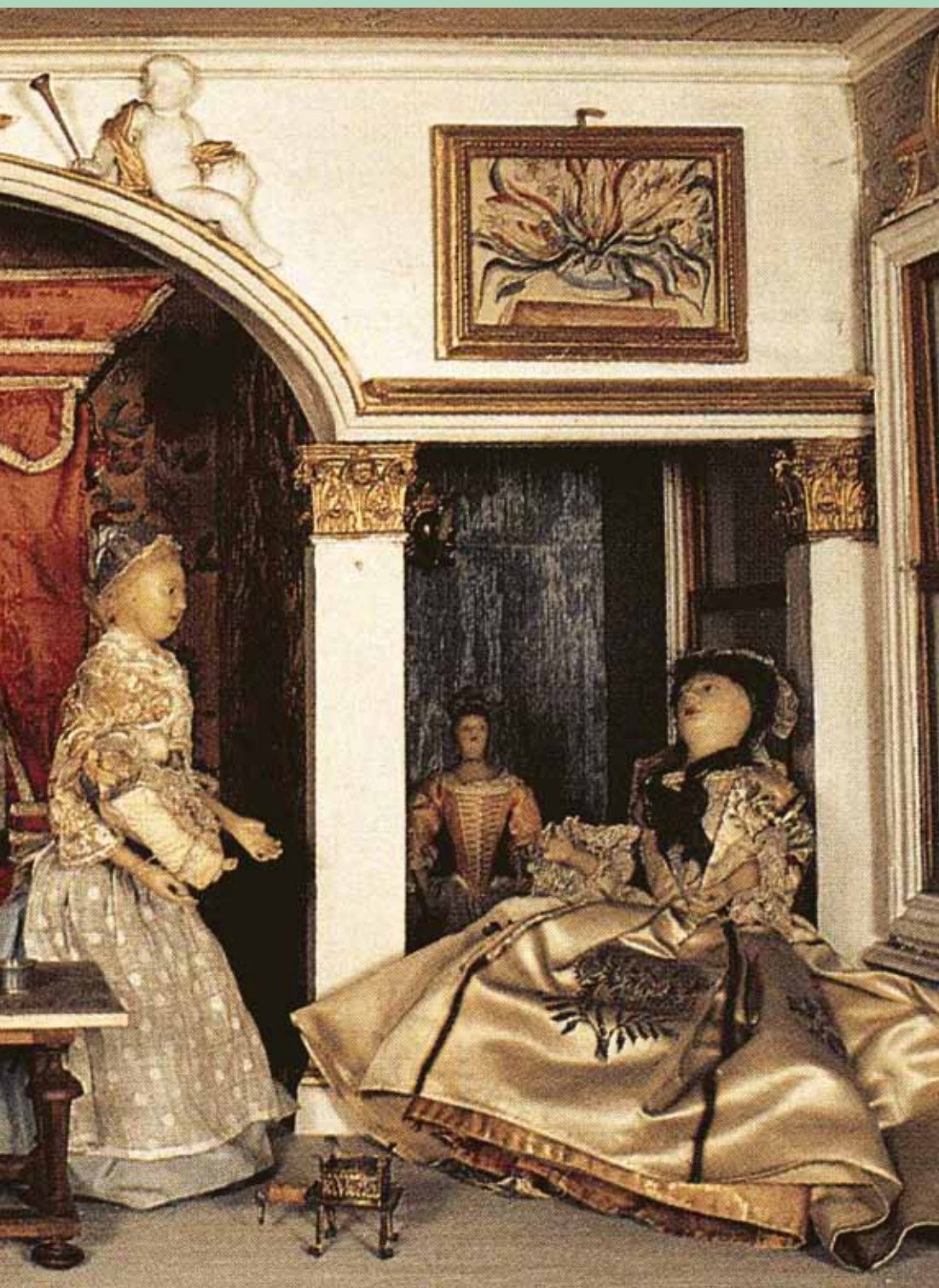


Women's History MAGAZINE



Issue 63
Summer 2010
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Anna Cremer on
Utopia in small scale

Alison Duncan on *The*
never-married gentle-
woman, 1740-1835

Olga Yu. Solodyankina
on *European widows as*
governesses in 18th and
19th-century Russia

Nicola Wilson on
Ethel Carnie Holdsworth,
ex-mill girl novelist

Susan Cohen on
Eleanor Rathbone,
'MP for refugees'

Plus

Seven book reviews

Call for reviewers

Getting to know
each other

Committee news

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Women's History Network

19th Annual Conference 2010

University of Warwick, 10 - 12 September 2010

Performing the self: Women's lives in historical perspective

Featuring keynote speakers:

Dr. Paula Byrne, Prof. Shirin Rai, Prof. Sidonie Smith, Prof. Carolyn Steedman and Prof. Penny Summerfield

The idea that selfhood is performed has a very long tradition. This interdisciplinary conference will explore the diverse representations of women's identities in the past and consider how these were articulated. Themes include:

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Department of History, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL.



Editorial

After a long, cold spring with more than its fair share of volcanoes and ash clouds, here's hoping we are going into a lovely summer. To begin the indulgence that summer should be, we welcome you to this summer issue of *Women's History Magazine*. It is a cheerful mixture of doll's houses, Russian governesses and singletons. It also has two reclamations of notable women, and a selection of book reviews. So, sit back and enjoy – hopefully with feet up and sunhats on.

The issue opens with Anna Cremer's spirited analysis of the role of doll's houses in the lives of elite women. She argues that there are a number of ways to interpret these artefacts, which certainly were not child's play. Ranging across several centuries, she shows the interplay between the owners/constructors and their own lives and explores the varied motivations and purposes of these deceptively simple creations and the window they offer into women's worlds.

Olga Solodyankina follows this with a discussion of the relatively little-known group of women who made their way across Europe to become governesses in the homes of Russia's wealthy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For some this was a very successful step, for others it was far more tragic. Solodyankina argues that becoming a governess in Russia had more potential and status for 'western' women than working in their home countries. She also shows how widows, in particular, were valued and so going to Russia could retrieve what otherwise might have been a difficult life for a widowed woman, especially one with children.

Alison Duncan, on the other hand, explores the situation of never-married women. Looking at the family of the Scottish Adams brothers, she demonstrates the prominent role that the sisters and nieces of these men played in organising their London household, and how they created and facilitated the negotiations and strategies of complex family networks. Using family archives, she is able to challenge the old maid image such women had to tolerate, while she unfolds lives of vigour and influence situated at the heart of family networks.

The reclamations are of two quite different, but also remarkably similar women. Both had the interests of the underprivileged and working classes at heart, but Eleanor Rathbone is well-known for her campaigns and activism as an MP, while Ethel Carnie Holdsworth is a virtually unknown ex-mill-girl novelist and poet. Rathbone seems an odd choice for a 'reclamation', however, Susan Cohen makes a strong case to reclaim Rathbone's active and important role in assisting and working for refugees. She shows how this aspect of Rathbone's work has been slid over by historians, and then presents a robust picture of Rathbone's motives and work in this arena. Ethel Carnie, however, began as a mill-worker, and periodically had to return to it. Her works are almost unknown, and her political role was somewhat equivocal. But as Nicola Wilson indicates, her commitment and strength of character show through her writing, which included not only novels, but also poetry and journalism, with a

sharp political edge. In some ways, her sharpness may have contributed to her disappearance from the record, since she refused to compromise and therefore alienated friends and one editorial employer.

There is also an assortment of book reviews, books that you may wish to review – yours for the asking – and a 'getting to know each other', introducing Katie Barclay. We would like to encourage you to suggest people whom you would like to 'get to know' and remind you that we welcome articles, both long and short that help us to explore women's history. This is your magazine, so please send us your articles and ideas.

The Annual Conference this year visits Warwick University, focussing on *Women's Lives in Historical Perspective*. We would like to remind you that you should register now – especially as there is a penalty for late enrolment!

Editorial Team: Sue Hawkins, Ann Kettle, Jane Potter, Debbi Simonton

Contents

Utopia in small scale – female escapism into miniature	4
Power and the Old Maid: The never-married gentlewoman in her family, 1740–1835.....	11
Widows from European countries working as governesses in Russia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.....	19
Ethel Carnie Holdsworth (1886-1962): An ex-mill girl novelist	27
Eleanor Rathbone, 'MP for refugees'	32
Book Reviews.....	37
Getting to Know Each Other.....	38
Call for Reviewers	44
Steering Committee News.....	46



Cover: Detail from *Museum Arnstadt/ Germany, Mon Plaisir, child-bed, from Matthias Klein, Die Puppenstadt im Schloßmuseum zu Arnstadt (Königstein, 1994), 33.*

Utopia in small scale – female escapism into miniature

Anna Cremer

Justus-Liebig-University Gießen/ Germany

Women of the social elite in protestant countries in Europe have been collecting doll's houses since the seventeenth century, thereby forming an uncommon cultural document, 'a realistic, three-dimensional picture of domestic life' of their time.¹ The miniature houses primarily displayed the realm of women – in depictions of kitchens, living rooms, bedrooms and nurseries – thereby demonstrating the owners' habits and taste.² Thus, doll's houses can be considered as reflections on the contemporary gender discourse. The article will show how women positioned themselves relative to normative ideas about gender roles as mirrored in the doll's house and how the genre as such was and still is linked to gender.

Many examples of female collectors suggest that women used doll's houses to re-model their lives in small scale as a form of escape from reality. This hypothesis is not easy to verify, as it is difficult to find evidence for something so elusive as 'escapism'. Detailed information on the lives of female collectors is rare, and to match the little we find with the depicted scenes within the doll's house, or to trace evidence of a life in miniature, is strewn with difficulty. Although many doll's houses imply a compensatory function, only very few provide authentic proof. As we have statements from modern collectors, I will try to bridge the time-gap and compare the early modern usage of doll's houses with twentieth-century usage. There seem to be many similarities, which allow us to assume an ongoing cultural pattern that renders comparison possible.

Building and collecting doll's houses is a very popular hobby in today's English-speaking world. Uncountable handbooks explain how to 'do it yourself', what to collect and what you could spend on your hobby. Modern literature targets both men and women. Still, the interest in the miniature has shown a gender bias. While men's interest stemmed from miniaturisation of existing architecture or interior design, aiming at technical perfection, women's approach had its source in the imaginary potential the miniature offers. With few exceptions women integrated dolls within their houses while men, as constructors or collectors, did not seem to see the necessity to populate their rooms.³ Perhaps the possibility of a narrative forms the core of the gender difference in approach and usage of the doll's house miniature. It offers a platform for fantastic and playful usage, triggered by the potential to convey identity to the dolls and the narrative capacities of the miniature items. It creates a sphere, in which women can remember past times, compensate for losses and re-invent themselves in a space, which they can occupy regardless of convention. It becomes a utopia in which she and her family always stay young and healthy and where unfulfilled hopes can come true.

Although there have been a considerable number of collaborations between men and women in constructing

doll's houses,⁴ the overwhelming majority who occupied themselves with miniature houses were (and are) women.⁵ Often the gendering of the doll's house is reflected by the names they carry.⁶ Doll's houses were always handed down in the female line of a family. Usually the oldest daughter of the initial owner or her closest female relative inherited them. Only wealthy aristocratic or high-bourgeois women could afford the costly miniatures, which could easily exceed the cost of a real home. But how *did* the doll's house enter society and become such a favourite means of female occupation in particular?

Signifying the self

Miniatures formed an integral part of early modern European collections. Integrated in the so-called *cabinet of curiosities* they shaped the core of aristocratic and bourgeoisie self-representation, indicating the owner's wealth, social status and knowledge.⁷ While a limited public was admitted to these collections, a cabinet-keeper accompanied them. He took objects from the shelves and told stories attached to the pieces. For example he explained how they had come into the collection and what meaning they bore to the owner. Already a narration was tied to every object and formed, in a way, an illustration of the collector – of his or her – life.⁸ When the doll's house entered the collection the transfer of the owner's identity to the dolls – in analogy to all the other pieces referring to his life – was just a small step. It perfectly matched the logic of collecting to integrate a model of one's own life in miniature.⁹

In the mid-sixteenth century, doll's houses were introduced in South Germany for the first time. In Munich, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria's several-storey-high, cupboard-like house presented a princely household.¹⁰ This house already showed personalised miniatures, identifying models of the prince and the princess using the family armour. Further development separated the doll's house from the collection: as a cabinet-cupboard, it became the container for the depiction of the world of women. The earliest English example – the house of Ann Sharp (Norwich), a present from Queen Anne around 1700 – is a mixture between a cabinet-cupboard and a doll's house as it kept up the formal principles of a plain cupboard. It not only functioned as a box for the display of interior scenes but also for the collection of further curious objects that did not belong to housekeeping. Similar to the Munich example, the dolls of this house were personalised. Ann even tied nametags to each of them, which defined them as butler and housemaid and so on. This clearly referred to Ann's own biography and turned the cabinet-house into a memory-casket. It was probably the reason why she held on to it all her lifetime as noted in the following statement: 'Ann continued to play

with the house until her death around 1771 and bought miniatures for the rooms throughout her life', forming the prototype of artwork in lifelong making.¹¹ The identity of the owner and other household members was transferred to the dolls, which acted as imaginary substitutes in the narrative frame of the miniature houses.

By the late sixteenth century, the doll's house miniature had traversed social boundaries and developed beyond the realm of aristocracy. The doll's house phenomenon spread over Europe but only flourished in protestant societies such as those found in England, the Netherlands and the free protestant cities of early modern Germany such as Nuremberg. Prior to the nineteenth century, doll's houses were not toys for children but the hobbyhorse of adults, 'rather the development of adult fascination with the miniature'.¹² The doll's house also offered a forum for the application of female handcrafting. Lace-making, knitting, embroidery, weaving – all were humble daily practices undertaken by every female, no matter what social rank or age. Thus, the doll's house can be considered as a variety of daily duty, a project in which women could indulge without neglecting prescribed virtuous occupations.¹³

The challenging question as to the underlying motives for women to occupy themselves over years with miniatures, and why they found them so attractive, is difficult to solve. Can we really define an aesthetic relation between the female and the small as Susan Steward has proposed?¹⁴ Is it due to the doll's houses' imaginary quality that female fantasies became tied to the aesthetics of the small object? Surely, the habit partly derives from a lasting training in the handling of tiny items, such as lace, which shaped sensitive feelings. Maybe also the obligation to sit still for hours occupied with needlework formed the patience needed for such elaborate and time-consuming projects. The attraction to the miniature thus would be the product of gender conditioning through the centuries.

The following examples intend to illustrate the imaginary potential of the doll's house. I only consider unique, handmade pieces – although large numbers of doll's houses were available to the middle class because of industrial manufacture from the late eighteenth century onwards, and they too held the capacity for imaginative escape. But the handcrafted examples carry a deep imprint of the owners and make a stronger case for the interpretation of doll's houses as vessels for a second life. As an outstanding medium of occupation, it remains the domain of social elite up to today.¹⁵

The doll's house as affirmation of existing gender roles

In early examples, the doll's house was a mirror of the discourse on feminine duties (see Fig.1). A clear educational motive is shown by an early example of a bourgeois doll's house from Nuremberg.¹⁶ An engraving tells us what it looked like and what its main function was. It was the house of Anna Köferlin, who engaged in showing her doll's house for a small entrance fee. The house was accompanied by a saying, a poem or a reading: 'look at the house because children you shall learn hereby how

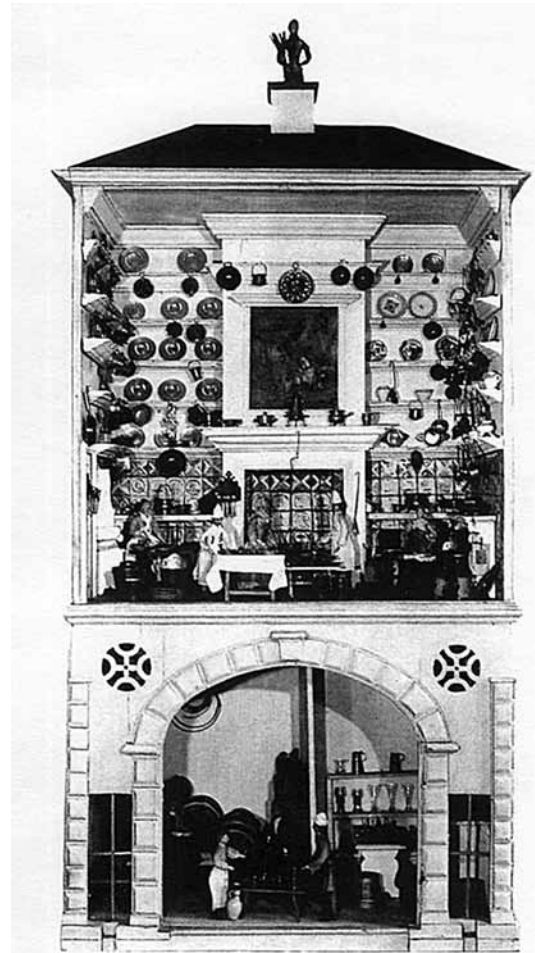


Fig.1: Museum Arnstadt/Germany, *Mon Plaisir*, palace kitchen, around 1735, from Wilkens, Leonie von, *Das Puppenhaus* (München, 1978), 172.

to lead a proper household'.¹⁷ In protestant areas, the housefather (*Hausvater*) tracts emerged from new ideas of egalitarian companionship in marriage in the wake of the Reformation.¹⁸ Ascribing the role of the *major domus* to the wife, these tracts explained how the ideal household should be led in every single aspect of housekeeping, such as supervising and treating the servants, managing food supplies and health care. While men had to oversee farming, wood supplies and finance, women's job was the organisation of the household as part of the normative ideal. Order and cleanliness were defined virtues of her responsibility.¹⁹ These housefather and housemother (*Hausmütter*) tracts were only popular in protestant areas – as were doll's houses – and their strong reception led to firm implementation of gendered roles integrated into women's self-evaluation. The miniature house formed the visual depiction of the ideal.²⁰

The house of Anna Köferlin, as well as her famous companions from Nuremberg, were publicly displayed and could be compared to the state of the real home.²¹ Although the interior design was an ideal in its perfection and unchanging state, the order and cleanliness displayed must have met the standards and expectations of their day. Thus using the miniature shows women taking pride in their position, their responsibility and their status. It does not by any means imply any kind of criticism towards the

existing gender relations. The display of feminine duties in the medium of the doll's house miniature is an affirmation of existing gender relations.

Several layers of meaning could have been tied to the same object: Anna Köferlin had buried her only two children. The educational aim of the doll's house could have been enhanced by her loss. Since she had no children of her own to whom she could convey her knowledge, by displaying the doll's house, she taught all children instead of her own, maybe as a form of compensation. Although the educational impact is clearly dominant, this example possibly also shows the emotional compensatory function of the miniature house.

Traces of biography

The clearest depiction of a life in miniature is represented by the doll's house collection 'Mon Plaisir' in Arnstadt/Germany. Having become a childless widow in 1716, Duchess Auguste Dorothee from Schwarzburg-Arnstadt (1666-1751) spent the remaining thirty-five years of her life at Castle Augustenburg, surrounding herself with a large courtly household of up to one hundred servants, including actors and an orchestra for courtly distraction, leisure and pleasure – all of which can be found in her miniature world. The duchess herself planned, commissioned and built three-dimensional models of almost every kind of cultural life that surrounded her. One third of the scenes are depictions of her court, showing official receptions, leisure activities or logistic supplies of the courtly household. Other cabinet cases show urban scenes such as a market, a mail station, a fountain and early modern fun-fair attractions, as well as several crafts. The dolls that 'inhabit' the scenes are very easily distinguishable by their dresses and their social status is visually marked as being that of farmers, the bourgeoisie or the aristocracy. We presume that the

single cabinets were organised along a gallery depicting a street and were connected via balconies. The dolls 'lived' inside as well as outside the boxes and if we believe an eyewitness, they could be identified partly as portraits of the ducal household. Female dolls dominate most scenes, in female room arrangements, obviously reflecting the duchess' widow court.

Literature has failed to link the life of the duchess closely to her collection of doll's houses. So far, her motive to establish the huge assembly of miniatures has been reduced to only absolutist extravagance by a member of the high aristocracy. However, Auguste Dorothee had many personal reasons to establish such a great and uncommon collection. Since she had not produced an heir to the Schwarzburg family, her territory was bequeathed to the brother of her late husband, the Count of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen. Social decline and financial problems were the result. It was in these difficult circumstances that she started building and commissioning her 'doll city'. The duchess-doll appears several times, depicted in official court situations such as audience or ceremonial, still representing the widow as the ruling duchess. 'Mon Plaisir' was a comment on her personal situation resulting from political developments. It was also an expression of claim to power as former sovereign of the principality and a statement of belonging to high aristocracy as well as a memory piece.

The 'successful' mother-nursery in the doll's house

One starting point for interpreting miniature houses is the social, moral and religious duty of biological reproduction. The experience of pregnancy, birth and motherhood, equally accompanied by the frequent experience of death, is repeatedly mentioned in childbed scenes and nurseries in the houses. Several women



Fig.2: Museum Arnstadt/Germany, *Mon Plaisir*, child-bed, from Matthias Klein, *Die Puppenstadt im Schloßmuseum zu Arnstadt* (Königstein, 1994), 33.

collectors were childless and had 'failed' motherhood.²² When the rooms referring to motherhood were conceptualised by young women, the depictions recorded female family history or were supposed to anticipate motherhood in the future, while nurseries constructed by elderly mothers might remember the happy days when the children were small. Nurseries by childless widows compensated for their failure or loss. Many houses refer to the topic implicitly as in the case of Anna Köferlin, while others show it explicitly.

'Mon Plaisir' references the childless life of the duchess-doll. A very richly equipped scene shows an obviously aristocratic childbed, where a young mother receives a visitor after having given birth to a child (see Fig. 2). Auguste Dorothee's personal fate would probably have been a lot better if her husband had left her as ruling duchess of an underage son or at least as mother of the ruling duke. Having 'failed' in this matter seems to have been the central moment of her life. This scene opens up a different explanation of what is usually viewed as a representative piece and turns it into a compensation for a mother's life that she had been unable to lead. Her doll's houses could be a substitute for unfulfilled life-expectations and emotional needs. She literally created the miniature rooms as imaginative space to lead a wealthy and prosperous imaginary life of a mother and ruling duchess, a life she partly never had and partly would not have any more, in reality.

In another example, the famous doll's house cabinet from 1676, now in the Rijksmuseum of Amsterdam, was constructed and furnished by Petronella Dunois (1650-95), who was also childless. The childbed scene of her house held baby-twin dolls.²³ We do not have any more information on her life; we can only guess the intended meaning of the scene. Perhaps there were twins among her close relatives, maybe she had suffered a miscarriage or maybe she had had twins who died at an early age. Alternatively, perhaps she just liked to imagine being the mother of twins. Another famous collector, the Lutheran Petronella Oortman (1656-1716) experienced the death of her first baby. Although she had four living children during her second marriage, she integrated a room for mourning into her doll's house, which at a later stage was turned into a library. A contemporary painting shows the original setting where dolls in black are grouped around a coffin, while a miniature painting shows Christ welcoming the little children.²⁴ Her doll's house also had a childbed and a nursery-room pointing to female duties and experiences, but the mourning scene stresses the house's function as a memorial piece.

The personalised doll's house in the twentieth century

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, doll's houses predominately became the domain of little girls as educational toys. Apart from industrial production of doll's houses, the medium as such remained – in countable figures – as a handmade foible of adult women. Recapturing the doll's house from its enlightened function

as a pedagogic instrument, its value as a platform changed. While the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century displays remained visually close to the real interiors of their time, by the nineteenth century they were open to pure decorative fantasy. Although the doll's house was still (and still is) used as a memorial box, recording past life, it turned into an extravagant setting for self-invention and self-fashioning on the one hand and as a platform for critical remarks on gendered roles in society on the other.²⁵

Three quite different pieces caught my attention: the fairy-doll's house of Hollywood actress, Colleen Moore (1900-1988), the work of the 1970's artist Laurie Simmons (born 1949) called 'In and around the House', and the doll's houses of the illustrator and writer Tasha Tudor (1915-2008).

Colleen Moore, famous actress of silent film of the 1920s, had her doll's house built between 1928 and 1937 by more than one hundred people, who mainly worked in the film industry in Hollywood.²⁶ After the 'fairy castle' was finished, the huge doll's house, in eclectic style that shows oriental influence, travelled America and was on display all over the country. It collected more than US\$500,000, which the owner gave to children's charities. The house has no doll inhabitants. Colleen wanted to leave the rooms, although pre-structured as bathrooms, living rooms, etc., unoccupied for the imagination of the viewer. Literature on this fairy-doll's house tells us the story of the house combined with the story of her life. The curators of Chicago Museum of Science and Industry where it is hosted today link the production of the piece to her biography and interpret it as compensation for loss: 'The castle was built ... when Colleen Moore was recovering from a failed marriage.'²⁷ As in the baroque predecessors, the topic of motherhood and successful marriage as an underlying motive of the doll's house recurs, enhanced by the fact that the money it raised went towards children in need. As we do not have any comments from the owner, we can only guess. In her case, the doll's house does not resemble a real house or real furniture, but a fantasy world that rather reflects the imaginary qualities of Hollywood – a different flight from unhappy reality.

