Seafield Correspondence*, 425-6.

53. Jane Hook to Lady Joan Barrington January? 1630, *Barrington Letters*, 174.

54. 9 Oct 1643, *Letters of Brilliana Harley*, 209.

55. Anne Conway to Henry More, 4 Feb 1675/1676, *The Conway Letters*, 421.

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Writing and Re-writing Suffrage History: Sylvia Pankhurst's *The Suffragette*

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In recent years, various personal accounts written by prominent women's suffrage campaigners have received substantial attention. As part of the trend towards analysing the cultural artefacts of the modern votes-for-women movement, early campaign histories and memoirs have increasingly been the subject of critical analysis.¹ In particular, the personal histories written by leadership figures in the militant Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) are claimed, variously, to have embodied family discord, established templates for suffrage history, extended the audiences for suffragette activism, and 'fetishized' pre-war militancy.² This interest in suffrage autobiography has been accompanied by an acknowledgement of the role of propagandist publications in the votes-for-women movement, in discussions of suffragette fiction and novelists, and explorations of the strategies of the suffrage press.³

This article considers the context and content of a campaign history written and published at the height of the twentieth-century movement, *The Suffragette: the History of the Women's Militant Suffrage Movement*, by (Estelle) Sylvia Pankhurst, second daughter of Emmeline Pankhurst, the founder of the WSPU. Written during the second half of 1910 and published in the early summer of 1911, *The Suffragette* tends to fall outside either of the abovementioned categories of suffrage texts: a full-length book written by an influential campaigner, released by a commercial publisher but focused on the history of the WSPU, and published contemporaneously with the movement, the text is neither a retrospective memoir nor strictly organizational propaganda. Perhaps as a consequence of this ambiguity, the book is the least-referenced and least discussed of the Pankhurst histories, remaining somewhat overlooked amidst the recent discussions on Sylvia Pankhurst's 1931 memoir, *The Suffragette Movement*.⁴ Indeed, most recent considerations of *The Suffragette* have centred only on the contrasts between it and the more detailed and critical account of the WSPU in *The Suffragette Movement*. Inconsistencies in Sylvia Pankhurst's presentation of the campaign within her two histories have been highlighted, with the organizational loyalty expressed in *The Suffragette* replaced by a more critical account of the WSPU in *The Suffragette Movement*.⁵ These acknowledgements of Sylvia's revisions are significant for illustrating her apparent willingness to rewrite history in accordance with her changing perspective; but this article will not seek to offer a comparison with *The Suffragette Movement*, and instead will discuss the influences that shaped her first history.

Contemporary histories of the suffrage movement were not uncommon, and were used alongside other propagandist publications as a tool of legitimization and justification.⁶ For the WSPU, such justification proved

increasingly necessary for its controversial militant campaign, and, accordingly, *The Suffragette* offered a highly sympathetic perspective on militancy and the WSPU leadership. *The Suffragette* was the first substantial history of the organization, and it was also Sylvia's first book. She initially published the text as a series of articles in the WSPU's *Votes for Women* newspaper, before editing and rewriting it for publication as a book, giving her the opportunity of reviewing and amending the narrative.

In both serial and book form, Sylvia's history may be considered a personal perspective on an organization of which she was a member but from whose leadership she was becoming distanced. A premature history, the text was written before the WSPU's radicalized militancy that developed after 1911 and prior to Sylvia's ejection in 1914. Although it was to spill over into familial discord, this 1914 rift primarily derived from contentions over the political alliances of the WSPU. Formed out of the Manchester branch of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) in 1903, the WSPU had incrementally severed its ties with the Left following its 1906 move to London. 1907 saw WSPU figureheads Emmeline Pankhurst and her oldest daughter Christabel resign their membership of the ILP. This followed the introduction of the WSPU's new policy for agitation at parliamentary elections; the new independent policy focused on campaigning against candidates of the ruling Liberal party, rather than agitating for pro-suffrage candidates or parties, and this effectively severed any remaining ties with the ILP.

With the WSPU's insistence on independence from political parties thereafter, and its recruitment of increasing numbers of middle-class supporters after 1906, the organization has been frequently cited as shifting to the Right. This notion is questionable considering the WSPU's stringently applied non-party restrictions, and has recently been challenged with local studies illustrating the continuance of regional WSPU-socialist links.⁷ But the organization's apparent shift away from the Left at national level was significant, both for the campaign generally and for Sylvia personally. In terms of the suffrage movement, the WSPU/ILP separation resulted in the absence of any formal suffrage link with socialism until the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) formed a Labour alliance in 1912. In the interim, it has been claimed, the smaller militant organization, the Women's Freedom League, perpetuated some links with the ILP in the movement, but there was virtually no concrete manifestation of these in its national campaign, and like the WSPU this organization employed a non-party policy at elections.⁸

For Sylvia, her effective rejection of the WSPU's non-party status and her ongoing involvement with the Left culminated in her expulsion from the WSPU in January 1914. The continuing alliance between her East London



Portrait of Sylvia Pankhurst by kind permission of the International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam. www.iisg.nl

Federation of the WSPU and socialism, and specifically her decision to speak on behalf of the WSPU at a rally organized by the left-wing Herald League, instigated her removal from the WSPU by its chief organizer and Sylvia's older sister, Christabel. Sylvia retained control of the East-End branches – now renamed the East London Federation of Suffragettes – and became more prominently associated with the Left in the years during and after the First World War. The East London Federation involved itself especially in the issue of food supply during the war, threatening rent-strikes in protest at the initial lack of food control by the government, and establishing milk centres, cost-price restaurants, and distress committees.⁹ After 1916, and particularly following the 1917 Russian Revolution, Sylvia's politics radicalized further, with her supporting the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in the UK.¹⁰ Her political disassociation from the WSPU leadership may have culminated in 1914, but her class-centred perspective manifested itself in *The Suffragette* several years before this rift, as she combined personal politics with organizational history.

'The History of the Suffrage Movement'

Featured in the WSPU's newspaper, *Votes for Women*, Sylvia's 'History of the Suffrage Movement'

(hereafter 'History') comprised a lengthy and detailed chronology of the campaign's development. Published in fifty-six parts, at increasingly sporadic intervals from the paper's launch in October 1907 until the end of September 1909, the 'History' detailed both the ancestry of the modern militant movement and the story of the WSPU's campaign. Of its two-year serialization, the entire first year was devoted to a lengthy discussion of the origins of the suffrage movement from the 1860s, painting the perceived failure of the nineteenth-century campaigns as the spur for the WSPU's militancy. In total, twenty-six of the fifty-six articles were on the nineteenth-century campaigns.

Sylvia, born in May 1882, had no practical involvement in the movement's early years, being only seven at the time her parents, Richard and Emmeline Pankhurst, became founder members of the Women's Franchise League in 1889. For details of the earlier campaigns, she relied on the ageing suffrage campaigner, Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy, who wrote that she was 'only too happy to help' with the 'History'. In a series of letters from October 1907, Elmy responded to Sylvia's requests for accounts of her experience, detailing events such as the founding of the Manchester Committee for Women's Suffrage in 1865, and the petition for the 1866 Reform Bill.¹¹ With her letters, Elmy enclosed original campaign material such as copies of the *Englishwoman's Review*, old campaign pamphlets, and bound volumes of organizational reports. Her parents' papers, to which she would have had access, and some correspondence of her older sister, Christabel, supplemented this material.¹²

The early articles were hastily written while Sylvia studied the lives of working-class women, travelling between industrial and fishing towns in northern-England and Scotland. The rapid production of these articles is indicated by the timescales between the information supplied by Elmy and its publication in *Votes for Women*. In a letter dated 1 October 1907, Elmy detailed the major events of the 1860s, the subject of Sylvia's article published in the November edition of *Votes for Women*. Similarly, a letter from Elmy dated 17 May 1908 covered the campaign events of 1884, which featured in articles the following month.¹³

Exactly one year after its inception, the serialization began chronicling the twentieth-century campaign. The 'History' bypassed entirely the early work of the NUWSS, whose 'constitutional' campaign had begun in 1897 and bridged the nineteenth and twentieth century movement. Instead, the 'History' switched abruptly from discussing how Parliament was 'uninfluenced by a quarter of a million signatures' in the petition of 1893, to the 'beginning of militant tactics' in 1905,¹⁴ without even a discussion of the founding of the WSPU until the next article in the series. While it is possible that the editors were tired of the detailed chronology of the nineteenth-century campaigns, and wanted a more immediate and dramatic history to mark the first anniversary of their paper, this abrupt switch may have been a deliberate device intended to contrast the old and the new: the conservative campaign style of the nineteenth-century constitutionalists was juxtaposed with the radicalized tactics of the twentieth-century militant WSPU. Thereafter, Sylvia's articles ran through

the outstanding events of the militant campaign, detailing developments such as the WSPU's move to London, the evolution of militancy, the organization's deputations, and its by-election work, before the series drew to a close in September 1909.

However, after the article of 5 March 1909, there was a three-and-a-half-month gap before a further chapter appeared in *Votes for Women*. This time was one of intense artistic endeavour for Sylvia: May 1909 saw the staging of the WSPU's Women's Exhibition, a two-week showpiece propaganda event for which she designed the artwork. She had been delegated these duties in February 1909, and, although she was assisted by seven artists from the Royal College of Art, the effort put into accomplishing the decoration took up much of her time: 'I had but three months in which to execute this immense piece of work', she recollected, 'It took me three weeks of ceaseless tramping to find premises large enough to contain the designs'.¹⁵

Following the closure of the Women's Exhibition, in June 1909, the 'History' resumed publication in *Votes for Women*. But it ended abruptly when the approaching relaunch of *Votes for Women* as a 'new series' on its second anniversary demanded the hasty conclusion of the series. The 'History', originating with the founding of *Votes for Women*, and forming a continuing component of it, was not retained in the relaunched paper. The author had apparently not been given much notice of the termination of her series, for the rush to conclude by the end of September 1909 was evident in the final instalment. As noted in the closing article, previous chapters had dealt with the evolution of the suffrage movement up to late 1907;¹⁶ in her concluding instalment - only one and a half pages in length - Sylvia now attempted to chronicle the key events of the campaign in the subsequent two years.

The final chapter's rush through deputations, protests, imprisonments, Bills, mass rallies, and the commencement of hunger strikes resulted in an unsatisfactorily hurried summary of the most dramatic years of the suffrage movement. The haste to conclude the 'History' by the second anniversary of *Votes for Women* was reminiscent of the text's earlier, sudden switch from chronicling the nineteenth-century movement to covering twentieth-century militancy on the paper's first anniversary. Amid her campaign activities, Sylvia evidently found composing a running history of the campaign for regular newspaper deadlines a problematic experience; the difficulties were compounded by her inexperience as a writer and the problems arising from establishing the first narrative of the militant movement. However, Sylvia was to be provided with an opportunity to re-write her suffrage history - and she used this opportunity both to consider more fully the recent progress of the WSPU's campaign and to re-emphasize the organization's left-wing associations.

Writing *The Suffragette*

The most apparent distinction between 'The History of the Suffrage Movement' and *The Suffragette* was the absence of a detailed account of the nineteenth-century

movement from the latter: as the book's title indicates, this was a history of only the modern militant campaign. Sylvia began redrafting her work as *The Suffragette* in the summer of 1910, editing, partly re-writing and updating her history to cover the militant campaign to November 1910. Unlike her later history, *The Suffragette Movement*, of which some early manuscripts, typescripts, and notes remain in the Papers of Sylvia Pankhurst archive, the author apparently preserved no drafts of *The Suffragette*, nor any records or correspondence relating to the book's publication.¹⁷ With the exception of her correspondence with Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy in June and July 1910, on details for inclusion in her book, no direct records relating to the composition or publication of *The Suffragette* appear to survive. In her later history, *The Suffragette Movement*, Sylvia recollected that, during the violent scuffles between suffragettes and police on 'Black Friday' in November 1910, 'I was obliged to avoid arrest as I was writing a history of the militant movement under contract with the publishers'. She also recalled that 'revising the final chapters of *The Suffragette*, I spent Christmas [1910] alone at Linden Gardens'.¹⁸

Sturgis and Walton brought out *The Suffragette* first in the USA in May 1911, with the author completing the revisions on the eve of her departure for a three-month tour of the US in January 1911.¹⁹ Published by Gay and Hancock in June 1911, the UK edition was simply a direct reprint of the American version.²⁰ However, acknowledging mistakes in the American edition owing to the hastiness of its production, lists of corrections were added to the volume: a long list of errata preceded the text, and a further list of errors was appended to the index. Further indications of hurried production included the mis-numbering of chapters, with the absence of chapter sixteen. The book's rapid publication following the author's final drafting of the text, and its swift reprinting as a UK edition, complete with errors, reflect the publishers' rush to capitalize on the growing militant movement.

By this time, the WSPU had established its own publishing wing, the Woman's Press, which was responsible for the production of books, pamphlets, leaflets, and the organization's newspaper.²¹ The press's list of full-length non-fiction and fiction books already included another, albeit much briefer, justificatory narrative of the militant campaign, Frederick Pethick Lawrence's *Women's Fight for the Vote* (1910). Yet, in spite of this publishing capability, a commercial publisher brought out *The Suffragette* independently - although it was sold by the WSPU alongside its other forms of purchasable propaganda. Katherine Dodd claims 'the WSPU leadership decided to commission the writing of its own history',²² but, had the WSPU wished to do so, it could have used its own Woman's Press and would have been unlikely to publish it in the US. Patricia Romero, in her biography of Sylvia Pankhurst, claims that both 'Emmeline Pankhurst and Christabel turned down overtures from publishers to write their accounts of the suffrage movement. When Sylvia was contacted, she jumped at the chance'.²³ Again, there are problems with this suggestion, for the prior publication of Sylvia's serialized history in *Votes for Women* made her the most likely potential author; furthermore, Romero does

not state her source for drawing this conclusion.

In view of Sylvia's existing series of articles, and the publication of *The Suffragette* by an independent American company, it seems probable that her literary agent negotiated a deal with a publisher keen to exploit the notoriety of the WSPU's campaign. With the WSPU's militancy heightened by tactics such as window-smashing campaigns, its prisoners' hunger strikes, and its members' scuffles with police on 'Black Friday', public interest in the militant campaign was escalating. Publishing a book that capitalized on this public profile, the publishers were undoubtedly interested in drawing-out the drama of the militant campaign - although the partisan view of the author remained evident.

Representations and interpretations

Comprising 517 pages and twenty-three chapters, *The Suffragette* was written as very much a celebratory narrative, with the WSPU's opponents characterized as 'weak' or 'vindictive' and suffragettes presented as 'heroic' or 'selfless'. Sylvia created a glossy but detailed account of the progression of the militant campaign, but also gave extensive recognition to the WSPU's political roots. Les Garner has dismissed it as a 'tepid work', notable only for its 'fulsome praise' for the Pankhurst-dominated leadership, which belied Sylvia's growing political exclusion and independence from the WSPU.²⁴ Katherine Dodd, in her brief discussion of *The Suffragette*, argues that the text may be considered an imitation of conventional objective historical narrative; Dodd claims 'the mode of address is the omniscient third person narrator ... the conventional "objective", legitimating historical stance'.²⁵

Yet, the voice of the author, as active militant suffragette, is clear throughout, speaking, for instance, of 'our comrades', 'our committee', and 'my mother'. This mode of address is one of the book's most distinctive characteristics, cementing *The Suffragette's* position as personal voice-piece rather than objective-style history. Recollecting the 'first big open-air Women's Suffrage meeting in London', for example, Sylvia wrote:

I well remember every detail of the scene. In my mind's eye I can clearly see the Chairman, my mother, with her pale face, her quiet dark clothes, her manner, calm as it always is on great occasions, and her quiet-sounding but far-reaching voice with its plaintive minor chords. I can see beside her the strangely diverse group of speakers: Theresa Billington in her bright blue dress ... I see Keir Hardie in his rough brown homespun jacket ... Then Mrs Elmy, fragile, delicate and wonderfully sweet.²⁶

Contributing to this undisguised partisanship are the accounts of politicians' 'slandorous innuendoes', of the authorities' 'trumped-up charges', and of the 'vindictive attitude of the government'. The militants, meanwhile, are described in admiring tones that emphasize, particularly, their sacrifices and solidarity: 'the sufferings and heroism of the women in prison spurred on their comrades outside

to deeds of renewed bravery and daring ... our comrades were enduring agonies in prison'.²⁷

While focusing on the militant movement, the author afforded recognition, albeit briefly, to the nineteenth-century suffrage movement. In her preface, she commented:

The realisation of success in the immediate future ... as all the present day workers must admit, we shall owe largely to the splendid and heroic work of the early pioneers. With that work I hope soon to deal as faithfully as I can in a companion book to this of the Militant Movement.²⁸

Sylvia was never to write a book dedicated to these 'pioneers', although correspondence with Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy in the year before publication indicates that it may have been her original intention to include some details of the nineteenth-century campaigns in *The Suffragette*. While Sylvia was drafting the book, Elmy supplied further details of nineteenth-century agitation, writing that, 'You are quite free to make whatever use you please of anything I have sent or may send you'. Elmy's correspondence detailed the campaigns in 1865 and the formation of the London Committee for Women's Suffrage; she enclosed Helen Blackburn's earlier history of the suffrage movement as well as a letter from Blackburn; and Lydia Becker, in particular, featured prominently in their correspondence, with Sylvia keen to locate a photograph of the nineteenth-century suffragist, presumably for publication.²⁹

The book does include non-WSPU campaigns, although this commentary tends to be critical in tone. Specifically, the 'constitutional' NUWSS is persistently discussed in oppositional terms, depicted simply as deviating from the WSPU's strategy, with little recognition of NUWSS activity as a distinct, legitimate campaign. *The Suffragette's* discussion of the NUWSS's 1907 'Mud March' rally in London exemplifies the framing of the non-militant campaign within a context of WSPU activity, with its claim that: 'even the most old-fashioned of the Suffragists were now ready to copy the first non-militant doings of the Suffragettes'.³⁰ The NUWSS's by-election policy is characterized as a 'weak policy' that 'ignored entirely the dominating principle of the politics of their time - namely government by party', and which 'not only failed to advance the Suffrage cause but failed also to prevent dissension in the ranks [of the NUWSS]'.³¹ Moreover, Sylvia apparently sought to imply that the NUWSS was decrepit, with references to 'the old society' and even 'the older Suffragists', and presented it as a weak organization, that 'had not the courage to make common cause with the [militant] Suffragettes'.³²

The contrasts between the WSPU and the NUWSS thus formed the core of this account of the constitutional suffragists. Establishing what Sandra Holton has termed the 'militant school' of suffrage history, *The Suffragette* was the first history to foreground the militant women's suffrage movement at the expense of earlier, or non-WSPU campaigns. Holton argues that *The Suffragette* 'established a plot organised around the dichotomous categorisation of suffragists: as radicals or conservatives, as militants or

non-militants, as populists or elitists'. Moreover, Holton argues, Sylvia 'glossed over dissent and division' in the WSPU: figures such as Dora Montefiore, Teresa Billington-Greig and Charlotte Despard, who had found themselves excluded or who actively initiated an organizational rift, 'received very short shrift in this account'.³³ As the first full-length account of the militant movement, Sylvia's book established a clear and progressive narrative based on the campaign's outstanding events – elections, protests, trials, and imprisonments – which feted the WSPU's work and, as we shall see, highlighted the co-operation between suffragism and the Left.

