Women's History MAGAZINE

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Paula Bartley *on*
Ellen Wilkinson and parliamentary politics, 1924-1947

Lisa R. Lindell *on*
Dr Frances Woods and the intersection of war, expansionism, and equal rights

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Sixteen book reviews
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HOME FRONTS: GENDER, WAR AND CONFLICT

Women's History Network Annual Conference
5-7 September 2014 at the University of Worcester

The term Home Front was initially used during the First World War, and this conference is intended to coincide with the commemorations marking the centenary of the beginning of the Frist World War. Drawing upon the perspectives of women's and gender history discussion will explore practical and emotional survival on the Home Front during war and conflict; including for example: food, domesticity, marriage, working lives, the treatment of outsiders, leisure, entertainment and the representation and remembrance of the Home Front. The conference aims to stimulate debate about not only the British Home Front but also a range of other Home Fronts and conflicts, across diverse historical periods and geographical areas.

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Key note speakers include:

- **Prof Susan Mary Grant -** University of Newcastle
- **Dr Deborah Thom -** Cambridge University
- **Dr Lisa Pine -** South Bank University

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www.worcester.ac.uk/discover/home-fronts-gender-war-and-conflict

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Editorial

This summer we are pleased to include a range of diverse articles, with two longer research pieces interspersed with shorter studies. They are linked by a focus on some striking individual women: from a radical British MP; to an intrepid American doctor; to a Polish writer and feminist; to a successful and influential British golfer. This issue's chronological scope is the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. It is therefore interesting to place the individual experiences of these women in the broader context of the suffrage movement, World War One, the Depression of the interwar period, and World War Two.

Our summer issue opens with an edited version of a talk given in March by Paula Bartley at Portcullis House, House of Commons, on the radical Labour MP Ellen Wilkinson, which one of our editorial team (Lucy Bland) managed to attend. It was hugely popular and Lucy had to squeeze into the room, arriving late having waited three-quarters of an hour in a queue in the street to get into the building. Women in large feathered hats were given priority (they were not going to Paula's talk) and pushed by as Paula's audience patiently stood there. But the wait was worth it – it was a terrific talk, and Lucy approached Paula to request that we publish it in our magazine. Not only did the talk celebrate International Women's Day, but it also marked the publication of Paula's latest book, a biography of the MP: *Ellen Wilkinson: from Red Suffragist to Government Minister*. Ellen was a formidable woman whose fascinating life as a committed feminist and socialist deserves to be much better known. From heading the Jarrow march to London in 1936 in the face of the town's extensive unemployment (Ellen, who was Jarrow's MP, wrote an uncompromising book on the issue called *The Town that Was Murdered*) through to being the only woman in Atlee's 1945 cabinet, she lived a full but sadly far-too-short life, dying in 1947 aged only fifty-five. Her picture adorns our cover.

Our second article is about an interesting early American female doctor, Frances Woods, who was determined to participate in the Spanish-American war of the late nineteenth century. While not accepted as an army doctor, she signed on as an army nurse and served in the Philippines, in the face of great resistance. She was a woman of her time in that she endorsed imperialist policies, seeing the Philippines as calling out for Western capital investment and colonisation, and in dire need of a 'civilising' influence. On her return, she became active in women's rights and the fight for female suffrage. Despite casting the Filipinos as 'uncivilised', she recognised that Filipina women experienced far greater equality with men than they did in the West. As the author, Lisa Lindell, points out, a woman like Dr Frances Woods could not bring herself to take 'primitive' women as a role model, but must have envied their relative independence nevertheless.

Our third article is about Polish feminism at the turn of the century – the same period as that of Frances Woods. The author, Małgorzata Dajnowicz, focuses in particular on the influence of one woman, Eliza Orzeszkowa, a writer who was compared to the French feminist George Sand. Orzeszkowa was at the heart of the Polish women's movement, and she stressed female education above all as the key to emancipation. She drew on the work of feminists elsewhere, including those from Britain, as examples of the way forward. Polish women faced great difficulty in organising since, until 1906 and the first Russian revolution, 'combinations' were illegal under Russian Imperial law. Women thus had to meet in secret. In 1908, Orzeszkowa instigated the Association for Women's Equal Rights in Suwałki. Dajnowicz takes the story up to the point of the First World War, when this successful feminist organisation floundered without the leadership of Orzeszkowa.