It was different case with Tasha Tudor, who supposedly started her 'miniature version of her highly original life' when she was seven years old and who maintained it as a life-companion until very old age.²⁸ Tellingly, the book on her doll's house is entitled 'A lifetime in Miniature'. Tasha, who became famous during the 1940s and 1950s as an illustrator of children's books formed a parallel life in her doll's house, in which every room and every miniature item not only resembled an existing room in her real house but were copies of their big counterparts. Proportions and sizes were measured and translated into the miniature by architects. Whenever something new was acquired, the miniaturised item followed and went into the doll's houses. Amazingly, the two dolls that inhabited the houses do not carry the same names as her owner and her husband. They are called Emma and Thaddeus. Emma functions as 'an alter ego for Tasha'.²⁹ The two main characters of the house have portrait heads but they

are not portraits of living people, but rather are an expression of the aesthetic ideals of the collector-artist Tasha Tudor. The usual *enfilade* of the doll's house – kitchen, living room, nursery and bedroom – is extended in her doll's house, showing a winter garden, a stable for goats and a Christmas scene as a recurring scene that seemed to appeal to Tasha as part of the yearly cycle. This doll's house has developed over eighty years and demonstrates an 'abiding interest that weathered all the changing circumstances of a private and professional life, and today ... forms a remarkable collection that mirrors a remarkable life'. Again, we find the constructed parallel in literature between the owner and her doll. 'Tasha's Parlor at Corgi Cottage [her real home] is ... seldom used ... It is the same in the doll's house. Emma and Thaddeus are most often found in the library. When they do have tea in the parlor, it is a special event.'³⁰ The mixture between Tasha's real life and the 'life' of her Tasha-doll reaches an irritating degree when the narration of the parallel leads the imagined into the real world. The bedroom for example contains a picture showing a 'Portrait of Emma painted in Paris and sent as a Christmas present to Tasha'.³¹ The doll makes Christmas gifts! Emma, the doll, has the same preferences as her artist-mother; she likes to read, paint and to play music.

Tasha invented a second life for herself, a life in which her ideal husband prevailed whereas in real life the second real husband has gone, as have the children. Her escapism does not seem to be inspired by a dreadful life but by a mere fondness for the telling and imagining of stories. Freezing life at a certain moment in time seems to be the basic motive; the life in the house, unlike reality, can always repeat itself. It is an ageless life as part of a personal memory culture, without end, a positive Dorian Gray.

A critical glance at the role of the housewife

The odd one in this row of doll's houses is the series of pictures made by the artist Laurie Simmons in the 1970s.³² Simmons experimented with single miniature objects at first: for example, a chair, a woman and their relation to one another in an undefined space. Gradually, in her studio the artist set up a whole house with different rooms in which one nameless female doll appeared (see Fig. 3). The resulting photos are most remarkable in their reflection of the role of the female in the house. The woman-doll is placed among typical interior objects such as a sofa, a bed or a television. The domestic subject on the surface of the pictures emanates a deep separation between the doll-figurine and the interior, as if the doll would not be where it has been placed without being asked. The artist, Laurie, like every other owner-collector of doll's houses, comes from a high bourgeois family, whereby the sociological pre-condition is fulfilled again. In contrast to her predecessors, in real life as a young woman



Fig.3: Laurie Simmons, *In and around the house* (1976-78), 64.

in the '70s she chose to turn her back on a traditional life, but obviously not without internal negotiation. When she came into contact with miniatures by chance as an adult woman, she deliberately bought exact copies of toys and miniatures she had owned as a child and thus integrated her own upbringing and her memories into the pieces of art. In a second medial refraction of the photographed image, she 'simultaneously referenc[ed] both general stereotypes and her own personal memories'.³³ While using natural light that travelled around the doll's house, she imitated the experience of standing in front of the real house and its objects. The static element of the doll's house scene is repeated in the photo but the haptic moment, the touch and the possible intrusion are prevented. Simmons in her own words described how she started to use the doll's house scenery as a retreat from reality: 'Amidst the social and financial chaos of my life and my studio, a calmer place began to emerge in my pictures'.³⁴ It is a modern form of escapism but one that strangely retreats into a hostile and a distanced house in which the woman-doll seems to be disconnected and displaced. The doll is shown completely still and motionless in most of the pictures, looking captured and unhappy as if she was critically commenting on her role but without a possible escape in sight. The conflict of the doll culminates in the kitchen setting, as a traditional room for the female in the house. Here the doll performs a headstand with moving legs, while the kitchen utensils lie around in a mess. The displacement of the modern woman-doll culminates in active refusal to fulfil female duties. The house is a signification of women's role in gendered society. In miniature, it is a vessel for both affirmation and rejection of the appointed role model. It states a transitory period of role models, in which no harmony is yet to be gained.

Conclusion

Many more examples could be included. Countless collectors try to rebuild their own childhood, the motive

often being to heal a loss in the past by re-playing the experience, re-writing one's own past.³⁵ What is found by looking at several doll's houses since the seventeenth century is a repeating scheme. The common aspects are striking. Wealthy women from protestant societies through the centuries took to constructing, commissioning and building miniature houses and interiors with dolls. These houses often resembled their homes while the dolls were imagined to be the owners themselves who inhabited their homes. The scenes depicted represented the domain of women, a gendered space such as the kitchen, nursery, living room and bedroom. Besides fulfilling the virtuous duty of the never-rest ideology and the production of doll's houses as a leisure occupation, doll's houses always unknowingly included the owners' opinion of the normative ideal and the role appointed to them. While the baroque doll's houses embody the pride of the successful housewife, the twentieth-century miniature house is also used as medium for critical reflection of the gendered role. Where the critical potential differs through the centuries, the common quality of the doll's house is its potential for escapism and its capacity as compensational medium. Three main approaches seem to be possible which are reflected in the examples. Colleen Moore's fairy tale doll's house can be understood as a project to compensate for emotional loss. Self-sufficient Tasha Tudor's doll's house is part of a personal memory culture and exhibits her private life in a playful manner. Laurie Simmons created a place to retreat to in her miniature and formulates a criticism of the dominant gender relation at the same time. The baroque predecessor Auguste Dorothee seems to have been able to integrate all three aspects into her 'Mon Plaisir'. The paradox of the doll's house is the fact that every single aspect exists in parallel at the same time and is nevertheless accompanied by an educational idea in most cases. While the educational aspect points to an audience, the testimony is always focused on the introspective nature of the person. Early modern examples show an integrative life-model, depicting a successful and repeatable life, whereas modern examples mirror individual life, deliberately unrepeatable. The doll's house serves the whole range of different concepts. Its great potential to form a means of re-inventing and re-fashioning or re-modelling one's own past turns it into a lasting utopia in small scale.

Notes

1. Caroline Clifton-Mogg, *The Doll's House Sourcebook* (London, 1993), 11.
2. For general information see: Vivien Greene and Margaret Towner, *The Vivien Greene Dolls' House Collection* (London, 1995); Halina Pasierbska, *Dolls' Houses from the V&A Museum of Childhood* (London, 2008); Leonie von Wilckens, *Das Puppenhaus* (Munich, 1978).
3. An exquisite exception was constructed and built by Mrs Thorne during the 1930's in Chicago. Coming from a wealthy background, she rebuilt typical European and American interior decorative systems in miniature boxes with a clear educational purpose. Although incidentally she had tried to integrate dolls into her period-rooms, she was not satisfied with the degree of realism she achieved compared to the miniature furniture. See Fannia Weingartner and Elizabeth Stepina, *Miniature Rooms: The Thorne Rooms at the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago, 2004).
4. The doll's house of Queen Mary was a collaboration between Edward Luton and his daughter. See Mary Stewart-Wilson and David Cripps, *Queen Mary's Dolls House* (London, 1988); Peter Wheelwright and Laurie Simmons, *The Kaleidoscope House 2001* (V&A Museum of Childhood London), see Halina Pasierbska, *Dolls' Houses from the V&A Museum of Childhood* (London, 2008), 57; In some cases fathers acted as commissioners of the intended gifts for their daughters, anticipating the female interest in the miniature. A handmade example from around 1840 is the *Brett House* (Museum of the City of New York) built by Rev Philipp Brett, who spent two years from 1838-40 creating this house, intended as Christmas gift for his daughters; see Constanze Eileen King, *Dolls and Doll's Houses* (London, 1977), 203.
5. Unfortunately, there are no empirical data as proof. However, it is striking that the number of female authors on doll's houses is close to 95 per cent and may mirror the number of female collectors or builders.
6. Most famous doll's houses from early modern Europe are known by the name of their owner or by the name of the family or estate referring to their origin or maybe the family's attachment: The house of *Anne Sharp*/Norwich, the house of *Anna Köferlin*/Nuremberg, the houses of *Auguste Dorothee* of Schwarzburg/Arnstadt, the house of *Petronella Oortman*/Amsterdam, the house of *Petronella de la Court*/Utrecht, the house of *Sara Ploos van Amstell*/The Hague, *Nostell Priory Baby-House*, *Uppark Baby-House*, *Quantock-House*, the house of *Queen Mary*/London. There are many more examples. For a complete overview of English dolls' houses see Pauline Flick, *The Dolls' House Book* (London, 1973), 53-56.
7. See Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museum* (London, 1985).
8. Jill Bepler, *Ferdinand Albrecht Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1636-1687): A Traveller and his Travelogue* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 176.
9. It may also be possible that the personalised doll is a reflection of the convention of integrating the commissioner into a piece of art, as was common in other art genres.
10. Brigitte Volk-Knüttel, 'Das Puppenhaus der Herzogin Anna von Bayern von 1558', *Aufsätze und Anhänge*, III (2008), 285-292.
11. Olivia Bristol and Leslie Geddes-Brown, *Dolls' Houses: domestic life and architectural styles in miniature from the 17th century to the present day* (London, 1997), 38.
12. Constanze Eileen King, *The Collectors' History of Dolls' Houses* (London, 1993), xxiii.
13. Many examples show that huge amounts of money went into commissioning and producing the doll's houses. Often even architects were engaged with planning the exterior and not only the owner but also many more people were needed to form such an undertaking. Nevertheless, from the beginning, doll's houses were used as educational instruments to prepare little girls for the duties of adult life.

Gender education included learning by doing or watching the role model of the mother, gradually stepping into her duties. As hard work was not considered reasonable for upper-class girls, the doll's house substituted for real life and offered learning by touching without becoming dirty. Thus, the genre of the doll's house is an expression of early modern knowledge systems and forms a connection between touch, visual input and (household) knowledge. This basic principle of transferring knowledge via small objects is also valid in the cabinet of curiosities and bridges bourgeois and aristocratic usage of the doll's house. While representative and personal motives shaped the doll's house in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the educational aspect dominated in the sixteenth and nineteenth century.

14. See Susan Steward, *On Longing* (London, 1993).

15. It is highly likely that middle-class women also started using doll's houses to record their lives from the early nineteenth century onwards. Missing sources make it necessary to omit them here.

16. Some early examples survived and are on display in the Germanische Nationalmuseum (GNM)/Nuremberg. See also Heidi Mueller, *Good Housekeeping: A domestic ideal in miniature* (Nuremberg, 2007).

17. Original engraving: GNM/Nuremberg, see Wilckens 1978, 2; Translation AC.

18. Heide Wunder, *He is the sun, she is the moon; women in early modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1998).

19. Mueller, *Good Housekeeping*, the curator of the Nuremberg doll's houses convincingly stressed the connection between a local tract on the role of the housemother and the visual interpretation of the content in the doll's houses. What has been proved here may well account for the house of Anna Köferlin and the genre in itself.

20. Even in today's literature on doll's houses the gendering of rooms and their functions in the house are not questioned: 'The mistress of the house has her parlour ... above [the kitchen] where she can sew or spin ... the little girl stands by an embroidery frame.' Michal Morse, *Build a Doll's House* (London, 1992), 21.

21. See Mueller, *Good Housekeeping*.

22. For example "Nostell Priory", built around 1735-40 by Lady Winn, wife of the fourth Baronet and her spinster sister Miss Henshaw, who 'took overall responsibility for the soft furnishings and made most of them with their own hands', Nora Earnshaw, *Collecting Dolls' Houses and Miniatures* (London, 1989), 12; the same applies to the famous doll's house of Sara-Ploos van Amstel-Rothé/ Frans Halsmuseum Haarlem between 1730-50. See Runia Epco, *Sara Poos van Amstel-Rothé—Poppenhuis* (Waanders, 1998).

23. Jet Pijzel-Dommisse, *The 17th-century Dolls' Houses of the Rijksmuseum* (Amsterdam, 1994), 38.

24. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; the painting is by Jacob Appel, see Pijzel-Dommisse, *The 17th-century Dolls' Houses*, 28; For information on Petronella Oortman see also the digital collection of Dutch women's biographies: www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/Oortman

25. The most famous doll's house is surely the one at

Windsor Castle, constructed for Queen Mary in the early 1920s. In a modernised form, it resembles early modern subalterns' loyalty to the ruler, expressed by miniature gifts. It is a representative piece and does not belong to the category I am concerned with as it is neither self-made nor did the owner influence the design. See Mary Stewart-Wilson, *Queen Mary's Dolls House* (London, 1988).

26. Terry Ann R Neff, *Within the fairy castle – Colleen Moore's Doll House at the museum of science and industry* (Chicago, 1997) 13. Architect Horace Jackson and decorator Harold Grieve had both designed her real house, while her cameraman Henry Freulich was responsible for the light in the fairy castle.

27. *Ibid.* 10, 16. More than 100 people were commissioned by Colleen between 1928-37, the fairy castle rising to a cost of US\$500 000. The castle contains more than 2000 miniatures.

28. Harry Davies, *Tasha Tudor's Dollhouse. A Lifetime in Miniature* (Boston, 1999), xi.

29. *Ibid.*, xii.

30. *Ibid.*, 33; Even the photos compare the real person or room with the miniature version.

31. *Ibid.*, 66.

32. Laurie Simmons and Carol Squiers, *Laurie Simmons: in and around the house; photographs 1976-78* (Ostfildern, 2003).

33. *Ibid.*, 7.

34. *Ibid.*, 19.

35. The singer Barbra Streisand collects dolls and builds houses and streets for them; this is clearly connected to her own experiences. 'I built a doll shop for my dolls because when I was a kid my doll was a hot water bottle. When you don't have things, you have to use your imagination.' www.femalefirst.co.uk/celebrity/Barbra+Streisand-28733.html, 17.11.2009.

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Power and the Old Maid: The never-married gentlewoman in her family, 1740–1835

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As *The Tatler* put it in 1710, ‘that great change of a single life into marriage is the most important, as it is the source of all relations and from whence all other friendship and commerce do principally arise’.¹ A prudent marriage with a spouse of equal or higher rank was seen as the primary means by which families advanced their status, and the genteel marital household was depicted as a foundation stone of social prosperity. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, this ideal of the marital household as an active unit in the wider kin network still held true. Those who made good marriages were described as taking their place in a society whose members were ‘each a link of one great chain, / [who] help each other to sustain’.² Women and men who failed to marry were condemned as social and economic parasites. Popular culture depicted spinsters in particular in terms of dependency, reliant on their relatives’ goodwill. An old maid in a genteel family was ‘the devil’, for she could have no role appropriate to her age and rank.³

Family archives tell a different story. Gentry families, like the aristocracy, concentrated their resources, and in larger families especially it was not unusual for a high proportion of sons and daughters to remain single.⁴ Unmarried siblings had considerable incentive to support the prestige of their natal family name, and letters, journals and household books show that never-married gentlewomen claimed, negotiated or were expected to fulfil a variety of active familial roles. An examination of one household across two generations illustrates some of the ways in which they managed the dynamics of household hierarchies and kin relationships. Their ability to do so had a direct influence on the degree of control that they retained over their own lives.

Influence in the household and wider family

In 1756 the architect Robert Adam was laying plans for advancing the family name beyond Scotland. To succeed he would have to set up a household in London, with ‘Furniture & Servants & Chariot ... & the Lord knows what all’. This, he admitted to his brother James, would be a ‘very Serious & Laborious Task’. There was no other remedy than ‘calling to my aid Some of our Females, Two of whom transporting themselves to London by the time I arrive, will with Judgement & Oeconomy aid me in Domestick determinations, & leave me more time to transact my Worldly Interests’.⁵

In judging his sisters’ roles as interchangeable and their contributions in the aggregate, he revealed how far never married women were expected to submerge their fortunes within those of their natal families. Robert Adam

was not of high enough rank to make a marriage, which matched his ambition, and in these circumstances, the brother/sister-headed household avoided unwelcome division of family assets. Bachelor brothers gained a housekeeper and spinster sisters gained a home. This was a common eighteenth-century domestic arrangement, albeit one rarely acknowledged in popular culture. The never married niece who ran her bachelor uncle’s house was another permutation.⁶ In the Adam family, only the oldest brother, John, and two sisters, Mary Drysdale and Susanna Clerk, married. Robert, James and William remained bachelors in London, relying on their unmarried sisters Janet, Elizabeth and Margaret, and briefly on their niece Susy Clerk, for household management.⁷ The lives of Margaret Adam and Susy Clerk show that it was not so much failure to marry as success or failure in forging a wide range of familial relationships that determined the never-married gentlewoman’s fortunes.

When Margaret Adam moved south to join the family’s London establishment, she was nearly thirty and still unmarried. By contemporary standards she had failed to make the most of her social opportunities. Given her low social profile and the fact that she was a younger sibling, it may seem unlikely that she was in a position to exercise much influence. She referred only rarely in her letters to the public sociability of the capital, and then as an onlooker rather than a participant. Nevertheless, although duty and perhaps inclination kept her largely at home, Margaret’s influence was not circumscribed by these physical bounds. Her correspondence shows that she played an important part in the exchange of news and opinion between family members in Scotland and England. Her influence over five decades in the London-based and wider family can thus be evaluated *via* her letters and the relationships they articulate. They record the domestic workings of patronage, inseparable from the effective management of the household family in the wider context of the kin family. The detailed and regular correspondence between the Adam siblings reveals their effort to maintain unity of opinion and action in the face of inevitable problems caused by the physical distance between the Scottish and London practices. Gentility demanded that family hierarchies be upheld in private as well as in public, so despite tensions between Robert and his eldest brother John, head of the family and the Scottish practice, business and advancement were discussed in terms of familial consultation. Margaret emerged early as a family mediator and a correspondent to be relied on. When planning the London venture, Robert and James wrote to her in the expectation that the ‘Corum’ and ‘our Chorps’ would assemble to comment.⁸ Robert trusted

her to provide 'ample Information' about his brothers' intentions and urged her to use her influence to make sure workmen were employed in Scotland who would be useful later in London.⁹

Margaret may have adopted the role of mediator as a means of securing her position in the London household. By the 1780s she played an acknowledged part in the management of her brothers' affairs, receiving both patronage approaches and reports on the progress of Robert's commissions in Scotland.¹⁰ But the brothers' metropolitan advancement strategies ground to a halt in the wake of bank failures, the collapse of their speculative Adelphi development and their perceived financial unreliability. Ill health also took its toll on the family. The decade between 1788 and 1798 saw the successive deaths of all the siblings except Margaret and William.¹¹ In 1792 Robert had named his unmarried sisters Margaret and Elizabeth as his heirs, giving Margaret a legal as well as a *de facto* investment in the Adams' public reputation.¹² Her letters from this period express strong views on the running of the architectural practice, but the addressees – her married sister Mary Drysdale and her brother-in-law John Clerk of Eldin – show that they were composed in the context of ongoing familial expectations and obligations. Margaret's relatives in Scotland looked to her to represent their interests in London, while she turned to them for support in her attempt to secure, as far as she could, the Adam name and her own future.

Letters between Margaret and John Clerk, her sister Susanna's husband, illustrate these reciprocal relationships. For many years Margaret was Clerk's link to the London patronage networks built up by her brothers. By this connection, she gained the Clerks' gratitude for her attention to their interests, as well as her brothers' implicit acknowledgement of her status as family mediator. In the spring of 1795 Clerk responded to her concerns about the growing influence of John Robertson, clerk to the London practice. The Robertson brothers were involved in the speculative side of the Adams' business and they would be blamed for the financial disasters of the early 1800s. Margaret feared her brother William would take John Robertson into partnership, a connection she had the 'most invincible dread of [as] it puts you so entirely in the power of another person'. Her sister Mary Drysdale approved of the proposal, but Margaret 'continued inflexible' in her opposition.¹³ In his letter Clerk indicated his respect for her judgement by laying aside his usual intimate epistolary style and addressing her formally as 'My Dear Madam'. He told her he had taken her part against both Mary Drysdale and his wife Susanna. The former was 'perfectly satisfied' by his reasoning, while the latter was now 'so much convinced' that she had insisted on his writing.¹⁴ In short, Clerk repaid his debts to Margaret Adam by restoring family opinion in her favour.

Margaret in turn used her influence to maintain family cohesion during her brother William's financial failures in 1801 and 1812. In October 1801 the appearance of an article in the morning newspaper forced her to acknowledge his difficulties to her sister Susanna. William had told her nothing until a few days previously, but she had known about his 'perilous situation' for some time because

a nephew had already written to inform her.¹⁵ Margaret confessed her 'very deep mortification ... on account of the ridiculous disgrace'. She was less concerned about the domestic savings she would have to make. What mattered was to retrieve the family's reputation as far as possible and to this end her brother's status was not to be challenged. Susanna could ask any question she pleased, but 'as to any reproach for Willy having ventured too far you will naturally avoid it in writing as I have done in conversation'.¹⁶ This manoeuvring around the nominal head of the London household helped to preserve a façade of male authority, but Margaret's actual status in her household and wider family is evident in her nephew's decision to warn her of events her brother had chosen to conceal.

When William Adam found himself in financial trouble again in 1812, his male relatives met to discuss what should be done. But this time it was Margaret who set things in motion by writing to her nephew. Although this letter sidestepped the household hierarchy, her action was consistent with her duty to consult with family and friends on matters that affected them. Her nephew's reply makes an important point about the expression of status in households and families:

you must remember that you are our only Parents, now living, that we have all of us a right to consider ourselves as Your Children and Your Grand Children – that in this Light [I] hold myself authorized to request, candidly, to learn, from you, the state of things, that we may gratify ourselves by Doing what it is fit we should do on this occasion.¹⁷

In this context, descriptors like 'parents', 'children' and 'grandchildren' defined not relationships but roles. They signalled duty, responsibility and the expectation of mutual help. Margaret's nephew made it clear her relatives recognized the London household's role in advancing the fortunes of the wider kin group.

The workings of influence

Margaret Adam's ability to use her influence discreetly without upsetting family sensibilities is amply illustrated in her longstanding correspondence with the Clerks. Two examples of patronage manoeuvring allow a detailed examination of the dynamics of this relationship: John Clerk's attempts to win royal or public recognition for his book on naval tactics and his son James's efforts to progress as a naval officer.

As Margaret's brother by marriage, John Clerk was counted as close kin, if not quite in the ranks of what Robert called 'nous of the upper house of Adam'.¹⁸ His letters were addressed variously to 'My Dear Peggie', 'My Dr Dr Sister Margaret' or 'My Dear Madam', conveying his wish to express at different times the closeness of their relationship and his respect.¹⁹ He first told Margaret of his projected work on naval tactics early in 1779, but he had already begun to work out his thoughts on the subject in previous letters to her. Private correspondence – which would be read or passed on within an intimate

circle – served for Clerk, as for writers of memoirs and biographies, as a means of laying the groundwork for a text which might, by stages of private circulation, appear later in a more public context. In January 1779, he asked her not to destroy what he had sent, as ‘tho scattered it may come to be a part of a whole’.²⁰ A few months later he sent her a satire on admirals Keppel, Harland and Palliser with a coy disclaimer ‘who is the author I cannot tell’, but asking her to ‘take care that it shall be published’ if the London newspapers failed to pick it up.²¹ Like his brothers-in-law, Clerk was ambitious to win recognition in a British rather than a Scottish context and to do so he needed friends in the capital. Margaret was his main point of contact over the next decade, as he vacillated over pursuing select publication and a royal pension, or public applause and thanks, while attempting to adapt his advancement strategies in line with political changes.

Margaret’s roles were those of facilitator, adviser and critic. Early in 1782, Clerk sent twenty-two privately printed copies of *An Inquiry into Naval Tactics* to London, with directions to her on their proposed distribution. She responded promptly with a detailed account of initial patronage approaches, leaving her sister to write on general family affairs.²² Her response was encouraging and Clerk acknowledged that her ‘Flattering criticism’ pleased him more than anyone’s.²³ However, she did not hesitate to point out shortcomings in his promotional tactics, telling him bluntly that it was a pity he had not brought the work out at the beginning rather than the end of the war.²⁴ She also disagreed with Robert’s suggestion that the king should pay Clerk ‘handsomely’ to recall the distributed copies (to prevent the work falling into the hands of the French), objecting that this would deprive Clerk of the public recognition which was his due.