Politics and propaganda in *The Suffragette*

Sylvia's class-focused politics became increasingly conspicuous after her ousting from the WSPU in 1914, but in 1910 she remained a WSPU member, complying with its non-party policy and women's-suffrage aspiration. Mary Davis claims that she faced 'competing loyalties of socialism and feminism. Sylvia was not alone in attempting to reconcile these twin loyalties, but she was unique within the WSPU'.³⁴ And, despite the text's propagandist account of the WSPU, the author's individual perspective can be discerned in both the book and the original series of articles.

Beginning with an account of the Peterloo massacre of 1819, the 'History' series contextualized militant suffragism within earlier political agitation:

Increased taxation began to press heavily on the poorer people, trade depression followed, and a poor harvest increased the evil. The price of wheat went up ... wages went down, and large bodies of unemployed roamed about from place to place looking for work. In the midst of all this poverty the people, seeing the misgovernment of the country, pinned their faith on political reform, and cried out for the power to remedy these evils for themselves.³⁵

Implying continuity between Peterloo and militant suffragism, Sylvia sought to connect the WSPU with nineteenth-century social radicalism and class struggle, and with a campaign of protest oppressed and mistreated by the authorities. Particularly, the emphasis in this account on deprivation and economic oppression as the root of the Peterloo protest heralded a tendency in Sylvia's histories to link militant campaigning and the economic hardships of the working-class. While this introduction was omitted from *The Suffragette*, the book's opening sentence introduces a similar theme of situating the militant campaign within the history of radical politics and demonstrating the political sympathies of the movement's main figures: 'From her girlhood,' wrote Sylvia, 'my mother, the founder of the Women's Social and Political Union, had been inspired by stories of the early reform movements [which] awakened her lasting interest in politics. ... She was delighted to discover that she had been born on the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille'.³⁶

The life-stories of other key figures in the WSPU

were likewise utilised to illuminate the political roots of the campaign, with class-centred politics figuring prominently in these potted biographies. The pre-WSPU life of Annie Kenney – originally a mill-worker and trade union activist, and the only working-class figure in the WSPU's leadership – covers three pages, with the struggles of her pre-suffrage years detailed. Similarly, in the 'History' series, Kenney, said to be representative of '96,000 organised women cotton workers', was introduced as:

[A] mill girl, who had gone to work in a cotton factory as a little half-timer at ten years of age, a working woman, whose life had been passed amongst the workers ... the representative of thousands of struggling women, and in their name she asked for justice.³⁷

The biography of WSPU Treasurer Emmeline Pethick Lawrence concentrates heavily on her prior experiences of social work: 'she had learnt ... of the cheerless struggle to eke out an existence upon starvation wages, which falls to the lot of working-girls ... she had resolved to spend her life in striving to alter these conditions'.³⁸ In the 'History' articles, Emmeline Pankhurst was also said to have 'learnt to know the pressing needs and bitter hardship of women's lives', with Christabel and Emmeline Pankhurst devoting 'a great part of their time to speaking on votes for women to working-class audiences'.³⁹

In terms of the WSPU's supporter-base, there appears to have been some effort to draw attention to the early working-class support for the WSPU. The founder members of the WSPU are described as 'working-women, Members of the Labour Movement', and early demonstrations are said to have included 'a large proportion of ... poor workers from the East End'.⁴⁰ An account of a procession to Parliament in May 1906 tells of 'a large contingent from the East End of London, a piteous band, some of them sweated workers themselves, others the wives of unemployed working men, and many of them carrying half-starved-looking babies in their arms'. Notably, the original *Votes for Women* article mentioned only 'others with babies in their arms', perhaps indicating that Sylvia considered it necessary or relevant to underscore the contribution of working-class campaigners by 1910; amidst the WSPU's apparent courting of middle-class supporters, an increased value appears to have been attached by Sylvia to working-class activism.⁴¹

Although such rewriting was not extensive in *The Suffragette*, a similar revision is evident in an account of early co-operation with the Labour movement. In the 'History' series, it was remarked simply that 'Christabel Pankhurst had addressed trade unions and trade councils', but in *The Suffragette* this was expanded somewhat:

Impressed by the growing strength of the Labour movement, she [Christabel] began to see the necessity of converting ... the Trade Union organisations, which were upon the eve of becoming a concrete force in politics. She therefore made it her business to address as many of the Trade Unions as were willing to receive her.⁴²

Just as Sylvia was apparently rewriting her history to re-emphasize early working-class support for the WSPU, was she also attempting to remind her older sister - the WSPU's Chief Organizer - of her early commitment to uniting class and gender struggles?

The ILP is shown to have responded positively – such as in 1904, when its conference instructed the preparation 'of a Bill for the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men'.⁴³ Yet, Sylvia minimized the WSPU's subsequent shift away from co-operation with the Labour movement, particularly with regard to the adoption of the new, independent election policy in 1906. Whereas Sylvia was later to describe this new policy as 'the break with the Labour Party', and condemn it as 'provocative ... whilst complete devotion to Votes for Women was demanded of the Labour Party, no support for the Labour Party would result',⁴⁴ *The Suffragette* glosses over any perceived snub to Labour. Instead, the new independent election policy is presented as the product of 'keen political insight', which was condemned largely by the 'Party-following Press' and 'timid and half-hearted friends of the Suffrage movement'.⁴⁵ Any long-term rift with the Labour Party remains unremarked amidst this admiring account of the WSPU's new policy; thereafter, the non-co-operation between the WSPU and the ILP is manifested in the text only by the absence of any discussion of the Labour Party.

So, the author appears to have been treading a fine line between loyalty to the WSPU and sympathy to its left-wing origins. And, building on the accounts of the organization's political roots, Sylvia incorporated illustrations of the necessity for wider political and social reform. An account of a deputation to Parliament in 1906, for example, includes details of a speech given about the lives of working women: 'They dwelt on the low wages ... and other heavy economic hardships ... millions since leaving school had never eaten a meal which they had not earned'.⁴⁶ In *The Suffragette's* vivid, eighteen-page description of prison life, Sylvia detailed the sufferings of hunger-striking and consequent forcible-feeding,⁴⁷ but this account is also notable for its consideration of the non-political-prisoners encountered behind bars. The account dwells particularly on the deprivations and sufferings of those whose imprisonment was not the self-sacrificial act of a political campaigner, but was perceived by Sylvia as a result of their economic subjection:

These poor, sad-faced women. How soft their hearts are! How easily they are moved! ... Few seem young. All are anxious and careworn. They are broken down by poverty, sorrow and overwork. ... With measured tread and dull listless step, they shuffle on. Their heads are bent, their eyes cast down. They do not see the sun and the brightness, the precious sky or the hovering birds ... The prison system has eaten into their hearts. They have lost hope.⁴⁸

Sylvia's response to such deprivation was to call for the extension of the suffrage movement's 'comradeship'

to national politics, for a 'working together for the common good'. Just as the start of the book noted the campaign's political heritage, so Sylvia concluded with a call for a legacy of social change – effected not simply by the granting of the vote but by the 'courage, self-reliance, comradeship, and above all spiritual growth' experienced by those in the movement. For the author, the enfranchisement of women was evidently one step towards more comprehensive social reformation:

May we prize and cherish the great selfless spirit that has been engendered, and, applying it to the purposes of Government ... the management of our collective affairs, may we, men and women together, not in antagonism, but in comradeship strive on till we have built up a better civilisation than any that the world has known.⁴⁹

Completed during the introduction of the Conciliation Bill that would have granted female enfranchisement, *The Suffragette* concludes with an unfulfilled optimism, its author claiming 'the gallant struggle for a great reform draws to its close'.

Conclusion

Despite its glossy, justificatory narrative of the dramatic events of the militant campaign, *The Suffragette* may be considered more than simply a propagandist organizational history written by a loyal insider: there can be discerned specific attempts to emphasize the early working-class support for the WSPU, underline the contribution socialist politics made to the organization, and stress the necessity for social reform through enfranchisement. Perhaps the book should be considered part of Sylvia's personal re-consideration of the WSPU. Composed over several years, when her distancing from the policy of the WSPU's leadership was not yet final, writing *The Suffragette*, and its serialized predecessor, may have given her an opportunity to reflect on the course of the campaign and her future alliance with the WSPU. The book was an amalgam of serialized history, commercial publication, organizational propaganda, and personal politics, yet may ultimately be considered a product of the confinement within the WSPU of its highly-politicized author. It provided a means for recording and broadcasting concerns for class-centred politics within the confines of a pro-WSPU campaign narrative.

Pre-dating Sylvia's later, dramatic prioritization of class politics over gender issues, *The Suffragette* constituted a part of the association between suffragism and the Left at a time when active co-operation between these political movements was somewhat dormant, consisting only of disparate local links. Jill Liddington and Jill Norris have, for example, stressed the importance of local-level connections between 'radical suffragists' and trade unionism and labour politics in the north-west of England.⁵⁰ However, Krista Cowman's study of women's organizations in Liverpool concludes that few links existed there between suffragism and trade unionism, and that any socialist involvement remained linked to the WSPU

– despite its apparent shift away from the Left at the national level.⁵¹ While local studies will continue to nuance, complicate and question any campaign generalities, the years 1907 to 1910 saw no practical national-level associations between suffrage organizations and the Left. However, in the final stages of the campaign, co-operation was to return. After its separation from the WSPU in 1914, Sylvia's East London Federation attempted to unite class and gender politics. And the NUWSS-Labour alliance from 1912 saw the constitutionalists support pro-suffrage Labour candidates in parliamentary elections; diverging from the modern suffrage movement's general non-party strategy, this NUWSS-Labour co-operation has been credited by some with finally winning women the vote.⁵² If not initiating such a resurgence in class-gender politics, then Sylvia Pankhurst's text appeared to offer a personal expression of hope for collaboration between these two movements, recalling earlier socialist-suffragist associations and prefiguring later co-operation.

Notes

1. These memoirs included: Emmeline Pankhurst, *My Own Story* (London, 1914) and Christabel Pankhurst, *Unshackled: the Story of How We Won the Vote* (London, 1959).
2. See: June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: a Biography* (London, 2002), introduction; Jane Marcus, 'Introduction: Re-reading the Pankhursts and Women's Suffrage', in Jane Marcus (ed.), *Suffrage and the Pankhursts* (London, 1987); Sandra Stanley Holton, 'The Making of Suffrage History', in June Purvis and Sandra Stanley Holton (eds), *Votes for Women* (London, 2000); Barbara Green, *Spectacular Confessions: Performative Activism and the Sites of Suffrage, 1905-38* (London, 1997); Laura E. Nym Mayhall, *The Militant Suffrage Movement: Citizenship and Resistance in Britain, 1860-1930* (New York, 2003), conclusion. See also: June Purvis and Maureen Wright, 'Writing Suffragette History: the Contending Autobiographical Narratives of the Pankhursts', *Women's History Review* (2005), 405-34; Krista Cowman, 'A Footnote in History? Mary Gawthorpe, Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement* and the Writing of Suffragette History', *Women's History Review* (2005), 447-66.
3. Maroula Joannou, 'Suffrage Fiction and the Fictions of Suffrage', in Maroula Joannou and June Purvis (eds) *The Women's Suffrage Movement: New Feminist Perspectives* (Manchester, 1998); Sowon S. Park, "'Doing Justice to the Real Girl": the Women Writers' Suffrage League', in Claire Eustance, Joan Ryan, and Laura Ugolini (eds), *A Suffrage Reader: Charting Directions in British Suffrage History* (London, 2000); Angela V. John, "'Behind the Locked Door": Evelyn Sharp, Suffragette and Rebel Journalist', *Women's History Review* (2003), 5-13; Maria DiCenzo, 'Militant Distribution: *Votes for Women* and the Public Sphere', *Media History* (2000), 115-28; John Mercer, 'Making the News: *Votes for Women* and the Mainstream Press', *Media History* (2004), 187-199.
4. E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement: an Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals* (London, 1931).
5. See: Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst*, introduction. On *The Suffragette Movement*, see also: Purvis and Wright, 'Writing Suffragette History'; Cowman, 'A Footnote in History?'
6. See: Helen Blackburn, *Women's Suffrage: a Record of the Women's Movement in the British Isles* (London, 1902); Millicent Garrett Fawcett, *Women's Suffrage: a Short History of a Great Movement* (London, 1912); Bertha Mason, *The Story of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London, 1912). On these and their place within justificatory radical-political writings, see: Holton, 'The Making of Suffrage History', 13-8. The WSPU's Woman's Press published a range of propagandist texts, including the book-length *Women's Fight for the Vote*, by Frederick Pethick Lawrence, in 1910.
7. For a discussion of the WSPU's links with the ILP, and a review of historians' perceptions of the WSPU's 'shift to the Right', see: Krista Cowman, "'Incipient Toryism"? The Women's Social and Political Union and the Independent Labour Party, 1903-14', *History Workshop Journal* (2002), 132-3. For a further representation of the WSPU as shifting to the Right, see: Martin Pugh, *The Pankhursts* (London, 2001). For local political loyalties, see for example: Krista Cowman, '*Mrs Brown is a Man and a Brother!*' *Women in Merseyside's Political Organisations, 1890-1920* (Liverpool, 2004), 131.
8. See: Les Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty: Feminist Ideas in the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London, 1988). On the WFL's largely-unspecified links with the ILP, see also: Hilary Frances, "'Dare to be Free!" The Women's Freedom League and its Legacy', in June Purvis and Sandra Stanley Holton (eds), *Votes for Women* (London, 2000), 182-3. On feminism and socialism more widely, see: June Hannam and Karen Hunt, *Socialist Women: Britain, 1880s to 1920s* (London, 2002).
9. See: Karen Hunt, 'Negotiating the Boundaries of the Domestic: British Socialist Women and the Politics of Consumption', *Women's History Review* (2000), 403; Mayhall, *The Militant Suffrage Movement*, 126.
10. On the radicalization of Sylvia Pankhurst's politics from 1916, see: Mary Davis, *Sylvia Pankhurst: a Life in Radical Politics* (London, 1999), chapter 4; Shirley Harrison, *Sylvia Pankhurst: a Crusading Life, 1882-1950* (London, 2003), chapter 19.
11. Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy to Sylvia Pankhurst, 11 Oct 1907; see also letters from Oct 1907 to July 1908. The letters from Elmy to Pankhurst are held in the Papers of Sylvia Pankhurst at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam (hereafter referred to as IISH).
12. Correspondence originally sent to Christabel Pankhurst is quoted in Sylvia Pankhurst's article in *Votes for Women*, 4 Feb 1909, 307; this was retained in E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette: the History of the Women's Militant Suffrage Movement* (London, 1911), 134.
13. Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy to Sylvia Pankhurst, 1 Oct 1907, 17 May 1908 (IISH).
14. *Votes for Women*, 24 Sep 1908, 1 Oct 1908.
15. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, 304-5.
16. Sylvia Pankhurst's final 'History' article appeared in *Votes for Women*, 24 Sep 1909, 1200-1 [sic].

Entrepreneurship as an income strategy for ageing women in early twentieth-century Finland

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It is customary to see human existence as constituted by different periods of life: childhood, youth, adulthood and old age. Both women and men mature and grow old but ageing is different from the perspective of gender. This article will focus on the life course of ageing entrepreneurial women in early twentieth-century Finnish urban environments. Both men and women became

entrepreneurs and lived as self-employed persons. The article asks whether there were any male/female differences in this practice. The main focus is on how work, the ageing process and other changes undergone by people, as well as the choices made by them, were associated with their gender.

The article focuses on the life-courses of Finnish

John Mercer, continued from page 17

17. It appears that Sylvia Pankhurst retained no typescripts of any published work; for instance, the only typescript chapters from *The Suffragette Movement* in her papers were unpublished chapters. See: M Wilhelmina H Schreuder, 'Sylvia Pankhurst's Papers as a Source', in Ian Bullock and Richard Pankhurst (eds), *Sylvia Pankhurst: From Artist to Anti-fascist* (London, 1992), 193-4.
18. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, 342, 346.
19. Harrison, *Sylvia Pankhurst*, 114. See also: Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, 346. Harrison claims this US visit functioned as a publicity tour for Sylvia's forthcoming book.
20. There appear to have been no commercial links between these two publishers, with the choice of publisher resting with Sylvia Pankhurst's literary agent, Feakins. Both publishers specialized in non-fiction and self-improvement texts on topics including history, education, music, and poetry.
21. See: Simone Murray, "'Deeds and Words': the Woman's Press and the Politics of Print", *Women: a Cultural Review* (2000), 197-222.
22. Katherine Dodd, *A Sylvia Pankhurst Reader* (Manchester, 1992), 11.
23. Patricia Romero, *E. Sylvia Pankhurst: Portrait of a Radical* (London, 1987), 56-7. No mention is made of these approaches to write a history in either Emmeline Pankhurst's *My Own Story* or Christabel Pankhurst's *Unshackled*. Martin Pugh also claims that Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst turned down offers to compose a suffrage history, but, again, the source for this is not disclosed; Pugh, *The Pankhursts*, 220.
24. Les Garner, 'Suffragism and Socialism: Sylvia Pankhurst, 1903-14', in Ian Bullock and Richard Pankhurst (eds), *Sylvia Pankhurst: From Artist to Anti-fascist* (London, 1992), 68.
25. Dodd, *A Sylvia Pankhurst Reader*, 13.
26. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 79-80.
27. *Ibid.*, 228, 398, 404, 445.
28. *Ibid.*, preface.
29. Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy to Sylvia Pankhurst, 13 July 1910, 1 July 1910, and 30 June 1910 (IISH). No photograph of Becker was included in the finished book, and, in accordance with the book's focus on the twentieth century, she received only two very brief mentions.
30. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 135.
31. *Ibid.*, 167-8; also *Votes for Women*, 25 June 1909, 839.
32. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 168, 166, 167.
33. Holton, 'The Making of Suffrage History', 18-9.
34. Davis, *Sylvia Pankhurst*, 26-7.
35. *Votes for Women*, Oct 1907, 8. Peterloo was again referred to a year later, as the site on which the Manchester Free Trade Hall was built – where Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney undertook the WSPU's first act of militancy at a Liberal party meeting: *Votes for Women*, 1 Oct 1908, 3.
36. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 3.
37. *Votes for Women*, 1 Oct 1908, 3.
38. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 58-9.
39. *Votes for Women*, 8 Oct 1908, 20; 15 Oct 1908, 35.
40. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 7, 57.
41. *Ibid.*, 73; *Votes for Women*, 26 Nov 1908, 139.
42. *Votes for Women*, 15 Oct 1908, 35; Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 6.
43. *Votes for Women*, 15 Oct 1908, 35
44. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, 243.
45. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 96, 94.
46. *Ibid.*, 74.
47. Sylvia Pankhurst's account of prison experience has been cited by Barbara Green as an example of suffragettes' 'spectacular confessions' – whereby the physical experiences of imprisonment, hunger-striking, and forcible-feeding, and the public 'confessions' of these experiences in the suffrage press and autobiographies, amounted to a form of public performance centred on the female body; Green, *Spectacular Confessions*.
48. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette*, 119-21.
49. *Ibid.*, 505.
50. See: Jill Liddington and Jill Norris, *One Hand Tied Behind Us: the Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London, 1978).
51. Cowman, 'Mrs Brown is a Man and a Brother!', 38-9, 131.
52. See: Leslie Parker-Hume, *The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies* (London, 1982); Sandra Stanley Holton, *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain, 1900-18* (Cambridge, 1986).

women entrepreneurs at the beginning of the twentieth century. This group includes all women who performed independent work and carried the economic risk of their activities, employing the terms 'self-employed' and 'entrepreneur' as synonyms. In this way, the status of entrepreneur is attributed both to the washerwoman who washed the clothes of her clients for payment and to the innkeeper who owned a large restaurant. The core of the research comprises an urban case study, with the material focusing on the city of Turku in the year 1910. Until the late nineteenth century, Turku was the largest city in Finland; in the early twentieth century it was the second largest, and today the fifth largest city in Finland. By the pre-WWI period, Finnish women had achieved personal sovereignty (unmarried women 1864), freedom of trade (1879), suffrage and eligibility in national elections (1906).