Our fourth and final piece is a short news article about the United Services Ladies' Golf Association (USLGA), founded in 1914. It focuses in particular on a remarkable and inspiring woman, Mary Percival 'Molly' Gourlay (1898-1990) who was introduced to golf aged twelve, and carried on playing competitively into her seventies. Given that the celebrities of golf today are usually male, it is refreshing to hear of a female star in the sport and of the active participation of women in the Association. The author and historian of the USLGA, Caroline Scallon, reveals how this society has a rich history with resources waiting to be explored further by scholars.

After our bumper crop of book reviews in our spring issue, we still have plenty of new books to explore. Our book reviews include a lengthy consideration by Ruth Richardson of five new books on the Tudor period, throwing light on less well known Tudors, such as Henry VIII's mother, Elizabeth of York, and one of Henry's mistresses, Bessie Blount. It is also a pleasure to be able to include a review of one of the editorial team's latest publications: Lucy Bland's *Modern Women on Trial* as reviewed by Heather Shore. The 'Getting to Know' section introduces German historian Cornelie Usborne. Cornelie researches women's fertility and sexuality in Weimar and Nazi Germany.

As this issue goes to press, we are looking forward to the annual WHN conference which this year takes place at the University of Worcester in September, on the theme: 'Home Fronts: Gender, War and Conflict'. And don't forget, this magazine is your space as Women's History Network members – we welcome suggestions for how it could be improved or extended. Please do consider sending in your own research in the form of articles short or long.

Editorial team: Katie Barclay, Lucy Bland, Anne Logan, Kate Murphy, Rachel Rich and Emma Robertson

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Cover: Ellen Wilkinson

'The mighty atom': Ellen Wilkinson and parliamentary politics, 1924-1947

Paula Bartley

Edited talk given by Paula Bartley in the Atlee Suite, Portcullis House, House of Commons, 4 March 2014 (in celebration of International Women's Day)

In her day 'Red Ellen', as she became known, was one of the most famous, certainly the most outspoken, of the British women politicians. She was a feminist and a socialist who was involved in many of the major struggles of the period. For example, she played a significant role in women's suffrage, fought for trade union rights, was active in the General Strike, campaigned against Fascism and imperialism, led that iconic Jarrow march, and in 1945 became the first female Minister of Education (in Attlee's government so the choice of room for this talk is very appropriate: the Atlee Suite). In between, she helped found the League Against Cruel Sports, put forward the first Right to Roam Bill (this was to enable people to walk freely in the open countryside) and championed the building of the Channel Tunnel. She was only four foot ten inches but she punched way above her height, hence some of her nicknames – 'the mighty atom', 'the fiery particle' and 'the pocket passionara'. These names, I believe, capture the spirit of this rebellious, energetic, warm-hearted and generous woman.

From an early age, Ellen Wilkinson's veins flowed with a political blood and her whole life revolved around campaigns for social justice in one form or another. Her politics stemmed from an intuitive empathy with the poor, the hungry, the weak and the underprivileged – she had herself experienced them all. Ellen's determination to improve life for those who were deprived and impoverished led her, in 1907, at the age of sixteen, to join the Independent Labour Party. She also joined the Fabians, participated in peace movements and she even helped set up the British Communist Party. Ellen made sure that all her paid jobs reflected her political beliefs. For example in 1913, aged twenty-one, she was appointed paid organiser for the Manchester Suffragist Society; in 1914 she became the first national trade union organiser for women in NUDAW (it is now USDAW – still alive and thriving in Manchester). As a leading trade unionist Ellen met the key people within the Labour Party. More importantly, her union financed her politics and made it possible for her to become an MP – a job which she held for most of her life. In 1924, by now thirty-three years old, Ellen, as an NUDAW-sponsored candidate, was elected Labour MP for Middlesbrough East, an iron and steel town in North-East England.