The language of Margaret’s letters to Clerk articulates the nuances of familial authority and hierarchy. John Adam remained the titular head of the family, and it was perhaps to avoid setting up Robert in opposition to him that advice and opinion from the London household was usually presented as coming from all members. But in prefacing advice with phrases such as ‘we think’, or ‘we were all thinking’, Margaret also validated her own opinions.²⁵ On another occasion, she told Clerk that her brothers all thought the scheme to win a royal pension a clever one, significantly excluding herself from the general approval.²⁶ Clerk, for his part, deferred both to the concept of family unity and to the London household’s judgement on metropolitan patronage approaches. His copies of *Naval Tactics* were accompanied by letters to the king and lords North and Sandwich, ‘Left open for your inspection and if it pleases to be Sealed and directed and forwarded as the Council shall direct’.²⁷ The London household continued to manage the book’s presentation. Copies were signed by Robert in Clerk’s name and sent out to be rebound, as they were ‘rather shabby’. The one intended for the king would be in red morocco leather, Margaret informed him, as ‘there must be something showy in what is presented to him’.²⁸ Clerk accepted this with good grace, apologizing in another letter for being unable to follow her advice and have some copies printed on better paper.²⁹ The Adams’ reputation rested to some degree on public perception of

them as arbiters of taste and it was understood that a social *faux pas* on Clerk’s part would reflect on them as well as on him. Margaret continued to manage the representation of these decisions to Clerk. Unwelcome responses could be relayed through a double female buffer: when the Adam brothers objected to Clerk’s proposal to dedicate the *Naval Tactics* to the Duke of Clarence, Robert wrote a brief reply and ‘trusted that [Margaret] had wrote more fully their opinions upon the subject’ – which, she admitted to her sister Susanna, ‘I did not do’. She explained that her brothers thought it more gentlemanly to present the book without a dedication, as that seemed less like a plea for patronage. Mindful of both Clerk’s *amour propre* and her brothers’ apprehensions, she concluded, ‘that is the way it is viewed in this house, but if any of Mr Clerks friends see it in a different light ... no doubt he will take care that it is a well said dedication & that all the forms are observed’.³⁰

After eight years, it became apparent that praise of Clerk’s work from ‘many persons of the first character in the [naval] profession’ would not translate into a pension or a position for him.³¹ Margaret once again – voluntarily or otherwise – took on the role of mediator, delicately distancing her brothers from his lack of success. ‘We were all thinking’ she wrote, ‘what you propose yourself that it might be the best thing you could do to publish & I was to write to you to take the advice of your friends about it’. Her brothers, she said, had ‘little in their power’ and ‘in the [hurry] of their own affairs it is really impossible for them to give great attention to it’. She advised Clerk that he would be ‘much in the right’ to accept help from ‘anybody that can do you service with the present ministry’.³²

This letter shows Margaret Adam managing the expectations placed on kin relationships as well as practical demands made on her brothers’ time. Giving help to connections by blood and marriage was seen as a duty rather than a favour and Clerk might well have felt offended by the hint that such close relations could (or would) no longer act the part of zealous friends. Margaret, however, had acknowledged influence in her own sphere. Hearing of her advice to Clerk, her brother William commented ‘then you may be sure he’ll do it’.³³ Clerk may have been mollified by the knowledge that his family continued to benefit from the Adams’ metropolitan connections and residence in London. While corresponding with Clerk on publishing opportunities, Margaret was also sending regular bulletins on the progress of the Clerks’ son, James, to her sister Susanna. James Clerk hoped to advance as a naval officer and he had joined the Adam household in London to be near sources of patronage. As on other occasions, it was Margaret who managed the constant exchanges of information necessary to advancement strategies: where to address letters so that no time was lost, who was in or out of political favour, whether or not the expected war, with its opportunities for promotion, had actually begun.

Her correspondence underlines how important the minutiae of social interaction were to ambitious families of genteel rank. The archival catalogue entry of ‘personal, family and social affairs’ gives little hint of the weight of meaning attached to actions such as replying promptly to a letter, accepting or refusing an invitation and following,

or failing to follow, a potential patron's advice.³⁴ Margaret made a point of informing her sister who had breakfasted with them, who had dined and who her nephew and her brothers had visited since her last letter. In addition, she relayed news from any London newspapers not sent to Edinburgh, political gossip heard by her brothers at the Admiralty and in coffee houses, and information received from female acquaintances with links to Court. All this helped the Clerks to assess James's progress and judge where best to apply on his behalf.

Although most of Margaret's letters concerning James Clerk were written to her sister, it was her brother-in-law who replied as head of his family to keep her up-to-date on letters he had written to, or received from, potential patrons. It was important that the two families acted in concert, as approaches to more than one person could be counterproductive. Margaret's involvement continued on and off for at least a decade. Her pivotal role maintained open channels of communication between her brothers and the Clerks and between James Clerk and his parents. As on other occasions, she stepped in when her brothers failed to reply to letters, telling her sister, 'I have been long expecting that Bob or Willy would write ... but they are hurried with different things that prevents them taking time to answer Mr Clerk'.³⁵ All agreed that James Clerk was a deficient correspondent and money and information for his use was not sent to him but to his aunt.³⁶

Late in 1792, James was in a quandary about his future. War seemed imminent, but despite vigorous pulling of patronage strings by the Clerks and the Adams he was not yet assured of naval advancement. He also had an offer of a berth in the East India trade. The uncertainty of his position, and his preference for the navy, made it imperative that he stayed in close contact with his relatives as they tried to find a suitable place for him. He was still vacillating early in December when Margaret took matters into her own hands, informing her brother-in-law, 'Jamy wrote to you yesterday but did not send away his letter, & in case the same fate should befall it today I think it is better to write'. James had had an offer to join a frigate and although his chances of promotion were slim, she made it clear she approved of this course, concluding 'He is an Englishman'.³⁷ James, however, left to join a merchant ship later that month, followed by letters from his indefatigable and determined aunts. Margaret wrote to Susanna Clerk, while Elizabeth wrote for the third time to her nephew 'to desire him to come up without loss of time, that his uncle Willy may converse [with] him upon the subject of the war which must infallibly take place'. Margaret was insistent that domestic opinion be taken into account, and determined to influence the decision on a suitable profession for him, for 'Betty & I do not think Jamy qualified for being a merchant, we have often said so to he himself, & have told my Brother Willy so who has much less opportunity of observing his turn than we have'.³⁸ In further letters, she continued to press her opinion that war was inevitable and, keeping in mind other patronage responsibilities, suggested to John Clerk that it might be a good time to re-advertise the *Naval Tactics*. The siblings' joint efforts on James's behalf eventually proved successful. In mid-March 1793, Margaret wrote to tell her

brother-in-law of his departure for Portsmouth, adding a list of the benefactors he had called on before leaving. The young officer continued to rely on his aunt – when he wanted his patronage letters renewed, he expected her to tell his parents.³⁹

Another attempt to win promotion for James Clerk three years later makes clear the potential extent of female manoeuvring behind male patronage approaches. James had not written for many months, so his aunts, by this time well versed in naval matters, pieced together his likely movements from reports in the newspapers in the hope that a meeting with a potential patron could be arranged. His father intended to ask for Admiral Duncan's support, but, as Mrs Clerk reported to Margaret, 'we thought his letter ill said & prevailed upon him not to send it'.⁴⁰ A letter which could be sent without damaging John Clerk's pride was eventually written by the tactful expedient of getting William Adam to recommend the appropriate phrasing. This achieved, Clerk's female relatives saved him from further awkwardness by taking up the domestic correspondence that necessarily followed such help. Mrs Clerk wrote to Margaret that her husband was 'extremely grateful', concluding disingenuously, 'this is intended as an answer to My Brother William but as he is not always at home I thought it was better to address it to you Mr Clerk will write himself soon to day he has not time'.⁴¹

It is not clear whether these efforts were successful, but, as Susanna Clerk commented with clear reference to her female kin network, 'there is really few young men have such active friends as Jamie has'.⁴² The effort that went into writing a single letter – part of a patronage approach which sought interest from at least seven individuals, including three admirals and Henry Dundas, then secretary for war – emphasizes the degree of familial management, which preceded a public move. Margaret Adam's letters reveal her as both confident and respected in this context.

The failure of influence

Margaret's position in her family, forged over many years, was founded on both her practical ability to manage the household in fluctuating circumstances and her influence as a patronage facilitator. Her status was to some degree dependent on the continuation of the London household as an economic and social unit, something over which she had only partial control. The first two decades of the nineteenth century saw the steady decline of the Adams' fortunes. The difficulties faced by Margaret Adam's niece Susy Clerk after her aunt's death are a salutary reminder of what could happen when a household dissolved. In these circumstances, a never-married woman who had been unable to create a position of influence for herself, and who had little or no independent income, had to hope that relatives would acknowledge their social obligations by making provision for her.

Susy Clerk joined the Adam family after Elizabeth Adam's death in 1796. She may have been called on as a companion to her aunt Margaret, for the household had shrunk to a core of Margaret and William and the latter

was often absent on business. The offer of a place in the household was an act of patronage commensurate with the help given to her brother James. John Clerk could ill afford to provide for his three sons and four daughters, none of whom married. Susy not only boarded free but was also given occasional allowances of £20 by her aunt and uncle. Margaret diplomatically confirmed this financial help through Mrs Clerk, as she had done when she gave money to her nephew from her own funds.⁴³ Although the arrangement benefited both families, there is evidence that Susy herself worried about the implications for her future. Her inability to pay board cast her in the role of dependant, while her social connections were limited by her lack of income and her aunt's retired mode of life. Margaret became convinced her niece dreaded 'the Idea of being fixed here for my life (& no wonder) [although] she Grieves at the thought of leaving me alone ... As to the expence [it is] very little more than when my sister was alive'.⁴⁴ This downplayed any financial cause for concern, but William Adam was already entangled with the Robertsons and his weakening grasp on his affairs would put the family on an increasingly precarious footing over the next fifteen years. During this period, Susy spent some time in Edinburgh in the home of her eldest brother John Clerk, but she did not, as might have been expected given the Adams' example, join her sisters Margaret and Betty in his household. Uncertainty over her familial position may have led her to return finally to London, where she received news of her father's death in May 1812.

Any hope Susy had that inheritance would enable her to contribute to the Adam household was forestalled by a letter from her sister Margaret the following year which informed her that their brother John was making use of 'our furniture and plate and linnens' (these valuable articles, often left to women in lieu of financial legacies, made a significant addition to a household's assets).⁴⁵ Worse, it was not until 1816 – by which date the Adams had supported Susy for more than a decade – that John offered an allowance, which would enable her to pay board to her aunt and uncle.

Margaret Adam's death soon after this placed Susy in an awkward position with regard to family loyalties. Margaret's nieces and nephews were her heirs, but the income from her property remained with William Adam during his lifetime. As her elderly uncle slid further into debt, Susy was criticized by her siblings and cousins in Scotland for not keeping them sufficiently informed of his affairs. This perceived failure of duty meant that, unlike her aunt in similar circumstances, she gained inadequate familial support for her efforts to salvage her uncle's – and thus her own – affairs. Her relatives feared that William Adam's creditors would try to claim what remained of their aunt's property, and that they would be liable for heavy fines if he failed to pay the succession tax due on her estate. Susy's cousin, Mary Drysdale, wrote that 'although we might make up our minds ... to receiving no benefits from my Aunt's Will in our favour I am determined that we shall at least run no risk of being ruined by it'. She pressed Susy to ensure the Adam architectural drawings were not sold, 'for I look upon that as the only rational ground of hope for any thing remaining either ours or for my Uncle

himself in the time of need'.⁴⁶

Early in 1821, the wider family made a final attempt to detach William Adam from his undesirable business connections. Familial duty was invoked: he was the trustee of his sister's fortune not only 'for your own present enjoyment but for the future use of others ... she never could mean that those for whom she intended it should be sacrificed to the Robertsons'. He was urged to remember a still closer responsibility, 'Susy Clerk whose attachment to you is devoted and is not confined to expressions but is shewn by her acts'.⁴⁷ William Adam acknowledged his obligations to Susy by addressing to her the letter in which he promised to give up all connection with the Robertsons, 'In consequence of your wish and the express desire of my nearest & best friends'.⁴⁸

Susy's role as the prop of her uncle's old age was consistent with the expectations families laid on never-married women. But her nearest kin – including her brother John, to whom she owed a duty as head of her family – did not know the extent of either her uncle's obligations to her, or her loyalty to him. The day after receiving his letter, she signed an indenture in his favour for £1,000 of annuities, in return for the assignment of a government debt to him worth £829 8s. 10d. and an unpaid bequest dating from 1812 worth £200.⁴⁹

This was not all. A few years previously, Susy had corresponded with her sisters on the subject of a memoir of their father, John Clerk of Eldin, by the Edinburgh University professor John Playfair. Playfair had named Henry Dundas, Lord Melville, as a supporter of Clerk's *Naval Tactics*, cited correspondence which praised Clerk as 'one who has merited so highly of his country', and expressed surprise 'that no mark of public favour was ever bestowed on the author, nor any acknowledgement made by Government'.⁵⁰ Both Clerk and Dundas were dead by this time, but Susy wrote directly to Dundas's son, the second Lord Melville and First Lord of the Admiralty, to request a pension for herself. Only then did she inform her brother of her actions, begging that he would express his anger mildly. A letter from Betty Clerk reveals the condemnation that followed. In seeking such a public remedy on her own initiative, Susy had transgressed the boundaries of what was appropriate to her sex and status. Her news, said Betty, had come as 'the most painful & distressing of all the distressing letters you have lately written to me'. She criticized Susy's decision to take 'so Strong, & so delicate a step without the knowledge and consent of those most concerned'. 'Drysdals, Dalzels, Adams', she continued, 'all see the matter at present, in the same point of view, none approve'.⁵¹

Susy's efforts to rescue her uncle from ruin were in any case of little avail. In September 1821 she was warned to put her papers and securities into trustworthy hands.⁵² She knew her uncle would find dependence on her easier than relying on other relatives, as he had 'a just right to expect a share of every thing I had', but it was now clear she would be unable to support them both and he was 'quite resolved not to accept of a maintenance from his nephews'.⁵³ At the end of January 1822, the 84-year-old William Adam committed suicide.

In the immediate aftermath, Susy had to exert

herself in an attempt to retain some control over her future circumstances. As her uncle's heir, she could expect only 'a deal of trouble' and the loss of her home.⁵⁴ The shockwaves of the event quickly reached Scotland. Betty Clerk confessed she had evaded the truth by telling inquirers 'there had been some indications of his complaint but that it was very sudden at the last'. 'God grant that they may never never know to the end of all our existence', she added. She reassured her sister that no shame could attach to her 'for attending to the very last a poor misguided old uncle with whom as you once said you had already spent the best or nearly the best part of your life'.⁵⁵ But this too was an evasion, for the threat of public scandal was very great, and Susy's nearest relations considered her tainted by the connection. She had written to her brother proposing a return to Edinburgh; he replied that he was 'quite convinced along with your friends here whom I have consulted that it would not be advisable for you under all the circumstances to come to Scotland'. Reminding her that her application to Lord Melville had been stopped, he proposed an allowance of £220 a year, on condition that she remove herself to 'any other situation which you may like best either in London or in the neighbourhood or any country place, or at Bath, or abroad'. Determined to make himself clear, he repeated,

we think it would be far better for yourself not to come to Scotland and for us, considering all circumstances we think that there would be no end to the inconvenience of it. It would be shocking on Such a Subject to particularise ... let me know what you think best, excepting as to coming to Scotland which is evidently out of the question.⁵⁶

Susy did not reply immediately, but wrote instead to female friends who lived near her brother in Edinburgh's New Town, asking if she could board with them. Their reply was longer and more apologetic than John Clerk's, but it was a refusal nonetheless. She was also warned against applying to other friends: 'the Miss Pringles I am sure would not do and they would be so conscious that this life they lead would not suit you that they will not agree to your proposal if you made one from thinking so'.⁵⁷

The two refusals make use of widely differing social tropes. John Clerk's decision was expressed as the patriarchal head of a family (although he buttressed his stance by reference to 'your friends'). Susy's female friends wrote in the context of single women living together as householders or boarders – clearly a common arrangement, as they assured her she would hear of many opportunities and suggested that 'cousins of the Miss Wards ... agreeable sensible women', not known to them personally, might do. Their refusal was couched in terms of existing obligations and their own inadequacy. They had already turned down the same request from a friend of longer standing, who 'would not be a little hurt if we took any one into our family after refusing her' and in addition, they had to keep a room free for relatives who might want to be in Edinburgh.⁵⁸

Her friends also assumed that she would go first to her brother's house. As head of his family John Clerk had

obligations, which Susanna would remind him of when she finally replied to his letter. They were shocked when they learned that John had opposed her return and hoped his better feelings would lead him to 'do as he ought'.⁵⁹ Susy, less optimistic, asked her friends' advice on other suitable places to live. Their favourable opinion of the small town of Montrose, where society was 'composed of the widows and unmarried daughters of the Lords in the neighbourhood', shows that spinster clustering occurred on a larger scale than the household unit. Both socially and economically, a single gentlewoman on a small income was better able to maintain her status in a provincial town than in a city or fashionable resort. Bath, where only 'my Lady' could feel comfortable, was dismissed as 'abominable'.⁶⁰

While trying to secure a home, Susy also considered her limited options for a degree of financial independence. She offered the fifty-four folio volumes of Robert Adam's designs to the British Museum, 'all that could be collected of the labours of 30 years & more during which time he was reckoned one of the most eminent Architects of his time'. It is unclear whether she consulted family members before taking this step, although her cousins thought they had a claim to anything realised from a sale.⁶¹ The drawings were in any case not accepted and the collection languished until it was finally sold to Sir John Soane for £200 in 1833.

At the end of February 1822, Susy informed her brother that she had decided to remain in London. Her letter was written in a manner calculated to place her wishes and actions in a socially acceptable light. She began with her gratitude for his offer of an allowance, which she assured him was 'very great & truly sincere', and reminded him of an earlier promise that she and Betty would each have £2,000 from their father's estate. She made it clear she was not challenging his refusal to receive her; her letter would 'breathe nothing but the sorrow of disappointed affection & not the resentment of mortified pride'. But John Clerk's fear of scandal was neatly turned against him by Susy's explanation that she had thought 'it looked better for us all that I should after so long an absence take refuge with you at first & every body supposed that I would go to see my family at least'. By turning to the head of her family for help, she had shown 'that there was nothing but sisterly kindness in my mind & a resolution to comply with every thing that might be wished'. She continued by putting her application to Lord Melville in the light of feminine duty. Having lived so long supported by her uncle and becoming aware that his talk of suicide was serious, it would have been both 'ungrateful ... & unwomanly in me not to have been anxious to do every thing in my power to save him from self destruction'. She concluded by saying that she had taken the cheapest lodging she could find in the neighbourhood of her old home. Perhaps in an attempt to forestall future quibbles over her allowance, she closed her letter with a final cut at her brother's sense of propriety and public reputation: 'I take it for granted that you would wish your sister to live something like a gentlewoman'.⁶²

Susy remained in London for several years. In 1827, she named her brother William as her heir. He was to receive almost all her money, her silver plate, household

furniture, linen and books. As was usual in women's wills, bequests of jewellery among female friends marked important social relationships and indicated families in which the testatrix wished to be remembered. A silver gilt scent bottle was marked for the eldest daughter of Sir George Clerk of Penicuik, with the explanation, 'It belonged to Lady Clerk her great great grandmother 120 years in the family'.⁶³ With this bequest, Susy Clerk claimed remembrance in the senior branch of her family and a role, however small, in familial continuity. She also remembered her female friends in Edinburgh. John Clerk, who died in 1832, was not mentioned.

Conclusion

Susy Clerk's dependent position in the Adam household left her unable to influence the events that led to its collapse, and her inability to create for herself an effective role beyond the household meant she had no reciprocal networks. Her siblings and cousins felt she was not looking after their interests and, as a result, she was unable to call on these relationships to sustain her when others failed. She spent the rest of her life largely removed from her kin connections, although she underlined her refusal to be cast out of the family circle by continuing to represent herself in the language of family relationships. In contrast, Margaret Adam's roles as family mediator and patronage facilitator created bonds of obligation, which ensured support in times of crisis. But despite their differing circumstances and status, both these women used the same strategy when representing themselves to family and friends. They distanced themselves from negative popular perceptions of old maids by avoiding any reference to their single status. Instead, they appropriated positive stereotypes from genteel discourse – the prudent and conciliatory wife and domestic manager, the dutiful sister or niece. The demonstration of such virtues demanded that relatives and friends acknowledge complementary social virtues such as familial responsibility and genteel liberality. Of course, this strategy was not peculiar to never married women, but for gentlewomen especially, who were expected to display epistolary fluency, correspondence was a means of self-representation, which could be employed in a semi-public context of kin and friendship networks.

Given the overwhelmingly negative portraits of old maids in contemporary print culture, and single women's near invisibility in the historiography until recently, never married gentlewomen's correspondence is of particular value in any assessment of their places in their families. Susy Clerk's letters reveal that as her circumstances worsened she laid more frequent and greater emphasis on her natal ties. Her brother's offer of a comfortable £220 income, however grudging, was a tacit acknowledgement of her successful self-representation as a gentlewoman of his family. Margaret Adam's more extensive correspondence allows her to emerge from the domestic shadows as one of the props of the Adam family's London architectural venture. Her never married-brothers' public success was founded on the joint efforts of all the Adam siblings, and after their deaths, their

reputation was guarded and promoted not only by their surviving sisters, but by the Clerk family. This mutually beneficial relationship, nurtured by Margaret Adam over several decades, is an excellent example of the way in which a never-married gentlewoman could secure for herself a role at the heart of her family.

Notes

1. *The Tatler*, no. 184, 13 June 1710 (New York / London, Hadley & Mathews / Duckworth & Co., 1899), vol. iii, 363.
2. *The Rich Old Bachelor: a Domestic Tale. In the style of Dr. Syntax, by a Lady* (Canterbury, 1824), 70.
3. *The Old Maid. A Comedy In Two Acts, As it is Performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. By Mr. Murphy* (London, P. Vaillant, 1761), 10.
4. Olwen Hufton suggests a third of aristocratic Scotswomen remained unmarried: *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe*, vol. i (London, HarperCollins Publishers, 1995), 252. Stana Nenadic elucidates reasons for singlehood among both sexes in 'The Impact of the Military Profession on Highland Gentry Families, c. 1730–1830', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxxv, 1 (April 2006), 82, 93; my research suggests at least a third of Scottish lowland gentry sons and daughters never married.
5. Robert Adam to James Adam, 24 July 1756: Clerk of Penicuik papers, National Archives of Scotland, East Register House, Edinburgh (hereafter GD/18/4811).
6. Prominent examples include siblings Ann and William Pitt (the elder), and Sir Joshua Reynolds, his sister Frances and two nieces: Amy M. Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), 61, 75. Karin Wulf and Christine Adams have drawn attention to examples in America and France. My own case studies include siblings in the Lowland Scottish families of Innes, Scott, Trotter and Pringle.
7. Another sister, Helen, died early.
8. Robert Adam to Margaret Adam, 2 Oct. 1756 (GD/18/4820); James Adam to same, 9 Feb. 1761 (GD/18/4885).
9. Robert Adam to Margaret Adam, 27 March 1756 (GD/18/4804).
10. J. Lindores to Margaret Adam, 3 July 1787 (GD/18/4964); John Clerk to same, 15 Feb. 1791 (GD/18/4966).
11. Janet (1788), Robert (1792), John (1792), James (1794) and Elizabeth (1796).
12. Testament of Robert Adam (CC8/8/129 p.162) [accessed 21/07/09 via www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk].
13. Margaret Adam to John Clerk, n.d. [spring 1795] (GD/18/4961/72).
14. John Clerk to Margaret Adam, n.d. [spring 1795] (GD/18/5486/32).
15. John Adam's son William. He suffered significant financial loss in his uncle's bankruptcy. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [accessed 20/07/09 via www.oxforddnb.com].
16. Margaret Adam to Susanna Clerk, 29 Oct. 1801 (GD/18/4985).

17. William Adam to Margaret Adam, 12 July 1812 (GD/18/4990).
18. Robert Adam to Margaret Adam, 10 Jan. 1756 (GD/18/4796).
19. John Clerk to Margaret Adam, 22 Aug. 1782 (GD/18/4226/5); same to same, 2 June 1788 (GD/18/5486/17); same to same, n.d. (GD/18/5486/32).
20. Same to same, 21 Jan. 1779 (GD/18/4213/2).
21. Same to same, 9 March 1779 (GD/18/4213/1).
22. Margaret Adam to John Clerk, 11 March 1782 (GD/18/4226/1).
23. John Clerk to Margaret Adam, 8 March 1782 (GD/18/4226/9).
24. Margaret Adam to John Clerk, 25 July 1782 (GD/18/4226/2).
25. See, e.g., Margaret Adam to John Clerk, 7 March 1782; same to same, 11 March 1782 (GD/18/4226/1); same to same, 20 April 1792 (GD/18/4961/41).
26. Same to same, 7 March 1782 (GD/18/4226/3).
27. John Clerk to Margaret Adam [copy], 11 Feb. 1782 (GD/18/4226/11).
28. Margaret Adam to John Clerk, 16 Feb. n.y. (GD/18/4272/3).
29. John Clerk to Margaret Adam, n.d. (GD/18/4272/11).
30. Margaret Adam to Susanna Clerk, 6 Feb. 1790 (GD/18/4961/21).
31. Margaret Adam to John Clerk, n.d. (GD/18/4272/1).
32. Same to same, 20 April 1792 (GD/18/4961/41).
33. Same to same, 23 April 1792 (GD/18/4961/42).
34. GD/18/4961: 'Letters (83) to John Clerk of Eldin, Susanna, his wife and Mary Drysdale, from Margaret and Elizabeth Adam, mainly on personal, family and social matters, but giving information of the activities of their brothers, the architects and the death of James Adam'.
35. Margaret Adam to Susanna Clerk, 22 May 1787 (GD/18/4961/12).
36. John Clerk to Margaret Adam, 15 Sept. 1792 (GD/18/4248).
37. Margaret Adam to John Clerk, [2] Dec. 1792 (GD/18/4961/48).
38. Margaret Adam to Susanna Clerk, [?] Dec. 1792 (GD/18/4961/49).
39. Same to same, 13 May 1793 (GD/18/4961/57).
40. Susanna Clerk to Margaret Adam, 19 Jan. 1796 (GD/18/5486/35).
41. Same to same, 24 Feb. 1796 (GD/18/5486/37).
42. *Ibid.*
43. Margaret Adam to Susanna Clerk, 31 March n.y. (GD/18/4961/79); same to same, 29 Sept. 1795 (GD/18/4961/65).
44. Margaret Adam to Mary Drysdale, 29 June 1798 (GD/18/4961/82).
45. Margaret Clerk to Susanna Clerk, 14 June 1813 (GD/18/5574).
46. Mary Drysdale to Susanna Clerk, n.d. (GD/18/4994/3); same to same, 3 April n.y. (GD/18/4994/4).
47. William Adam to William Adam, 25 Jan. 1821 (GD/18/4995/2).
48. William Adam to Susanna Clerk, 25 Jan. 1821 (GD/18/4996).
49. Indenture between William Adam and Susanna Clerk,

26 Jan. 1821 (GD/18/4997).

50. 'Memoir relating to the Naval Tactics of the late John Clerk, Esq. of Eldin; being a Fragment of an intended Account of his Life. By John Playfair, F.R.S. Lond. & Edin. Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. 1818.' (GD/18/4287).