Self-employed Women in Turku in 1910

The wage-earning and self-employed women of Turku were in charge of people's physical and mental well-being. In 1910, women held the majority of jobs in trading, hotel and restaurant businesses, and in education as well as the health care services. (Table 1) In terms of absolute numbers, most women studied here earned their wages or entrepreneurial income in the knitting industry, as seamstresses, in bakeries, in commerce, in the hotel and restaurant business, by washing and ironing of clothing or as sauna keepers or attendants. Some women earned their living in teaching, nursing and clerical work. The tobacco and paper industries, as well as the chemical industry were also female-dominated branches whilst the metal, mechanical, stone, clay, glass and woodworking industries were almost exclusively male domains. In total, 54 per cent of the population working in professions or earning their living in the various Turku trades and industries were men and 46 per cent were women. The number of inhabitants of 'Metropolitan Turku' - i.e., within the city limits and in the suburban areas located in the

Maaria and Kaarina parishes – totalled 54,687 at the end of the year 1910, the female population constituting the clear majority, or 30,463 adult women and girls.¹

Older statistical material does not make a distinction between entrepreneurs and wage earners but trade notifications, tax catalogues, population registers and address calendars give more detailed information about female entrepreneurs operating in Turku in 1910. Table 2, compiled on the basis of such material, includes 1,083 female entrepreneurs representing various industries. Naturally, this sum includes the prosperous female entrepreneurs, those whose income exceeded the taxable limits, and those who were prepared to pay for their enrolment in the city's address catalogue. On the other hand, the most modest entrepreneurs are not included in any official sources. If the entrepreneurial operations were of a very limited scale and the clients were among those with scarce resources, such meagre income did not exceed any taxable limits and no trade notification was normally made. For example, a self-employed seamstress or dressmaker sewing for poor people for a modest compensation did not necessarily appear as an entrepreneur in the sources, especially if she were married, in which case she was only registered as the wife of her husband. In 1910, the man's standing as the principal breadwinner was a more important statistical criterion than the woman's earning of a livelihood. However, the material includes a sufficient number of women employed in the textile branches – 162 seamstresses and dressmakers, two corset and two shirt manufactures, one tie sewer, one embroidery shop owner and four tailor shop owners –to give a representative picture of the weight of female entrepreneurs in this branch of activity.

The majority of the female entrepreneurs included in Table 2 were engaged in small-scale businesses related to the manufacture and sale of fabrics, clothes and shoes as well as foodstuffs, nursing and care or beauty care. This group included as many as 87 per cent (946 women) of all female entrepreneurs. Retail shopkeepers formed

	Number of women	Percentage share of women of all workers and entrepreneurs
Agriculture and forestry	48	22
Manufacturing	4 075	51
Construction	40	3
Wholesale and retail sale	1 086	58
Hotels and restaurants	280	84
Transport and communications	103	7
Finance and insurance	25	30
Public administration	14	2
Education	289	70
Health care services	184	66
Other professions and services	897	48
Common labourers	1 692	39
Domestic servants	2 039	99
Industry unknown	1 615	57

Sources: Population Census 1910, Official Statistics of Finland VI: 48, Statistics Finland: Helsinki 1916, 12-2.

Table 1: Women's share of salary and wage workers and entrepreneurs in Turku, 1910

the largest individual group (446 women), including 139 women who mainly sold foodstuffs in the marketplace or in the inside markets; 59 women had a shop for imported goods, 41 a grocery store and 43 a dairy shop; 26 women sold sewing material, fabric, yarn or clothes in their shops; ten of the female-owned shops were shoe stores, seven sold alcoholic beverages, nine meat or cold cuts, eight various groceries, four coffee and two tobacco products. Women thus sold the same products – foodstuffs, yarn, fabrics and clothes – which they produced or otherwise mastered or handled in the domestic sphere. As a whole, the attitude towards women's work in commerce was very similar all over Scandinavia. Their tasks were very clearly defined on the basis of their gender.²

After the merchants, the category of various artisans ranked second in importance (254 women). As far as women were concerned, the textiles mainly dominated artisan industry: in professional contexts, women used their traditional handicrafts skills. The largest female artisan group was constituted by the above-mentioned 172 seamstresses/dressmakers. In addition, the artisans included 41 bakers, six bookbinders, five watchmakers or jewellery shop owners, as well as a few occasional owners of carpenter shops, painter shops, dye works, shoe repair shops, stone cutter shops or sheet metal workshops.³ In the male-dominated artisan branches, the women were usually partners of their artisan husbands, or they had inherited the business from their deceased husbands. As a whole, only a few women had paid employees in their artisan firms. Occasionally, a woman entrepreneur had her sister as the business partner.

Alimentation, care and small company size were also characteristic of the work of female entrepreneurs employed in the hotel and restaurant business (105 women). Only six hotel owners and 11 restaurant owners had several employees while 30 owners of restaurants on board steam ships⁴, 47 refectory or cafeteria keepers and 11 lodging-house keepers managed with a smaller staff, or even alone. Associated with the restaurant business, there were also five household school owners who maintained a dining room, run by student-employees, in connection with the school.

The 36 nurses, 22 midwives and 22 physical therapists and masseuses who provided their services for the private sector were self-employed persons in the true sense of the word. The growing service sector employed 15 female hairdressers and barbershop owners, six photographers, seven sauna owners, two beauticians and pedicurists, two translators, two typists, three painters, one undertaker and one cinema owner. Fifteen women owned a coach and a horse. However, they did not drive themselves but hired a man to take care of the horse and drive the coach.

Cleaning also employed some of the enterprising women. Table 2 includes 21 laundry owners and 59 women engaged in ironing. The ironer mostly took care of men's shirts, which also had to be starched. People preferred to take shirt collars, cuffs and fronts to a person who starched them on a professional basis. Besides the laundry owners and ironers included in Table 2, there must have been several other private cleaning ladies and washerwomen in Turku who were hired to come and do

Branches of activity	Number	%
Manufacturing		
- Foodstuffs	5	1
- Chemical-technical industry	1	(0,09)
- Handicrafts	254	23
Construction	-	-
Wholesale and retail sale		
- Agency operations and wholesale trade	7	1
- Retail trade	446	41
Hotels and restaurants	105	10
Transport	16	2
Finance and insurance	1	(0,09)
Laundry and cleaning operations	109	10
Education	9	1
Health care services	85	8
Other services	40	4
Industry unknown		(0,4)
Total	1 083	100

Sources: Turku City Archives, Turku Registry Office and City Court Archives, A2b: 83 Petition register 1910; Ca: 34 Minutes of the Monetary Affairs Office 1910; G1I: 56-57 Turku municipal taxes 1910, Turku population register 1910; Turku City Court Archives, Turku trade notifications 1890-1910; Turku Regional Archives, Turku Provincial Government Archives, 1Ab: 179 Petition register 1910; Archives of the Turku Police Department, BIIh: 12-13 List of express coachmen 1904-1917; Turun osoitekalenteri (Turku address calendar) 1910-1911. Turun Kirjapaino ja Sanomalehti O.-Y.: Turku 1911.

Table 2: Turku-based women entrepreneurs in 1910

the washing and cleaning at the homes of their clients. However, their income was so modest that they were not taxed as entrepreneurs, and therefore they, for example, are not included in the tax lists. The 1910 Turku population register, however, gives an idea of their number: there were 22 washerwomen, 91 ironers and 59 cleaning ladies in the register for that year. Some of them were engaged in wage-earning work but a part of them probably worked on an independent basis, also carrying the work-related economic risks.

It seems that women did not establish any industrial undertaking on their own. The three soft-drink manufacturers included in the source material had taken up the business as their husband's partners while the rest of the female industrialists had inherited the company from their deceased entrepreneur husbands: one chemical-technical factory, one liquor factory and one vinegar factory. In 1910, the female Turku-based businesswoman was thus mainly a small-size entrepreneur who employed herself and a maximum of a couple other employees.

Self-employment, entrepreneurship and the female life cycle

The lives of female workers were mainly regulated by any changes that had taken place in their family relations. A woman took up earning-related work if the man in her life did not earn sufficiently to provide for the family, if she became a widow, or if she remained unmarried. The different phases of the female course of life were characterised by the woman's respective marital status: youth was associated with an unmarried life while the middle years were characterised by marriage and old age by widowhood.⁵ In contrast the lives of men were structured by their work, their training when young, the practice of an occupation when middle-aged and retirement when old. Their family-life, marriage and raising of a family were not significant to their working life course. The course of a working man's life not only shaped his own destiny but also framed the course of his entire household's life.⁶ Deborah Simonton connects the period of apprenticeship of a lad with his moving from boy to man. In other words she links a boy's growing and his sexual development with his training, not for instance with his marriage or with the birth of his first child. Correspondingly a girl's growth was associated with home-based work and the change of her marital status. She might learn a trade or get a job, but she did not become skilled. Skill which boys achieved through official training was not an option for girls.⁷

For women, the start of self-employment or a business coincided with a different stage of life compared to men. The majority of the female entrepreneurs in Table 2 were either middle-aged or approaching that age. The average age of the women who had filed a trade report was 37 years whilst the mode calculated on the basis of the same material was 35. The median age was even higher, i.e., 41 years of age. For comparison, the trade reports filed by 134 Turku-based male entrepreneurs in 1910 were checked for their respective ages, which were unambiguous in 112 cases.⁸ These men started their

businesses earlier than the women, i.e., at 34 on average. The mode calculated on the basis of their ages was as much as ten years lower than the respective female value, or 25 years, while the median was 36 – also here five years less than that of the women. The majority of the women (55 per cent) were at least aged 34 or older while the majority of men (57 per cent) were 34 or younger. Therefore, for the women in this study, entrepreneurship was a phenomenon associated with ageing while most men started their own businesses or trades at a clearly earlier stage of their lives.

If we look at the female entrepreneurs active in Turku in the year 1910 and group them both by age and marital status, we find that unmarried self-employed women were on average 38 years old, married women were 42 and the widows 50 years of age. The youngest among them were the 18-year-old unmarried women Lempi Johansson and Kirsti Aalto, the seamstress Wilja Wuokko and the paper-shop keeper Edit Nurmi. The eldest among the female entrepreneurs was the 84-year old ironmonger Jakobina Österblad who had continued to keep the shop she had inherited from her husband in 1901. Most of the women entrepreneurs were, however, middle-aged or approaching middle age. Three-quarters of the women whose age we know were in their 30s. The largest individual group comprised the 30-to-39-year-olds, whilst almost half of the women were over 40; in 1910, in fact, the average age of Turku-based female entrepreneurs was as high as 41.5 years. On the whole, the information about the age of the female entrepreneurs is quite comprehensive: the age data is lacking in only fifty-nine cases.

Almost one half of the Turku-based female entrepreneurs were either married, divorced or widowed, with unmarried women, however, probably constituting a majority. The source material does not reveal the marital status of one-sixth of the self-employed women but most of them did live alone. This would suggest that they were either unmarried or possibly widowed.

In the early twentieth century, female entrepreneurship was a phenomenon extending beyond class boundaries. Female entrepreneurs included upper, middle and working-class women. Women of all social classes conducted trading and commercial activities while handicrafts, including providing inn and restaurant services, were clearly more middle and working-class occupations. Traffic, training and other services were mainly offered by middle-class ladies, whereas health service providers came from the working classes. Looking at the outcome presented in Table 5 we must, however, underline the fact that the social background of as many as 601 women is not known to us.

Table 3 shows that occupations suitable for older women did not necessarily gain popularity among the young. Handicrafts were clearly more popular among the young as compared to, for example, trading or running an inn or a dining place, or even a cafeteria. Older women did cleaning and ironing, and the women engaged in care industries, such as hairdressers or barbers, were not particularly young, either. Among handicraft occupations, the seamstresses were very young women. Of the female

Branches	Age in years						
	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-84
Manufacturing	4	68	66	67	31	15	2
Trade	1	52	114	112	82	37	5
Hotels and restaurants	-	7	37	35	23	1	-
Transport	-	1	4	7	4	-	-
Laundry and cleaning	-	21	23	25	21	13	-
Education	-	-	3	5	1	-	-
Health services	3	17	30	14	8	9	-
Other services	-	7	19	6	6	-	-
Industry unknown	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
Total	8	173	297	272	177	76	7

Sources: See Table 2.

Table 3: The age of women entrepreneurs in Turku in 1910.

Branches	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Unknown
Manufacturing	172	34	1	27	26
Trade	142	150	1	106	54
Hotels and restaurants	52	30	-	16	7
Transport	-	7	-	8	1
Finance and insurance	-	-	-	-	1
Laundry and cleaning	37	9	-	15	48
Education	7	1	-	-	1
Health care services	58	5	-	11	11
Other services	16	17	2	4	1
Industry unknown	2	1	-	2	-
Total	486	253	4	190	150

Sources: See Table 2.

Table 4: The marital status of women entrepreneurs in Turku in 1910.

Branches	Working class	Middle class	Upper class	Unknown
Manufacturing	25	52	10	175
Trade	79	123	68	183
Hotels and restaurants	14	24	7	60
Transport	1	13	1	1
Finance and insurance	-	-	1	-
Laundry and cleaning	10	5	5	89
Education	-	4	-	5
Health care services	8	4	7	66
Other services	5	12	3	20
Industry unknown	2	1	-	2
Total	144	238	102	601

Notes: Working class = manual workers, carpenters, masons, weavers, seamstresses, dressmakers; middle class = lower officials and civil servants, artisans; upper class = upper officials and civil servants, non-manual workers, merchants, factory owners.

Sources: See Table 2.

Table 5: The social background of women entrepreneurs in Turku in 1910.

entrepreneurs in their 20s, one in five were seamstresses, whereas among those in their 30s and 40s only one in ten employed themselves in this manner, the share being even smaller among the women over 50. In the bakery business, the age distribution was more even.

In the older age groups the share of the traders and shopkeepers increased. A little less than one third of the women in the 20+ group stood behind the counter in a shop or in the marketplace, while among those in their 30s the share was over one third, growing to almost one half in the 50+ and 60+ groups. Selling in the marketplace and peddling on streets and country roads was something that only older women used to do. There were no peddlers among the women under 40, and also the marketplace sellers were mostly in their 30s. But once the female entrepreneurs were past their 50th year of age, one in ten had taken a marketplace or peddling licence. Correspondingly, this age group did not contain one single physiotherapist but some nurses and midwives, and the proportional share of the women providing health care services was the largest among the 50+ age group, second largest among the 30+ and only third largest among the women in their 20s. It appears that a certain degree of 'maturity' seems to have been an asset for midwives, in particular: at least one-third of the midwives were over 50. It also seems that keeping a restaurant, a dining place, an inn or a hotel was not particularly suitable for a young woman; only one in twenty female entrepreneurs in the accommodation and restaurant business were under 30, and there was no accommodation business owner among them. Proportionally, the largest number of accommodation and restaurant entrepreneurs were among the women of between 40 and 59 years of age.

Table 4 shows that not only the age of the female entrepreneurs, but also their civil status had a surprisingly strong impact on their line of activity. As many as 35 per cent of the unmarried women worked as artisans, whereas only 14 per cent of the married and widowed women had chosen this trade. As many as 59 per cent of the married women and 56 per cent of the widows were interested in trade and commerce but only 29 per cent of the unmarried women were active in the branch. It seems that unmarried women were especially unwilling to sell goods in the marketplace or take up peddling. The proportions of the unmarried, married and widowed women were quite even in the accommodation and restaurant businesses. However, accommodation was mainly taken care of by wives and widows while unmarried female entrepreneurs ran the restaurants, dining places and cafeterias.

Among the women included in Table 5, the ladies who owned the speciality shops, wholesale businesses and factories mostly came from the upper class. The products or services manufactured and sold in their businesses were mostly targeted at their peers: in the trades favoured by the upper-class entrepreneurial ladies, the clientele was also clearly drawn from the well-to-do ranks of society. Middle-class women were mainly engaged in the foodstuff business, selling in the marketplaces, indoor markets and stalls. They were also active in versatile professional handicrafts and small-scale industrial operations. The

range of the clientele was more extensive than for the elite women: the goods and services were provided both to the genteel classes and to commoners. Working-class female entrepreneurs were engaged almost entirely in the sales of foodstuffs. Sewing, ironing, cooking and serving of food, baking as well as keeping an inn or a public sauna were also forms of working-class women's employment.