How did this fiery feminist and socialist cope in the House of Commons? People remark on how few women there are in Parliament today but when Ellen took her seat she was the *only* woman on the Labour benches and one of only four women in the House of Commons. In the early days Ellen was intensely lonely: there was no other woman on the Labour benches. She said it was like being dropped like a stone into a quiet pond (although I don't know how anyone can describe the House of Commons as a quiet pond!). As a stylishly dressed woman, with her bright red hair and tiny body, Ellen Wilkinson appeared a completely different kind of MP. At first she had to sit with her feet six inches from the floor because the benches in the House of Commons were too high for her. She solved this by using her briefcase, full of letters from her constituents, as a footstool. Women politicians, Ellen believed, were always faced with a double standard. As she expressed it:

> The male MP is accepted for the well-intentioned, hard-working mediocrity that he usually is, but the woman member is expected to combine the keen brain of a Susan Lawrence, with the gentleness of a Megan Lloyd George, the vivacity of a Lady Astor, the chic of a Cynthia Mosley, and the serious dignity of a Duchess of Atholl. As none of us can possibly reach that ideal we are each accounted as no use in politics.[1]

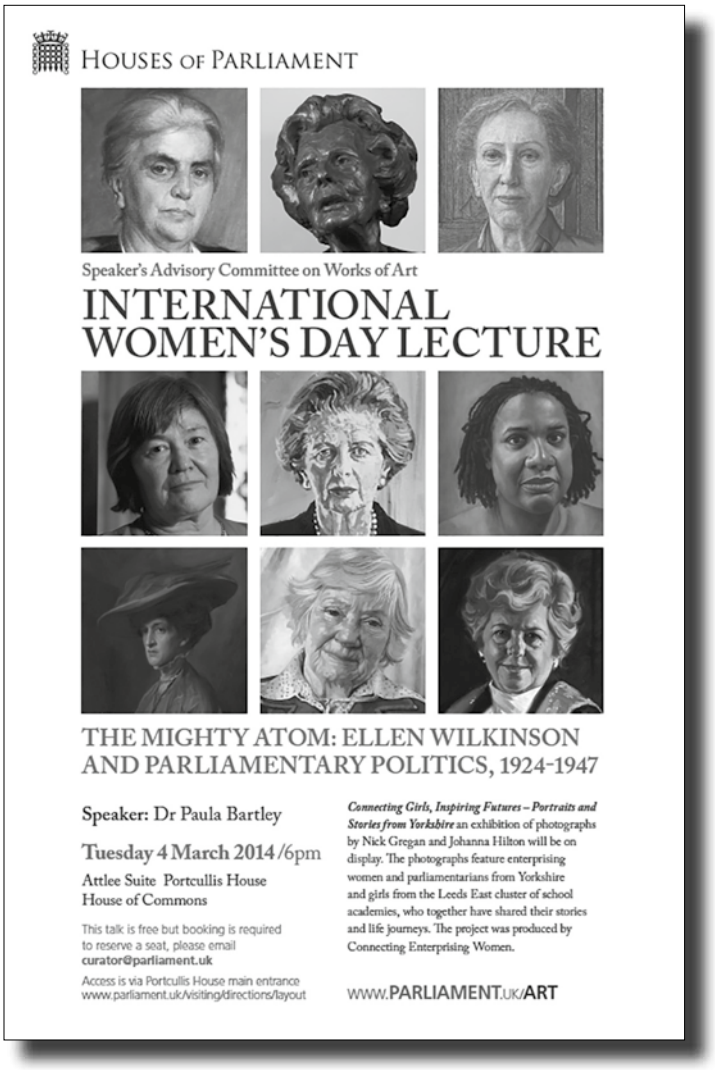
Women also had to balance their domestic responsibilities with their parliamentary duties. Not everyone had a rich husband or independent means to afford domestic help. Edith Summerskill remembered Ellen with a briefcase in one hand and a dozen letters just collected in the other saying: 'Oh for a wife ... If I had a wife she might have collected these, drafted answers and typed them ... she would help with the women's sections, give a hand with bazaars and when I got home fagged out would have ready a delicious meal.'[2] Then as now, women were judged by their dress rather than their politics. Nancy Astor and the other two women MPs always dressed soberly in black suits and white blouses – clothes worn for formal business occasions – they did not want to attract too much attention. Being a woman, they believed, was quite enough to draw comment. Ellen patently did not agree – she didn't see why she shouldn't dress as she wished. And so, in February 1925, she startled the House into 'murmurs of admiration' when she wore a vivid green dress. Ellen was annoyed whenever newspapers focussed on what she was wearing rather than what she thought but the press took no notice. Papers continued to comment whenever she bought a new frock or changed her hairstyle. Nancy Astor, clearly worried that Ellen's dress detracted from what she said, took her aside, talked to her in a motherly fashion and begged her to dress 'dull', saying, 'You are not here to excite an assembly *already* superheated'. Ellen took notice of Nancy Astor's words and reverted to the dull black and white dress adopted by other women MPs; according to one newspaper this was much to the 'great disappointment of about 600 honourable members'.[3]