51. Elizabeth Clerk to Susanna Clerk, 1 Feb. 1821 (GD/18/4999/1).

52. Same to same, 23 Sept. 1821 (GD/18/4994/2).

53. Susanna Clerk to John Clerk, n.d. (GD/18/4999/9).

54. Elizabeth Clerk to Susanna Clerk, 4 Feb. 1822 (GD/18/4999/2).

55. Same to same, 6 & 9 Feb. 1822 (GD/18/4999/3, 6).

56. John Clerk to Susanna Clerk, 8 Feb. 1822 (GD/18/4999/4).

57. A. Hepburn to Susanna Clerk, 11 Feb. 1822 (GD/18/4999/5).

58. 'Family' is used here in the context of 'household', although the friend may well have been a relation by blood or marriage.

59. A. Hepburn to Susanna Clerk, 17 Feb. 1822 (GD/18/4999/7).

60. *Ibid.*

61. See n. 46 above.

62. Susanna Clerk to John Clerk, n.d. (GD/18/4999/9).

63. Testament of Susanna Clerk, 3 April 1827 (GD/18/2003).

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Widows from European countries working as governesses in Russia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

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Women's opportunities to realize themselves were extremely limited in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For middle-class girls, marriage was the most suitable role in life. But as widows, women had to count on the money, usually a scarce sum, that was their share under their husbands' will. When it was impossible to obtain adequate income for survival, a good alternative for a widow was a job as a governess in a private house. It was a decent, though not fully respected, occupation. Gradually the number of those who wanted to work as governesses in Western Europe exceeded vacancies, and one of the options was to work abroad, especially in Russia. It was risky, because 'to be a governess in Russia was the equivalent of taking the veil or a lady-like form of suicide'.¹ The focus of this article is on the phenomenon of hiring widows from European countries as governesses in imperial Russia, and addresses such questions as:

- How widows appeared in Russia,
- Advantages and disadvantages of widows as a demographic group,
- The successful and unsuccessful factors which influenced the outcome of their activity,
- Consequences of having foreigners as governesses in bringing-up Russian noble and middle-class children,
- Problems of co-existence of people belonging to different cultures and legal systems.

The role of foreign tutors and governesses in home education of nobility and middle class in Russia is rather complicated. As a result, this problem is touched upon through research in various aspects of the history of nobility and gentry in Russia, including biographies and cultural studies.² Some aspects of the theme were mentioned in historical narratives about foreigners' status in Russia.³ We also find some ideas in the works devoted to cross-cultural communications,⁴ in monographs dealing with the history of education and upbringing in Russia,⁵ and in studies on the history of Russian childhood.⁶ However, research on the governess phenomenon in Russia is not plentiful. In 1909, A. Dunin came to the conclusion that the greatest number of tutors and governesses in Russia were foreigners, especially French and German ones, and the best educated ones worked in the most famous and rich Russian families.⁷ Modern specialists on the history of education and pedagogical ideas prefer to analyse juridical aspects of governesses' activity and their teaching methods.⁸ As for historians, A. Tchoudinov underlined new important approaches to studying of the phenomenon of French tutors in Russia.⁹ There have been attempts to reconstruct some tutors' and governesses' biographies',

including the well-known Frédéric-César de La Harpe, tutor to the Emperor Alexander I,¹⁰ Gilbert Romme, the tutor of Prince Pavel Stroganov¹¹ and Claire Clairmont, the step-sister of Mary Shelley and Lord Byron's paramour.¹² My recent monograph is devoted to the analysis of different aspects of foreign governesses' activity in Russia.¹³ It is the first book especially devoted to this problem.

In British historiography, there is a tradition of studying their compatriots' activity in Russia. Harvey Pitcher, considering British nannies and governesses' activity, noted that from 1830, because of too great number of potential governesses – poor, but well brought up girls – many British women went to other countries to work as nannies and governesses.¹⁴ Anthony Cross, using both British and Russian archival sources, demonstrates that British nurses and governesses appeared in Russia earlier than Pitcher indicated. Cross describes some cases of English tutors and English language teachers in Russian noble families in the eighteenth century.¹⁵ Irene Hardach-Pinke wrote about Germans who worked as governesses in different countries including Russia. She paid attention to the fact that in Russia 'the French lustre' was appreciated and German governesses tried to learn the French language and to teach it to their Russian pupils.¹⁶ There are no specific research works devoted to the governess-widows.

Why did foreigners go to work to Russia if they thought it was a wild and backward country? There were a lot of advantages in working in Russia compared to Western countries. Firstly, because Russian society was in transition, there were more possibilities for foreigners to get rich and leave, than elsewhere in the world. Claire Clairmont, an English governess in Moscow, wrote to Jane Williams, 'there is no country so favourable to foreigners'¹⁷, so 'I have decided not to return to England ... – I prefer my ice-cave and my bears here to it'.¹⁸ Secondly, in their native countries, like France and Britain, for example, there were special demands for qualifications of tutors and governesses, but to work in Russia it was only necessary to be a native speaker. Russian parents were even glad when tutors and governesses of their children did not know any other languages and did not speak Russian: they believed that only then would they be the best teachers of their mother tongue. As a result, some tutors and governesses who could not find jobs in their native countries because of lack of qualifications went to Russia. It was attractive for them to work in Russia because a foreign tutor or a governess had fewer duties than a Russian one. Other teachers taught the other subjects, and a foreign governess or a tutor had free time for him or herself. When s/he had spare time, s/he could give foreign language lessons to other pupils and earn

more money. Claire Clairmont wrote, 'One thing makes me prefer Russia to England, if I must be a governess – Here they are so ignorant and vulgar that, at least, I may say what I please, while, in England, I should be obliged to follow their opinion, and not my own'.¹⁹ In fact, in the Russian Empire, foreign governesses' and tutors' working conditions were much better than Russian ones'. Their salaries were higher, and they had far fewer duties than native Russian governesses. While in England and France there were too many governesses, in Russia up to the middle of the nineteenth century the situation was just the opposite: there were not enough governesses. The prospects of elderly governesses in Russia were also more favourable: it was typical that ex-governesses stayed with the families of their former pupils. In contrast, in European countries when the period of teaching and living with the family came to an end, the close relationships between pupils and governesses ended too. In Europe after the eighteenth century, families did not have a paternal attitude to governesses, but in Russia, tutors and governesses were often treated as a member of a family.

Usually young ladies were looking for a job as a governess, but widows were preferred, since parents preferred women in their forties and even older, with a decent, but not a too attractive, appearance. Widowhood was a sign of a greater experience and provided a sort of moral guarantee. A woman, who arrived in Russia because of complicated family circumstances, understood very quickly that widows had greater respect, and often took on the status of a widow even if she was not a widow in fact. This variant was more convenient for a woman deserted by her husband and for a young woman with a doubtful past. Russian memoirists commented on such cases: this governess 'belonged to that sort of women who called themselves "Madame" although they do not remember when they have lost the right to be "mademoiselle"'.²⁰ Subsequently, Russian authorities began to demand marriage certificates to define the marital status of a woman. In the document granting the right to be a governess in a private house, it was written as in Eugénie Juichard's case: 'the Swiss widow Eugénie Juichard née Joly'.²¹

It is notable that in the eighteenth and especially in the nineteenth century, the most popular title for foreign governesses was 'Madame' because essentially they were married women and of French origin and frequently widows of a venerable age. However, even representatives of other countries also could be called 'Madame', as M. Zagoskin wrote in 'Moscow and Muscovite', 'They can't manage without German Madam'.²² Essentially, the term was already used as a synonym for 'governess'. 'Mrs.', 'Miss', and especially 'Frau' and 'Fraülein' were not used so often despite the great number of British, German and Swiss governesses in Russia. Usually people called their governesses according to their national identity: English /British, German, French, Swiss, etc.. In such cases, they tried to underline that they could afford to have a foreigner as a governess. Foreign governesses seemed to embody the concrete features of national character stereotypes. The name of a nationality became a proper

name, replacing a personal name. When governesses often changed, people remembered them not as real persons but as characters of concrete professional and foreign status. So, the well-known Russian poet Eugénii Boratynskii wrote to his wife about a new governess: 'The English seems to be decent one'.²³

One of the first known governess-widows worked in the family of the Empress, and brought up Princess Anna Leopoldovna, the niece of the Russian Empress Anna Ioannovna (1730-1740). Madame Aderkas, Prussian by origin, was the widow of a French general. They said she was an elderly woman, but charming. Madame Aderkas was smart, read a lot and was known to be excellent in the art of polite conversation. She was able to conduct conversation practically with any person, taking important information from such conversations.²⁴ However as a governess, she was hardly successful: her pupil Anna did not learn how to manage polite conversation. From numerous stories from her governess about the life in Hamburg, Anna gained the idea that Hamburg was a wonderful place, where people who had left high society lived with pleasure. So when Anna Leopoldovna became the regent of Russia in 1740-1741, she frequently announced with a deep sigh: 'My God! Why shouldn't I live in Hamburg, far from the vanity of magnificent palaces and any majesty!'²⁵ As for Madame Aderkas, she was accused of pandering, since she aided the intimate relationships of her pupil with the Saxon ambassador, and was deported from Russia without the right of return.²⁶

Widows usually came to Russia with their small children. As an alternative, a woman first went to Russia without her children and tried to find a situation in a private house. If she succeeded in her attempt, after a period of working, she wrote to relatives with whom her children stayed in her native country and brought the children to Russia. Governesses' children were brought up in special educational institutes, or in the family where their mother worked as a governess.

Elizabeth Stephens' history is remarkable. Her ancestors were from the Swiss family Planta who moved to England. All the members of Planta family received excellent education. The senior brother, Joseph Planta (1744-1827) was the principal librarian at the British Museum and one of her sisters was a governess to George III's daughters Princesses Mary and Amelia.²⁷ The second sister helped her. As for Elizabeth, she knew French and Italian languages, was skilled in all kinds of needlework and played the harpsichord.²⁸ Indeed, she was a good musician. Joseph Planta mixed with London intellectuals, including foreign ones, one of whom was Andrei Afanas'evich Samborskii (1753-1815), a chaplain in the Russian church in London. Samborskii had lived in England for many years and was married to an Englishwoman, Elizabeth Fielding.²⁹ After returning to Russia, Samborskii became a spiritual instructor for the Grand Dukes Alexander and Constantine as well as their English teacher. He was known to be an extreme Anglophile. All Anglophiles of Petersburg were grouped around his house, and he tried to support all Englishmen coming to Russia as he had supported Russians in

London. Anthony Cross writes:

Samborskii is one of the least sung but most remarkable of Russians to have been in Britain in the eighteenth century. He was himself inevitably known to, and admired by, all Russians, humble and mighty, who visited London during the nearly fifteen years he served in the church. His circle of British friends and acquaintances was no less wide, reflecting the multifarious nature of his activities, some of which were not necessarily of his choosing.³⁰

Samborskii played a key role in Elizabeth Stephens's adjustment to Russia.

The Anglican priest, Henry Stephens, husband of the youngest of the Planta sisters, Elizabeth, died, and she found herself and three children in a helpless state. In 1789, Joseph Planta sent a letter to Samborskii, asking him to find a position in Russia for his widowed sister. Samborskii found Mrs. Stephens a job as governess in the house of Countess Ekaterina Shuvalova. The recent widow was to bring up Alexandra (1775-1847), the youngest daughter of Shuvalova. The Countess Shuvalova (1743-1816 or 1817), lady-in-waiting to the Empress's Court and subsequently Hofmeisterin (housemistress or *gofmeysterina*) of the Great Princess Elizabeth Alekseevna, was one of the most influential figures in Saint-Petersburg. Mrs. Stephens, the poor English widow, could hardly have dreamt about such a position.

After Elizabeth arrived and began to carry out her duties, Countess Shuvalova appreciated the governess so much that she allowed Mrs. Stephens to invite her three children to Russia: her two daughters, Elizabeth (b. 1779) and Marianne, and a son, Francis, who had a mental disorder. They arrived with their nurse, Ms. Joyce, who had taken care of them in England. Samborskii decided to educate Elizabeth and Marianne in a private boarding school.³¹ In 1797, at Samborskii's summerhouse near St. Petersburg, Mikhail Speranskii (1772-1839), the future Russian State Secretary, met young Elizabeth Stephens, the daughter, and fell in love with her at first sight. Soon he asked her to marry him. The young Englishwoman tried to write letters to her fiancé in Russian, making a lot of mistakes, and he learned English quickly. Soon Speranskii spoke English well, which was unusual even among well-educated Russian people then. Even extreme anglophiles usually did not know the language of Britain, and had to read English authors in French.³² Thanks to his marriage to the daughter of an English governess, Speranskii did not have such problems.

When Alexandra Shuvalova married the Austrian Prince Franz Josef von Dietrichstein and went to Vienna, Mrs. Stephens accompanied her. Soon, however, she had to return to Russia. The happy marriage of the Speranskies was short: unfortunately, Elizabeth Speranskaya died of tuberculosis in 1799 after giving birth to a daughter, Elizabeth. Speranskii was close to suicide. After coming back from Vienna in 1801, Mrs. Stephens cared for her granddaughter Elizabeth, while her second daughter,

Marianne Stephens, probably dreamed of marrying Speranskii.³³ Such a marriage with the dead sister's husband, normal for Protestants, was against the norms of Orthodox Church, and Speranskii acquired a complicated domestic situation. However, in 1802, Marianne married Constantine Zlobin, the son of the tax-farmer Vasilii Zlobin, one of the richest men of Russia.³⁴ Mrs. Stephens, with her small granddaughter Elizabeth Speranskaya, moved to Zlobin's house. One of Zlobin's visitors, F. Vigel, wrote, that this house was attractive for Mrs. Stephens with her aristocratic manners and vivacity of Marianne Zlobina.³⁵ But the Zlobins separated very quickly, and Marianne and her mother and niece returned to Speranskii's care. Elizabeth Speranskaya, the daughter, was known to have poor health, so it was necessary for her to live in a good climate. She could not stay in Saint-Petersburg, but her father was making his career and could not leave the capital of Russia. So, Mrs. Stephens took her granddaughter to Kiev, a big southern city. For some time, Mrs. Stephens lived there with her son, daughter and granddaughter. Finally, in 1809, Speranskii bought his own house in Petersburg, and his daughter and mother-in-law returned from Kiev.³⁶ Marianne Zlobina died in 1811, bequeathing an estate in the Novgorod province to her niece Elizabeth Speranskaya. Speranskii's breath-taking career, as state secretary, in fact the second person in the state after the Emperor, was broken in the spring of 1812 when he was exiled. It began of a period when he was able to bring up his daughter. He created a plan of education for Elizabeth and began to implement it. Speranskii stimulated her interest in foreign languages, checked her compositions and read her letters written in foreign languages. Mrs. Stephens died in 1816. Mrs. Stephens and, after her death, her granddaughter Elizabeth Speranskaya were in constant contact with their English relatives. They wrote letters and sent presents to each other. In 1819, Elizabeth passed the examination to be a home teacher, and Speranskii wrote of his approval: 'I congratulate you on the rank of the teacher of children. It is not bad to teach something and it is the best way to learn it. You will be like Miss Edgeworth'.³⁷ In 1821, Elizabeth Speranskaya became a maid of honour to the Empress, and very soon married senator A.A. Frolov-Bagreev, and in 1828, she published a book on children's education and became well-known for her knowledge.³⁸ After becoming a widow in 1845, she moved to Europe and began to write books, publishing them abroad in French and German. So, Mrs. Stephens's high educational level and the important connections she made in Russian high society contributed significantly to her success.

The importance of connections and personal contacts can be seen in the destiny of Henrietta Mettem. John Mettam, a lieutenant in the Russian fleet, died in 1787. According to family legend, he was captain of a military ship, but he was probably an ordinary officer in the Russian navy. His widow, Henrietta Mettem, as she was called in Russia, remained in the country without money. We have only partial information about her, but it is possible to assume that the widow of the lieutenant did not have the connections that Mrs. Stephens had, and for her to become a governess was much more difficult.

Only in due course was she hired as a nurse governess in the family of Count Boutourlin, and she did not waste this chance. Countess Anna Boutourlina, née Countess Vorontsova (1777-1854), a European-educated young woman, and her husband, Dmitrii Boutourlin, (1763-1829), a well-known bibliophile and later director of the Hermitage in Saint-Petersburg, appreciated knowledge, European culture and good manners. Henrietta Mettem succeeded as the governess in their house, which was usually friendly to foreign tutors and governesses. She became very close to the mistress of the house, and when dying, Henrietta asked her friend, Countess Anna, to take care of her daughter, Henrietta-Elizabeth (1787-1861). Countess Anna Boutourlina gave the girl a good education and upbringing, and some years later Elizabeth Mettem became one of the most beautiful Moscow ladies. Martha Wilmot (1775-1873), a British lady who stayed as a guest in Russia at Princess Ekaterina Dashkova house in 1803-1808, wrote in her journal about the wedding of Elizabeth Mettem to the cousin of Countess Boutourlina, Jean Naryshkin (1779-1818).³⁹ Thanks to this marriage, Elizabeth Naryshkina, the daughter of a poor British widow, entered the highest circle of the Russian nobility. Elizabeth Naryshkina maintained a tender attitude to Boutourlin's family all her life. She herself became a widow very early, living with her son and daughter. For her it was a great pleasure when her daughter, Ekaterina Naryshkina (b. 1816), married Michael Boutourlin (1807-1876), the youngest son of her patroness Countess Anna Boutourlina. So, the granddaughter of British widow, Mrs. Mettem, became the Russian Countess Ekaterina Boutourlina, in spite of the fact that Michael Boutourlin was an irresponsible man. He changed his occupation and jobs, had love affairs and as a result wasted all his capital and lived on money sent to him by his former tutor, the Briton John Sloan (1794-1871).⁴⁰

The example of these two British women, Elizabeth Stephens and Henrietta Mettem, shows that such an occupation as governess was considered as constrained one and at the slightest opportunity, a governess 'left' her position. Governesses did not wish to pass this profession on to their daughters, and they used every opportunity for organizing the necessary connections and marriages of their daughters. Only marriage was perceived as the normal destiny for a woman even if it caused such sufferings as in the case of Countess Ekaterina Boutourlina. The opportunity to enter the highest circle of the Russian nobility, especially the titled nobility, bewitched them.

Marriage to a governess was a misalliance for a nobleman; therefore, the governess was expected to seek marriage partners among people of her own circle, perhaps a teacher, a tutor or a librarian. Any other variant of a marriage for a family employee was undesirable. Therefore, from this point of view, elderly widows were considered as less dangerous employees and were preferred above younger women. Nevertheless, second marriages of widow-governesses took place, and sometimes there were marriages to relatives and friends of employers. Anna Borozdina (1819-1883), a general's daughter, lost her mother at the age of nine, and was

brought up by a German widow-governess, Sofia Damberg. In 1836, Anna became a maid of honour of the Empress and heir to a large estate of her mother, and presented her former governess with twenty-seven thousand roubles, rather large sum of money at that time.⁴¹ Sofia Damberg, who became extremely well-off, stayed as a companion to her former pupil. Soon Anna Borozdina married officer Nikolai Raevskii, son of the hero of the anti-Napoleon war of 1812. When the first son of the Raevskie, Nikolai, was born, Sofia Damberg became his nurse.⁴² A friend and colleague of Nikolai Raevskii, Nikolai Mayer (1806-1846), a doctor, visited the Raevskie house very often, bantered with the German nurse, Damberg, who was patient and full of care in the way she nursed the child. After a while he began to accompany her and then proposed to her. In her new marriage, Damberg-Mayer gave birth to twins, and Anna Raevskaia put five thousand roubles into the bank accounts of each of Sofia Mayer's sons.⁴³ After some time, in 1846, Sofia Damberg-Mayer became a widow again, with two small sons. So, for many years, she worked as the headmistress of the private educational institution for girls in Kerch, and died in 1882.⁴⁴

The French Revolution and the era of the Napoleonic wars flooded Europe with French noblewomen, some of them widowed because their husbands had been put to death on the guillotine. Many of them under any other circumstances would not have become governesses, but in revolutionary conditions, they had to leave France urgently without money. Some of these noblewomen came to work as governesses to Russian noble and gentry families.⁴⁵ Certainly, their educational and cultural levels varied considerably, from an elementary command of their spoken native language to sophisticated linguistic abilities. We can estimate their ability according to the results shown by them at examinations for the rank of housemistress/governess. Special test committees at Moscow University, St.-Petersburg Academy of Sciences and later at other universities, defined the abilities and qualifications of potential governesses according to set criteria: can teach language; can teach only to the basic level of language; can teach language and literature; can teach several languages; can train in reading and writing in her language; can train only in reading; can train only in conversational language; 'can teach language, but not punctuation marks, as usual for female'; 'can teach with success' or 'can teach with honour'.⁴⁶ For some time Frenchwomen were very popular in Russia and brought up several generations of Russian upper- and middle-class girls. They created an image of aristocratic lady: she should possess noble charm and good manners, speak French with a Parisian pronunciation, read French books and dress according to the Parisian fashion.

One of these French governesses, Madame Brunner, worked for the Semenov family, famous for Russian geographer and traveller Peter Semenov-Tyan'-Shanskii. She was the widow of a gentleman from Alsace who was put to death during the French Revolution, when Madame Brunner escaped from France with her small son. In St. Petersburg, she managed to educate him at one of the Marine military schools, and later the boy became

an admiral. Madame Brunner was clever and very well educated; she knew French and German, history and the literature of both France and Germany.⁴⁷ After some years carrying out her duties with the Semenovs, in 1812, she became governess to the Blank family, where her pupil Alexandra Blank became a very well educated young girl. Some years later Alexandra remembered 'with deep feeling of gratitude ... the worthy governess who managed to give her in rural solitude such a brilliant and completed education'.⁴⁸ In 1816, Peter Semenov returned to Russia after some years in France, having been captured during the war. On the way to his parents' house in the centre of Russia, Semenov stayed at the Blanks' estate and got acquainted with Alexandra Blank. He fell in love with the 15-year old girl. As their son, Peter Semenov-Tyan'-Shanskii wrote later, 'the young girl seemed to my father so attractive, because her governess Mme Brunner, a very respectful lady, was the governess of his brothers earlier. She was his teacher of French, and the knowledge of French relieved those hard days in French captivity'.⁴⁹ It was easier for young people to get closer to each other, if they had received the same stock of moral principles from the same governess.

The following flow of governesses, and especially tutors, was connected to the Napoleonic invasion of Russia in 1812. Many Frenchmen were captured during the war and stayed to work in Russia. Y.K. Arnold wrote explained: 'A Captured Frenchman was in almost every house of Russia; it was normal for every decent house to have their own Frenchman. And as a result, a Frenchman also appeared in our house and he was titled "*m-r le gouverneur des fils de la famille*".'⁵⁰

Madame Renault was among that flow of foreign governesses. She was the widow of a French merchant. Her only son, Dominique, had been called up for military service when Napoleon army invaded Russia in 1812, so Madame Renault decided to follow the army as a sutler.⁵¹ Dominique Renault was captured and remained in Russia. Madame Renault was also captured, and soon began her career as a governess in the family of the governor of that province where she was in prison. Trying to find her son, Madame Renault went to Moscow. At just that point, Elizaveta Ian'kova decided to take a French governess for her daughters – sixteen-year-old Cleopatra and nine-year-old Sofia. Elizaveta Ian'kova (1768-1861) was a widow, and she needed a calm and decent person to be a governess. She did not like any of the applicants and none of them met her requirements. At last, an old woman of almost sixty appeared; she was very decent, in a dark silk dress, with grey curls, calm and quiet. It was Madame Renault. Elizaveta Ian'kova liked Madame Renault very much: she was clever, respectable, pious, with a decent appearance and with noble manners; her manner of speaking had a fine Parisian accent.⁵² Madame Renault spent several years in Ian'kova's house. Her son, Dominique, visited Ian'kova's house from time to time for dinner. Madame Renault's pupil Sofia died in 1820, and Madame Renault went to her mistress, Elizaveta Ian'kova, and asked to be allowed to stay until her death. She was ready to pay for her living, but Elizaveta Ian'kova permitted

the French widow to live in her house free of charge until her death in 1822.⁵³

An advanced age, a solid image, good manners and a decent accent were Madame Renault's advantages. All these qualities were perceived as a guarantee of her high educational opportunities. Another important factor was that she was a widow, and her mistress, Ian'kova, had become a widow recently. In the case of Mrs. Stephens, her mistress, Countess Shuvalova, had also lost her husband just before the appearance of the governess. For 'new widows', Shuvalova and Ian'kova, the choice of a widow as a governess was connected with a feeling of a common emotional situation. The widow-governess could easier understand her mistress-widow, and it might have been more comfortable for the mistress to see a widow than a possible young lady-governess at home.