Entrepreneurship as a life strategy of ageing women

Why were most of the women studied middle-aged? Why were so many of them married or widowed? Why did certain trades seem to attract the younger whilst others were more suitable for the older women? We may try to explain the age distribution among the entrepreneurs through the physical changes taking place in the human body. For example, sewing calls for good near vision, which starts to deteriorate around the fortieth year of age. In the year 1907, the occupational inspector Vera Hjelt interviewed some aged seamstresses, and one of them reported to have 'weak eyes', another suffered from 'constant headaches' and the third said that she 'could hardly hold the needle between her fingers'.⁹ It is thus possible, that the work of a seamstress – either a self-employed or a wage-earning woman – had to change as she grew older and her eyesight weakened. She might have taken up ironing or cleaning work instead, the latter two being among the occupations held among the older entrepreneurs. But it is also possible that there is a distortion of perspective in suggesting that all seamstresses were young. It may very well be that many seamstresses that had married – being thus more mature – simply became registered as 'wives' in the official records, even though they might have continued their sewing work. The complaints filed by certain marketplace vendors show that selling in the marketplace was an occupation held, in particular, by the old, unable to perform any other physical labour: 'most of us are old and sickly and thus unable to work.'¹⁰

Be that as it may, ageing seems to have guaranteed more 'liberties' to the female entrepreneurs. Only later in life did the women shift the focus of their entrepreneurial activities to the public domain, to the outside, the marketplaces and public roads, starting to provide accommodation and food for strangers. The age of these women was often accompanied by marital (and in that way also sexual) experience: they were either wives or widows. Among the Turku-based marketplace vendors and peddles, at least three-quarters were wives or widows, the corresponding share among inn-keepers being four-fifths. Hairdressers, barbers, sauna-keepers and photographers were likewise mostly married. Young, unmarried female entrepreneurs mainly worked indoors, serving female customers in dressmaking shops or in food shops, and only the ageing and maritally more experienced women would orient their entrepreneurial activities outside the domestic or shop walls, targeting them also at men. This clearly reflects the gender attitudes prevailing in that society. Above all, a woman leaving the domestic sphere of life, especially if she was young and unmarried, was sexually suspect. A more rigid code of morality was imposed on

women on the whole.¹¹ An upper-class woman in a clerical career had to have a clearly reserved behaviour which did not underline her femininity.¹² If a young, unmarried woman worked outside the home or was in a direct physical contact with men – as a waitress, masseuse, sauna-attendant or barber – she could easily be identified as a prostitute. Working-class women in particular were vulnerable in this way¹³: in addition to their age and marital status, their weaker social status also helped to clip their wings. Only an upper-class unmarried lady still living in her parental home could treat men as her equals and even target her advertisements directly at them:

Judges, Esq. All types of copy typing performed by machine by Sylvia Wuoti, Isohämeenkatu 20 A. tel. 646. N.B.! Inexpensive prices and careful work. (Herrat tuomarit. Kaikenlaatuista puhtaaksikirjoitustyötä suorittaa koneella Sylvia Vuoti Isohämeenkatu 20 A. Pu. 646. Huom! Halpa hinta ja huolellinen työ.)¹⁴

According to the Turku population registers in 1910, the 22-year-old Sylvia Wuoti and her sisters lived in their childhood home with their mother, the captain's widow Wuoti. Only an ageing and maritally experienced woman could act as an entrepreneur in a hotel, inn or restaurant, as a marketplace vendor or peddler, in situations where she would encounter the eyes and physical presence of men. It would not have been suitable for a young, unmarried lady engaged in ironing to address her male customers using the familiar tone of the 46-year-old widow Hulda Grönfors:

Hi, there, lads! Where could we get our collars neatly ironed? - You do not know? Try Hulda Grönfors' Washing and Ironing Shop, Birgerinkatu 14A.
(Pojat hei! Missä saamme kunnollisesti kauluksemme silitetyiksi? – Ettekö tiedä? Tuokaa koetteeksi Hulda Grönfors'in Pesoja silityslaitokseen, Birgerinkatu 14A.)¹⁵

If a young woman chose the independent but lonely status of an entrepreneur, the threat of sexual harassment was by no means diminished. Correspondingly, a very young, unmarried female restaurant owner, innkeeper or peddler lady would not have been seen totally respectable. Being young was clearly a burden to a female entrepreneur. It may be that during this period of time in which 'chastity was part of the business culture'¹⁶ female entrepreneurs were more advanced in age compared to the wage-earning women.

It may also be that losing their wage-earning employment forced women of a certain age to take up self-employment. Marjatta Rahikainen has shown that in the minds of decision-makers and employers, women in their 40s, in particular, were too old for the wage-earning labour market – not only in the eighteenth century, but also in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁷ The average age of the women employed in industry in early twentieth-century Finland was 28, and four out of five female shop assistants were under 30.¹⁸ A study of the conditions in the clothing industry in 1926 showed that as many as 92 per cent of the female workers in the factories were

under 40, the corresponding share for men being 71 per cent.¹⁹ Therefore, entrepreneurship might have been an alternative for wage-earning work lost at the brink of middle age, and this would be one of the factors explaining the relatively high age of the female entrepreneurs

For many women, the wage-earning labour market – for example factories and shops – was no longer accessible once they got married.²⁰ The wives of the working and middle classes might have tried to replace their lost wage-earning work by self-employment. This seems to be suggested by the fact that almost one half of the Turku-based female entrepreneurs in 1910 were married, divorced or widowed (447 women). It was not only natural but also sometimes also imperative for a woman to take up self-employment once she started to have children. Employers would not hire women who would still have or already had children, since they were afraid of absences caused by pregnancies, childbirth and children's caring needs.²¹ For example, among the women working in clothing factories in 1926, only 17 per cent had a family, while the corresponding percentage for the men in the same factories was as high as 59 per cent!²² Losing her husband, i.e., becoming a widow, must also have been a situation in which many women had to consider self-employment.

Family reasons – marriage, childbearing, or widowhood – as the motivation for entrepreneurship would also partly explain the relatively advanced age of the female entrepreneurs. Finnish women married for the first time at about 25 years of age – the women of the educated classes a little earlier and working-class women a little later.²³ The peak of their fertility coincided with their 30s.²⁴ Correspondingly, in the Turku of 1910, one-fifth of the women over 35 years of age were already widowed; among the age group 35 to 49, there were very many widows, a total of 535 women.²⁵ If self-employment was seen as a replacement for the jobs lost by the women due to marriage and childbearing, the average age of the female entrepreneurs – 35 to 40 years – becomes very understandable. The widows of traders and artisans who had inherited their late husbands' businesses are very typical components of the older female entrepreneur age groups.

Conclusions

On the eve of the modern times, the premises and structures of female entrepreneurship were still very different from those of their male counterparts. The advancement of the male entrepreneur was often influenced and supported by his parents, but also by choices available through his own discretion: training, work experience, early types of 'networking' and good social contacts. The influential members of Turku business life often joined forces in large economic projects, found their spouses among the leading trading and industrial families and passed their businesses on to their sons and sons-in-law. The men also took up their businesses earlier than the women: their careers were not influenced in any way by their eventual marriage, growing families or widowhood.

The women were not trained to become

entrepreneurs, no plans were made for them to take over their families' businesses or factories, nor did the small businesses they had established themselves pass on to the following generation. The career of the female entrepreneur was not conditioned by an intricate network of influences, but by her age, marital status, number of children and her social status. If a woman had children, she had to take care of them and invent a suitable business strategy that would also allow for childcare – a shopkeeper, innkeeper, dentist, hairdresser, photographer or sauna-keeper. For the working and middle-class women, in particular, small-scale entrepreneurship seems to have offered an opportunity to continue their working careers even when their marriage had made the wage-earning labour market inaccessible to them. For widowed women, the businesses inherited from their husbands often constituted the decisive stimulus for self-employment.

Entrepreneurship and self-employment seem to have constituted an alternative for the women, an opportunity which they seized from necessity or simply drifted into. Virtually never were these female choices of life characterised by determined career-making plans stimulated by existing contacts. As for trades which were regarded as typically male occupations, female entrepreneurship was always associated with a husband's business: the wife of a carpenter opened a furniture shop, the widow of a goldsmith continued the business of her late husband, etc. For the rest, the female business continued to be based on traditional female skills which most of the women learned to master in their childhood. But above all, the entrepreneurship was a way of life that met with the needs of the ageing women. Whilst wage-earning work was for the young and the unmarried, self-employment provided an alternative for those women who – due to ageing, deteriorated physical condition, marriage and childbearing – were 'unable to work'.

Notes

1. *Population Census 1910, Official Statistics of Finland VI: 48.*
2. Marjaliisa Hentilä, *Keikkavaaka ja kousikka. Kaupan työ ja tekijät 1800-luvulta itsepalveluaikaan* (Helsinki, 1999), 47-9. (Summary: Shop balancing scales and a measuring scoop: Shop work and shop workers from the 19th century to time of self-service in Finland).
3. G. R. Snellman, *Tutkimus vähempivaraisten asunto-oloista vuonna 1905 Turun kaupungissa sekä viereisissä Kaarinan ja Maarian pitäjän osissa.* (Turku, 1906), 62. (Résumé: L'enquête sur les domiciles des classes pauvres dans la ville de Turku ainsi que dans les parties environnantes des communes de St Karin et de Ste-Marie en 1905).
4. Situated at the mouth of the Aura River, Turku was an active centre of steam ship traffic in early 20th century. The passengers could buy coffee, tea, soft drinks, alcohol, sandwiches and small meals.
5. Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsin tehty - miehelle ammatti, naiselle ansioiden lähde. Käsityötuotannon rakenteet ja strategiat esitöissä Turussa Ruotsin ajan lopulla.* (Helsinki, 1998), 185-6. (Summary: Hand-made – Man's

Profession and Woman's Source of Income: Structures and Strategies of Handicraft Production in the Pre-Industrial Turku Towards the End of the Swedish Reign in Finland).

6. Vainio-Korhonen (1998), 115-9.
7. Deborah Simonton, 'Gendering Work in Eighteenth-century Towns', in *Working Out Gender: Perspectives from labour history*, ed. Margaret Walsh. (Aldershot, Brookfield USA, Singapore, Sidney, 1999), 30-42.
8. Turku City Court Archives, Turku trade notifications 1910; Turku City Archives, Turku Registry Office and City Court Archives, Turku population register 1910.
9. Vera Hjelt, *Tutkimus koskeva ompelijattarien ammattiloja Suomessa.* Työtilasto VI. (Helsinki, 1908), 42. (Résumé: L'enquête sur les conditions professionnelles des couturières en 1907 en Finlande), 106.
10. TKA Turku City Court Archives Ca: 35 Turku city government official record 7.1.1910 § 11.
11. Juha Siltala, 'Fennomaaninaisten siveellinen kilvoitus ja haudatut toiveet', *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja 1/1996*, 35-44.
12. Anne Ollila, *Jalo velvollisuus. Virkanaisia 1800-luvun lopun Suomessa.* (Helsinki, 1998), 62-3, 173-4.
13. Antti Häkkinen, *Rahasta – vaan ei rakkaudesta: Prostituutio Helsingissä 1867-1939.* (Helsinki, 1995), 139-140, 144-5.
14. *Uusi Aura* 6.1.1910.
15. *Uusi Aura* 17.11.1901
16. Hentilä 1999, 80-3.
17. Marjatta Rahikainen, 'Ageing men and women in the labour market – continuity and change', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 4/2001.
18. Hentilä 1999, 494; Riitta Hjerpe & Per Schybergson, *Kvinnoarbetare i Finlands industri ca. 1850-1913.* (Helsinki, 1977), 52.
19. Martti Pesonen, 'Vaateustyöntekijäin työolot ja kotityö vuonna 1926: Sosiaalilastollinen erikoistutkimus', *Sosialinen Aikakauskirja – Social Tidskrift N:o 7 / 1927*, 373.
20. Only 15per cent of Finnish female factory workers were married at the beginning of the 20th century. Hjerpe & Schybergson 1977, 25; Hentilä 1999, 89.
21. Hentilä 1999, 82; Hjerpe & Schybergson 1977, 25.
22. Pesonen 1927, 375.
23. Kai Häggman, *Perheen vuosisata: Perheen ihanne ja sivistyneistön elämäntapa 1800-luvun Suomessa.* (Helsinki, 1994), 245 (Summary: *The Century of Family. The Ideal Family and Bourgeois Lifestyle in Nineteenth-Century Finland*); Pirjo Markkola, *Työläiskodin synty: Tamperelaiset työläisperheet ja yhteiskunnallinen kysymys 1870-luvulta 1910-luvulle.* (Helsinki, 1994), 48-53 (Summary: *The Making of the Working-class Home. The Question of Working-class Families in Finland, 1870s through 1910s*).
24. *Suomen taloushistoria 3: Historiallinen tilasto.* Toimittanut Kaarina Vattula. (Helsinki, 1983), 44.
25. *Population Census 1910, Official Statistics of Finland VI 44:2, Table V, 34-5.*

Kate Everest: A Pioneer Who Told the Stories of Wisconsin's German Pioneers

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During the first year of my doctoral program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (United States), my grandmother sent me a letter wishing me luck. In this letter, she wrote about a distant relative who she believed was the first woman to graduate with a Doctorate of Philosophy (Ph.D.) from UW-Madison. This woman, Kate Asaphine Everest (later Kate Levi¹), was my great-grandmother's first cousin and a native of the Fond du Lac area of Wisconsin. Her family was one of many in the United States that forged Westward from the New England states during the middle of the nineteenth century to 'the frontier' looking for an escape from their Puritan roots and the promises of available land and plentiful resources in areas such as Wisconsin.² While the vast majority of families and groups moving Westward were recent immigrants from Europe, there were also many individuals and families like the Everest's, previously established in the Eastern U.S., that yearned to improve their financial standing or break away from the entrenched political and social cultures of the East.³

According to my grandmother's letter, my great-grandmother often 'spoke about how smart she [Kate] was,' which turned out to be quite an understatement. Having graduated with a Ph.D. in history in 1893, Kate Everest was both the first woman to receive that degree from UW-Madison and the first woman to receive a Ph.D. in history in the United States.⁴ Her work is among the earliest examples of social history in the U.S. and one of the first bodies of work to focus on the lives and experiences of immigrants.⁵ This article presents an overview of Everest's research and its place in Wisconsin and U.S. history and also provides a window into the life of a woman conducting an extensive historical study at the close of the nineteenth century.

Kate Everest grew up in Fond du Lac, a small town in central Wisconsin located at the end of Lake Winnebago, which had existed originally as an outpost for the French fur trade. She graduated from Fond du Lac High School and entered the University of Wisconsin in 1879, graduating in 1882 with a bachelor's degree from the ancient classical program. As teaching was one of the few avenues of employment for women at the time, she became a high school teacher. She taught various courses in history at Markham's Academy in Milwaukee, Wisconsin during the 1882/83 school year and then at LaCrosse High School for the school year of 1883/84. Everest was then preceptress and teacher at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin from 1884 to 1890.⁶ Lawrence, which was founded in 1847, was one of the first educational institutions in the upper Midwest and one of the first to be founded as coeducational, allowing male

and female students to attend together. UW-Madison did not become fully coeducational until 1874⁷, and many large universities in other parts of the U.S. would not allow women to attend until much later.⁸

After several years working with students, Everest became more deeply interested in the German ancestry of the people of Wisconsin and, in 1890, returned to the University of Wisconsin to do graduate work under the tutelage of Frederick Jackson Turner. Turner, the famous historian of the American West and author of the 'Frontier Thesis', was one of the first American historians to break away from the previously limited fields of political, economic, and European-centered history being conducted at other American universities.⁹ His thesis and the frontier school of historical thought has contributed largely to the American historical metanarrative of progress and freedom, and formed the basis for assimilation of immigrants into U.S. society.¹⁰ Everest became Turner's first doctoral student at Wisconsin and one of the first of many historians to add to this frontier school of research. From 1890 to 1893, Everest was a 'Fellow in History' at the UW, earning about \$400 per year for conducting research and teaching.¹¹ Her research interests centered on an inquiry into the predominately German ancestry of Wisconsin's citizens. She was especially interested in finding out why they left Germany, what regions of Germany they emigrated from, why they chose to settle in Wisconsin, and finally, where these different groups of German immigrants settled in Wisconsin.

This inquiry into Wisconsin's German roots helped Everest to fulfill the requirements for her master's degree, which she received in 1892, and her Doctorate, conferred in 1893. While Everest was the first woman to receive a doctorate from Wisconsin, and the third person overall to receive a doctorate from that institution, there were numerous other women who received Doctorates throughout the United States during this period. In total, two hundred and twenty-eight women earned Doctorates before 1900.¹² Only eight of these women, however, received doctorates in history.¹³ The twenty-nine institutions awarding these Doctorates included Yale University, University of Chicago, Cornell University, New York University, and University of Pennsylvania among many other universities. Furthermore, Bryn Mawr College, an all-female college, had fifteen women complete Doctorates before 1900.¹⁴

Everest's place among these early women Doctors of Philosophy makes her a pioneer, but she was also a pioneer in capturing the social, political, and historical experiences of Wisconsin's German pioneers. Everest's master's and dissertation research provided the material

for three articles published between 1892 and 1898.¹⁵ The first, 'Early Lutheran Immigration to Wisconsin' was published in the *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* in 1892.¹⁶ Though written by Everest, Frederick Jackson Turner presented it to the Academy, even though he was not listed as a co-author. Only members of the academy could present research in front of the academy, so Turner's presentation would not have been out of the ordinary.¹⁷ Also, at this time, there were no women on faculty at Wisconsin, or at most of the major universities in the United States, outside of fields such as education or at women's colleges.¹⁸ Women during this time period were greatly limited in their involvement in the academy.

Everest's second and third articles, 'How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element' and 'Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin', both appeared in the *Collections of the State Historical Society*, in 1892 and in 1898, respectively.¹⁹ Together, these three articles reveal the evolution of her analysis of the Germans who came to the Badger state, beginning with the political, economic and religious conflicts that led to the emigration and ending with detailed accounts of Wisconsin's German settlements.

Everest's first two articles were written largely using existing literature and sources such as census data and government records. 'Early Lutheran Immigration to Wisconsin' charts the history of the two Lutheran sects that dominated the German Protestant population in the 1800's, the 'old Lutherans' and the Reformed or Calvinists. The first wave of German immigration to the U.S. during the nineteenth century was the result of King Frederick William III's efforts to unite all Protestants under the doctrine of Calvinism. In addition to this religious persecution, the rise of German nationalism also caused many of the old Lutheran Germans to seek out a new home in North America. This first group of German immigrants was well financed and aspired to form a 'new German state' in the U.S. in order to maintain their religious practices, culture and language.²⁰ In addition to a plentiful supply of available cheap and fertile land, Everest identifies that the liberal ideals of Wisconsin territory were also seen as advantageous to the Germans, who were escaping from a very un-democratic society. These immigrants were determined to help forge a state that would allow free practice of religion and democratic participation and, upon their arrival, the 'men immediately declared their intention to become American citizens, every man signing his name to his petition'.²¹ These early groups of immigrants, along with other settlers, helped to create a state constitution that was among the most progressive at the time, a tradition that remains strong in Wisconsin.