It has recently been reported that the majority

of female ministers in Parliament are given smaller rooms than their male colleagues. This inequality is of long standing. For example, in Ellen's early days as an MP bathroom facilities were very basic for women – all four MPs had to squash into a small dressing room which contained a wash stand, a tin basin, a jug of cold water and a bucket – a situation that naturally all the women found intolerable but about which only Ellen openly complained. And her criticism hit the press, as a David Low cartoon of male MPs cowering in the background away from Ellen's tirade illustrated. The cartoon is accompanied by the following statement: 'Ellen Wilkinson complains that while men MPs are amply provided at the House of Commons with resting, smoking and bathrooms, women MPs get only a small bolt-hole with one clothes-hook and a tiny mirror.' The signs in the cartoon read: 'to the luxury bathroom, men only; to the men's boudoir; to the sitting room, men only'.[4] Later on, probably due to Ellen's complaints, the female MPs were allocated better facilities. Women weren't forbidden but they definitely felt unwelcome in certain areas of the House. As a result, the three other female MPs, either because they feared giving offence or perhaps were even intimidated, did not use the bars, the smoking rooms or the members' cloakroom. These were seen as male spaces. Ellen, on the other hand, confronted the exclusively masculine culture largely because she felt that 'the Members' Cloakroom is one of those quiet places where a whispered word may sometimes have more effect than an hour's speech in the debating chamber'.[5]

Historians often comment on the problems facing women in Parliament, pointing out how tough and unwelcoming the place could be, but Ellen's combative personality found its natural home in the belligerent and challenging atmosphere of the House of Commons. She may have been in a minority of four but her character had been forged in rough and tumble politics elsewhere. For example, Ellen's suffrage days, when she had faced hostile crowds, been pelted with rotten fruit and forced to furnish witty replies to hecklers, prepared her well for the rumbustious testosterone-charged Parliament she now inhabited. She said later that there was one absolutely necessary precaution for any woman who wanted to enjoy public work and that was to grow a spiritual hide as thick as the elephant's physical one. Ellen certainly appeared fearless – on only her second day in the Commons she made her first speech. At the time it was customary for maiden speeches to be inoffensive and devoid of political content but Ellen had little time for this type of convention. In her maiden speech this less-than-demure redhead displayed complete self-possession. In one great sweep of a speech she put forward the need for votes for women on equal terms as men, advocated increased unemployment benefits, better pensions and factory law reform. The male-dominated House of Commons gave her a somewhat patronisingly 'generous cheer'.

Undoubtedly Ellen was a hard-working MP. There was no official job description and therefore no limits placed on the amount of work she could take on. The Labour MP's day, she said, started 'with party meetings, following on to Committees, getting through



masses of correspondence when and where they could, interviewing delegations and constituents and in some cases dashing off to address large demonstrations'.[6] In her constituency, Ellen was expected to hold weekly surgeries, speak at local party meetings, visit local schools, factories and businesses, attend local functions, promote the interests of her constituency in Parliament and be a part-time social worker. In her first few weeks she had to respond to 1,394 letters from people who wanted advice of some sort. In addition, Ellen spoke regularly in the House of Commons, sat on Select Committees and presented Bills in Parliament. Her union journal, *The New Dawn*, commented that 'behind two dancing eyes lies a brain with the quality of a filing cabinet, stored with precise and authentic details accurately card-indexed ... out comes file 57, section 3B, heading C, c.1. and there you are – the crushing rejoinder that destroys'.[7] Her attention to detail was a huge asset in promoting Bills in Parliament but her work-load was a recipe for ill-health. By January 1929 she was, as she wrote to Nancy Astor, 'very near the end of my strength'.[8] She had contracted a throat infection which, in the days before penicillin, was hard to cure. Chest and throat infections, exacerbated by smoking and hard work, plagued Ellen for the rest of her life.