For a European woman it was possible to marry and to become a widow during her stay in Russia. However, there could be numerous problems connected with the terms of marriage law in Russia since civil marriage was not accepted. But church marriage was not sufficient in France where the Napoleonic Code decreed that only civil marriage was acceptable. Because of such differences, the governess of Prince Jury Golitsyn's daughters, Madame de Laveau, found herself in tragicomic circumstances. This story was written by a pupil of Madame de Laveau, Elena Khvoshchinskaia (b. 1850), née Princess Golitsyna.⁵⁴ This French governess arrived in Russia when she was very young, and earned five thousand roubles, a good sum of money. At the age of forty, she married a young Frenchman M. de Laveau, a journalist who lived in Moscow and wrote for *Revue des deux mondes*. On the very day of wedding, M. de Laveau received a dispatch demanding his immediate return to Paris with money. He explained his difficult situation to his new wife, who was touched and gave him all her money. He went to Paris and never returned to Russia. Madame de Laveau hoped for his return and wrote him many letters, which he answered, but he stayed in Paris. She waited for him for years, trying to stay young looking for him. She used many methods to preserve what she saw as her extraordinary beauty. Actually, she was very short with a little hump. She drank only milk, laid down on a table to straighten the hump, slept in a hat under a veil and constantly wore gloves; she skipped 100 times every day and bathed in the river three times a day until autumn. She got up at seven o'clock sharp in the morning, went to bed at nine pm and went for a walk despite the weather. It did not help her to become a beauty, but as for health and vivacity, she could compete with her young pupils. Some years later, in 1863, Madame de Laveau received a letter from Paris informing her of the death of her spouse. She cried extensively, prepared her widow's weeds and went to Paris. But to her surprise, she found that she had no right to be Madame de Laveau, because her husband had contracted a civil marriage according to French law earlier in Paris. Her marriage, in contrast, was a church marriage in Moscow according to Russian law. She stayed in Paris for three years, rewarded the servants of her husband and often visited his tomb where sometimes she met the other

Madame de Laveau and her daughter. Then, she returned to Russia without money as a governess again. Certainly, this case is unique and deserves to be a basis for a movie plot.

Detailed analysis of diaries, letters and memoirs leads to a conclusion, that education of Russian noblewomen by foreign governesses resulted, in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, in changes of world-view related to the governesses' culture.⁵⁵ Because of a large number of French governesses during this period, French social norms were spread in Russian society instead of Russian norms. The acquired values were used as a set of standards and estimated criteria for management of the acts, developments of attitudes to corresponding situations, formations of morally-ethical judgements and comparisons with other people. Foreign governesses were representatives of other cultures, and their life in Russia was a process of cross-cultural communication, accompanied by all the nuances, inherent to such processes: ethnocentrism, formation of auto- and hetero-stereotypes, cultural shock, intercultural dialogue, appearance of polylingualism, etc.

In the second half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, there was a significant change in the foreign governesses' position. As a whole, the status of a governess was high in comparison with other attendants of an aristocratic house, but it is possible to speak about more or less equal status of a governess with family members only in the eighteenth century. In the process of increasing the number of governesses in Russia, the status of this professional group became lower. Thus, foreign governesses in Russia became a marginal group in Russian society because of their origin and their culture. On the whole, there was a hierarchy of governesses and tutors, which changed across the century. Initially the Germans were the most widespread group, but Frenchmen were appreciated much more than Germans; then, as a result of the widespread hiring of Frenchmen, the British and the Swiss began to be valued more than others. The difference in an estimation of governesses and tutors who were representatives of the same nationality is interesting: Englishwomen were appreciated as the best governesses, but nobody thought that Englishmen were the best tutors. Swiss tutors were known to be the best, but Swiss governesses were thought to be worse than French but better than German ones.⁵⁶ The salary of widows was usually higher than of other categories of governesses, but this group was not numerous. The choice of a job as a governess in Russia became only one of the strategies of European widows for survival.

Notes

1. See Harvey Pitcher, *When Miss Emmie was in Russia. English Governesses Before, During and After the October Revolution* (London-Toronto, 1984), 33-4.
2. See, for instance, V.O. Kliuchevskii, 'Dva vospitaniia', in V.O. Kliuchevskii, *Ocherki i rechi. Vtoroi sbornik statei* (Moscow, 1913), 216-47; A. A. Vasil'chikov, *Semeistvo Razumovskikh*, II (Petersburg, 1880); Cynthia H.

Whittaker, *The origins of modern Russian education: an intellectual biography of Count Sergei Uvarov, 1786-1855* (DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 1984).

3. See, for instance, V.A. Kovrigina, *Die Deutschen im Moskauer Handwerk in der zweiten Hälfte des 17 und im ersten Viertel des 18 Jahrhunderts* (Lüneburg: Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1997); Idem, *Nemetskaia sloboda Moskvyy ee zhiteli v kontse XVII – pervoi chetverti XVIII veka* (Moskva : Arkheographicheskii tsentr, 1997); F. Tastevin, *Histoire de la Colonie Française de Moscou. Depuis les origines jusqu'à 1812* (Paris, 1908); V. Rjéoutski, 'Les Français de la Volga: la politique migratoire russe des années 1760 et la formation des communautés francophones à Saint-Petersbourg et à Moscou', in *Cahiers du monde russe*, 39, 3 (juillet-septembre, 1998), 283-96.

4. See, for instance, Émile Haumant, *La culture française en Russie (1700-1900)* (Paris, 1910); V. Rjeoutski, 'La langue française en Russie au siècle des Lumières. Elements pour une histoire sociale', in eds, U. Haskins-Gonthier and A. Sandrier, *Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in Enlightenment Europe (Proceedings of The International Seminar for Young Eighteenth-Century Scholars 2004)*, (Paris, Honore Champion, 2007), 101-26; Idem, 'L'assimilation dans l'histoire de la communauté française en Russie dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle', in *L'influence française en Russie au XVIIIe siècle*, publ. sous la dir. de Jean-Pierre Poussou, Anne Mézin et Yves Perret-Gentil, (Paris, Institut d'études slaves, Presses universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 675-85.

5. See, for instance, N. Chehulin, *Russkoe provintsial'noe obshchestvo vo vtoroi polovine XVIII veka. Istoricheskie ocherki* (Petersburg, 1889); E.O. Likhacheva, *Materialy dlia istorii zhenskogo obrazovaniia v Rossii (1086-1856)*, 1-3 (Saint-Petersburg, 1899); I. Pavlenko, 'Vospitanie i obrazovanie v tsarstvovanie Ekateriny II', in *Russkaia shkola*, no 10, 11 (1911); V.V. Ponomareva, L.B. Khoroshilova, *Mir russkoi zhenshchiny : vospitanie, obrazovanie, sud'ba. XVIII—nachalo XX veka* (Moscow, 2008); S.V. Rozhdestvenskii, *Istoricheskie obzory deiatel'nosti Ministerstva narodnago prosvieshcheniia. 1802-1902* (Saint-Petersburg, 1902).

6. See, for instance, I.N. Bozherianov, *Detstvo, vospitanie i leta iunosti russkikh imperatorov* (Petrograd, 1915); B.B. Glinkii, *Tsarskie deti i ikh nastavniki: Istoricheskie ocherki dlia iunoshestva* (Petersburg and Moscow, 1912); O.E. Kosheleva, 'Svye detstvo' v drevnei Rusi i v Rossii epokhi prosvieshcheniia (XVI-XVIII vv.): uchebnoe posobie po pedagogicheskoi antropologii i istorii detstva (Moscow, 2000).

7. A. Dunin, 'Guvernery v starinu v pomeschich'ikh sem'iakh (Ocherk)', in *Istoricheskie vestnik*, CXVII (1909), 185-94.

8. S.V. Sergeeva, *Teoriia i praktika chastnogo obrazovaniia v Rossii (posledniaia chetvert' XVIII – pervaiia polovina XIX v.)* (Moscow -Penza, 2003); O.L. Zvereva, A.N. Ganicheva, *Semeinaia pedagogika i domashnee vospitanie* (Moscow, 2000).

9. A.V. Tchoudinov, 'Frantsuzskie guvernery v Rossii kontsa XVIII v.: stereotipy i real'nost', in S.Ya. Karp, S.A. Mezin (eds.), *Evropeiskoe Prosvieshchenie i tsivilizatsiia*

Rossii (Moscow, 2004), 330-34.

10. J.-R. Bory, 'Frédéric-César de La Harpe i vospitanie Aleksandra I', in E. Tarkhanova, M.-I. Luty, E. Meder (eds.), *Shveitsartsy v Peterburge*, (Saint-Petersburg, 2002), 404-18.

11. V.M. Daline, 'Gilbert Romme, Pavel Stroganov et la Court de Saint-Petersbourg. A propos du retour de Stroganov et Russie', in *Gilbert Romme (1750-1795) et son temps. Actes du Colloque tenu u Riom et Clermont* (10-11 juin 1965) (Paris, 1966), 69-80; A.V. Tchoudinov, 'Les papiers de Gilbert Romme aux archives russes', in *Gilbert Romme (1750-1795). Actes du colloque de Riom (19 et 20 mai 1995)* (Paris, 1996), 79-87; Idem, 'Les voyages de Gilbert Romme et Pavel Stroganov en Suisse (1786-1788) d' apres les archives russes', in *Les conditions de la vie culturelle et intellectuelle en Suisse romande au temps des Lumieres. Annales Benjamin Constant*, XVIII-XIX, (Lausanne, 1996).

12. M.P. Alekseev, 'Moskovskie dnevniki i pis'ma Clair Clairmont', in M.P. Alekseev, *Russko-angliiskie literaturnye svyazi : XVIII vek-pervaia polovina XIX veka, Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, XCI (Moscow, 1982), 469-573; O.Y. Solodyankina, 'Moskovskaia guvernantka C. Clairmont – padcheritsa W. Godwin' in *Dialog so vremenem. Special issue: Brak i sem'ia v kontekste gendernoi istorii*, 23 (2008), 282-97.

13. O.Y. Solodyankina, *Inostrannye guvernantki v Rossii (vtoraia polovina XVIII – pervaia polovina XIX veka)* (Moscow: Academia, 2007).

14. Pitcher, *When Miss Emmie was in Russia*.

15. A.G. Cross, 'An Anglo-Russian Medley: Semen Vorontsov's Other Son, Charles Cameron's Daughter, Grand Duke Alexander Pavlovich's English Playmate, and Not Forgetting His English Nurse' in *The Slavonic and East European Review*. 70, 44 (1992), 708-721; Idem, 'Early Miss Emmies: British Nannies, Governesses and Companions in Pre-Emancipation Russia', in *Anglo-Russica. Aspects of Cultural Relations between Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries. Selected Essays by Anthony Cross*. (Oxford/ Providence, 1993), 222-44; Idem, 'By the banks of the Neva': chapters from the lives and careers of the British in eighteenth-century Russia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

16. Irene Hardach-Pinke, *Die Gouvernante: Geschichte eines Frauenberufs* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1997).

17. Letter of Claire Clairmont to Jane Williams, 27 October 1825, in Marion Kingston Stocking (ed.), *The Clairmont correspondence: letters of Claire Clairmont, Charles Clairmont, and Fanny Imlay Godwin*, Vol.1. 1808-1834 (Baltimore and London, 1995), 231.

18. *Ibid.* 11 September 1824, 211.

19. *Ibid.* 212.

20. F.F. Vigel', *Zapiski*, I (Moscow, 2003), 399.

21. Central State historical archives of Saint Petersburg. Fond 14, opis' 24, ed.khr. 502, f. 4.

22. M.N. Zagoskin, *Moskva i moskvichi*, I (Moscow, 1851), VII.

23. Letter of E. Boratynskii to A. Boratynskaia, 10 May, 1840, in E.A. Baratynskii, *Stikhotvoreniia. Pis'ma*.

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24. D. Mordovtsev, *Russkie zhenshchiny novogo vremeni. Biographicheskie ocherki is russkoi istorii*, I (Petersburg, 1874), 345.

25. Neizvestnyi avtor, 'Zamechaniia na 'Zapiski o Rossii' Generala Manshteina', in Christophor Manshtein, Burkhard Minikh, Ernst Minikh, Neizvestnyi avtor, *Perevoroty i voyny*, (Moscow, 1997), 474.

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27. See *The Diary and Letters of Madam D'Arblay*, II (London, 1891).

28. D.I. Lukovskaia, S.S. Grechishkin, V.I. Morozov, 'M.M. Speranskii: kratkii ocherk zhizni i deiatel'nosti', in M.M. Speranskii: *Zhizn', tvorchestvo, gosudarstvennaia deiatel'nost'* (Saint-Petersburg, 2000), 11.

29. The most detailed study of Samborskii's career, and of his English years in particular, is in A.G. Cross, *By the Banks of the Thames: Russians in eighteenth-century Britain* (Newtonville: Oriental Research Partners, 1980), 39-44, 60-91.

30. A.G. Cross, 'Anglophilia in the Entourage of Tsesarevich Pavel Petrovich', in T. Artemieva, M. Mikeshein (eds.), *The Philosophical Age. Almanac 20. Russia and Britain in the Enlightenment: An Attempt in Philosophical and Cultural Comparativistics. Part 2*. (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Center for History of Ideas, 2002), 14.

31. M. Korf, *Zhizn' grafa Speranskogo*, I (Saint-Petersburg, 1861), 68.

32. Marc Raeff, *Michael Speransky. Statesman of Imperial Russia 1772-1839* (The Hague, 1957), 20.

33. D.I. Lukovskaia, S.S. Grechishkin, V.I. Morozov, 'M.M. Speranskii: kratkii ocherk zhizni i deiatel'nosti', in M.M. Speranskii: *Zhizn', tvorchestvo, gosudarstvennaia deiatel'nost'*, 15.

34. The most detailed study of Zlobin's career is in A. Leopol'dov, *Biographiia Volgskogo imenitogo grazhdanina, Vasiliiia Alekseevicha Zlobina* (Saratov, 1871).

35. F.F. Vigel', *Zapiski* (Moscow, 2000), 116.

36. V.A. Tomsinov, *Svetilo rossiiskoi biurocratii: Istoricheskii portret M.M. Speranskogo* (Moscow, 1991), 128-30.

37. Letter of M.M. Speranskii from Irkutsk, 2 September 1819, in *Pis'ma Speranskogo iz Sibiri k ego docheri Elizavete Mikhailovne (v zamuzhestve Frolovoi-Bagreevoi)* (Moscow, 1869), 30. Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), Irish novelist. Her first publication was a plea for female education, *Letters to Literary Ladies* (1795), and in 1801 *Moral Tales for Young People* (5 vols.) and *Early Lessons* appeared. Miss Edgeworth's novels are distinguished by good sense, humour and an easy flowing style. Three of her aims were to paint national manners, to enforce morality and to teach fashionable society by satirizing the lives of the idle and worldly. She expressly calls some of her stories 'Moral Tales', but they all fall into this category.

38. *Chteniia dlia maloletnykh detei* (Saint-Petersburg, 1828).

39. S.S. Dmitriev (ed.), *Zapiski kniagini Dashkovoi. Pis'ma sester Wilmot iz Rossii* (Moscow, 1991), 434.

40. 'Zapiski grafa Michaila Dmitrievitcha Buturlina', in *Russkii arkhiv*, I, no. 3 (1897), 441.
41. 'Vospominania G.I. Filipsona', in *Russkii arkhiv*, III, no. 6 (1883), 296.
42. Pis'ma A. Kaznacheeva A.M. Raevskoi, 1838-1855, in *Shchukinskii sbornik*, no. 5 (1906), 216, 217, 219.
43. 'Vospominania G.I. Filipsona', in *Russkii arkhiv*, III, no. 6 (1883), 296.
44. Pis'ma A. Kaznacheeva A.M. Raevskoi, 1838-1855, in *Shchukinskii sbornik*, no. 5 (1906), 216, 217, 219 and Pis'mo A. Kaznacheeva A.N. Raevskomu, 28 martā 1846, *Ibid.*, 243; 'Vospominania G.I. Filipsona', in *Russkii arkhiv*, III, no. 6 (1883), 296.
45. 'Cherty starinnogo dvorianskogo bytā. Vospominaniia Mar'i Sergeevny Nikolevoi', in *Russkii arkhiv*, III, no. 9 (1893), 116.
46. Central State historical archives of Saint Petersburg. Fond 14, opis' 24, ed.khr. 379, f. 3; ed.khr. 413, f. 1; ed.khr. 744, f. 3.
47. P.P. Semenov-Tian'-Shanskii, *Memuary*, I (Petrograd, 1917), 8.
48. *Ibid.* 39.
49. *Ibid.* 34.
50. *Vospominaniia Yurii Arnol'da*, I (Moscow, 1892), 4.
51. A sutler or victualler is a civilian merchant who sells provisions to an army in the field, camp or quarters. Provides military and civilian goods and clothing for re-enactors and enthusiasts.
52. *Rasskazy babushki : iz vospominanii piati pokolenii, zapisannye i sobrannye ee vnukom D. Blagovo*, (Leningrad, 1989), 202-3.
53. *Ibid.* 248.
54. *Vospominaniia Eleny Yurievny Khvoshchinskoi (urozhdennoi kniazheny Golitsynoi)* (Saint-Petersburg, 1898), 55-6.
55. I analysed diaries of A. Voeikova, L. Doubel't, A. Kern, A. Nikitenko, A. Olenina, E. Popova, E. Sverbeeva, A. Smirnova, A. Tiutcheva, A. Khrapovitskii, V. Sheremeteva, the letters of V. Zhukovskii, Prince P. Viazemskii, A. Tourgenev, A. Bloudova, Iakov Bulgakov, C. and A. Bulgakov, Prince G. Volkonskii, Count N. Panin, Count A. Razumovskii, Princess V. Tourkestanova, Count D. Sheremetev, Count N. Sheremetev, Countess A. Sheremeteva and the memoirs of Emperor Nicholas I, his wife Alexandra and their daughter Grand Duchess Olga, Countess A. Bloudova, Count A. Vorontsov, Prince P. Viazemskii, Princess M. Volkonskaia, Prince S. Volkonskii, Countess V. Golovina, Princess E. Dashkova, Baron A. Del'vig, Princess N. Dolgorukaia, Prince I. Dolgorukii, Count E. Komarovskii, Count N. Komarovskii, Princess D. Liven, Princess S. Meshcherskaia, Prince A. Meshcherskii, Countess N. Mordvinova, Count V. Mousin-Pushkin, Princess V. Repnina, Count A. Ribopier, Countess L. Rostopchina, Baroness P. Rozen, Count V. Sollogub, Count M. Tolstoi, Count P. Tolstoi, Countess P. Uvarova, Baroness M. Frederiks, Count S. Sheremetev, amongst others.
56. A. Lesguillez, *Handbuch des Hauslehrers und der Gouvernante oder Vade-Mecum der Familien* (Saint-Petersburg, 1870), 74-7.

Membership Announcements

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Apology

Eilidh Macrae, 'Scotland for Fitness': The National Fitness Campaign and Scottish Women', *Women's History Magazine*, Spring 2010.

The editors would like to apologise unreservedly to Eilidh for the unfortunate misspelling of her first name in the Spring 2010 issue of *Women's History Magazine*. It should not have happened, and we are sorry for any inconvenience or upset this may have caused.

Ethel Carnie Holdsworth (1886-1962): An ex-mill girl novelist

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In the history of British literature, novelists from a working-class background are rare, and women authors from the working classes even more so. There are many reasons for this. It takes significant amounts of time, money and space to sit down and write a book, and for working women with homes to run, children to look after and families to support, with 'one hand tied behind us' as the socialist Hannah Mitchell famously wrote, the obstacles are much greater.¹ That working-class women and girls have traditionally borne greater responsibility for domestic chores than male members of the household has also hindered working-class women's engagement with education, whether that be formal schooling, introduced for all English children up to the age of twelve in 1870, or self-taught autodidacticism. In households where books, education and reading are not the cultural or social norm, female bookishness is generally even more unusual. In Jonathon Rose's history of *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (2001), and John Burnett, David Vincent and David Mayall's three volumes, *The Autobiography of the Working Class* (1984-9), for instance, there are far fewer female voices than male.

This is not of course to say that there is no history of published female working-class writing. There is the Scottish factory poet, Ellen Johnston (c.1835-73); the writings of Ada Nield Chew (1870-1945) and the Women's Co-operative Guild, *Life As We Have Known It* (1931); the autobiographies of Annie Kenney (1879-1953), Hannah Mitchell (1872-1956) and Alice Foley (1891-1974) among others; the letters, stories and sketches written by working-class women and published in the local press. But it is true and not at all unsurprising to say that the narrative and material challenges of writing novel-length fiction have historically worked against the appearance of female working-class novelists. Women who have succeeded in becoming successful writers have on the whole come from middle-class families. This includes Victorian novelists such as Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, Elizabeth Gaskell, Isabella Ford and Katharine Bruce Glasier, who included working-class scenes and characters in their novels, as well as 'social explorers' and philanthropists who have sought to expose the hardships of working-class women's daily lives. Examples of the latter include the Fabian women's group, *Round about a Pound a Week* (1910), Margaret Leonora Eyles, *The Woman in the Little House* (1922) and Ada Elizabeth Chesterton, *I Lived in a Slum* (1936). In the late 1920s, the Mancunian, Ellen Wilkinson published her first novel, *Clash* (1929). Wilkinson was brought up in a Methodist working-class family and was sufficiently supported at home to take advantage of the slowly widening education system to become a triumphant 'Scholarship Girl', eventually taking a degree in History

at Manchester University in 1913. But Wilkinson was a salaried MP by the time she came to write her first novel, on train journeys between London and her constituency in the North-East, and whether she can by then usefully be described as a working-class novelist is debateable. This is why the achievements of the ex-mill girl novelist, Ethel Carnie Holdsworth, are all the more remarkable.

Ethel Carnie Holdsworth (1886-1962) was a poet, journalist, children's author and novelist. A tireless champion of social justice, equality and the rights of working women, she was a prolific left-wing writer, campaigner and political activist. Born Ethel Carnie, she was the daughter of two cotton workers and grew up in the Lancashire cotton town of Great Harwood, close to Blackburn. Like the majority of the town's working population at the time, she started work half-time in the mills at the age of eleven and went into the factory full-time as a winder two years later. She hated what she described as the 'slavery' of the factory system, its ability to 'crush ... the childhood, youth, maturity of millions of men and women' and its dreadful working conditions, 'those long hours of unremitted toil and the evil atmosphere'.² In her first published novel *Miss Nobody* (1913) and her best-known work, *This Slavery* (1925), Carnie includes vivid scenes of factory life and condemns the capitalist system's exploitation of its workers.

Carnie herself made an unusual escape from factory life through writing. Though her official schooling was only short, she also attended evening classes at Technical School and was a passionate autodidact. She borrowed books from the local Co-operative lending library, which she smuggled into work to hide in her weft box, taking an illicit glance 'between the breaking of the threads and the throwing of the shuttle ... In some six hours, with good luck, you may manage two pages of pretty open print'.³ She was widely read. Her work shows knowledge of Dante and Shakespeare, the Romantic poets, the great novelists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Defoe, Dickens, Walter Scott, the Brontës, and she was much influenced by the Oriental tales of the *Arabian Nights* and the poetry of the Persian philosopher Omar Khayyám. She wrote poetry from an early age and had an early poem, 'The Bookworm' published in the *Blackburn Times* in 1906. She later described how the repetitive, rhythmic nature of her mill work helped her to meditate on her poetry. The Blackburn Authors' Society sought to encourage their rare factory girl's talent and enabled Carnie to publish a small six-pence volume of poetry, *Rhymes from the Factory*, the following year. In 1908, this was reprinted in an enlarged, one shilling edition which was taken up and reviewed in the national press. On the back of this attention, the popular socialist author and *Clarion* leader, Robert Blatchford, went



*Photo of Ethel Carnie,
courtesy of Helen Brown
(private collection).*

to Great Harwood to visit Ethel Carnie in her home for an interview for his newspaper the *Woman Worker*. Blatchford was horrified by conditions in the town and condemned it as 'a monstrous agglomeration of ugly factories, of ugly gasometers, of ugly houses – "brick boxes with slate lids"', but was highly impressed with what he saw in Carnie as an alluring mixture of quiet determination, modesty and respectability. Somewhat patronisingly, and naively, he described her as 'A Lancashire Fairy ... an inscrutable, inexplicable, impossible fairy'.⁴ Blatchford offered Carnie a job on the *Woman Worker*, which she accepted, and she left Great Harwood to move down to London. She later wrote, 'what I should have been had Robert Blatchford not taken me out of the cage goodness knows – I do not'.⁵

In London, Carnie wrote articles and poems for a number of workers' publications, including *The Co-operative News*, *Millgate Monthly* and the *Clarion*. She wrote editorial articles for the *Woman Worker* from July 1909, which expressed her trenchant socialist feminism, too strong for Blatchford, who replaced her with his daughter Winifred in January 1910. She also published weekly poems and stories full of sympathy for the poor and oppressed, giving voice to her hopes for social revolution. 'The Fallen' is an early example of her challenging of sexist stereotypes and her condemnation of the capitalist system's economic, social and sexual consequences:

*How can we scorn her? 'Twas some trick of
Fate's
To place her there – and us more good and
high;
Just a mere chance that I wore not her shoes
Whilst her hands held this pen which now
guide I.
Man made her what she is – and Circumstance:
Dear sister, thou hast all eternity
To climb the ladder in; thou canst not fall
However low, from sisterhood with me.⁶*

London both excited and appalled Carnie, and what she made of her fellow metropolitan journalists we do not know, but once 'the fairy' had fallen from Blatchford's favour as her editorials became more provocative, she returned to

Lancashire at the end of 1909.

In the following years up to the outbreak of the First World War and her marriage in 1915, Carnie wrote, studied and taught while subsidising her income with a variety of occupations including more factory work, shop work and market trading. Her writing outputs were diverse. She was commissioned to write a series of travel articles from Germany, which were published in *Women Folk* in 1910. She wrote a number of stories for children in W.T. Stead's *Books for the Bairns* series, collected in *The Lamp Girl and Other Stories* (1911) and published two more volumes of verse: *Songs of a Factory Girl* (1911) and *Voices of Womanhood* (1914). Her first novel, *Miss Nobody*, centring upon a strong-minded working-class woman, Carrie, who marries for convenience and later becomes a strike organiser, was published in 1913.