In 'How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element', she expands her previous analysis by examining all German immigrant groups that arrived in Wisconsin after the uprisings in Germany from the 1830s through the 1880s, their motivations for settling in Wisconsin, and where they were located in the state. As before, Everest concludes that a number of conditions made Wisconsin a natural choice for habitation: the availability of

inexpensive fertile land, liberal government and citizenship requirements, a relatively sparse population, and a climate that was predisposed to the same types of crops grown in Germany. This article goes into more depth, however, in assessing the political motivations behind the decision of many German immigrant groups to choose Wisconsin over other states popular with new immigrants at the time, namely Iowa and Texas.²²

It is in Everest's description of this highly organized process of selecting a part of the U.S. to 'Germanize' that this article forces the reader to question the idea of the common Midwestern immigrant farmer who assimilated into American society. This work provides a basis for understanding the motivations for emigration and the highly organized and structured settling of territories that these Germans brought to the U.S. These groups were charged with creating a new German state that would allow its citizens to maintain their language, customs, and national heritage while also forming a strong democratic society that respected the rights of its citizens. While this Germanized state would be a part of the United States, its local government would be comprised largely of Germans who possessed some of the same nationalistic spirit that was emerging in their homeland during the period of their emigration.

While the previous two works relied largely on data from government and other academic sources, the final article breaks new ground. This article, 'Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin,' synthesizes data that Everest painstakingly collected over a period of several years through mailing out questionnaires and interviewing community leaders across Wisconsin in order to find the origins and stories of aging first-generation German immigrants. The result was an ambitious and detailed accounting of the immigration and immigrants and includes a vast array of dates, the names of places Germans emigrated from and immigrated to, and a quantitative feast for the eyes as Everest tracks the numbers of settlers migrating from the various regions in Germany to all parts of Wisconsin. In order to gather data for her study, Everest asked local community leaders, such as Francis Huffman, an editor for the Milwaukee 'Germania,' and Emil Baensch, a Manitowoc County Court Judge to respond to her queries.²³ Included in her request was a hand written cover letter and a typed questionnaire with seventeen questions, including: What is the locality of the foreign group you wish to write about, and what is its approximate population? What is the exact locality in Europe from which the group came? How was the emigration organized and conducted? Are there still any peculiarities in their costumes? And To what degree have they changed from the primitive type [referring to assimilation]?²⁴

Unlike today's communication technologies, where online and phone surveys or email make collecting and communicating data more efficient, Everest had to rely on the postal service and good-natured Wisconsin citizens who were willing to share the story of their community's German roots. Of the responses that Everest received, many took up to a year or longer to return to her. Many of



Frederick Jackson Turner's History Seminar, Madison, Wisconsin (USA), 1893
Wisconsin Historical Society, Image ID #1910

the community leaders provided answers in great detail about their German immigrant ancestors and the present condition of those immigrants and their descendents. Others, such as the previously mentioned Mr. Huffman, were not as helpful. Mr. Huffman responded by writing, 'Want of time makes it utterly impossible to comply with your request'. He goes on to suggest that Ms. Everest is 'mistaken in assuming that the Bavarians form the majority of the Germany American inhabitants of Jefferson County' and that the county was instead largely 'settled by former subjects of the King of Prussia'. His somewhat harsh response may be the result of a number of factors, such as offense at Everest's assumptions of his Bavarian descent, or a belief that this type of historical inquiry was a foolhardy effort. He does, however, suggest she contact one of the Lutheran clergy in the county, albeit with the caveat that probably no one would be willing to help since 'the labor involved [in responding to the questionnaire] is more than most mortals ... will readily submit to'.²⁵ While the indignant tone in Huffman's letter was rare among the many respondents, a substantial number of replies provided Everest with more people to contact instead of answers to her questions. This quest for information reveals the dedication and effort on Everest's part in order to acquire the information she needed, and over the course of three years Everest collected enough data to complete her dissertation.

'Geographical Origin' has been deemed as one of the most ambitious and rigorous early examples of social history conducted in the U.S.²⁶ Unfortunately, Everest's work has been largely overlooked until recent decades by the historical profession, being used instead primarily as a source for genealogical research. As a result of the level of detail in Everest's work, many current Wisconsin citizens have been able to trace their German heritage back to the original homeland of their ancestors. Despite being overlooked historically, the work was used in numerous later studies on immigration and immigrants, and the original article is still in publication today as part of an edited volume published by the Wisconsin historical society.²⁷

While the 'Geographical Origin' article does a magnificent job of showing how and where immigration occurs, another story unfolds in Everest's correspondence with the community leaders as she was collecting data for the study.²⁸ This untold story sheds light on some of the larger political and social issues that concerned Wisconsin's German communities during the 1890s at the time of Everest's research, and the difficulties she encountered while gathering information about the first generation of German immigrants.

Taken as a whole, Everest's body of work provides detailed accounts of Wisconsin's German roots that may not have been available otherwise, as many first generation immigrants were passing on at the time of the research. The data collected for the study also provides rich glimpses into the political, social, and cultural foundations of early Wisconsin, endowing present ancestors of German immigrants and others who live in the state with some explanations for the present state of Wisconsin and its citizens. Unfortunately, Everest's inquiry into the German origins of Wisconsin's citizens goes no further than the 1898 article, and she does not add to her corpus of historical work in any form until 1926.

In the thirty years between the publication of the 'Geographical Origin' article and her next piece, an article in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* titled 'The Wisconsin Press and Slavery',²⁹ there are few details as to Everest's livelihood. From 1893 to 1896, she helped to found and then served as 'head of the Kingsley House Social Settlement in Pittsburgh'; the Kingsley house provided social and educational programs for immigrants and other poor groups affected by the industrial revolution.³⁰ She then married Ernest Levi in 1896. Everest was listed as being 'at home' in Oakmont, Pennsylvania in the 1905 Report of the Regents of the University of Wisconsin, which included a list of Ph.D. graduates from UW-Madison and their whereabouts.³¹ The fact that she was at home, probably raising her daughter Dorothy, is a reminder that there were few opportunities for women in academia at the time, especially compared with today. Everest is listed in the 1914 edition of *Women's Who's who in America*, the short entry noting that she was active in various alumni and social service organizations and that she 'favors women's suffrage'.³²

Everest's case is a good example of how limited the opportunities were for women to use their Doctorates as compared to their male counterparts. Some women had the opportunity to be part of the faculty of all-female colleges such as Wellesley. In addition, women held the position of president of that college during the late 1800s, which therefore allowed women to direct the future of the college. More often, women who attended college were encouraged to teach in secondary schools to use their education, as Everest did before pursuing her doctoral degree.³³ Nonetheless, women did not find teaching in primary and secondary schools as stimulating and also had to grapple with 'problems of isolation and the struggle to obtain parental approval [which] thwarted the attempts of many graduates to locate employment'.³⁴ Similar to Everest, the two other women listed in the aforementioned Report of the Regents, both of whom had earned Ph.D.s

at UW-Madison before 1900, also were not professors, unlike most of the male alumni. Instead, Helen Bates (class of 1896) was an assistant librarian in Albany, New York, and Katherine Allen (class of 1898) was an instructor of Latin at the UW. The role of women in the academy would not change for quite some time, as most large state universities would not hire women faculty, outside of schools of education and nursing, until after World War II.³⁵

Everest returned to Madison by 1921 and worked at the State Historical Library, where she would remain until her death. She was very active on the campus of her alma mater, participating in different alumni and university events; according to the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*, Everest could 'usually be seen at the Union building at Commencement time'.³⁶ Everest's reappearance in Madison and the world of historical research in the 1920s may be attributed to the changes that took place as a result of the suffrage movement and the rise of the Progressives, as well as the fact that her daughter had left home by that time.³⁷ In addition to the article in 1926, Everest published a second piece in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* in 1933, titled 'The Press and the Constitution'.³⁸

In both of these later articles, she illustrates the role early newspapers had as a platform for deliberation and reflects the height of the progressive movement at the time. In the 'Wisconsin Press and Slavery', Everest provides an overview of how the issue of slavery played out in pre-civil war Wisconsin through articles and editorials in the state's ideologically diverse dailies and weeklies. She notes that 'a laissez faire attitude toward' slavery existed even though most citizens of Wisconsin thought it was a 'national curse'. There had been, however, some pro-slavery settlers who lived in Southwest Wisconsin, and the debate over the issue of slavery had grown at the end of the 1840s as Wisconsin was readying itself for admission to the Union as the thirtieth state. Everest argued that this was 'a period of transition, when men's minds were unsettled and consistency was not to be found in the party or the press'. These inconsistencies came to an abrupt end, Everest writes, when the Fugitive Slave Law was passed and the Missouri Compromise and Nebraska-Kansas Act were repealed. These actions at the national level worked to 'crystallize public opinion' in Wisconsin against slavery and led to a more active anti-slavery movement.³⁹ The timing of the article is especially interesting as the 1920's saw the rise of the Ku Klux Klan not only in the South but also in Wisconsin.⁴⁰ This article has provided insight for historians, as reflected in more recent historical works, into the political and social roles of newspapers and especially Black newspapers during the period.⁴¹

In her final article, 'The Press and the Constitution', Everest continued her analysis of the role of the press during the 1840s as a platform for communicating and debating issues that surrounded the development of Wisconsin's Constitution.⁴² The biggest issue, according to Everest, was how to get all of the local communities to agree on a single set of laws and a common organization of the government. Her analysis also reflects the influence of Turner and the beliefs of the frontier school of thought.

She quotes one newspaper's assessment of the situation in 1844:

The population of the Territory is unassimilated, rather a crowd than a community. One man is full of Yankee notions, another of Southern chivalry, one man draws his ideas of law and government from the civil code of Louisiana, another from the mixed system of Pennsylvania; one man's ideas are brought from the empire state, another's from the German Empire.⁴³

The most contentious Constitutional issues included debates over 'an elective judiciary, banks and banking, homestead exemption, married women's rights, and suffrage,' of which the issue over banks was left to a referendum and the matter of women's rights was 'put off for future disposal by the legislature'.⁴⁴ Even in a state as liberal as Wisconsin, women's rights came slowly and only after much effort on the part of women like Everest. In addition to providing insight on the early days of modern Wisconsin and its founding fathers, Everest's articles remind us of the power of the press as a communication, or propaganda, as an arm of a political party and as a platform for democratic deliberation.

Kate Everest died in Madison on 19 October 1938 and was buried in Pennsylvania alongside her husband.⁴⁵ Everest's contributions to preserving the history of Wisconsin were great, even while her number of publications were few. She helped to launch a new field of social history in the United States, and in doing so created a base of knowledge for today's citizens to explore the rich past of their ancestors and communities and the beginnings of their state. Everest should be remembered for being a pioneer in the field of history and in American academics; she helped lay the groundwork for generations of women granted Ph.D.s each year, and women in the history profession writ large

Notes

1. I will refer to her as Kate Everest for this article as she took the name Levi when she married, after graduating from UW-Madison.
2. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier In American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921).
3. Ibid.
4. Thomas Bender et al., *The Education of Historians for the Twenty-first Century* (Champaign IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004).
5. William B. Hesseltine and Louis Kaplan, 'Doctors of Philosophy of History: A Statistical Study,' *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Jul 1942), 765-800.
6. A preceptress is similar to a principal or dean of students. Winifred Lovering Holman, *Descendants of Andrew Everest of York, Maine* (Concord NH: The Rumford Press, 1955). Geneological data compiled by the author for David Clark (D.C.) Everest of Wausau, Wisconsin.
7. Previously, the university maintained a separate women's college. University History: Facts Honors People, www.uc.wisc.edu/almanac/images/2001_history.pdf (accessed May 2005), 12.

8. For example, the University of Virginia, one of the commonwealth of Virginia's two flagship universities, would not become coeducational until 1972.
9. Hesseltine and Kaplan, AHA; also Frederick C. Luebke, 'Turnerism, Social History, and the Historiography of European Ethnic Groups in the United States,' *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration*, (Champaign IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 138-157.
10. James Banks, 'Citizenship education and diversity,' *Journal of Teacher Education*, Vol. 52(1) (Jan. 2001).
11. *Report of the Board of Regents* (University of Wisconsin, 1892) 26; Fellowships were established in 1882 by Rev. Joseph H. Crooker. History of the University of Wisconsin, <http://www.library.wisc.edu/etext/WIReader/Thwaites/Chapter10.html> (accessed May 2005) ¶ 6.
12. Margaret W. Rossiter, 'Doctorates for American Women, 1868-1907,' in Nancy F. Cott, ed., *History of Women in the United States: Historical Articles on Women's Lives and Activities, 12 Education* (Munich; New York: K.G. Saur, 1992), 297.
13. Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880-1945*, (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press 2003), 34.
14. Rossiter, 'Doctorates for American Women, 1868-1907,' 297.
15. *The University of Wisconsin Alumni Directory, 1849-1919* (1921), 199.
16. Kate A. Everest, 'Early Lutheran Immigration to Wisconsin,' *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* (1892), 289-298.
17. Ray A. Billington, 'Frederick Jackson Turner: non-western historian,' *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters LIX* (1971), 12.
18. Rossiter, 'Doctorates for American Women, 1868-1907,' 289-313.
19. Kate Asaphine Everest, 'How Wisconsin Came by Its Large German Element,' *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin XII* (1892), 299-334; Kate Everest Levi, 'Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin,' *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin XIV* (1898), 341-393.
20. Everest, 'Lutheran Immigration', 293-6.
21. *Ibid.*, 294.
22. Everest, 'Large German Element', 306.
23. Francis Huffman to Everest, 23 Nov. 1891; Hon. Emil Baensch to Everest, 3 Mar. 1893. All letters, correspondence, and questionnaires are located in the Wisconsin Historical Society Archives in Madison, WI under Kate Asaphine (Everest) Levi, 'Papers, 1833-1850, 1891-1893.'
24. Undated copies of questionnaire.
25. Huffman to Everest, 23 Nov. 1891.
26. Luebke, 'Turnerism', also Edward N. Saveth, 'The Study of Man: The Immigrant in American History,' *Commentary*, Vol. II, No. 2 (August 1946), 180-185.
27. See, for example, Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880-1945*, (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press 2003); Jon Gjerde, *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917*, (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press 1999); Dirk Hoerder and Jvrg Nagler, *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930* (New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 2002).
28. Much of which is still available in the Historical Society's archives.
29. Kate Everest Levi, 'The Wisconsin Press and Slavery,' *The Wisconsin Magazine of History IX* (1926), 423-431.
30. Reuben G. Thwaites (ed.), *The University of Wisconsin: Its History and its Alumni* (Madison: J.N.Purcell, 1900), 729. The Kingsley house was founded in 1893 by Rev. George Hodges as part of the Christian Socialist Movement. Today, it is called the Kingsley Association (www.kingsleyassociation.org).
31. *Report of the Regents* (University of Wisconsin, 1904-5), 161.
32. John William Leonard, *Women's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States* (New York: The American Commonwealth Co., 1914)
33. Patricia A. Palmieri, 'Here was Fellowship: A Social Portrait of Academic Women at Wellesley College, 1895-1920,' in Cott, *History of Women in the United States*, 316-322.
34. Joyce Antler, "'After College, What?': New Graduates and the Family Claim," in Cott, *History of Women in the United States*, 361.
35. Rossiter, 'Doctorates for American Women, 1868-1907,' 289-313.
36. Her address was listed as 450 W. Gilman, Madison, WI in *The University of Wisconsin Alumni Directory, 1849-1919* (1921); Everest is cited as working at the State Historical Library in the July 1932 edition of *The Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*, vol. 33, no. 10, 308; Everest's alumni activities are noted in 'In the Alumni World,' *The Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* vol. 35, no. IX (June 1934), 272.
37. Another factor in her return may have been the death of her husband, Ernest, but I was unable to locate the date of his death.
38. Kate Everest Levi, 'The Press and the Constitution,' *The Wisconsin Magazine of History XVI* (1933), 383-403.
39. Everest Levi, 'The Wisconsin Press and Slavery,' 423-431.
40. Flyer for a Klan rally in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1924, <http://us.history.wisc.edu/hist102/photos/html/1011.html> (accessed Aug. 2005).
41. See, for example Henry Lewis Suggs, *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865-1985* (Westport CT: Greenwood press, 1996); James D Bilotta, *Race and the Rise of the Republican Party, 1848-1865* (Philadelphia PA: Xlibris Corporation, 2005).
42. Everest Levi, 'The Press and the Constitution,' 383-403.
43. *Ibid.*, 383.
44. *Ibid.*, 383-403.
45. *The Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*, Vol. 40 (Feb. 1939), 181.

Rose Dempster Bonnor, Portrait Painter, 29 November 1874 –27 June 1967

Annabel Bloxham, Independent scholar



Rose D. Bonnor

Photograph of Rose Bonnor, photograph owned by author.

The purpose of this paper is to 'reclaim' Rose Dempster Bonnor a century after she worked as a highly regarded portrait painter. Rose was a single woman artist who exhibited work between 1895 and 1916 at the Royal Academy, Manchester City Gallery, Walker Gallery, Liverpool and others. In her time she was widely acclaimed, her paintings were favourably reviewed in *Ladies Pictorial*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, *Punch*, *The Morning Post* and numerous other journals, newspapers and magazines. Her work was described as 'reserved and chaste'¹, 'painted with effectiveness, even brilliance'² and 'with individuality, a too rare quality among women artists'³. To illustrate her reputation, Rose's portrait of Lord Kenyon was commissioned in 1910 for one hundred guineas, sufficient to buy a small house at that time. Her paintings continue to be sold at auction and in art galleries in Britain and overseas. Yet apart from contemporary reviews, as far as I am aware, nothing has been written or researched concerning Rose Bonnor's work until she was featured on a small pamphlet written by Andrea Finn in 1995 for the Museum of Women's Art. Rose's work on public display consists of the oil painting of her brother, John Bonnor, in the Museum of Wales, hanging close to his jewellery, and also two paintings of dogs exhibited in St Fagan's castle, Cardiff.

Annabel Bloxham

By contrast, her brother, John Haughton Maurice Bonnor, a year younger and an artist who was inspired by the Arts and Crafts Movement, has had his work much better documented. Academics in Britain and overseas have researched and commented on his work. Dr Fiona Ciaran from New Zealand, an Art Historian specializing in stained glass, has written about his church windows. The most recent paper written about John Bonnor's jewellery and metalwork by Muriel Wilson was published in 2004.⁴ John Bonnor's work can be viewed in Birmingham Museum and the Museum of Wales. Also in the Museum of Wales are many life drawings by John who specialised in jewellery, sculpture and church furniture. Women in England were not allowed to practice life drawing until 1899 by which time Rose Bonnor had completed her Art School education. There is no record of her producing any life drawing despite the fact that she earned her living as a figurative painter. Rose and John often worked together and there is an interesting sketchbook in the Museum of Wales dated 1902, which starts with work by Rose and continues with drawings by John.