Undoubtedly Ellen put a lot into her job but what exactly were her achievements as an MP? One of Ellen's first successes was to help gain equal franchise for

women on the same terms as men. (When Ellen was first elected, only women over thirty were able to vote.) How did she achieve this? It was not easy. Ellen became friends with Conservative Nancy Astor and together they made a formidable team. The two came from very different ends of the political spectrum – and indeed class backgrounds – but both Wilkinson and Astor cared passionately about the rights of women and established links that cut across party lines. Indeed, what is striking is the way in which the two (and indeed women MPs in general) worked closely with feminist groups outside Parliament and became willing to be the Parliamentary spokeswomen for feminist reform. Nancy Astor and Ellen Wilkinson were said to share two traits in common: a booming voice and the ability to annoy the male members of the Commons. The two women worked closely together on a number of questions, ranging from the right of women to maintain their nationality on marrying a foreigner through to improvements in prostitution law. In 1928 they succeeded in one of their aims: gaining votes for women over the age of twenty-one. During the Bill's debate in the House of Commons, one rather old-guard Tory expressed fears that an increase in women voters might lead to a female Chancellor of the Exchequer, leading Ellen to shout out, 'Why not?' In matters of gender equality, Wilkinson and Astor tended to vote together but in terms of economics there were major differences, which newspapers enjoyed reporting. Ellen was a socialist as well as feminist and she was never ever going to be seduced by the irrepressible charm of Nancy Astor into abandoning her left-wing principles.

This leads me to the second achievement of Ellen's: namely how she brought the plight of the working class into the public eye during the 1930s. In 1929, Ellen's socialist principles were put to the test. This time she was no longer alone on the Labour bench as another eight women had joined her. At the time, Labour was experiencing its second minority government. But five months after Labour came to power the Wall Street Crash precipitated a worldwide economic crisis. Banks collapsed, businesses went bust, consumer spending plummeted, currencies lost their value and unemployment rose. Ellen wrote to her friend Leonard Elmhurst, the founder of Dartington Hall: 'it looks like being a difficult world for a bit, doesn't it?'[9] Naturally, she knew exactly where to place the blame for this economic catastrophe: the greed of the bankers. In her view, the City of London had loaned money so that it could reap immense profits but had been, as she said, 'caught out'. This had resulted not just in heavy losses for the banks but financial difficulties for the rest of Britain. But how were the economic difficulties to be resolved? The Labour Government had a choice: it could either cut costs or pump money into the economy. Ellen wanted the Government to introduce a living wage, offer cheap credit and spend its way out of the recession. She believed that 'the sooner we ... increase the buying power of the poorer classes the sooner we will get out of this depression'.[10] Indeed Ellen echoed the current socialist belief that a planned economy was the only real solution to the economic crisis. She advocated public control of the banking system and nationalising utilities, transport and the essential industries. It is time, she insisted, for workers' control. Instead, the Labour Government, after a number of very tense Cabinet meetings, and reports from two Commissions, decided on cuts. Ellen was now faced with an awkward problem. How could she balance her principles with the need for party discipline? She chose her principles. For example, at 4.30 *am*, on 15 July 1931, after a very long and arduous session, the Minister of Labour, Margaret Bondfield, proposed to disqualify married women from claiming benefits. Ellen vehemently disagreed with her Labour colleague. In her view, it raised 'the old, bad principle of discrimination against women, which the whole women's movement has been fighting against'.[11] Her cries remained unheeded. The Labour Government passed the proposal on the basis that married women were not *genuinely* seeking work. The debate on the cuts augured the break-up of the Labour Government. It eventually collapsed in August 1931; MacDonald resigned as Labour leader and instead became Prime Minister of a Conservative-dominated Coalition Government. Ellen, along with most Labour MPs, refused to join it.

When Parliament met after the summer recess, the newly formed National Government cut the pay of all those paid by the state and cut benefits by ten percent. At the same time as reducing benefits, the Government imposed the Family Means Test. All family income, savings and even possessions were taken into account when deciding benefit levels. Families, it was argued, not the State should take care of their relatives. When Family Means Testing was imposed, Ellen howled, 'how can you means test someone *without* any means?' It was, she thought, a very mean test. In her view, the unemployed would be the ones who suffered most because it was 'easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for an unemployed man to get his benefit.'[12]