Carnie married the poet Alfred Holdsworth quietly at Burnley Register Office in 1915; she disagreed with church services and honeymoons. They had two daughters, Margaret (b. 1916) and Maud (b. 1920) and lived in Lancashire and Hebden Bridge in Yorkshire until the marriage failed and Carnie moved with the children to Manchester. Her second novel, *Helen of Four Gates* (1917) – highly reminiscent of *Wuthering Heights* – was a popular bestseller and made into a silent film starring Alma Taylor by the director Cecil Hepworth in 1921. Carnie continued to publish novels throughout the 1920s and had published ten novels by the time her last full-length book, *Eagles' Crag*, appeared in 1931. She became a committee member of the Workers' Theatre Movement in 1926 and wrote stories and poems up until the Second World War, after which she seems to have stopped writing. She died in Manchester, largely forgotten as a former 'literary celebrity', in December 1962.⁷

Politics and protest

Politically, Carnie was an ardent feminist and socialist. As a young woman she had attended meetings of the Social Democratic Federation, Britain's first Marxist party, and the Independent Labour Party, and would later support the British Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Great Britain (formed 1920) and eventually the Labour

Party. She believed in the international solidarity of 'our own exploited class' and in educating workers to see the artificiality of the divisions of caste and respectability that separated shop girls from mill-hands, bank clerks from weavers and spinners. She was heartily opposed to conscription in the First World War and chaired meetings of the British Citizen Party, a socialist pressure group which opposed it.⁸ In the early 1920s, she and her husband Alfred edited and produced the *Clear Light* from their home in Hebden Bridge with the profits of her novels. This was the organ of the National Union for Combating Fascism, which preached a united front of labour, communism and anarchism in the face of the growing European movements of fascist militarism.

Carnie was a vigorous champion of the 'Independent Working-Class Education Movement'. In her mid-twenties she worked at the now little-known Bebel House Women's College and Socialist Education Centre in London, where she founded the 'Rebel Pen Club', a literary group for working women.⁹ Bebel House, named after the influential socialist-feminist, August Bebel, who had published his *Women Under Socialism* in 1879 (translated into English in 1910), was part of the Central Labour College's programme of adult education. In contrast to the Workers Educational Association (WEA), it championed a partisan, Marxist education centred upon the tenets of class struggle. Carnie, who had felt 'like a duck in pattens'¹⁰ during her spell as a student at Owens College in Manchester, and had had a bad experience at a WEA summer meeting in Oxford, was a keen supporter of 'socialist education'. She wrote in a bitter debate on education in the *Cotton Factory Times* in 1914, that:

From cradle to the grave the worker is being chloroformed. The worst chloroform of all is that administered by 'non-political, neutral-impartial' education ... What brain power we have left after being exploited we had better spend in concentration on the narrow, rigid, and distinctly not impartial facts deduced from the experiences of our own exploited class.¹¹

The use of language and tone found here – vigorous, assertive, colourful and uncompromising – is not so dissimilar from that of the narrative voice in her novels.

As a feminist, Carnie believed that women and women's concerns were often overlooked by the male dominated socialist and labour groups, and throughout her writing career she centred upon the lives and concerns of working-class women. Her novels are peopled with factory girls, domestic servants, and tired, overburdened mothers and she addresses head-on issues such as marital violence, working people's lack of access to birth control, and women's exploitation at home and in the workplace. The gender bias in the labour movement was something Carnie continually fought to address. In *This Slavery* (1925), her most overtly political and ideological novel, one of the central female characters asks:

I wonder when women'll be free, mother? An' chaps, too, of course. But we, we somehow have a tradition behind us besides an

economic slavery. We've got the race on our shoulders, an' all th' other besides. An' all they think we're fit for down at the S. D. F. yonder, is to cook a thumping big potato pie, when there's a social, or go round canvassing the names when a councillor puts up.¹²

Carnie was keen to point out the hardships of many working-class women's domestic lives. In an early series of articles on factory life for Blatchford's *Woman Worker*, Carnie had described the home, often idealised in labour rhetoric by its menfolk as a place away from the workplace, as a place of drudgery for working women. She wrote in a piece on 'Our Right to Play':

Oh these houses, with their carpets that are always wanting shaking, and myriad knick-knacks that are forever wanting dusting and washing – what are they responsible for! ... Nothing is as pitiful as a poor, mindless drudge, who can see nothing, hear nothing beyond the four walls of her home.¹³

This Slavery opens with its female factory workers sitting in their family kitchen in a scene which immediately announces the alternative sites of political, social and economic oppression. Pictures of the early socialists William Morris and William Liebknecht look out into the kitchen's 'respectable poverty', indicating that the home, as much as the factory floor, is a site for the making of class consciousness and conflict.

Carnie was also a constant champion for the burdens working-class mothers had to endure. The 1920 novel, *The House that Jill Built*, is 'affectionately dedicate[d] ... to the tired mothers of all nations' and revolves around a scheme to create a holiday home for overburdened working-class mothers. A fanciful, light-hearted fictional entertainment on some fronts, this is also Carnie's interjection into contemporary debates in the labour movement on women's economic independence and the endowment of motherhood.

Literary legacy

Carnie falls outside of mainstream histories of labour politics and Lancashire working-class protest movements, as well as recent feminist additions to this history such as Jill Liddington's, *The Life and Times of a Respectable Rebel: Selina Cooper, 1864-1946* (1984) and *Rebel Girls: Their Fight for the Vote* (2006). The reasons for this and her near total absence in the historical record, in spite of the breadth and scale of her involvement with the labour movement, are uncertain. Roger Smalley, who has written a PhD thesis on 'The Life and Work of Ethel Carnie Holdsworth' (2006), suggests that the fact that she is so little known is in the first place not surprising: she was a working-class woman who held no official position in a political party, who neither married influentially nor published an autobiographical account of her life like contemporary working-class women such

Strikers at
Woodside mill
in Darwen,
Lancashire,
April 1907.
(Reproduced
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permission
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Library local
history collection
and Blackburn
Central
Library with
thanks to Alan
Duckworth.)



as the suffragette Annie Kenney or the feminist Hannah Mitchell. There are no surviving hoards of letters, diaries, nor an archive of original materials to speak of.¹⁴ All of her novels are now out of print, rare and difficult to get hold of and her propagandistic writing style – at times bombastic, didactic, melodramatic – means that she is unlikely to attract the attention of high-end literary critics. Perhaps most significantly, she was also something of a maverick figure on the left, moving between parties and groups as the political climate changed, and she does not seem to have cultivated many political friendships or alliances. The relationship with Blatchford certainly soured after her return to Lancashire and his subsequent support of the First World War. In a letter from 1924 he wrote, ‘I don’t know why that lady hates me, unless it is because I tried my best to help her’.¹⁵

Yet this critical and historical neglect does great disservice to the range of Carnie’s achievements as a working-class writer, activist and feminist socialist. Her novels, if not literary masterpieces, are interesting precisely because of the insights they give us into female working-class life and experiences at the time. Carnie published most of her novels with the publishers Herbert Jenkins – renowned as purveyors of light romantic fiction for the popular library market – after she signed a six novel deal with them in 1917. One of her main goals in her writing seems to have been to bring the socialist message to the wider audience who would have been able to borrow these books from a network of local circulating libraries, stationers, tobacconists and the ubiquitous Twopenny libraries. Carnie was a talented and astute writer who used the most popular varieties of contemporary genre fiction for her own purposes. *The House that Jill Built* puts a whimsical tale of a society girl’s jilting to serious political purpose when Jill comes out of her romantic revelry and

explores how to help the tired women she sees around her. *General Belinda* (1924) has moments similar to PG Wodehouse’s Jeeves and Wooster comedies as the determined Belinda puts things aright in the houses she works in, but it also highlights the drudgery and exploitative working practices in domestic service. *This Slavery* utilises the plot conventions of the popular mill girl weeklies – cheap magazines that featured short stories, serial fiction and matey advice for their readers – and transforms the conservative tales of headstrong, right-minded mill girls, their lecherous overseers and the gallant mill owner’s son, into a socialist and woman-centred story that is also anti-Trades Union, anti-religious, anti-capitalist and anti-empire. A short novel published in 1927, *The Quest of the Golden Garter*, utilises the popular crime novel genre to dress up a socialist morality tale.

Carnie was not always successful in her adaptation of different genres in her novels, and she faced strong critique from parts of the labour movement for mixing the conventions of romance narratives with politics in her plots. *This Slavery*, for instance, which is clearly influenced by the industrial novels of the nineteenth-century novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, was roundly critiqued by the reviewer of the communist paper the *Sunday Worker* for its use of ‘the usual love situation as the pivot of the machinery of the whole tale’. This, the reviewer wrote, was part of the author’s ‘inheritance from the bourgeois fiction writers’, an education that had also apparently caused her to lose sight of the ‘revolutionary significance’ of poverty.¹⁶ There was no recognition of the wider, popular audience that the inclusion of a love story within a socialist tale might bring, nor, less surprisingly, what the literary critic Pamela Fox has described as the ‘radical potential’ of the romance genre.¹⁷ Carnie’s rejoinder was spirited, declaring that ‘he talks like a middle-class mamma who cannot tell love from

sentiment', further arguing that there was nothing for the labour movement to gain in glorifying the material poverty of everyday life: 'a dry crust with a scrape of margarine is a dry crust with a scrape of margarine'.¹⁸ Interestingly, the contemporary critique of *This Slavery* on generic – and distinctly gendered – lines, has continued to set the tone for the way in which the novel has been read by some parts of the left. In an insightful study of the place of *This Slavery* in the context of the literature of 'The Radical Twenties', for example, John Lucas has recently argued that the novel fails because of its romantic focus on the individual:

The attention Carnie Holdsworth pays to the outbreak of a strike in the cotton industry is to a large extent wasted. [...] By paying so much attention to Hester [the romantic heroine], Carnie Holdsworth loses sight of the representative nature of the issues her novel ought to be addressing.¹⁹

Carnie's unsympathetic portrayal of life in Lancashire's mill towns in the early twentieth century lost her friends at home: the *Blackburn Times* condemned the trenchant *This Slavery* as an unfair representation of factory life. But some of the things that most provoked her contemporaries and the leaders of the male socialist establishment – her vocal feminist politics and unashamed championing of women's issues as socialist issues – are amongst the aspects of her life, work and politics that are of most interest to us today. Carnie's writing legacy and the range of her published work represent a huge achievement for a working-class woman of her time, particularly bearing in mind that she was without economic or material security for most of her years of writing and publishing. She surely deserves to be reinstated in our histories of labour politics and women's protest movements. It seems fitting to conclude with one of her poems. This is 'Freedom' from the 1911 collection, *Songs of a Factory Girl*:

*Freedom comes slowly, but remember she
Must beg from door to door, a barefoot maid;
No high-born dome in gilded car she rides.
Full oft beneath the stars her bed is made,
And men repulse her often. Yet her eyes
Rain drops of purest pity; as for hate,
It finds no entrance to her noble heart,
And she will bless the toiler soon or late.*

*The thorns along the path of centuries
Have deeply scarred her delicate brown feet;
Her gown is torn by many a thicket wild
Which she has wandered through; her broad
brow sweet
Is crowned by fadeless roses lovers placed
To cheer her heart as on her way she came;
Her flesh oft faints beside the roadside hard.
Her spirit cannot die – 'tis made of flame.*

This Slavery is being republished by Trent Editions of Nottingham Trent University in 2010-11.

Notes

1. Hannah Mitchell, *The Hard Way Up: The Autobiography of Hannah Mitchell, Suffragette and Rebel* (London, Faber & Faber, 1968), 130. Jill Liddington and Jill Norris discuss these problems in their classic study, *One Hand Tied Behind Us: The Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London: Virago, 1978).
2. Ethel Carnie, 'The Factory Slave', *Woman Worker*, 3 March 1909, 214.
3. Ethel Carnie, 'Factory Intelligence', *Woman Worker*, 10 March 1909, 219.
4. Robert Blatchford, 'A Lancashire Fairy: An Interview with Miss Ethel Carnie', *Woman Worker*, 10 July 1908, 155.
5. Ethel Carnie, 'How Colour is Introduced', *Woman Worker*, 7 April 1909, 323.
6. Ethel Carnie, 'The Fallen', *Woman Worker*, 25 September 1908, 418.
7. Anon., 'Ex-Mill Girl Who Became Literary Celebrity', *Yorkshire Observer*, 5 April 1932, 11.
8. With thanks to Roger Smalley, 'The Life and Work of Ethel Carnie Holdsworth, with particular reference to the period 1907 to 1931' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Central Lancashire, 2006) for this point.
9. Anon., 'Rebel Pen Club of Working Women', *Christian Science Monitor*, 10 January 1914, 31.
10. Anon., 'The Authoress of Our New Serial Story', *Co-operative News*, 21 July 1915, 999. Pattens were wooden clogs worn by factory workers.
11. Ethel Carnie, 'The Class Struggle and "Learning"', *Cotton Factory Times*, 6 March 1914, 4.
12. Ethel Carnie Holdsworth, *This Slavery* (London, Labour Publishing Company, 1925), 30-1.
13. Ethel Carnie, 'Our Right to Play', *Woman Worker*, 14 April 1909, 342.
14. There are no known archives containing personal records or correspondence. The Working-Class Movement Library in Salford holds Edmund and Ruth Frow's biographical research, notes and correspondence from the late 1980s and a collection of Ethel Carnie's novels.
15. Robert Blatchford to William Palmer, December 1924, in the Working-Class Movement Library, Salford, Ethel Carnie collection, Eddie and Ruth Frow, 'Ethel Carnie: Writer, Feminist and Socialist: Apprenticeship 1909-1915' (1986) (unpublished research).
16. 'Peachem', 'The Books They Write', *Sunday Worker*, 5 July 1925, 9.
17. Pamela Fox, *Class Fictions: Shame and Resistance in the British Working-Class Novel, 1890-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 145.
18. Ethel Carnie Holdsworth, letter in 'The Books They Write', *Sunday Worker*, 26 July 1925, 6.
19. John Lucas, *The Radical Twenties: Aspects of Writing, Politics and Culture* (Nottingham: Five Leaves Publications, 1997), 159.

Eleanor Rathbone, 'MP for refugees'

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The article that follows is intended to provide a flavour of the scope and nature of Eleanor Rathbone's refugee work, especially where it related to Jews, and to demonstrate how it fitted in with the bigger picture of her life as a humanitarian activist. The full story, which places Eleanor's refugee work in the broader context of her life, and draws on previously unused archive material to paint a much more nuanced picture of this phase of her activism, is explored in detail in my book, *Rescue the Perishing. Eleanor Rathbone and the Refugees*.

It would be hard to find a more appropriate title for Eleanor Florence Rathbone (1872-1946) than 'MP for Refugees', the soubriquet given to her by her friends and supporters within and outside the refugee community, for she devoted a substantial part of her life, time and energy, from the 1930s until her death in 1946, to the cause of refugees, especially Jews fleeing from or attempting to escape fascist persecution. Despite this, many people with an interest in her career, historians included, associate Eleanor with campaigning activities dedicated to a feminist and female agenda, and as a consequence, most scholarly and popular interest has been concentrated in these areas. It is undoubtedly true that during her long working life many of the issues she championed included those related to women, the feminist movement, to universal suffrage for women and most notably, her campaign, from 1917, for the introduction of a family allowance to be paid to mothers, finally achieved in 1945. However, her work as a social investigator and reformer, a pacifist, philanthropist, local councillor and Justice of the Peace, to say nothing of her parliamentary career as Independent MP for the Combined English Universities from 1929, crossed gender boundaries, as did her commitment to the refugee question during the 1930s and 40s. Had she not had independent political status, unfettered by a party line, it is questionable whether she would have been able to pursue the refugee cause with such single-mindedness, determination and vigour. As has been acknowledged, she did become closely involved with, and committed to the welfare and rescue of refugees from the Spanish Civil War, but it was her indefatigable campaigning on behalf of the victims of Nazi terror in Eastern Europe that has, until now, been shamefully neglected by historians. Whilst it may have been the last major campaign she fought, it was by no means the least, and, by her own admission, caused her more anguish than any of the other humanitarian concerns to which she devoted her time and energy. Each issue she championed was a piece of the complex jigsaw of her life, and all were part and parcel of her wider humanitarian mission to respond to the needs of the under-represented and vulnerable in society, both at

home and abroad, regardless of gender, religion or race.

But this is not the impression given by the numerous biographical pictures of Eleanor, where only passing references have been made to her refugee work, reinforcing the view that it was of minor significance. The *Dictionary of National Biography* summarized her refugee activism as the 'polemical phase of her concern with foreign affairs ... accompanied by untiring efforts on behalf of refugees both before and during the war of 1939-45 ...'. Although Susan Pedersen's more recent entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* improves on its predecessor, it still fails to pay sufficient attention to her refugee work. This was written after Pedersen's biography of Eleanor was published, and even in this monumental work the author has not, by her own admission, included a comprehensive study of her refugee work *per se*. Instead she generously refers readers to my, then ongoing, doctoral studies on the subject. The effect of this omission further reinforces the view of Eleanor as, *prima facie*, a feminist, at the expense of a full understanding of her humanitarian activism. Less generous is *Chambers Biographical Dictionary of Women*, which notes in passing that she took a stand against the appeasement of Hitler, and worked vigorously 'in the service of refugees'. Yet another biographical reference in the *Europa Biographical Dictionary of Women* is succinct in its conclusion that she 'supported an aggressive opposition to Hitler'. Brian Harrison, in his exploratory chapter on Eleanor, provides a more global picture of her political career, but has not only examined it through a narrow range of primary sources but has also failed to explore in any significant detail her commitment to refugee issues. Only Sybil Oldfield, whose recent chronological overview of Eleanor's life has captured the essence and extent of her commitment to the rescue of the perishing, and has commended her for her outstanding record as a humanitarian activist.¹

The impression created by many historians with a gender bias is hardly better, for they have marginalised or overlooked Eleanor's refugee activism and failed, or avoided, making a connection between the last great campaign that she fought and those that preceded it. Sheila Jeffreys has maintained that Eleanor displayed a lack of enthusiasm in pursuing feminist goals by the mid-1930s, and that the new campaigns she championed were a convenient replacement for gendered activities. In answer to this, it is generally agreed that there was a decline and change in the nature of feminist activism by the 1930s, but Jeffreys has implied that, by involving herself in non-gendered campaigns, Eleanor was being disloyal to the feminist movement. This was certainly not the case, for she maintained an active interest in many

of her earlier feminist and gendered activities, especially the fight for a family allowance to be paid to mothers. Susan Pedersen has suggested that the greater crisis in international affairs diverted Eleanor from feminist issues, but this explanation still fails to reconcile her female-related campaigning with her later parliamentary activities and refugee interests. There is also Johanna Alberti's short study of Eleanor's work, in which the author has conceded that there was a shift of focus in Eleanor's commitments in the 1930s, but has not offered any reasons for this change in direction. Instead she chose to pay far less attention to her subject's career after 1933, thereby diminishing the significance of Eleanor's campaigning activities during this period. By writing through the prism of feminism, Alberti has produced a rather crude and reductive picture of Eleanor's work and ideas that lacks objectivity and balance. In her defence, Susan Pedersen maintains the fault is due to Alberti's reliance upon Eleanor's published writings as source material. There was undoubtedly far less material printed on the refugee issue than on, for example, the long running campaign for family allowances. But Eleanor's political career was well-documented in published sources including *Hansard*, and these could have been used in conjunction with the volume of material in the National Archives, to say nothing of the considerable body of less accessible extant archive material scattered in small pockets across many collections, including correspondence with the American War Refugee Board, Arthur Koestler, Doreen Warriner, Chaim Weizmann, Esther Simpson and Dr Schwarzbart in the 1940s. It is this material, and much more, that I have utilised in my study.²

What of historians undertaking refugee studies and the way in which they have marginalized her activism? At a general level, refugee-related issues and the work of refugee activists has never been a very popular subject, so little attention has been given to these areas by those researching the response of the democracies to the Holocaust. More specifically, the major problem is that most researchers in this field have, yet again, considered her involvement to be an episode, rather than a concomitant part of her life's work. So, like those with a gender bias, they have failed to appreciate the connections between her refugee work and the various other strands of her multifarious career. The leading scholarly monographs have made short shrift of Eleanor's refugee work within comprehensive studies of the broader subject of British policy towards the Jews. Examples include A.J. Sherman's monograph, *Island Refuge; Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933-39* (1973). This study, which is largely devoted to pre-war policy development and Britain's involvement in international discussions of the refugee question, includes a few references to Eleanor, mostly in connection with her campaign for Czech refugees. Michael Marrus's, *The Unwanted: European Refugees and the Twentieth Century* (1985), makes passing reference to her twelve-point plan for rescue in a section devoted to rescue efforts after late 1942. Others include Louise London's comprehensive study of British policy towards Jews, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933-1948; British*



Eleanor Rathbone, by courtesy of the University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives

Immigration Policy and the Holocaust (2000). London does little more than give a flavour of Eleanor's involvement in the Czech refugee question and a mention of her and her organisation, the National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror (NCRNT), established in 1943.³

More satisfactory in his reference is David Cesarani, whose article, 'Mad Dogs and Englishmen: Towards a Taxonomy of Rescuers in a Bystander Country – Britain 1933-45' (2000), included a brief overview of her role during the Holocaust. Eleanor's commitment to the refugee cause has also received greater attention from Tony Kushner in *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination; A Social and Cultural History* (1994) and *Refugees in an Age of Genocide; Global, National and Local Perspectives during the Twentieth Century* (1999), co-written with Katherine Knox. There is also Aimée Bunting's short review of the NCRNT, founded by Eleanor in 1943, and Pamela Shatzkes's references to, and assessment of Eleanor in her book, *Holocaust and Rescue. Impotent or Indifferent? Anglo-Jewry 1938-1945* (2002).⁴

The result of all the cases cited is that a very important part of Eleanor's career has been neglected and misunderstood by historians, for by considering it to be an episode in, rather than a concomitant part of her life's work, they have failed to identify any connection between this and the various other strands of her multifarious career. For them, the refugee issue, which disregarded boundaries of sex, was an aberration in the life of a woman who was, for them, *prima facie*, a feminist. But Eleanor was more than this, and her conscience and sense of personal responsibility were not fettered by the restrictions imposed by gender. This was a woman who had been nurtured within a family with a strong Quaker

background and a credo of 'what ought to be done, could be done', who was greatly influenced by the principles of T.H. Green's Idealist school of philosophy which she encountered at Somerville College, Oxford, and who, like her predecessors, was unable to ignore the needs of others, in this case, refugees threatened with annihilation. As significant is a factor that has little to do with Eleanor specifically, but is a reflection of the general reluctance within society to engage with the subject of refugees. Many people find this issue, both historically and contemporarily, very uncomfortable, for it disturbs the equilibrium. Eleanor was untroubled by such problems and was never afraid to move out of her comfort zone, for she was devoted to helping the needy and under-represented in society, regardless of race, religion or gender. She was first and foremost a humanitarian activist, who determined, early on in her adult life, to dedicate herself to acts of practical philanthropy. She never planned to champion a particular cause, but rather responded to 'unsuspected obligations' as and when they arose. This is not to say that she did not prioritise her work, for she always gave great thought and careful consideration to competing claims before deciding which was to take precedence.

Her success at the polls in 1929, with her election as Independent MP for the Combined English Universities, gave her an important new platform from which to campaign, and enabled her to extend the boundaries of her activism from national issues to foreign concerns, amongst them the age-of-marriage debate in India and the women's franchise issue in Palestine. During the 1930s, international affairs, including the crisis in Abyssinia, the looming civil war in Spain and, most particularly, the mounting threat to Czechoslovakia consumed much of her time and energy. Allied to this was her involvement in the campaign for collective security through the League of Nations Union (LNU).

Hitler's accession to power as Chancellor of the German Republic in January 1933 was a turning point for Eleanor, the moment when her dedication to relieving human suffering was crystallised, and when humanitarianism, in its broadest sense, became of paramount importance to her. Throughout the thirteen years that followed, she never wavered from her ideological belief in national and personal responsibility, but juxtaposed against this was her growing commitment to Zionism and its ideals, Jews and the Jewish cause. And nowhere was her political status of greater significance than where refugees in and from Nazi and Fascist Europe were concerned.

Eleanor's first public pronouncement concerning the threat of Nazism upon democracy and the lives of the Jews of Europe, came in a bold statement in the House of Commons on 13 April 1933, when she was the first woman MP to speak out against the newly appointed regime. The warnings she articulated then were prescient:

A spirit has come over Germany. One speaker called it a new spirit, but I would rather call it a re-emergence of an evil spirit which bodes very ill for the peace and freedom of the world ... There is one dreadful fact beyond doubt, that is that the party which was guilty

of those excesses is now in uncontrolled power in Germany and is inflicting cruelties and crushing disabilities on large numbers of law-abiding peaceful citizens, whose only offence is that they belong to a particular race or religion or profess certain political beliefs ... Herr Hitler and his colleagues have let the world see plainly their feelings which they cherish about questions of blood and race ...⁵

This speech revealed so much about Eleanor, for it reflected her cherished ideals of responsible citizenship and equality, her abhorrence of cruelty and her belief in religious and political freedom. Henceforth, priority was given to foreign affairs and the precarious situation in Europe, over and above the domestic, social and welfare issues she had been engaged with.