Rose's style of painting was influenced by Rembrandt, using dark backgrounds with shafts of light focussed on the face and hands. She was also interested in contemporary Edwardian style and admired Whistler, John Singer Sargent and Edvard Munch. In fact she used a similar pose to Munch's self-portrait in her painting of John. Contemporary artists were Gwen and Augustus John who were known by Rose and John and whose work was considered in a similar way to the Bonnor siblings. That is to say the brother was more highly acclaimed than the sister. Among Rose's friends and acquaintances were Kitty Godfrey, the tennis player, TE Lawrence, the soldier and writer and Sylvia Pankhurst who lived close to her in Fulham in 1904 and influenced her to become a suffragette. Today there is growing recognition of the value of women artists, as evidenced by the short-lists for the Turner Prize in recent years, so it seems an appropriate time to re-evaluate the work of Rose Dempster Bonnor who was undoubtedly an artist of high quality.

Rose's Background

Rose Bonnor was born at Bryn-y-gwalia Hall, Llangedwyn, Wales, which had been the family residence since the eighteenth century and possibly earlier. Her paternal grandparents were Rose Dempster, who was born and married at Skibo Castle, Scotland, and Richard Bonnor, Dean of St Asaph in Wales. These family connections in Scotland and Wales may have helped Rose with her portrait commissions. Her great, great grandfather was the seventeenth century engraver,

Thomas Bonnor, whose granddaughter, Margaret Gillies, 1803-1887 (Rose's first cousin twice removed) was an accomplished portrait painter and independent thinker. Her parents were Diana Brancker from the Wirral and George Bonnor the 'black sheep' of the family. The eldest of four children, Rose had three younger brothers, John, Maurice and Charles. John, a year younger than Rose, became a successful artist, while Maurice and Charles emigrated to South and North America, respectively. Rose was an early pupil at Cheltenham Ladies' College when Miss Dorothea Beale was Headmistress. She attended there from 1887, when she was thirteen years and ten months, and studied the regular curriculum with Music, French and Drawing as extras until 1889.

In 1894, Rose won a County Scholarship to Clapham School of Art, now absorbed into Camberwell School of Art, where she drew plaster casts of Greek sculpture and flowers and copied Van Dyke portraits in the National Gallery. In that same year, aged twenty, she exhibited 'Rosalie' at the Royal Academy. Two years later she won the Bronze Medal of the Science and Art department in a National Competition with a mediaeval style painting currently in the Museum of Wales. She also did the 'Grand Tour' of Italy as part of her art education. In 1898, aged twenty four Rose exhibited a painting of her future sister-in-law, John Bonnor's fiancée, 'Portrait of Miss Nancy Agar' at the Royal Academy, a photograph of which was reproduced in 'The Gentlewoman' April 15th 1899. She subsequently made some interesting changes to the work which can be seen by the difference between the photograph in the *Gentlewoman* and the state it is in now.⁵

John and Rose Bonnor both depicted a young girl on a green couch. Rose's version was an oil painting

exhibited in 1901 at the Royal Academy, Miss Margaret Fraser on a green couch, 'Pretty Lady, a Gaiety girl'. *Punch* 8th May 1901 commented "'Pretty Lady", shown by Rose D Bonnor, attired for going out, and waiting for her friend or friends to fetch her. If her friends are not fetching, she is'.⁶ Another newspaper states 'Miss Rose D Bonnor has an exceptionally clever, lifelike portrait of Miss Margaret Fraser. Nobody who did not know it would imagine this very pretty, ladylike young woman in black hat and grey gloves seated at ease on a green couch is the gaiety girl'.⁷ Unfortunately the whereabouts of Rose's Gaiety Girl painting is unknown.

Rose was an ambitious and prolific painter. She is known to have painted at least sixty portraits, probably many more, a number of them full length and over seven feet in height. Rose Bonnor painted many members of her family, a self portrait, her three nieces, a pastel drawing of Clotho, an oil painting of Diana, John's two daughters, a pastel drawing of Diana Bonnor Lewis, her brother Charles's daughter, a portrait of her mother, Diana Brancker (at least four times), her uncle, Robert Bonnor, and her sister in law, Nancy Bonnor. She painted two full-length life size portraits of her parents for her brother Charles, which are currently in New York. She also copied portraits of her great grandparents, John Bonnor and Jane Maurice. She had portrait commissions from across England, Scotland and Wales.

In 1917 Rose's brother John, aged forty-one, died suddenly in Canada while in charge of the sculpture workshop of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. Rose was clearly devastated by the death of her brother to whom she was so close and her output of work declined, although she did continue to paint some portraits. Her personal records contain no press cuttings after that



From the portrait of Miss Agar, sent to the Royal Academy by Miss Rose D. Bonnor.



Nancy Agar, 1900, by permission of Peter Bonnor-Moris



John Bonner, 1911, by permission National Museum of Wales.

date. In the early 1930s, when Rose Bonnor was in her fifties, she had a skating accident and suffered a detached retina. Her last known work was in 1932 when she drew Eve Bonnor in pastel as a wedding present for her cousin Athelstan Bonnor. Failing eyesight signalled the end of her career.

Rose travelled widely. She drove a car and had relatives in France and America whom she visited. She rode horses (side saddle, of course) and played golf. From 1910 to 1926, she lived at 105 East Sheen Avenue and when her mother was widowed in 1912 she came to live with Rose, staying with her daughter through illness until she died in 1926. It appears that Rose Bonnor was in a long term relationship with a lady called Wilhemina and as a result was cut out of her mother's will. Following her mother's death Rose's two remaining brothers Charles and Maurice signed a 'family agreement' in order, as Charles wrote on 21 February 1926, from New Jersey USA 'to give you what Mam fully intended you to have'.⁸ 'Your Willie' he wrote 'is perfectly OK with me Rose. I admire both of you for the courage to live your lives as you feel they

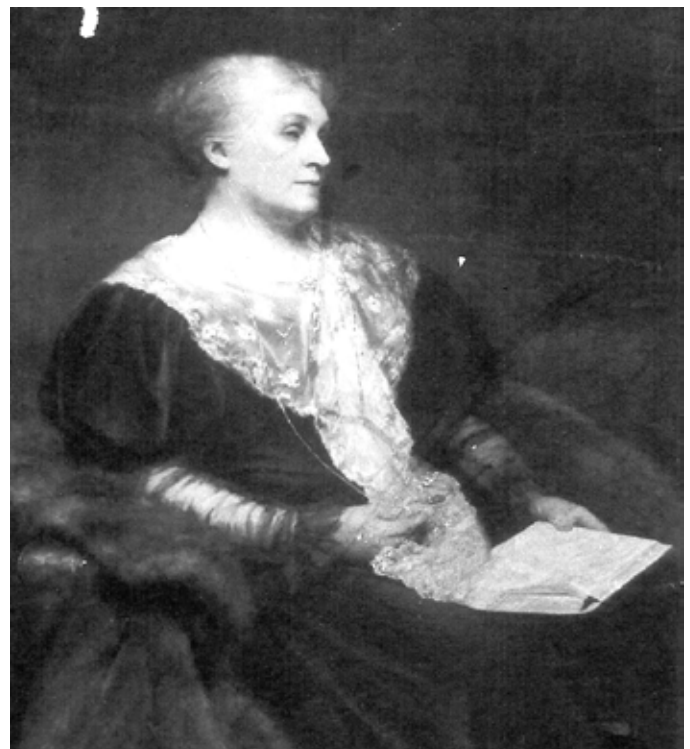
should be lived regardless of any conventions ... but rest assured I did not listen to Mother's ideas and stuck up for you and considered Willie your affair and not mother's.'⁹ After her mother's death Rose bought her own new house in 1926 for £500 in Enmore Gardens, East Sheen. She had the design modified to be open plan so that the front door opened on to the living area and studio. Despite failing eyesight she lived alone and tended a beautiful and colourful garden. In 1967 she died aged ninety-two.

Rose Bonnor's Work

Full details of known work and relevant dates are listed at the end of this article.

After Rose's boarding school education, scholarship to Art school, Bronze Medal award and various exhibitions at the age of twenty-four, she embarked on her career as a portrait painter. By 1904 Rose Dempster Bonnor's reputation had spread and she had commissions across Britain. She lived in an era when it was an uneven struggle for women artists. A newspaper described in 1905 how the percentage of Art exhibited by women had increased by 3 per cent to 24 per cent over the past decade.

In 1906 the *Ladies Pictorial* commented, 'Rose Bonnor recently held a successful exhibition at the Walker Gallery where she showed several full length portraits and some effective and pretty studies of heads. One of her strongest portraits was 'Charles Shaw Esq', the head firmly modelled and the flesh tones good. Daintiness gave distinction to the study named 'Diana' and the seated figure 'Margaret Fraser' looked as though it was a really good likeness, the pose being very easy and natural, and the colouring throughout quiet and restful'.¹⁰ The same day, *The Queen* praised her work, commenting 'At Walker Gallery Rose Bonnor is exhibiting several life size



Diana Brancker, 1899, Rose's Mother, photograph owned by author

portraits in oils. A particularly good example of her skill is the painting of her Mother. She excels also in masculine portraiture and to judge by the difference between her work of today and of three years ago, had made such strides in her line of art as, if continued in, should bring her forward as a leading portraitist'.¹¹

In 1908 Walter Rice Evans, JP of Eaglesbush, the ex high sheriff of Glamorgan was presented with a portrait by Rose Bonnor, in Neith. The *South Wales Daily Post* wrote that the portrait 'was handsomely executed by Miss Rose Bonnor'¹² while simultaneously *The Western Mail* stated 'The portrait which represented Mr Evans in high-sheriff's dress had been executed by Miss Rose Bonnor, a Welsh artist of high repute.'¹³ Thus Rose's reputation and standing as a portrait painter increased in these years. Yet, on the presentation of Walter Rice Evans' portrait in 1908, the *South Wales Daily Post* reported on November



Lord Kenyon, photograph owned by author

27th 1908 'Mr Eccles submitted the toast of the artist, Rose Bonnor. Mr Henry Miers (her cousin) responding on Rose Bonnor's behalf!'¹⁴

In 1913 she exhibited Lord Kenyon, for which she was paid a hundred guineas, at the Royal Academy. She originally painted him with his dog but later decided to paint it out. *The Evening News* described the painting and her work in 1916 under the title 'Miss Bonnor's Pictures': 'I had a chat with Rose Bonnor in her studio yesterday and congratulated her upon the singularly successful portrait of Lord Kenyon, now attracting so much attention at Burlington House. Lord Kenyon is over six foot in height and his picture measures seven foot six, a notable piece of work by a woman. Miss Bonnor finds her quick oil sketches in demand at present among service men and their relatives. Of her more serious portraits she regards



Cook, 1915, photograph owned by author

those of Lady Lettice Harrison, Mr Ormsby Gore and Mr Claude Cayley, now occupied with munitions work, the most successful'.¹⁵

She did not only paint the wealthy and famous. In addition to the painting of 'Mother', she painted other familiar people and animals. This is a sensitive painting of 'Cook', a member of the staff in Rose's family home. She demonstrates empathy with Cook, a person she knew well from childhood. The dramatic lighting does not detract from the delicate and skilful painting. Cook is in her own environment, sitting on a simple chair with shopping lists behind her. Rose Bonnor enjoyed painting dogs and owned one during most of her life. Rover of Gerwyn is currently



Don of Gerwyn, 1910, by permission of William Secord Gallery Inc

exhibited at St Fagan's Castle Cardiff, and during 1910 she painted Don of Gerwyn, which has been offered for sale at William Secord Gallery in New York (2007).



A Village Girl, 1910, by permission of Joan Bonnor-Moris

While Rose was staying with Lord Kenyon in 1912 she also painted a girl from the village in just one day. This painting shows a freedom of execution and freshness of colour that was not always so apparent in her commissioned work. Andrea Finn wrote of Rose in 1996 'Many reviews draw attention to her brilliance of handling, and ability to convey a truthful yet acceptable image of her sitters. In some of her paintings the dramatic lighting and rich subdued colouring seems to reflect her admiration for

Rembrandt and she combined this with elegant Edwardian poses'.¹⁶

Conclusion

Rose Dempster Bonnor lived in exciting times for women. She went to boarding school, an innovation for girls in 1887. She won a scholarship to Art School, which, despite the lack of life drawing for women, enabled her to lead an independent life, be active politically, travel widely, meet a variety of people and earn a living from portrait painting. Although her press reviews are positive discussing the way she painted with 'effectiveness even brilliance'¹⁷ and calling her 'a Welsh artist of high repute'¹⁸, yet they also state that she shows 'individuality, a too rare quality among women'¹⁹ and that she produced 'a notable piece- of work by a woman.'²⁰ It is significant of the age that it was considered inappropriate for her to speak publicly and that her cousin Henry Miers responded on her behalf to a vote of thanks when her portrait was presented to Mr Walter Rice Evans. Rose Dempster Bonnor was a woman perfectly able to speak up for herself. Rose had no husband, no children, but like many single women looked after her mother when she was sick and lived with and cared for her in old age. Even then her mother did not approve of her unconventional way of life and a family agreement had to be arranged for Rose to receive her inheritance.

My hope for the future is that an exhibition may be mounted of the work of Rose Bonnor together with that of John Bonnor's. Discussion is currently taking place at Cheltenham Museum and Art Gallery. The Museum of Wales, which houses a substantial archive of material relating to both brother and sister, is also considering such an exhibition when their its current refurbishment is complete . The aim of this research is to make the life and work of Rose Dempster Bonnor better known. She



Rose in Studio, photograph owned by author

was an ambitious, accomplished, prolific and successful portrait painter, well known in her lifetime, and though she exhibited widely and there are many highly favourable reviews of her work, she has not received the acclaim that she richly deserves.

Known works and chronology of the life of Rose Bonnor

1874 Born in Bryn y gwalia Hall, Llangedwyn
 1887-1889 An early pupil at Cheltenham Ladies' College under Miss Dorothea Beale. Rose took Music, French and Drawing as extras
 1894 Won county scholarship to Clapham School of Art
 1895 Exhibited 'Rosalie' at the Royal Academy; Lived at 30 Rossetti Garden Mansions, Chelsea
 1896 Won bronze medal of the Science and Art department: painting in Museum of Wales, copied Van Dyke portrait
 1898 Lived at 33 Gauden Road, Clapham. Produced three graphite portraits (one in possession of Annabel Bloxham, two in possession of David Bonnor-Moris). Exhibited 'A Brunette' at Walker Art Gallery Liverpool for sale at four guineas.
 1899 Exhibited 'Mrs Bonnor' at Walker Art Gallery Liverpool, not for sale
 1900 Portrait of 'Miss Nancy Agar' exhibited at RA, now in possession of Peter Bonnor-Moris
 1901 Lived at 30 Rossetti Garden Mansions, Chelsea with her brother John Bonnor. Exhibited at Walker Art Gallery 'Mrs Reginald Barrett', price £52.10. Exhibited at Royal Academy 'Mrs Bonnor' and Miss Margaret Fraser in a black hat with grey gloves on a green couch, 'Pretty Lady', a Gaity girl. Her brother John Bonnor also used the green sofa for a pastel drawing, now in possession of Annabel Bloxham
 1902 Lived in 10 Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road Chelsea. Exhibited at Royal Academy 'Mrs Reginald Barrett' and 'Mrs St. John Murphy' in a black evening dress and red cloak. She also painted her Uncle, the 'Rev Robert Bonnor'
 1904 Was active as a Suffragette. Exhibited 'Robert Hall Esq', not for sale, at Walker Art Gallery. Exhibited at RA 'Mr Baillie Hamilton' of Cambusmore and 'Robert Hall Esq' in green hunting coat
 1905 Lived at 15 Edith Villas West Kensington and at Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road, Chelsea. Exhibited at Manchester City Art Gallery 'The sweet solace of our labours' price £84. Exhibited at RA 'Mrs Henry Compton' and 'Charles Shaw' and 'The sweet solace of our labours'.
 1906 Painted 'Isobel' now in collection of Mrs Insoll. At Neath, exhibited portraits of 'Mr J.E. Moore-Gwyn of Dyffryn', 'Walter Rice Evans, High Sheriff of Glamorgan', 'Herbert Eccles, ex High Sheriff and Mrs Eccles', 'the children of Dr. E. Vernon Pegge'

1906 Exhibited at Walker Gallery, Liverpool 'Diana', 'Charles Shaw' and 'Margaret Fraser'.
 1908 Commissioned to paint 'Mr John Jones' of Grove Lodge, Wrexham, 'Col Capel Miers, Cameron Highlanders' and 'Lord Harlech'.
 1910 Lived at 105 East Sheen Avenue. 'Portrait of a village girl' painted in a day now in possession of Joan Bonnor-Moris. Exhibited 'Fleming Gough, Esq' at Royal Academy. 'Rover of Gerwyn' is currently exhibited at St Fagan's castle Cardiff together with oil painting of a champion Welsh Springer 'Corrin'. Painted 'Don of Gerwyn', a flat coated Labrador, currently for sale in William Secord gallery New York for \$28,000
 1911 Painted dogs 'Patti of Gerwyn', 'Rose of Gerwyn' and 'Rover of Gerwyn'. Exhibited at Walker Art Gallery 'In her gaily coloured gown', price £70. Commissioned to paint 'Colonel Heaton' of Plas Heaton. Painted her brother 'John Bonnor', now in Museum of Wales, Cardiff
 1913 Commissioned to paint 'the Hon. W Ormsby-Gore'. Exhibited 'Col the Lord Kenyon' at Royal Academy.
 1914 Exhibited at Royal Institute of Oil Painters 'Mrs Harrison', 'Peter Harrison', 'Mrs Didham of Bideford', 'James Henryson Caird of Cassencary'. Also painted 'Capt Alistair Henryson Caird KOSBs' and 'Mr Claude Cayley'
 1915 Worked at 5 Avenue Studios, 76 Fulham Road. Painted 'Clotho Bonnor' and 'Cook'.
 1916 Exhibited at the 33rd exhibition of the Royal Institute of Oil Painters 'A portrait' not for sale. Exhibited at RA 'Lord Kenyon', 'Lady Leticia Harrison', 'Peter Harrison'. Commissioned to of draw 'son of Harold Barwell FRCS'. Painted 'Self portrait' in possession of Annabel Bloxham
 1919 Lived at 105 East Sheen Ave, commissioned to paint 'Tony Nesbitt'
 1919 Commissioned to paint 'Molly, daughter of Capt I.N.Jones' of Kingsdown Manor, Swindon.
 1932 Drew 'Eve Bonnor' now in possession of Annabel Bloxham

Rose Bonnor painted numerous other portraits for which there are photographs but no names or dates. There are photographs of paintings of 'Mrs. Jenkins', 'Miss Hope Johnstone', 'Dyke Dennis Esq' and 'Mrs Allenby' but no dates. In Rose's press releases there is mention of portraits of 'Admiral Sir Arthur Fawshawe KCB', Commander in chief at Portsmouth and 'Lady at the Loom'. Members of Rose's family own paintings which are unnamed and not dated and two full height portraits of Rose's parents are currently in New York. The following paintings and drawings by Rose Bonnor are in the Museum of Wales, 'Flowers in a vase', watercolour, 'stone painting in watercolour', bronze medal oil painting, mediaeval type portrait from Clapham School of Art', watercolour 'painting of plaster head', watercolour of 'gauntlet' and various sketchbooks.

Notes

1. *Building News*, 16 May 1902.
2. *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 May 1902.
3. *Morning Post*, 10 July 1902.
4. Muriel Wilson, 'John Houghton (sic, Haughton) Maurice Bonnor 1875-1917. A little known designer of the Arts and Crafts Movement', *Journal of Decorative Arts Society, Arts & Crafts Issue 28*, 2004.
5. *The Gentlewoman*, 27 May 1905.
6. *Punch*, 8 May 1901.
7. Undated newspaper clipping in author's possession.
8. Letter in author's possession.

9. Ibid.
10. *Ladies Pictorial*, 16 June 1906.
11. *The Queen, The Lady's Newspaper*, 16 June 1906.
12. *South Wales Daily Post*, 27 Nov. 1908.
13. *The Western Mail*, 27 Nov. 1908.
14. *South Wales Daily Post*, 27 November 1908.
15. *Evening News*, 31 May 1916.
16. *Museum of Women's Art pamphlet*, 1995.
17. *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 May 1902.
18. *South Wales Daily Post*, 27 Nov. 1908.
19. *Morning Post*, 10 July 1902.
20. *The Evening News*, 31 May 1916.

Letters to the Editors

Responding to Joy Bone (see Issue 55, 2007)

24.4.2007

I attended a WSG conference on Saturday the 21st April at which Prof Isobel Grundy was the keynote speaker. In the following workshop various issues concerning women and writing were discussed. On the previous day I had received my copy of *Women's History Magazine* with the Ms Bone article. I felt it entirely appropriate to draw the assembled gathering's attention to what is happening to the achievements of a recent generation of women, not least their bravery and courage. Virginia Woolf noted the dusty neglected books in the British Library as testimony to how women are so easily forgotten. Ms Bone's article cautions that if we don't ensure today's women are properly recorded we have learnt nothing from past treatment. The assembled delegates were appalled at the photograph of the hats and coats. 'But the female body has been completely eradicated,' commented one. Quite so! Another, 'Who was the architect? A man?' In fact it seems more men than women were involved! Another delegate, Teresa Barnard, coincidentally a contributor in the same issue, suggested a form of petition be drafted and presented to those who might appreciate the universal concern expressed. However as Ms Bone's article cautions, there is a significant number of powerful women who have not only failed to protect the memory of serving women but have been only too pleased to endorse such an insult.

Yours sincerely

Dr. Kate Baker, KateCBaker@aol.com

25.4.2007

I have just received a copy of Joy's article. It is very well written, well researched and covers the whole sorry tale. I was in the ATS 1942 -1945 and worked as an Intercept Operator covering Rommel and his troops. I wrote a book about it, *England Needs You* (ISBN0953818608, published in 2000). We worked at Beaumanor Y Station, an outstation of Bletchley Park. We worked long hours with no recognition because we were very secret.

When I was asked to contribute to a memorial -

which was to be a statue of an ATS girl, a WRN and a WAAF, I gladly gave to the fund. That never materialised and suddenly we were limp hats and coats. I asked where our money had gone and was told it had been spent on administration for the limp coats. How dare they remember us in this way?

Sincerely

Joan Nicholls, joan.nicholls@tecres.net

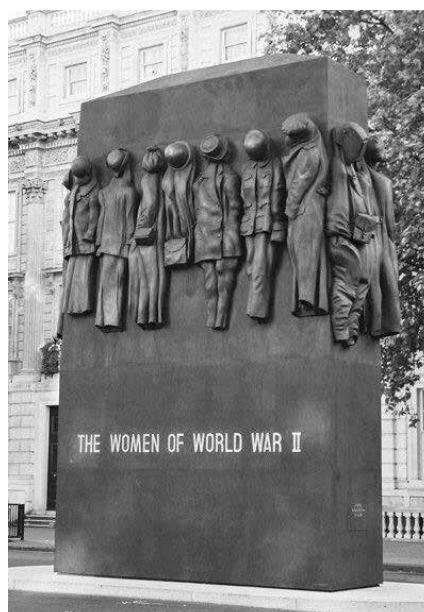
28.5.2007

I was really pleased to note that you included an article on the memorial to the women of World War II in Whitehall. I agree with what was written and that those women who actually served in the forces during the war (and subsequent wars) should be remembered for what they did (as are the men) rather than those who generally helped out on the home front.

It was quite evident on Remembrance Sunday that this structure was totally ignored which speaks volumes.

I would like to read more about this and other related issues.

Amanda Petrie, a_petrie@cwgsy.net



The Memorial to the Women of World War 2, Whitehall

Book Reviews

Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton and Eileen Janes Yeo (ed),
Gender in Scottish History Since 1700
Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.
£18.99, 0 7486 1761 2 (paperback), pp.viii + 280

Reviewed by Ruth Boreham
Freelance Researcher, Edinburgh



According to the twentieth-century poet Hugh MacDiarmid, 'Scottish women of any historical interest are curiously rare'. This has been dramatically disproved by the much-needed and valuable *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*. However, while this helped to bring to the fore some of the fascinating women in Scotland's past, it could not explore fully some of

the more complex themes in gender history. That is where its companion, *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700* comes in to its own—and they really are companions to each other. There were a number of times when reading the critical text that I used the *Biographical Dictionary* to find out more about the women mentioned. The books complement each other very well; both are treasure troves of Scottish women in history.

Since 1999 when the Scottish parliament sat for the first time since 1707, much attention has been paid to Scottish history. And with 37% of the newly sworn in members of the Scottish parliament being female it was hoped that women would have an integral part in that history. Yet most historical discussion and debate, both before and after 1999, have not only missed women out but have not considered the impact of gender on shaping the history of this small nation. Scotland is often viewed as a macho country, and this is reflected in the way its history is told. Despite the fact that women's history generally has been the focus of decades of research, the rash of books that were published about Scottish history after devolution often marginalised women. *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700* redresses the balance with chapters looking at a number of themes through the lens of gender, including Scottish Identity, Politics, Religion, Education, Medicine, the Arts, Work and the Family, examining what happens when women are added to the story. This is not simply about adding women into Scotland's historical narrative,

but about widening gendered boundaries of academic research that have dominated for so long.

Conventional definitions are challenged, as are dominant ways of viewing the past. Women are placed back into the narrative, with events being re-examined to show the different impacts on women. The book also looks at events that occurred outside the central geographical belt, and helps to offer a more balanced perception of the country as a whole, with the Highlands and Islands playing a bigger part than ever before.

Sydney Smith once said, 'I never read a book before reviewing it. It prejudices a man so.' In many ways, I did not need to read this book before knowing it would be good and authoritative—a look at the editors involved would have told you as much, all four of whom have published extensively on the history of women and gender. But if reading a book before reviewing it leads to prejudice, then I am prejudiced towards *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700*, and urge everyone to read it. This is a Scottish history which is inclusive and which deserves to have a place on every university reading-list in the UK. I thoroughly enjoyed this book and would recommend it to anyone interested in history, whatever their particular field. Each chapter comes with a short recommended reading list, and copious notes, giving the reader plenty to follow up should she so desire. As someone who is relatively new to women's history, I found this book to be exciting and inspiring. The editors and authors are to be applauded for their efforts—and hopefully others will now take up the baton to further re-inscribe women into national narratives.

Elizabeth Makowski, "A Pernicious Sort of Woman". Quasi-Religious Women and Canon Lawyers in the Later Middle Ages. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, vol. 6.

Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005. £35.94, ISBN 0 8132 1392 4 (hardback), pp. xxxiii + 170

Reviewed by Dr Laurence Lux-Sterritt
LERMA
Université d'Aix-Marseille I

In her preface, Elizabeth Makowski presents this book as the natural follow-up from her earlier work, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and Its Commentators 1298-1545* (The Catholic University of America Press: Washington D.C., 1997) in which she argued that Boniface VIII's bull was met with successful resistance from many female groups and never was as effective as the 1563 decrees issued to the same effect by the Council of Trent.



This study offers a scrupulous textual analysis of Canon law with regards to three 'quasi-religious' groups, namely secular Canonesses, Beguines and Tertiaries. The main bulk of the argument will be found in the first two parts of the volume, since the third one acts chiefly as a conclusion; in these sections, Makowski first presents the academic, theoretical glosses of Canon law before turning to their

practical applications; focusing upon the *Constitutiones Clementinae*, the last official collection of medieval Canon law, she demonstrates that although academic glossators such as Johannes Andreae (1270-1348) strove to attribute a different status to secular Canoness, Beguine and Tertiary, yet they recurrently failed to differentiate clearly between these three groups. Indeed, according to Henry of Susa, known as Hostiensis (d. 1274) a quasi-religious woman was nothing but 'a pernicious sort of woman', whose insidious nature was expressed in her freedom of movement and lack of compliance with religious rules. This ill-defined status is reflected in Makowski's own lexical choice of the term 'quasi-religious' which (as opposed to 'semi-religious') expresses the unclear legal status of these unenclosed pious women.

In her section discussing secular Canonesses, the author shows that academic glosses of Canon law used a variety of proof texts which, although never validating secular Canonesses as religious women *stricto sensu*, yet recognised them as a common feature of religious life, and one which had certain prerogatives. This concession, however, was not to detract from the highly irregular status of the Canonesses who, if they were tolerated, were certainly not approved of. The Beguines fared even worse, and their condemnation often provided the only consensus between academics: their corrupting influence was compared to that of witches, madwomen and deceivers who, 'under the veil of sanctity', held 'perverse opinions' and endangered the 'simple people' (p.24). Even texts such as *Ratio Recta*, meant to explain the saving clause contained in the decree *Cum de Quibusdam* differentiating between good and bad quasi-religious women were, in the end, used for wholesale persecution. Hence, the abuse endured by Beguines spread to all *mulieres religiosae* indiscriminately and even onto Tertiaries whose unenclosed *modus vivendi* jeopardised the safety which their papal approval and official status should have guaranteed.

The second part of this volume turns to the concrete implications of quasi-religious women's ambiguity of status with regards to the practicality of temporal law. Revealing

vignettes show how, in matters of inheritance, taxation, property or marriage, case law could view Beguines as either religious or lay. In such trials, Makowski points out the increasing importance of Roman law to the detriment of pure Canon law, and shows that the *decisiones* given in these cases demonstrate a growing disparity between academic theorists and legal practitioners. Through the example of the Sisters of the Common Life, founded by Geert Grote (1340-84), she illustrates how lawyers working for quasi-religious women often resorted to Roman law over Canonical glosses and, frequently exploited the elusiveness of ecclesiastical law in order to serve their clients.

This book provides a welcome pendant to Makowski's previous work on *Periculoso* and cloistered women, and one which will be useful to all readers with an interest in female religious history. The non-specialist will be grateful to the author for her continued efforts towards intelligibility and precision; obscure terms are always explained, contexts glossed, chapters introduced and concluded with remarkable clarity. Yet this clarity may also represent one of the book's minor weaknesses since the reader may find some passages slightly repetitive and the point may at times feel a little laboured. Nevertheless, this work manages the arduous task of providing an extremely well-documented study of the incongruities of Canon law, academic interpretations and legal practice with regards to quasi-religious women; it has begun the process of gradually dissipating the nebulous imprecision surrounding these women and their relationship to ecclesiastical and secular law, it is a call for further research in this field, and Makowski has certainly opened the way in an enlightening manner.

***Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, Elizabeth Ewan, Sue Innes, Siân Reynolds (eds)**

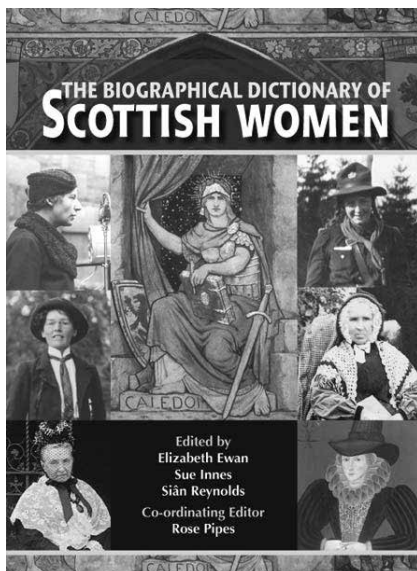
Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. £55.00, 0 7486 1713 2 (hardback), pp. 440

Reviewed by Jane Potter

*Oxford International Centre for Publishing Studies
Oxford Brookes University*

As a Research Editor at the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* in the final years before its publication in 2004, I was keenly aware of the gender bias the new project inherited from its nineteenth-century 'parent' and the twentieth-century supplements. Also keenly aware were the *ODNB's* creators from its founder, the late Colin Matthew and his successor Brian Harrison, to a host of consultant and associate editors, a dedicated in-house team of scholars, and a worldwide network of contributors. A great effort was made to include more women into this narrative of national life and achievement, but we knew all along that our work would have to be supplemented by other, more specific projects.

In their Introduction, the editors of the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* express the trepidation they



felt knowing they were compiling their work 'in the shadow of such a mighty publication' as the *ODNB* (p. xxviii). But like those of us at the coalface in Oxford, they realized that it was actually 'a great bonus' for these two endeavours to be carried out simultaneously. In particular because the contributors to the *Scottish Dictionary*—many

of whom were also contributors to the *ODNB*—'had more to say on Scottish affairs' (p. xxviii) and because specialized biographical compilations can bring to light further subjects: there is a fruitful interaction between such specialized undertakings and the *ODNB*'s more general remit.

The female lives documented in the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* span the decades from medieval and early modern to the early 21st century and this historical breadth is matched by a geographical one that ensures 'coverage' from the lowlands and central regions to the highlands and islands. A clear and engaging Introduction sets out the mission, criteria for inclusion, and scope of the *Dictionary*. A useful thematic index facilitates browsing, offering the reader encounters with writers in all genres of literature, with 'tradition bearers', scientists, politicians and royalty as well as 'quasi-historical, mythical or fictional women'. With a wide criteria for inclusion, the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* chronicles not only the well-known or the eminent but also the 'lives of women who were not remotely famous, but whose story in some way represented areas of Scottish life or economy, where women were generally present but rarely individually recorded' (xxx).

Queens, famous novelists, and respected scientists are here with the infamous, the legendary and the ordinary. Margaret of Denmark (c.1457-86), Queen of Scotland from 1469 to 1486 and Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother (1900-02) have their place alongside Mary Diana Dods (b. 1790, d. c.1830), cross-dresser and writer, and Helen Cordiner (1893-64), herring gutter. The biography of traditional folk singer Jeannie Robertson (1980-75) may be read alongside the life of pop singer Lena Zavaroni (1963-99). Contributions to national politics made by such women as Jennie Lee (1904-88), the youngest woman elected to the House of Commons (1929) and Lady Frances Balfour (1858-1931), instrumental in the establishment of the NUWSS and a committed supporter of women's rights in church and in politics, can be contrasted with the contributions to local government made by, among others, Jean Roberts (1895-88), first woman Lord

Provost of Glasgow and Mabel (Mabs) Skinner (1912-96), Communist activist and councillor in Inverness. 'Heroines and risk takers' include the famous Jacobite heroine Flora Macdonald (1722-90), but also the less well-known Mary Buick (1777-1854) and Mary Young (1883-1945). Buick, who followed her husband Thomas Watson into the Navy as a nurse was present at the Battle of Trafalgar and prepared Nelson's body for embalming, while in a more contemporary war, resistance worker Mary Young died at Ravensbruck concentration camp a political prisoner of the Germans. Even women about whom very little is known are profiled, such as Meg of Abernethy (fl. 1390s), harpist, whose only life record consists of three references in the Aberdeen Burgh Records. Yet these show that 'it was possible for women to join the ranks of professional harpists' (p. 262).

Every facet of Scottish women's lives over the centuries is represented in what is both a fascinating record and valuable resource for further research. Such attention to the 'detail of so many women's lives, across several centuries ... provides a new way of picturing Scottish life, and a rethinking of what is meant by Scottish national identity' (xxxii), the challenge taken up by the Dictionary's companion text, *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* (reviewed below) in its range of analytic essays.

It was late Sue Innes's 'strongly held desire' that the entries 'should tell not just of careers, but of lives.' Scholarly in its approach, but also accessible to the general reader, the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* and its editors have indeed been 'faithful to that guiding principle' (xxix).

WHN £1000 BOOK PRIZE

The WHN £1000 Book Prize is awarded for an author's first book which makes a significant contribution to women's history or gender history and is written in an accessible style that is rewarding to the general reader of history. The book must be written in English and be published the year prior to the award being made.

The 2007 competition closed on March 15th and the winner will be announced at the WHN Annual Conference at the University of Winchester in September 2007.

For further information please contact the chair of the panel of judges, email: bookprize@womenshistorynetwork.org

Women's Library News

Newly catalogued material

The Library has completed the cataloguing of the Josephine Butler Society Library pamphlets with funding from the Wellcome Trust. The pamphlets cover subjects ranging from prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts to social purity and moral reform. The collection is also a rich source of information on wider issues such as health and medicine, sexuality and population control. Josephine Butler's writings are fully represented in this collection, which also includes material on associated campaigns in Europe, India and Hong Kong. The collection can be searched via the Library's online catalogue at www.thewomenslibrary.ac.uk/catalogue and material is available too in the Reading Room.

We have catalogued a number of small collections including the correspondence and memorabilia of Winifred Adair-Roberts (c. 1909-c. 1913) (7WAR) relating to her suffrage activities and letters and photographs of suffrage supporter Sybil W White (1911-1989) (7SWW). Two more archives relating to Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp are now available, the papers of Jill Truman (c. 1980-c. 2000) (7JTR) and the correspondence and campaigning material of Jayne and Juliet Nelson (1979-1997) (7JAN). In addition one new press cutting collection, Women's work in the First World War (1913-c.1919) (10/51) is now available for consultation.