Eleanor knew that, in Germany, cumulative and increasingly draconian legislation and strategies intended to disenfranchise and dispossess Jews were being implemented, and that many perceptive German Jews, who feared for their future, had begun to seek safe havens abroad, Britain included.⁶ Nor did she have any doubt about the implications of Nazi policy, with its major theme of anti-Semitism, but she was deeply concerned to see how her country would respond to the threat. The most positive response came from Anglo-Jewish refugee organisations, especially the Jewish Refugees Committee, established in Spring 1933, in response to the first influx of refugees. With no idea of how many people would be seeking refuge, they not only relieved the British government of all financial responsibility for Jewish refugees from Europe by giving an unlimited guarantee of financial support for them, but they also undertook responsibility for them. There was always the assumption, amongst many of the Anglo-Jewish community as well as the government, that Britain was only a stop-over, an emergency substitute for permanent settlement abroad, with Palestine the favoured ultimate destination. The *Anschluss*, the annexation of Austria, in March 1938, exacerbated the refugee crisis, as 180,000 Jews joined their German counterparts in a desperate bid to escape Nazi tyranny. At home it resulted in an about-turn from the Jewish refugee committee who were already under financial strain, for they not only decided to exclude future applicants from the general guarantee given in 1933, but they also imposed a selection process to conserve their dwindling resources.⁷ Likewise, the government batted down the hatches of entry into the country, making it increasingly difficult for refugees to obtain visas and permits.

Eleanor was only too conscious of the human tragedy that was unfolding, and responded to the Munich Settlement, signed on 29 September 1938, with a mix of relief that war had been averted, albeit briefly, and shame at the British government's dishonourable behaviour in negotiating with Hitler. Refugees from Czechoslovakia joined those already seeking salvation from foreign governments, including Britain, but the Prime Minister's promise of a £10 million loan to the Czechoslovak State, to help with the immediate crisis, did little to ease Eleanor's

anxiety. She became the most vociferous of the refugee activists exerting pressure on the Home Office, demanding that they place immigration policy and procedures on the political agenda, and adopt a more humane and generous admissions policy. However, despite Chamberlain's statement, made following the events of *Kristallnacht*, the pogrom against Jews that erupted throughout Germany and Austria on the nights of 9 and 10 November 1938, that the government would be 'taking into consideration any possible way in which we can assist these people', very little was done to help Jews fleeing persecution. The Home Office continued to oppose the mass immigration of refugees and only in the case of children were the rules relaxed, enabling over 9000 young people to be rescued from Germany on *Kindertransports* between late 1938 and August 1939.⁸

The cumulative effect of these negative responses only hardened Eleanor's resolve, and she concluded that a cohesive pressure group would stand a better chance of '... influencing government and public opinion in favour of a generous yet carefully safeguarded refugee policy ...'.⁹ In an inspirational move, she initiated the establishment of the entirely voluntary, all-party Parliamentary Committee on Refugees (PCR) in late November 1938, in which she took a pre-eminent role. The House of Commons became her battleground as she challenged the government and their policies towards the Czech refugees. The moral aspect was once again raised when she questioned whether:

we are really paying the debt that we owe to that people for the sacrifice that we demanded of her, a debt which we owe not only to Czecho-Slovakia as a State but to every one of her citizens who is now leading a shrunken life, with poorer prospects of employment and poorer social services because of the sacrifices which have been forced upon her.¹⁰

Eleanor's worst fears were realised on 15 March 1939 when Hitler's troops seized Prague and occupied the rest of the Czech state. As Britain moved closer to war her attempts at assisting in the rescue of refugees, a mix of political refugees, Communists, Sudeten Germans and Old Reich refugees, meant going almost cap-in-hand to government officials. Every possible angle was pursued in an effort to persuade the government to issue more visas and to relax entry restrictions, but in most instances, the outcome was far from positive. Nor were officials entirely honest with Eleanor, even in certain instances deliberately misleading her.

Her advice to MPs in the debate in the House on 4 August 1939, just before the eight-week summer recess, left her fellow politicians in no doubt as to her fears for the victims of Hitler's regime:

Let us take something else; the thought that while we are enjoying ourselves by sea or mountain, there are hundreds of thousands of men and women who are wondering about in the utmost destitution, many of them hiding by day, many of them already in the hands

of the Gestapo and being beaten up daily in concentration camps and prisons.¹¹

The outbreak of the Second World War, on 3 September 1939, added a new and more intimate dimension to Eleanor's humanitarian work, as she focussed her attention on helping refugees who were now classified as enemy aliens at home. The immediate internment policies that were introduced, and the subsequent more rigorous rules imposed in May 1940, resulted in the detention of some 27,000 aliens, including Jewish refugees, Italians, non-Jewish Germans and Austrians. This struck at the heart of her sense of justice, right and wrong, and severely challenged her belief in Britain's tradition of liberty, generosity and asylum. Her time and energy, and that of the PCR, which numbered over 200 cross-party members, concentrated upon the way in which interned enemy aliens, many of whom had already experienced incarceration before arriving in Britain, were being treated. Eleanor embarked upon a campaign on their behalf, which included personal visits and reports on the conditions in camps up and down the country and on the Isle of Man. She challenged the inadequacies and anomalies of the tribunal system, argued vociferously against the policy of deportation of internees to Australia and Canada, questioned the categorisation of people, worked on many other related committees, liaised with refugee organisations and, with the support of her secretaries, responded to hundreds of individual calls for help. During the height of the internment crisis from July 1940 to September 1941, the PCR dealt with 4,526 cases. 1,693 were applications for release from internment which were submitted to the Home Office, and 1,069 of these were granted, fifty-three refused and 571 were still pending. 1,750 cases were passed on to other appropriate committees, and 1,083 cases were related to issues other than release from detention. Over 7,000 letters were sent, 8,500 telephone calls were taken and 3,500 made, whilst the office had 4,700 visitors.¹² Eleanor was also busy spearheading and leading innumerable deputations, besides putting down over eighty questions in the House on internment policies alone, questions which inevitably brought her into conflict with government officials, as she used her renowned hammering technique, relentlessly driving home her points.

As the domestic refugee and internment crisis slowly diminished, so the focus of Eleanor's refugee work shifted. It is difficult to pinpoint precisely when she knew with any certainty that the Nazi policy towards Jews had changed, and that annihilation was now their goal, but she had many sources whose information she could rely upon. Included amongst these was her fellow refugee activist William Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who received reports from the YMCA representative in Geneva in August, September and October 1942, detailing the treatment of Jews in non-occupied France.¹³ Pleas put to Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, by a large deputation of prominent activists including Eleanor and Temple, in October 1942, urging him, on humanitarian grounds, to relax immigration quotas and issue more than the 250 to 300 visas already promised for French

Jewish refugee children, failed. Eleanor's dismay at the outcome prompted her to describe Morrison's reply as 'completely negative in substance and ungracious in form (some thought it offensive). He neither made nor held out any hopes of any concessions whatever'.¹⁴ The refugee question, and Britain's response to it, became a battleground between Eleanor and ministers, and this previous extract exemplifies the general tone of her relationship with government officials in general, and with Morrison in particular.

Confirmed news, in December 1942, of the mass extermination of Jews in Poland, overshadowed any other issues concerning refugees, but when the British Broadcasting Corporation failed to report the atrocities, Eleanor wrote, in near disbelief, to William Temple:

One would think that the mass extermination of 'the chosen people' or a few millions of them was a quite minor incident, tragic but impossible to influence or entirely the responsibility of the German perpetrators... Apart from the horror of it all, it is thoroughly bad for the morale of our own people to encourage them in such callous disregard of the sufferings of others.¹⁵

Her remonstrations, and those of other pro-Jewish groups, became part of a much wider debate in Britain, and one that, for a few months at least, the government found increasingly difficult to ignore. The failure of the December 1942 United Nations Allied Declaration on the Jews, to which Britain was a signatory, to include a clause for rescue, seen as vital by Eleanor and her fellow campaigners, provided her with the impetus to establish a new and very different campaigning committee.

Unlike the PCR, the National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror (NCRNT), founded in January 1943, was a non-political, non-sectarian pressure committee intended to co-ordinate the work of organizations and individuals working for or interested in the rescue of those threatened by Nazi persecution of whatever race or religion. Although Eleanor was the driving force behind the NCRNT, in a tactical move she kept out of the limelight, suggesting that MPs with a lower refugee profile should be in the front line pressuring the government. One reason for this was her fear that her reputation, which she described as being 'tainted with the refugee brush', was an impediment to the rescue cause. That she was viewed, in certain quarters, as polluted by her contact with Jewish refugees, was a depressing reflection of the claim being widely disseminated in Nazi Germany, that Jews were contaminated and could infect other people, and therefore could be eliminated.¹⁶

Eleanor and her committee left no stone unturned over the ensuing months to try and persuade the Government to adopt a more humane attitude towards the rescue of refugees. They put forward a twelve-point plan, later revised as the ten-point plan, which not only combined vision with realism in terms of rescue, but countered some of the main arguments being rehearsed amongst British society against rescue. These included concerns over shortages of food, lack of accommodation,

and a fear of floods of refugees inciting anti-Semitism. Eleanor was outraged by such claims, especially the latter, commenting:

It would be an insult indeed to suggest that there is anything to fear from anti-Semitic [*sic*] influence here. Anti-semitism [*sic*] is an ugly infectious disease, like scabies or leprosy [*sic*], born of dirt. But our people, even the anti-semites [*sic*] amongst them are not so callous that they would rather let Jewish men and women and children be tortured to death than see them admitted here.¹⁷

Thus, she demonstrated a greater faith in the humanity of her fellow countrymen than the government.

Informative pamphlets were published, MPs were lobbied and a regular newsletter 'News from Hitler's Europe', with the most up-to-date information was produced, but even calls for very limited and small scale rescue plans were met with a negative response. The relationship between Eleanor and officials deteriorated to an all-time low, as the British government remained resolutely inactive in the face of a Jewish disaster. In reality, they were never going to accede to any rescue proposals which conflicted with their objectives, for they stuck to the universalist belief that winning the war would solve the Jewish question. But Eleanor, unlike many officials with whom she battled, saw saving the lives of refugees, especially Jews, as a national and personal responsibility that should, and could, be undertaken without undermining the defence of Britain and the objective of defeating the enemy.

Eleanor died on 2 January 1946, and was mourned in many quarters, not least of all amongst the Jewish and refugee community who owed her so much. During the last years of her life, the refugee issue caused her more grief than any other, for it tested her cherished ideals, her deeply rooted sense of patriotism, and her faith in Britain's tradition of democracy, liberty, asylum and generosity. Whether lives were saved as a direct result of her actions is uncertain, but ultimately what was important was that she dared to put her head above the parapet, and cared enough to speak out and to act. Eleanor's real power was vested in her ability to apply pressure and act as the moral and humanitarian conscience of the nation, a crucial role that few were willing to undertake, and that none pursued with her degree of passion and tenacity.

Notes

1. *Dictionary of National Biography*, LG Wickham Legg and ET Williams, eds, (London, Oxford University Press, 1950) 711-13; Susan Pedersen, 'Rathbone, EF (1872-1946)', Colin Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004) article 35678: Susan Pedersen, *Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience*. (London, Yale University Press, 2004) 441-2, f.43. *Chambers Biographical Dictionary of Women*, Melanie Parry, ed., (Edinburgh, Chambers, 1996) 547; *The Europa Biographical Dictionary*

of *British Women*, Anne Crawford et al, (London, Europa, 1983) 338-9; Brian Harrison, *Prudent revolutionaries: portraits of British feminists between the wars* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987) 99-124; *Women humanitarians: a biographical dictionary of British women active between 1900 and 1950*, Sybil Oldfield, (London, Continuum, 2001) 190-2.

2. Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality 1890-1930* (London, Pandora, 1985) 153. Johanna Alberti, *Eleanor Rathbone* (London, Sage, 1996). Susan Cohen, *Rescue the Perishing. Eleanor Rathbone and the Refugees* (London, Vallentine Mitchell, 2010)

3. A.J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933-39*, 2nd ed. (Ilford, Frank Cass, 1994). Michael Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees and the Twentieth Century* (New York, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985). Louise London, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933-1948. British Immigration Policy and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000).

4. David Cesarani, 'Mad Dogs and Englishmen: Towards a Taxonomy of Rescuers in a Bystander Country – Britain 1933-45', *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, 9, 2 and 3, 34-6. Tony Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1994). Katherine Knox and Tony Kushner, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide. Global, National and Local Perspectives during the Twentieth Century* (London, Frank Cass, 1999). Aimée Bunting, 'Representing Rescue; The National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, the British and the Rescue of Jews from Nazism', *The Journal*

of *Holocaust Education*, 9, 1. Pamela Shatzkes, *Holocaust and Rescue. Impotent or Indifferent; Anglo-Jewry 1938-1945* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2002).

5. *Hansard* HC, vol. 276, cols.2761, 2763. 13 April 1933.

6. For this period of Nazi history see Marrus, *Holocaust in History*. Also Saul Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews. The Years of Persecution 1933-39* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997).

7. See London, *Whitehall and the Jews*, pp.58 ff.

8. For domestic service see Kushner, *Liberal Imagination*, 90-115. *Hansard* HC, vol.341, col. 505, 14 Nov 1938. Movement for the Care of Children from Germany: First Annual Report, 1938-1939, NA HO 213/302.

9. Letter of EFR to the Graduate Electors of the Combined English Universities, March 1939. RP XIV.3 (3) University of Liverpool Library (ULL).

10. *Hansard* HC, vol.343, cols.827-30, 7 Feb 1939.

11. *Hansard* HC, vol.350, cols.2893-6, 4 Aug 1939.

12. Central British Fund, 113/51. Wiener Library, London.

13. Temple Papers, 54/157-66. Lambeth Palace Library (LPL).

14. Letter of EFR to Temple, 29 Oct 1942, Temple Papers, 54/136. LPL.

15. Letter of EFR to Temple, 3 Dec 1942. Temple Papers, 54/185-6. LPL. Kushner, *Liberal Imagination*, 169.

16. Letter of EFR to Temple, 3 Dec 1942. Temple Papers, 54/185-6. LPL. Letter of EFR to Graham White, 24 Dec 1942. Parliamentary Archives, WHI 10/3/52.

17. EFR 'Speech notes' 16 Dec 1942. RP XIV. 3.85. ULL.

Book Reviews

Marjorie N. Feld, *Lillian Wald: A Biography*.

Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008. \$35, 879-0-8078-3236-3 (cloth), pp. viii + 303

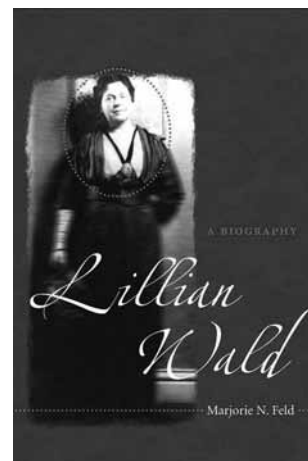
Reviewed by Laurie R. Cohen
University of Innsbruck

Marjorie N. Feld's new study of Lillian Wald (1867-1940), the American social reformer, feminist, peace activist and founder and head of New York's Lower East Side Henry Street Settlement from 1893 to 1937, will to some extent be familiar to readers of *Women's History Magazine*. Her essay 'Hometown Lessons: Lillian D. Wald and the "Female Dominion" of American Reform' appeared in the summer 2005 issue; this essay is partially re-worked and elaborated in Feld's first chapter, 'Wald's Hometown Lessons'.

Several biographies of Wald exist, and in her autobiographies, Wald herself wrote about her 'baptism of fire' and her adherence to the Social Gospel movement. The novelty of Feld's work lies in a first contextualization

of Wald and her legacy in both North American gender and Jewish studies. See, for example, Doris Groshen Daniels, *Always a Sister. The Feminism of Lillian D Wald* (1989) and Feld's extensive on-line biographical entry on Wald at the Jewish Women's Archive (www.jwa.org/exhibits/wov/wald.index.html).

Specifically, Feld aims 'to correct the imbalance' in 'nearly every past study' of Wald, which 'privileges one at the expense of the other' (p. 12). Wald's life is thus used as a case-study to explore feminist American-Jewish social history, following up on Marion Kaplan's classic 1991 study stressing the Jewishness of assimilated middle-class, German-Jewish families in Imperial Germany. 'Wald's Jewish connections,' Feld sums up, are 'diverse and complex, products of personal friendships and professional interests and alliances' (p. 76).



Getting to Know Each Other



Name: Dr Katie Barclay

Position: Research Fellow, University of Warwick; WHN Committee member, Newsletter editor and blog administrator

How long have you been a WHN member?

On and off since 2004 (mostly on)

What inspired your enthusiasm for women's history?

I was raised in a family of women who loved to tell stories – mainly about their lives and the lives of their mothers and female family and friends. This developed a form of nascent feminism in me as so many of these stories were either about overcoming and contesting social boundaries or failing to do so. As a teenager, I was very interested in Victorian female authors – Austen, Bronte, etc. – at least partly due to their achievement in a male world and I had a great history teacher who had written her undergraduate dissertation on women's suffrage, which directed me into history. When I came to Glasgow University as an undergraduate, the importance of women's history to the History curriculum and my first encounter with feminist theory in Politics gave me a language and framework for understanding the stories of my childhood – and I didn't look back.

It perhaps speaks to both my generation and to the work of women's historians that I effectively managed to do a women's history degree at Glasgow in the early-noughties, with 10 of my 16 honours modules being women's history or feminist politics and another module on the French Revolution had a good dose of women and gender analysis!

What are your special interests?

Perhaps unsurprisingly given the above, my central concern is storytelling and the creation of self, particularly within the family and from a feminist perspective and it permeates all of my work. My PhD, which became my first book, is on marital relationships in Scotland, 1650-1850,

and uses the correspondence of elite couples to explore how they created self and negotiated relationships through writing, looking at ideas of love and intimacy, but also the role of patriarchal values in shaping their narratives. Emerging from this project, I looked at how lower-class Scottish men and women used balladry to tell stories of self. I currently work on a large AHRC project on Irish marriage, 1660-1925, which has led to a personal project on story-telling and masculinity in the Irish justice system (1800-1845), which I hope will be my second monograph! However, I am hoping to get back to Scotland and marriage in the not too distant future as I'd like to see how lower-class Scots negotiated their relationships.

More broadly, I love my theory, especially when it has a feminist edge, and am very interested in how history speaks to the present and in using history to inform good feminist theory and feminist politics (and ideally social policy!). I am also interested in all aspects of the female experience, especially within the family – marriage, work, childcare, breast-feeding, menstruation, use of space, gossip – and in discussions of self, subjectivity, power, identity creation and change over time. To be honest, I am really just very nosey and easily distracted ...

Who is your heroine from history and why?

I don't really like the idea of heroines as I have a pet theory (well, it might be Natalie Zemon Davis' pet theory) that 'exceptionalism' was used to exclude women from social power (she doesn't count, because she's exceptional! The rest of you normal women couldn't do that.) and that women were taught they had to be exceptional to hold social power, which acted as a divisive mechanism amongst women (if you are the same as other women, then you aren't exceptional, are you? So don't align your interests with those ordinary, oppressed women!). Yet, every day I read about and meet women who are inspiring – whether women who are doing their best to survive in difficult circumstances or who achieve amazing things. However, I think I am most inspired by women who work(ed) towards social justice, such as Mary Astell, the 17th - century feminist, Caroline Norton, who campaigned for women's rights, the suffragettes, Rosa Parks, bell hooks, the volunteers who began Women's Aid, and many more.

Women's History Magazine is keen to carry profiles that celebrate the diversity of WHN membership. If you would like to complete a 'Getting to Know Each Other' questionnaire, or you would like to nominate someone else to, please email: magazine@womenshistorynetwork.org

The roots of Lillian Wald's character, Feld argues, were moulded during her adolescence in upstate New York (Rochester), where her father's family exemplified 'elite German Jews [who] mimic[ed] the Protestant norm' (p. 22). Perhaps, but we are not informed about Wald's childhood in Ohio, about the influence of her maternal relatives, Wald's private schooling in Rochester, or even much about her family's substantial wealth (and thus the category 'class').

In the next chapter, Feld delivers a fine portrait of Wald as salon hostess at the Henry Street Settlement, caring adeptly for her guests' spiritual, intellectual and material needs and creating a harmonious spirit of love and cooperation. Chapter 3 takes up Wald's philosophy of universalism, her idea of international brother or sisterhood and her prewar travels abroad: in particular, her trip to Asia.

We learn a great deal about Wald's influential male colleagues, for the most part political Progressive intellectuals and activists (such as John Dewey, John Lovejoy Elliot, Paul Kellogg and Jacob Schiff, her Jewish patron, father-figure and long-term supporter) and her friendships with Labour Party Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald and New York Governors Charles Evan Hughes and Alfred Smith. Wald's female friends (such as Jane Addams, Mary Brewster, Lavinia Dock, Frances Kellor, Irene Lewisohn and Mary R. Smith) are generally mentioned in passing or referred to in other scholars' studies. Puzzling to me is Feld's affirmation that Wald's mother 'until her death in 1923 [was] Wald's most immediate model of femininity' (p. 31).

Wald quickly became active in the September 1914 anti-war movement, Feld implies, because of her connections to Jane Addams and other active settlement pacifists. Indeed, Wald co-headed the Anti-militarism Committee, soon renamed the American Union Against Militarism. But is there no documentation of Wald's concern about the overwhelming suffering of Eastern European Jews – the *Landsleit* of many of her Henry St. residents as well as her 'uptown' colleagues, caught on the war front between Russia and Austria-Hungary or Germany? The fourth chapter explores Wald's interest in Soviet Russia. (Feld's "An Actual Working out of Internationalism": Russian Politics, Zionism, and Lillian Wald's Ethnic Progressivism', in *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (April 2003), 119-149 is revisited and slightly reworked for this volume.) Chapter 5 ('Windows Opened Upon a Moving World') competently contextualizes the complexities of changes in the interwar professionalization of nursing and social work that Wald faced and her difficulty in adapting to them.

Between her introduction ('Claiming Lillian Wald') and conclusion ('She is All Religions'), Feld presents Wald as an extremely dynamic individual. She is again and again described as hoping, interpreting, portraying, educating, or bridging; she never just 'is'. (I missed, however, Feld being cheeky, a trait exemplified in many of her letters in the Jane Addams Papers collection.) We are told that Wald 'wrestles' with complex questions; more documentation of this reflective side of Wald's – for example, her vicissitudes on the question of Zionism – would have been welcome.

With her selective biography of Wald 'the American', Feld has introduced interrelationships between work, sex and ethnicity in the American Progressive Era, opening the door for further critical work.

Leah Leneman, *The Scottish Suffragettes*.
Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 2009
£7.99, ISBN 978 1 901663 40 2 (paperback),
pp. 96

Reviewed by Ann Kettle
University of St Andrews



Leah Leneman was one of the pioneers of women's history in Scotland. This attractively produced booklet was first published in 2000, after her death at the end of 1999, and has been reissued as part of the 'Gude Cause' celebrations of the Scottish suffrage movement in 2009. Based primarily on research for her own study, *A Guid Cause – the Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland*, Leneman tells the story of the

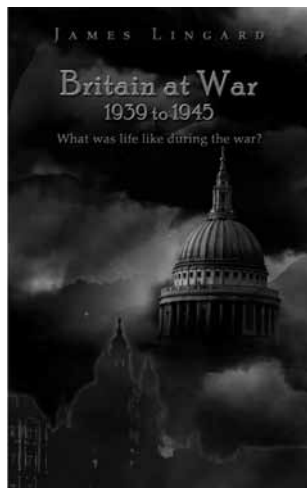
women's suffrage movement in Scotland from the mid 19th century to the winning of limited rights in 1918. Although the framework is chronological, with chapters on the Victorians, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Social and Political Union and the Women's Freedom League, with a concluding chapter on the 'hard core' of militants, the main emphasis is on the women involved in the suffrage movement.

The aim is to reclaim the 'forgotten lives' of women 'who deserve to be remembered', although it is admitted that it is sheer chance that some lives can be reconstructed. The sixty mini-biographies that are skilfully woven into the chronological framework reveal the diversity of the suffragists. They ranged from successful professional women such as Louisa Lumsden, Elsie Inglis and Chrystal Macmillan to women like Eunice Murray who found their voice through active involvement in the movement. Eunice Murray became an early social historian, writing in 1947, that, 'Women have a two-fold calling, for not only are we as wives and mothers guardians of the future, but we are also the custodians of the past.' (p.72) There are many such gems in this elegantly written and finely illustrated little book. As well as an index of people's names, there is an index of the nearly sixty organisations and associations connected with the suffrage movement in Scotland. The case is certainly made that Scottish women played an important part in the campaign for the right to vote for their members of parliament.

James Lindgard, *Britain at War 1939 to 1945: What was Life Like During the War?*

Milton Keynes: Authorhouse, 2008. £9.99, 978-1-4343-933-9, pp.130

Reviewed by Rosa Matheson



If one should not judge a book by its cover then one should also certainly not build expectations because of its title as I, maybe foolishly, did. I was seduced into offering to review this book because of the question –‘What was life like during the war?’ Unfortunately, just as it is secondary in the title, it is also feels rather secondary in the book, disappearing altogether half way through. This is a shame because the content ‘written from the standpoint of people directly

involved’ (back cover) is, in itself, interesting and often illuminating, if somewhat limited, focusing as it does on just the immediate family of the author.