The Library's collection of material from the See Red Workshop (1974-1984) (5SRW and TWL.2006.02), a women's liberation movement screen-print workshop, has also been catalogued recently. This collection consists of 50 posters and 12 postcards produced by See Red, and correspondence, notebooks, press cuttings, poster catalogues and photographs. For information see: www.thewomenslibrary.ac.uk/archivemuseumcatalogue

New look for Genesis

We are very pleased to announce the launch of the new website for Genesis www.genesis.ac.uk. Originally developed in 2002 to support research into women's history and promote sources within the UK, Genesis comprises a database with descriptions of women's history collections from museums, libraries and archives in the United Kingdom plus a Guide to sources that provides access to a range of national and international web resources on women's history. The Guide to sources has been extensively updated and expanded, and the overall site continues to be maintained and developed by The Women's Library. We would welcome feedback on the new site so please send any comments to genesis@thewomenslibrary.ac.uk

Where are the women?

How can we ensure that history at GCSE is gender-balanced? How might we find opportunities to teach more women's history within the curriculum, and how might we teach it more effectively? The Women's Library, in

collaboration with the Women's History Network, will be holding an INSET training day on Monday 15th October 2007 to offer practical support to help teachers of GCSE History address these questions. Where are the women? Resources and teaching strategies for the GCSE history classroom will feature sessions with Dr Lucy Bland, London Metropolitan University, Dr Amanda Capern, University of Hull and Dr Jane Potter, Oxford Brookes University as well as expert advice from teacher Flora Wilson and staff at The Women's Library. The day is a unique opportunity to find out more about using historical sources for teaching women's history. For full details and booking, visit www.londonmet.ac.uk/thewomenslibrary/services/learning/inset.cfm.

Exhibition news

After its success in Reading, York and Newport, a condensed version of our exhibition **Action Women: the real story of the Women's Institutes** is on show in the foyer of The Women's Library until 1 September 2007 exploring the history and campaigns of the WI and the stories of some real women of action.

This autumn, The Women's Library continues its programme of groundbreaking exhibitions with *Sinners, Scroungers, Saints: lone mothers, past and present*. This addresses the ways in which single mothers have been represented, both historically and in a contemporary context. Developed in collaboration with One Parent Families, the exhibition will showcase new research and tell the stories of lone mothers from the 1700s to the present day, challenging perceptions and questioning stereotypes. From 17 October 2007 – 29 March 2008.

Departure of Antonia Byatt

The Women's Library's Director, Antonia Byatt, will leave the Library at the end of July to become Director of Literature Strategy at The Arts Council. Antonia says: "The Women's Library has gone from strength to strength since we moved to our new building in 2002. We have been designated as a collection of outstanding national importance, user figures have increased enormously, the exhibition and events programme has a high reputation and we continue to provide an excellent service to researchers."

The Women's
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2222
Fax:+44 (0)20 7320
2333



Conferences

Medieval Women in Their Third Age: Middle Age In The Middle Ages International Conference

The University of Wales,
12-14th September, 2007

The School of English at Bangor and IMEMS are delighted to announce a conference that gathers together established scholars internationally renowned for their work on medieval womanhood. The papers are drawn from a variety of related disciplines; history, literary history, archaeology, art history and theology, and pose radical and provocative questions about the way in which the middle-aged woman perceived herself and how she was perceived by others.

Keynote Speaker: **Anneke Mulder-Bakker** (Leiden, Netherlands)

For further information and booking details please visit our website: www.bangor.ac.uk/english/events.php. All enquiries should be sent to the conference organizer: Dr Sue Niebrzydowski, s.niebrzydowski@bangor.ac.uk or by post: 'Middle Age in the Middle Ages' Conference, Dr Sue Niebrzydowski, School of English, University of Wales, Bangor, Gwynedd. LL57 2DG

Women and Work in Public History

October 26-27, 2007,
Ottawa, Ontario

Presented by the Canadian Association for
Women's Public History

Building on the momentum generated by the October 31, 2006 workshop, "New Directions in Women's Material Culture and Public History," this conference seeks to address questions related to the study of women and public history in Canada. It will bring together museum professionals (from large and small institutions), public historians, public art historians, community groups, scholars, authors, genealogists, playwrights, actors, artists, archivists, students and others interested in exploring the theme of women and work in the public history context.

How is women's history being presented? How do we present women's work (paid and unpaid, acknowledged and unrecognized, visible and invisible, valued and marginalized) in a public history format?

Contact: rhonda.hinther@civilization.ca. We will confirm the venue and sponsors for this conference later.

Economic History Society Women's Committee

**18th Annual Workshop
Scotland, Union, And Empire**

3rd November 2007
University of Edinburgh

The 18th Annual Workshop of the Economic History Society Women's Committee will be held at the University of Edinburgh on 3 November 2007 and will consider the

impact on Scotland of access to empire.

Sessions include: Union and Empire; Scotland and Slave Societies; Gender, Empire, and Scottish Identity. Academics and students from all disciplines are welcome

Further information and booking form will be provided on the Economic History Society's website. For any enquiries related to the workshop please contact: n.zahedieh@ed.ac.uk or c.e.swan@dundee.ac.uk

Calls for papers/articles

Southern Women's History Network Study Day Women and the Law

University of Kent, Medway Campus
9 February 2008

The Southern Women's History Network invites papers on any aspect of the history of Women and the Law, in the UK and elsewhere. Themes may include:

Property law

Employment law

Criminal law

Law and gender

Legal education

Women in the legal profession, police, criminal justice administration etc

Sex workers and the law

Campaigns for women's rights (e.g. suffragism).

We welcome papers from all researchers, including postgraduate students and independent scholars and those in legal studies, criminology and related disciplines.

Papers should last around twenty minutes and be suitable for an audience including undergraduates.

Abstracts of no more than 200 words should be sent to Dr. Anne Logan at A.F.Logan@kent.ac.uk by 1 November 2007.

Labouring Feminism and Feminist Working- Class History in Europe and Beyond International Conference

28-31 August 2008
Stockholm

In September 2005 the first 'Labouring feminism conference' was held at the Munk Centre, University of Toronto. We have the great pleasure to invite everyone to participate in continuing this initiative to focus on labour and gender from a historical perspective in Stockholm in August 2008. The aim of the conference is to bring together a wide variety of feminist scholars working on various aspects of labour history, broadly defined, to share their research, to carry on a dialogue across generational, theoretical, national and disciplinary boundaries and to continue the debate on how to re-conceptualize working-class history in more inclusive ways.

The conference is structured around five overlapping and inter-related themes:

- Gendering working-class history
- Labour feminism and female activism
- Women and work -- paid and unpaid
- Bodies - trade and consumption -- local, regional and international perspectives

We prefer complete panels and sessions. A panel should contain between two and four papers, a commentator and a chair. Please submit a copy of your proposal post marked by **August 10, 2007** to the address listed below. You will be informed if your paper has been accepted at the latest by October 1. Your proposal should list a title and full contact information (address, phone and e-mail) for panel organizers and participants. It must also include a title, a half-page abstract for each paper or presentation; a half-page with the most relevant publications and affiliation for each participant (including chair and commentator)

Send proposals to: labouring.feminism@arbark.se

Homes and Homecomings: A Special Issue of *Gender & History* edited by Karen Adler

In the 1970s, feminists in western Europe and north America demanded that normalised understandings of the home, and women's apparent fittedness for confinement in the domestic environment, be thoroughly dismantled. Now, what insights might gender histories be able to bring to considerations of 'the home' and the 'homely'? In particular, how might we historicise the idea of 'being at home'?

This Special Issue of the international journal, *Gender & History*, will look anew at questions about 'the home' and 'homeliness' and their gendered and historical implications. It aims to bring together historians, cultural geographers, architectural and visual historians, to explore gendered ideas of the home as both domestic and national spaces and, crucially, spaces – imagined, archival, material – where both these ideas might interact.

We welcome original articles in all areas and periods, including those with illustrations (permissions to be secured by the author). We are also keen to receive work on areas and periods that have had less exposure in *Gender & History*, such as Middle Eastern history, Jewish history, antiquity, medieval and early modern history, and histories of 'the south'. Scholars working in other areas are equally welcome to submit proposals.

The volume does not propose to rehearse the well-worn territory of 'separate spheres'. It seeks instead to reflect on new configurations of the domestic, and how historians can visit and understand these locations in the past. The Special Issue is due to be published in 2009 and to appear in 2010 as a book. All articles published in *Gender & History* undergo full anonymous peer review.

Articles should be about 9,000 words and conform to the *Gender & History* style: see <http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/journal.asp?ref=0953-5233>

Proposals of 300 words should be sent to genderandhistory@nottingham.ac.uk by 31 July 2007. Those successful will be invited to present at a conference to be held in Nottingham, Great Britain, in early 2008.

Moves and News

Congratulations to **Alison Oram**, who moves from the University of Northampton for a new post as Professor in Social and Cultural History at Leeds Metropolitan University. Alison's latest book, published by Routledge this November, looks at the representation of cross-dressing women in the popular press from 1900-1960 and is entitled "*Her husband was a Woman!*" *Women's Gender-Crossing and Modern British Popular Culture*.

Congratulations too to **Mary Joannou** who is now Reader in Late Victorian and Early 20th Century Women's Writing at Anglia Ruskin University. In addition to serving as convener of the WHN steering committee and chairing the Winchester conference, Mary is on AHRC leave researching women's writing, Englishness and cultural identity, 1938-1960.

15th International Oral History Conference "Oral History - A Dialogue with our Times"

September 23 - 26, 2008
Guadalajara, Mexico

The International Oral History Association in collaboration with the University of Guadalajara and the Mexican Oral History Association (AMHO) invite paper proposals from around the world for the 15th International Oral History Conference in Guadalajara, Mexico.

Proposals may be for a conference paper, a thematic panel, a special interest group session or a workshop session. Only those proposals clearly focused on oral history will be given consideration. Proposals will be evaluated according to their oral history focus, methodological and theoretical significance and relevance to the conference theme and sub-themes. These can be found at the conference website and include Memory and Politics, Family and Generation, Migration, Gender, the Teaching of Oral History, and many others.

Please submit a 300-word maximum proposal summarizing your presentation by July 15 2007 via the Conference Website: www.congresoioha2008.cucsh.udg.mx

To contact the Conference organizers in Guadalajara, please email or write to: Maestra Ana María de la O Castellanos, email: iohacongress@csh.udg.mx.

Departamento de Historia, Centro Universitario de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, Guanajuato # 1045, Colonia Alcalde Barranquitas, Guadalajara, Jalisco, México. C.P. 44260

Winifred Holtby

(1898-1935)

A Colloquium to be held in Cambridge



Cambridge & Chelmsford



Saturday
6 October 2007
10.00 am - 6.00 pm

*Photographs reproduced by
courtesy of Hull
Central Library and the
Holtby Estate*

Speakers include Cathy Clay, Kirstin Ewins, Gill Fildes, Gillian Frith, Lisa Regan, Ashlie Sponenberg, Marion Shaw, Patsy Stoneman, Diana Wallace.

The conference is based on invited presentations from scholars and is open to the wider academic community. Postgraduate students are welcome. The event is one of a series on early twentieth-century women writers held at Anglia Ruskin University. Winifred Holtby is remembered for her posthumously published novel, *South Riding* (1936) and for her friendship with Vera Brittain. She was a director of *Time and Tide*, wrote the first critical study of Virginia Woolf (1932), and *Women and a Changing Civilisation* (1934), as well as poetry, drama, short stories and several novels. The aim is to make the scope and importance of Holtby's work more widely known.

Conference Fee

£30 (waged) £20 (students, invited contributors, unwaged and concessions). The fee includes a vegetarian buffet lunch and a closing glass of wine.

The Conveners

Dr Mary Joannou, Anglia Ruskin University (m.joannou@anglia.ac.uk)
Professor Marion Shaw, Loughborough University (m.shaw@lboro.ac.uk). Marion Shaw is the author of *The Clear Stream: A Life of Winifred Holtby* (Virago, 1999) and is Winifred Holtby's literary executor.

Booking

Diane Batur, Dept. of English, Communication, film and Media, Anglia Ruskin University, East Road, Cambridge CB1 1PT. d.batur@anglia.ac.uk; 0845 196 2080

Conference Report

A Woman's Island? Shetland Museum and Archives Women's Conference

A sold out conference investigating the role of women in Shetland's History, which took place at the Shetland Museum and Archives on the weekend of 20th – 22nd April, was so successful that organisers are already planning a winter programme of lectures and events in a similar vein.

Organised by the Shetland Museum and Archives and Women's History Scotland, **A Woman's Island? Shetland Women – Past, Present and Future** welcomed over 120 visitors and 26 guest speakers over the three days. Individuals and organisations from Shetland, Britain and throughout the world gathered to present their ideas and research in a variety of ways.

The weekend's programme was packed full of informative workshops and talks and also included poetry readings, exhibitions and performances from a number of participants. Topics ranged from witchcraft and medieval

heiresses to how women are represented in photography and their role in health, fishing, oil and textiles.

Lynn Abrams of Women's History Scotland said: 'Women in Shetland - Past, Present and Future was Women's History Scotland's most ambitious and successful conference to date. We could not have imagined the extent of interest and sheer enthusiasm the conference engendered, particularly amongst the women of the islands.'

The Shetland Museum and Archives will open to the public on the 2 June 2007. Set in a restored nineteenth-century dock the Shetland Museum and Archives introduces Shetland's story and provides a gateway to the island's heritage and culture. The building houses over 3000 artefacts and a wealth of archival material encompassing every aspect of Shetland life: industry, history, environment and culture.

For further information please contact:

Charlotte Kissack or Rebecca Salt at Colman Getty PR Tel: 0131 558 8851 email: charlotte@colmangetty.co.uk or Sita Hughson at Shetland Museum and Archives Tel: 01595 694688 or 07900 256 487



Edge Hill University



MA Women's Writing: 1500 to the Present Day

From the poetry of the Renaissance to twenty-first autobiography, this fascinating two-year part-time MA traces the development of women's writing across five centuries of social, political and literary transformation. Using contemporary gender and feminist theory as a methodological framework, you'll explore where, why and how the female voice has changed or stayed the same. As a result of which you'll gain a unique insight into the roots of modern-day female intellectual expressions of powerful emotions such as love, lust, need, shame, anger and dispossession.

For more information please contact our Enquiries Unit on 0800 195 5063 or email enquiries@edgehill.ac.uk

Or for an informal discussion with the Programme Leader please email [Mari Hughes Edwards](mailto:edwardsm@edgehill.ac.uk) at edwardsm@edgehill.ac.uk

Steering Committee Call for Nominations

Would you like to be more involved with how Women's History Network is run?

Several members of the current Steering Committee are standing down at the next AGM at the Winchester Conference and we need some committed individuals to take their place. Committee members serve a term of office of 2 years, with an option to stand again for another 2 years.

If you would like to nominate someone, or to put your own name forward, please email your name, affiliation, address and a brief CV (max 300 words) to our convener at the address below. If you would like to know more about serving on the committee our convener will be pleased to give you more details.

convener@womenshistorynetwork.org

Committee News

The Committee met on 16 June. Our main discussion focused on the next conference, *Collecting Women's Lives*, which takes place in Winchester from 7-9 September. We are pleased to announce that we have also awarded eleven bursaries, both national and international, to enable early researchers to offer papers at the conference. This year we have received a bumper crop of papers, around eighty, so you will be spoilt for choice. Now is the time to book your place. This can be done online at **www.womenshistorynetwork.org/Registration2007.rtf**.

We also discussed future conferences and we are very pleased that the 2008 conference will be at Glasgow and the theme will be 'Gender and Generation: Life Cycles in Women's History'. We are also discussing the 2009 conference with St Hilda's Oxford. More details will follow in due course.

Two committee members will be standing for re-election and there will be one further vacancy. See the box opposite for details of how to nominate yourself or someone else for the election.

Ways of raising our profile and increasing our membership were also discussed. We shall be sending copies of the *Women's History Magazine* to various institutions that we want to know of our existence. These include Woman's Hour, the Pankhurst Centre and the Schelsinger Library in the States. If you have ideas where we could send copies of the Magazine please let us know. We can also supply you with copies of the Magazine for sale at Conferences you attend. Again let us know if you want some copies and we will send them to you.

We would also like to increase our membership. So again please spread the word amongst students and colleagues. People can join online at **www.womenshistorynetwork.org/index.htm**. If you are already a member we would urge you to complete the Gift Aid form when you renew your subscription in September. This will really boost our finances and allow us to do more activities to promote women's history.

And finally, a quick note about the Women's History Network book prize. We have had four entrants this year so the judges will be very busy reading these over the summer. The winner of this prize, and the Clare Evans Essay prize, will be announced at Winchester.

The Committee wish you a productive but restful summer and we look forward to seeing you in Winchester in September.

Next Steering Committee Meeting

All WHN members are very welcome as observers at meetings of the national steering committee. The next meeting will take place at our conference in Winchester in September. If you intend to join us, please email **enquiries@womenshistorynetwork.org** first (or speak to a member of the committee at conference) – just to ensure that there have been no last minute changes of plan.



Committee members, from left to right, top row:

Flora Wilson, June Purvis, Mary Joannou, Beverly Kemp, Jean Spence, Zoë Law, Stephanie Spencer.

Bottom row:

Gerry Holloway (inset), Jane Potter, Katherine Holden, Jane Mc Dermid, Elizabeth Foyster.

What is the Women's History Network?

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

Aims of the WHN

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

What does the WHN do?

Annual Conference

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

WHN Publications

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

Joining the WHN

Annual Membership Rates

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

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

Women's History Network Contacts:

Steering Committee officers:

Membership, subscriptions, Dr Moira Martin:
membership@womenshistorynetwork.org

or write to

Membership Secretary, HLSS, University of the West of England, Bristol BS16 2JP.

Finance, bursaries, Dr Elizabeth Foyster:
treasurer@womenshistorynetwork.org

Committee Convener, Dr Mary Joannou:
convener@womenshistorynetwork.org

Web Officer, Dr Katherine Holden:
webadmin@womenshistorynetwork.org

WHN Book Prize, Chair, Professor June Purvis:
bookprize@womenshistorynetwork.org

UK Representative for International Federation for Research into Women's History, Professor June Purvis:
ifrwh@womenshistorynetwork.org

Magazine Team:

Editors, submissions: Dr Debbi Simonton, Dr Claire Jones, Dr Jane Potter:
editor@womenshistorynetwork.org

Book Reviews, Dr Jane Potter:
bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org
or send books to her at Oxford International Centre for Publishing Studies, Oxford Brookes University, The Buckley Building, Gipsy Lane Campus, Oxford OX3 0BP.

Advertising, conference notices, calls for papers, Dr Gerry Holloway:
advertising@womenshistorynetwork.org

WHN Administrator

All other queries, including back issues of magazine, please email Dr Claire Jones:
magazine@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

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. 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.

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: _____