The author is the narrator for the whole of the book. In the early part of the book he relates the family’s wartime experiences, some of which, he admits, have been ‘slightly dramatised’. Why he should do this when war is dramatic enough is hard to tell. It also makes it difficult for the reader to know what was the actual reality. He covers such topics as the arrival of their Anderson shelter; a big event that brings home the realisation the death was a distinct possibility (p.15), their first experience of ‘the enemy’ whilst out on a picnic (p. 21), the very emotional incident of their near-death-miss when a bomb exploded on their house (p. 23), the move from suburbia to the seaside and supposed safety at Bournemouth (p. 29), his father’s ‘signing-up’ and mother and son’s exhausting flight from Bournemouth’s bombs to the bombs of Manchester (p. 35) as well as their settling in a miserable cottage in the middle of nowhere known as Pecket Wells (p. 40), this all interspersed with actual wartime happenings. The chapter on ‘Village Life’ sounded promising. Here was an opportunity ‘to bring the period alive for the reader’ (back cover) but the little there was, was overwhelmed and lost in the information about what was going on in France, Italy, Germany, Egypt, in fact almost everywhere but in the village. Some bits do emerge in other chapters highlighting how vulnerable the hinter-land of Britain was, such as the example of their local Home Guard whose principal weapon for repelling the enemy was a number of ‘heavy circular concrete blocks’ deposited below the crest of the hilltop, ready to be rolled down on approaching enemy vehicles – ‘glorified marbles’, the father called them (p. 60)! No-one had anticipated or thought about enemy paratroopers landing on the remote moors which was, by all accounts, much more likely! The trip to the Isle of Man by the author and his mother to spend some precious time with his father on his week’s leave was

the most personal and detailed as to ‘what was it like to live’ in the war. It brings out the chaos and difficulties of civilians trying to travel without ‘papers’ and the need to keep certain things, even ludicrously everyday, ‘secret’ (p. 51). Struggling with heavy, pitching seas and sea-sickness, their boat has also to try to outwit a possible U-boat, making their misery and anxiety even worse.

As to the rest of the book, well, the Marines have a term ‘yomping’, it means covering as much terrain as possible in the fastest possible way leaving a minimal imprint. That is how the narration of Britain’s activities during the whole of the war, across its whole diorama, comes across. It is all told as a statement of fact. There is little or no interrogation or examination apart from the odd question such as ‘Perhaps Hitler would have done better to concentrate his efforts against the Russians?’ (p. 8), this after reeling off a list of figures of losses for the Axis powers during the North African campaign. There are many dates given for many various activities in many different places. In fact there are so many that it all becomes rather like reading an encyclopaedia.

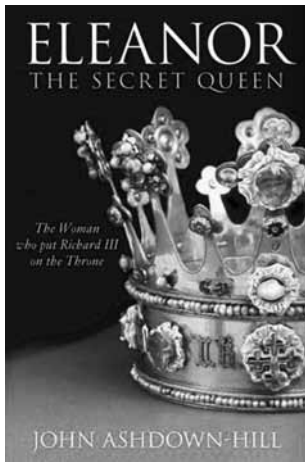
I have to admit I found this book very frustrating. The balance seems all wrong. It is by no means an academic book. I don’t believe it claims to be, but I thought that as it had been offered for review to a *Women’s History Magazine* readership there would be a lot more that would be of interest to them. True there is a paragraph and sentence or two about women’s involvement in the war, but these offer nothing new or enlightening in respect of women’s involvement, nor is there evidence for the statistics stated. Yes, there is a woman, a wife and mother, whose story is narrated. She appears to have been a spirited woman and more of this and more of her voice *would* have been enlightening. One small piece did bring home just how vulnerable some women felt about what would happen to them and their children should Britain be invaded – the desperate cry of a Jewish woman asking ‘What will become of little Chrissie and me *when* (my italics) the Germans invade’ (p. 18). I am not suggesting that *Women’s History Magazine* readers would not be interested in reading purely about war in the wider picture, I know that there are many who are – myself included. As researchers of women’s history we know that we have to read in the widest possible way to find ‘snippets’ of information of women’s involvement, activities, lives. I would suggest there maybe richer sources.

John Ashdown-Hill, *Eleanor, The Secret Queen*

Stroud: The History Press, 2009. £25, ISBN 978 0 7524 4866 4 (hardback), pp. 255

Reviewed by Ann Kettle
University of St Andrews

In recent years there have been several biographies of medieval English queens but this is the first biography of a ‘secret’ queen. The key lies in the subtitle: ‘The Woman who put Richard III on the Throne’. Following the death of Edward IV in April 1483, his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester claimed the throne on the grounds that Edward’s two sons



(the 'Princes in the Tower') were illegitimate because Edward had promised to marry Eleanor Butler before he married their mother, Elizabeth Woodville in 1464. Under canon law a valid marriage could be contracted by simple exchange of promises. Richard's claim to the throne was set out in a document known as the *Titulus Regius* presented to parliament in January 1484 in which it was said that 'King Edward was and

stoode married and trouth plight to oone Dame Elianor Butteler, doughter of the old Earl of Shrewesbury' (p. 156). On the basis of this 'legal' justification for a usurpation, Eleanor is accorded the title of queen by her biographer, although he admits that Henry VII's repeal of the *Titulus Regius* and his reinstatement of Elizabeth Woodville, the mother of his own wife, as the wife of Edward IV 'may seem to leave Eleanor in a kind of royal limbo' (p. 12).

Even by the standards of medieval women, Eleanor is a shadowy character. Born c. 1436, she was married briefly to Thomas Butler, was possibly seduced by Edward IV and died, a pious widow, in 1468. On the grounds that the only possible way to tell Eleanor's story is 'to bring all the facts into the light of day' (p. 11) most of the book is devoted to unearthing every known detail of Eleanor's life and those of the members of her immediate and extended family. There is a great of supposition involved, including the possible identification of her skeleton, unearthed during an excavation in Norwich. Some interesting, but by no means original, light is thrown on the childhood, marriage and widowhood of an English noblewoman in the later middle ages. Extensive notes, a full biography and an appendix of extracts from original sources establish the author's scholarly credentials. The book is, however, something of an oddity which adds little new either to the history of women in the middle ages or to the story of the fall of the Yorkist dynasty.

Christina Simmons, *Making Marriage Modern: Women's Sexuality from the Progressive Era to World War II*

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 £22.50, ISBN 978-0-19-506411-7 (hardback), pp. ix + 306

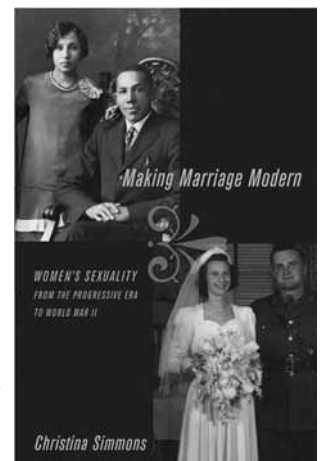
Reviewed by Katie Barclay
University of Warwick

Making Marriage Modern explores the changing discourses around sex, sexuality and marriage in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century. Simmons begins with a chapter on the Social Hygiene movement in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries that promoted sex education with the aim of reducing sexually transmitted diseases. She highlights that while this was primarily a health movement, it opened up a space to discuss sex within society, after the prudish censorship of the Victorian era. She then goes on to explore the various social groups that took this opportunity to reframe sex within society, from the sex radicals who promoted a form of 'free love', to intellectuals who sought a model of companionate marriage that gave greater expression to sexual desire, to feminists who used it as an opportunity to protest the sexual double standard. This is primarily a cultural history built on published writings, from popular medical texts to advice literature to short stories in the radical press, which were created in the period, but throughout these writings are closely tied to their authors, highlighting the context and motivation for their writings.

Simmons carefully demonstrates how ideas that started off in the radical fringe—such as sex before marriage or the importance of the female orgasm—moved into the mainstream over the first half of the twentieth century, but often lost their radical and feminist potential as they were reshaped to consolidate a concept of marriage where men continued to be the dominant partner. At the same time, she highlights the competing voices that continued throughout the period, comparing the writings of black Americans with their white counterparts and men with women. Simmons details how people of different social backgrounds used, adapted and created social discourses according to their social circumstances, with particular reflection on the impact of racism and sexism in limiting people's choices when selecting discourses to suit their lives. She notes that in a context where black Americans had traditionally been seen as sexually rapacious, black intellectuals were reluctant to adopt 'free love' or devote considerable time to discussions of sexual expression. Similarly, women were more suspicious than men of sexual behaviours that would leave them vulnerable in a context where they had little economic independence. At the same time, Simmons indicates the influence of broader social beliefs in these discussions, most notably the trend towards 'essentialism' seen in the eugenic discourses of race or the scientific reinforcement of the belief that sexual desire was a biological necessity (and so should not be repressed).

In terms of larger historiography, Simmons is partaking in a debate over whether the early twentieth century form of companionate marriage, which promoted greater (if not full) equality for women, increased intimacy and sharing of minds between spouses, and the importance of a full and fulfilling sex life, was feminist or not. Simmons highlights how feminist ideas influenced this form of marriage, but ultimately presents the model that becomes dominant in best-selling advice literature as a conservative vision of marriage that reinforced male dominance. In this, she



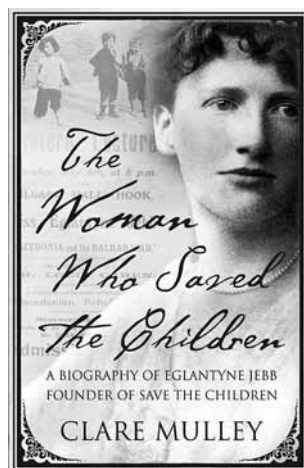
highlights a similar pattern for the USA as is argued for Europe during the same period, although this reviewer's sense of the literature is that the society Simmons presents is broadly more conservative than Britain and, while seeing similar changes in ideas, was working to a slightly different timetable.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this work is a strong sense that these texts began (or at least reframed) a conversation that continues in twenty-first century America, whether that is the availability of contraception and abortion, the inevitability of rape due to the biological basis of male sexual desire, or the economic role of women in marriage. Here we find both the conservative and the radical perspectives in competition - a competition one senses was not novel to the period nor decided within it. Yet, Simmons aptly demonstrates that it was a time of changing ideas and a reshaping of dominant conceptions of marriage and particularly the position of sex in society. This is a nuanced and sensitive study with a strong feminist analysis and it is a cultural history that not only successfully places its texts in their social context, but gives an indication of their impact on social practice. With a pared down introduction, a very reasonable price and its contemporary relevance, this book wishes to engage a broader audience; given its ability to address some very modern questions, it is placed to do just that.

Clare Mulley, *The Woman Who Saved the Children, A Biography of Eglantyne Jebb*

Oneworld Publications: Oxford, 2009. £18.99, 978-1-85168-657-5 (hardback), pp. xxvii + 387

Reviewed by Vicky Davis
Independent Researcher



have on children's human rights, Mulley interweaves her personal feelings into a detailed journey through Jebb's experiences taken from her personal papers. Whilst the volume of personal thought from Mulley would seem unusual in an 'academic' text, it has its place within the biography and clearly shows the motives behind and the tribulations faced during the ten years of research that went into the publication. However, the constant movement between text regarding Jebb's life and Mulley's personal feelings detracts from the topic in hand at times and tighter

editing would have stopped this.

The biography is written in a chronological order, unsurprisingly, but has two unusual starting points. Firstly, the placing of a 'cast of principal characters' before the body of the text. The list is useful given Jebb's notable friends in England and the many people who helped her in central Europe. Jebb's links to the Benson, Davidson and Wordsworth families show easily how this text fits into wider scholarship of family and gender history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries given the dominance of these families elsewhere. Naming it as a list of 'characters' though made me question whether I was reading an academic text, a play or a story. Thankfully the first chapter starts with a family history so the question was quickly answered. The second is that the first chapter is titled '2009-1876', an interesting take on conventional date writing. The first half of the book details Jebb's young life surrounded by siblings but her thoughts towards others can be clearly seen through the well chosen extracts taken from the personal records by Mulley. Even from a young age, Jebb comes across as a woman keen to help others. Chapter three is of particular interest with its focus being Jebb studying at the University of Oxford. At a time when women were crossing the threshold into university education, it provides numerous questions over the role of the educated women and their very place both at home and in educational establishments. With the publication of Jane Robinson's *Blue Stockings The Remarkable Story of the First Women to Fight for an Education*, in August 2009, Mulley's attention to detail over Jebb's personal feelings of studying at Oxford is rather timely and brings to the fore just how much still needs to be explored in the area.

Within the second half, Mulley hits on a number of points that have appeared in wider scholarship recently. Attitudes to women and their social lives surrounded both sexes plus more questions over the role of marriage and family life. As the text continues, the quotations taken from Jebb's personal papers get more and more interesting. Mulley's attention detail does grab the reader's attention for unlike some texts, this is one which provides a rich and detailed account of an important woman. The impact of the First World War on Jebb fails to be ignored and further links the role of women and gender back to such a catastrophic event. It brought out the political side of Jebb and thus confirmed her humanist, as Mulley writes, attitude towards others. It is the final five chapters that are devoted to her work that started the charity. For a woman to be actively doing so much in post-war England, the biography really does relate to wider issues of the lone female figure being completely opposite to that of the Victorian ideal of the weaker sex.

The use of primary sources is notable in the text and clearly helps Mulley convey her thoughts. The referencing, bibliography and index could be improved, even if to just confirm the quotations and their source given the amount of personal ideas within the text. Nonetheless, it is well-written and brings to the fore questions about independent women with a cause and the role of charitable aid that still exists today. Social reform needs to be re-assessed within new realms of historical context and Mulley's microcosmic approach may well be the start of a revival. Her passionate

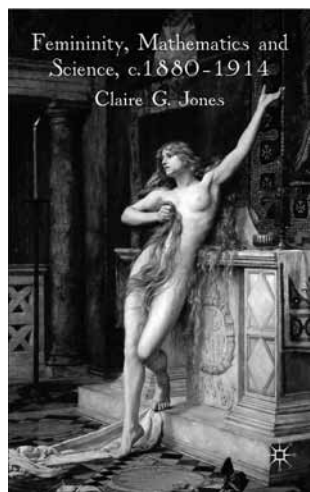
account of Jebb's life appears from the first page and for a first publication it does a very good job of linking together many historical themes that appear under the guise of women's history.

Claire G. Jones, *Femininity, Mathematics and Science, 1880-1914*

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. £55, 978-0-230-55521-1 (hardback), pp. 264

Reviewed by Ruth Watts

Emeritus Professor of History of Education
University of Birmingham



Claire Jones's excellent study of women in mathematics and science in England adds to the growing literature exploring the experiences of women who ventured into the expanding 'masculine' subjects of mathematics, science and engineering and shows clearly how gender struggles were crucially intertwined with academic and professional disputes which ultimately concerned recognition, opportunity, status and

privilege. She accomplishes this by the inspired method of contrasting the lives and experiences of two relatively successful women mathematicians, Hertha Ayrton and Grace Chisholm Young, as a narrative thread weaving through the complex and changing world of higher education, gender and science politics in the decades before the First World War.

Both Hertha (then Sarah Phoebe Marks), and Grace Chisholm studied maths at Girton College, Cambridge, although thirteen years apart. From different racial and class backgrounds, they both continued their academic careers and married men within their own discipline. Grace, however, opted to continue in the elite field of pure mathematics, long held to be the highest intellectual discipline for men at Cambridge and revered for its intellectual heroes at the prestigious University of Göttingen where Grace was one of the first women to do a doctorate. Jones's skilful, nuanced analysis shows how Grace's well-known skewing of her ambitions and career to further her husband's did not actually mean she became just his assistant as commonly assumed. She was both his collaborator and developed significant ideas of her own in a way that would have been recognised as equal and complementary had she been a man. But the couples' eugenicist and gendered beliefs and their need for William to obtain remunerative appointments closed to Grace, meant they deliberately stressed William's role, a strategy not unusual among women scientists and their husbands.

Hertha, in contrast, opted for the predominantly laboratory-based mathematics of electrical engineering, a practical, utilitarian, 'manly' science which led her to new scientific institutions which eagerly challenged old elitist academic traditions, preferring practical men whose virile technology and engineering could benefit both industry and empire. Hertha's husband supported her work, yet, despite her original research and inventions, she was unable to gain a proper professional position. After his death, she had to research at home, Jones showing through a wealth of varied sources how the huge expanse of institutional laboratories became defined largely as 'masculine' spaces. Hertha did equally dangerous experiments as men and was as inventive with equipment, but was derided rather than lauded for this. Despite or because of her solution of problems which had mystified prestigious male scientists, Hertha's reasoning was held suspect, a view reinforced by her support of the militant suffragettes, her exclusion from institutional laboratories and the Royal Society alike, and her ageing at a time when menopausal women were increasingly seen as almost imbecile.

With the growth of higher education for women in Britain, many more women entered higher level mathematics – more, indeed, proportionally until again in the 1970s – but there were few opportunities, outside school teaching, for them to use their qualifications creatively or in well-paid jobs. Jones argues that women's very mathematical success at Cambridge led less to women's creative mathematical ability being recognised than to a devaluation of the hitherto acclaimed mathematical tripsos. The 'elegant' and 'beautiful' subject of pure mathematics, studied for its own sake and for mental cultivation, had affinities with both femininity and women's arguments for higher education and did enable women to be accepted into the mathematical community more easily than into physical science, but its peaks, as characterized in the rhetoric of individual creativity and genius channelled to Cambridge by Grace and William, were still supposed to be beyond their reach. Women had limited access to both publication and many elite scientific and mathematical societies as Jones's detailed and perceptive analysis of how Hertha was denied membership of the Royal Society illustrates. The latter's limited recognition of Hertha and some other women only proved its control of science – a position, with regard to women, not much improved in 2010. Thus, neither the traditional ways of elite science nor the 'rugged, athletic manliness' of modern physical science included women who, simultaneously, were limited in their access to the rapidly growing natural sciences because they had little school preparation in the necessary applied mathematics or physics. Numbers of them, however, successfully took natural history at the University of London, especially UCL and Royal Holloway.

Jones's statement that 'Gender – femininity and masculinity – is not peripheral to the social history of science and mathematics, it is fundamental' [p. 7] is vividly demonstrated throughout by her thoughtful analysis and excellent use of a wide range of sources including pictorial ones. Tightly structured, well referenced and with useful tables, her stimulating investigation should attract alike all those interested in gender and scientific history.

BOOKS RECEIVED

CALL FOR REVIEWERS

If you would like to review any of the titles listed below, please email Jane Potter:

bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org

Lynne Attwood, *Gender and Housing in Soviet Russia: Private Life in a Public Space* (Manchester University Press)

Katherine Bradley & Helen Swift, eds., *Women in the Professions: Politics and Philanthropy 1840-1940* (Trafford)

Simon Brighton & Terry Welbourn, *Echoes of the Goddess: A Quest for the Sacred Feminine in the British Landscape* (Ian Allan)

Sue Bruley, ed. *Working for Victory: A Diary of Life in a Second World War Factory* (The History Press)

Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Palgrave Macmillan)

Susan Cohen, *Rescuing the Perishing: Eleanor Rathbone and the Refugees* (Valentine Mitchell)

Allan T. Duffin, *History in Blue: 160 Years of Women Police, Sheriffs, Detectives, and State Troopers* (Kaplan)

Elaine M. Edwards, ed. *Scotland's Land Girls: Breeches, Bombers and Backaches* (NMS Enterprises & European Ethnological Research Centre)

Irene Gill, *Oma, Mu and Me* (Yarnells Books)

Betty Hagglund, *Tourists and Travellers: Women's Non-fictional Writing about Scotland, 1770-1830* (Channel View)

Sue Hawkins, *Nursing and Women's Labour in the Nineteenth Century: The Quest for Independence* (Routledge)

Marti Kheel, *Nature Ethics: An Ecofeminist Perspective* (Rowman & Littlefield)

Jennifer M. Lloyd, *Women and the Shaping of British Methodism: Persistent Preachers, 1807-1907* (Manchester University Press)

Rosa Matheson, *The Fair Sex: Women and the Great Western Railway* (The History Press)

Susan McPherson & Angela McPherson, *Mosley's Old Suffragette: A Biography of Norah Dacre Fox* (Angela McPherson & Susan McPherson)

Sue Morgan & Jacqueline deVries, *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940* (Routledge)

Emma Robertson, *Chocolate, Women and Empire: A Social and Cultural History* (Manchester University Press)

Duane W. Roller, *Cleopatra: A Biography* (Oxford University Press)

There are also a number of books unclaimed from previous lists:

Laura Auricchio, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard: Artist in the Age of Revolution* (Getty Publications)

Teresa Barnard, *Anna Seward: A Constructed Life* (Ashgate)

Eileen Faust, *The Politics of Writing: Julia Kavanagh, 1824-77* (Manchester University Press)

Sara Gray, *The Dictionary of British Women Artists* (The Lutterworth Press)

Máire Kealy, *Dominican Education in Ireland 1820-1930* (Irish Academic Press)

Lesley Lawson, *Out of the Shadows: The Life of Lucy, Countess of Bedford* (Continuum)

Neil Macmaster, *Burning the Veil: The Algerian War and the 'Emancipation' of Muslim Women, 1954-62* (Manchester University Press)

Massimo Mazzotti, *The World of Maria Gaetana Agnesi, Mathematician of God* (Johns Hopkins)

Phyllis Demuth Movius, *A Place of Belonging: Five Founding Women of Fairbanks, Alaska* (University of Alaska Press)

Karen Offen, ed. *Globalizing Feminisms: 1789-1945* (Routledge)

Lynda Payne, *With Words and Knives: Learning and Medical Dispassion in Early Modern England* (Ashgate)

Jennifer J. Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education and Autonomy in Modern France* (University of New Hampshire Press)

Glyn Redworth, *The She-Apostle: The Extraordinary Life and Death of Luisa de Carvajal* (Oxford University Press)

Christina Simmons, *Making Marriage Modern: Women's Sexuality from the Progressive Era to World War II* (Oxford University Press)

Harold L. Smith, *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign 1866-1928* (Pearson Education)

Kelly S. Taylor, *The Lady Actress: Recovering the Lost Legacy of a Victorian Superstar* (Wapshott Press)

Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Make Room for Daddy: The Journey from Waiting Room to Birthing Room* (University of North Carolina Press)

Doris Weatherford, *American Women during World War II: An Encyclopedia* (Routledge)

WOMEN'S HISTORY REVIEW

Editor: June Purvis, *University of Portsmouth, UK*



Women's History Review is a major international journal which aims to provide a forum for the publication of new scholarly articles in the field of women's history. The time span covered by the journal includes the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries as well as earlier times. The journal seeks to publish contributions from a range of disciplines (for example, women's studies, history, sociology, cultural studies, literature, political science, anthropology, philosophy and media studies) that further feminist knowledge and debate about women and/or gender relations in history.

The Editors welcome a variety of approaches from people from different countries and backgrounds. In addition to main articles the journal also publishes shorter Viewpoints that are possibly based on the life experiences, ideas and views of the writer and may be more polemic in tone. A substantial Book Reviews section is normally included in each issue.

Recent special issues of **Women's History Review** include:

Collecting Women's Lives

Guest edited by Alex Hoare, Joyce Goodman, Andrea Jacobs and Camilla Leach

Woman in her Place: essays on women in pre-industrial society in honour of Mary Prior

Guest edited by Anne Summers and Anne Laurence

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Taylor & Francis Group

Steering Committee News

February meeting

The Steering Committee met on 20 February 2010. The Treasurer reported that the finances were in a healthy state and reserves of £10,000 had been built up. Members were encouraged to help in raising funds by recruiting new members and registering on www.easyfundraising.org.uk. The Secretary reported that membership had risen to 347; persuading members to register their subscriptions for Gift Aid was a valuable source of extra income. There had been several additions to the Network's website and a blog had been set up for Women's History Month. The committee received reports on arrangements for the 2010 Conference to be held at the University of Warwick and the 2011 Conference to be held in London and organised by the Women's Library. There was discussion on the establishment of a Women's History Network Archive.

Committee roles

During the meeting, there was discussion of committee roles from September 2010. The current convener, Kath Holden will leave the steering committee in September and Professor Barbara Bush has agreed to take over the role. She has been co-opted to the committee and will stand for election at the AGM in September. Barbara is an Emeritus Professor of History at Sheffield Hallam University and is a member of the editorial board of *Women's History Review*. She has lived in Canada and the Caribbean and published widely in the area of Caribbean slavery and, more recently, race, gender and empire. Key publications include *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650-1838* (Oxford, 1990) and *Imperialism and Postcolonialism* (London, 2006). She has also had considerable experience as academic consultant for documentaries on race and slavery for Channel 4, BBC2 and Radio 4.

Elections to the steering committee

Several members of the current Steering Committee will be standing down in September and there will be at least four vacancies to fill. Members can propose candidates for election to the steering committee in advance or at the Annual General Meeting which will take place on 11 September during the conference. Please send nominations to Katherine.Holden@uwe.ac.uk.

Publishing in *Women's History Magazine*

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

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

www.magazine.womenshistorynetwork.org

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

editor@womenshistorynetwork.org



What is the Women's History Network?

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

Aims of the WHN

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

What does the WHN do?

Annual Conference

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

WHN Publications

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

Joining the WHN

Annual Membership Rates

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

* £5 reduction when paying by standing order.

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

Women's History Network Contacts:

Steering Committee officers:

Membership, subscriptions

membership@womenshistorynetwork.org

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

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treasurer@womenshistorynetwork.org

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bookprize@womenshistorynetwork.org

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bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org

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

Advertising, Ms Ann Kettle:

advertising@womenshistorynetwork.org

For magazine back issues and all other queries please email: **admin@womenshistorynetwork.org**

Membership Application

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

Name: _____

Address: _____

Postcode: _____

Email: _____ Tel (work): _____

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

Detach and return this form with, if applicable, your cheque to Dr Henrice Altink, WHN Membership Secretary, Department of History, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD

Email: membership@womenshistorynetwork.org

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.

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Notes

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

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

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

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(in figures) £ _____ (in words) _____.

Signature: _____