The last few months of 1931 passed quickly for Ellen. In September, Ramsay McDonald was expelled from the Labour Party and the following month a General Election took place. The National Government, with McDonald as leader, won a landslide victory securing 554 seats – all at the expense of the Labour Party, which won a humiliating 52. It was a crushing defeat, made worse when several leading figures, including Herbert Morrison, Hugh Dalton, Margaret Bondfield, Susan Lawrence and Ellen Wilkinson lost their seats. *No* Labour women were left in Parliament. The early years of the 1930s were challenging for Ellen. She was now in her forties and still needed to earn a living. So, she resumed full-time work for her union; she lectured; developed her reputation as a writer and continued to campaign for the causes she held dear. She published a number of books including *The Division Bell Mystery* (1932), a murder mystery set in the House of Commons. She also co-authored political books such as *Why Fascism?* Ellen had a natural journalistic flair and an ability to popularise difficult and contentious issues such as women's rights. Consequently she contributed regularly to newspapers and journals such as *Time and Tide*, the *Daily Herald* and even the *Daily Mail*. But Ellen missed the House of Commons. In 1935 she was once more elected – this time as MP for Jarrow, a former ship-building town with one

of the worst unemployment records in England: only 100 out of 8,000 skilled manual workers had work. Here families were trapped in a vicious circle of low wages, lower benefits and malnutrition. 'I loathe poverty', Ellen said, 'I don't just mean being hard up and having to do without things for a bit. I mean poverty as an institution, the deep grinding health-destroying poverty in which people in this country live'.[13]

She put the plight of her constituency in front of the world by helping to organise the Jarrow Crusade, a hunger march that became the iconic image of the Hungry Thirties. She had helped in hunger marches before, ones organised by the Unemployed Workers' Movement, and led by the Communist Party. She knew that these marches had been condemned as far-left propaganda so was determined for the Jarrow march to be different. From the beginning, the Crusade was carefully stage-managed (even the choice of the word 'crusade' rather than 'march' is itself significant). The march was kept non-political and known Communists were excluded. Moreover, all the parties – Conservative, Labour and Liberal – agreed to bury their differences and do what was best for the town. Everyone insisted that it was simply Jarrow asking for work. On Monday 5 October 1936, the marchers set off to walk to London. They planned to present a petition signed by Jarrow citizens to Stanley Baldwin, now Prime Minister. Ellen encouraged the Jarrow marchers to appear as respectable as possible. She knew the importance of creating a positive image. The marchers were carefully shaved, broken boots repaired and polished, shabby clothes brushed and mended and waterproof capes rolled neatly over their shoulders. All the men wore ties. In her electrifying account of the Crusade in that evocatively/provocatively titled book *The Town that was Murdered*, Ellen charted the progress of herself and the men. Each day the marchers left at 9 am, marched for fifty minutes, rested for ten minutes then marched again. At noon they ate lunch and in fine weather took a nap lying on the grass. Each night there was a meeting at which Ellen usually spoke. Thirty days and 290 miles later, the marchers reached the capital. It was raining. Ellen wearily remarked that 'we all looked so utterly shabby and weary in our wet clothes that we presented London with the picture of a walking distressed area'.[14] The Crusade hit the headlines, even though neither the Labour Party nor the TUC approved of it. Indeed, although historians tend to believe that the Jarrow march achieved little of concrete value at the time, it did shape the post-war perceptions of the 1930s as a Hungry Decade.

Ellen helped fight poverty in other ways. Many of her constituents, along with working-class people elsewhere, could not afford to buy goods outright and so bought them on credit. But if they missed even their last payment their goods could be confiscated. In 1937 Ellen brought in a private members' Hire Purchase Bill to stop 'bruisers' taking goods by force when people fell on hard times. The Bill eventually became law on New Year's Day 1939. It was the first Act to protect consumers. In addition, Ellen continued to promote women's equality. For example, on 1 April 1936, Ellen introduced a motion to the House of Commons which would give equal pay to women in the Civil Service. Ellen's proposal was surprisingly carried. However the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, refused to accept the outcome, called for a second vote and asked that it be treated as a vote of confidence. In the next division, the government won and female civil servants had to wait until 1956 to receive equal pay to men. During this period Ellen also helped form Labour's policy towards Republican Spain, she campaigned for Indian independence, and she vigorously denounced Fascism. In her opinion Fascism meant war. Ellen was the first to report the German invasion of the Rhineland and to comment on it as a dangerous challenge to peace. Not surprisingly she was a forceful critic of Chamberlain's appeasement policy.

When war broke out in September 1939, Ellen agitated to get rid of Chamberlain and replace him with Churchill. This brings me to her third achievement: Ellen's work in helping make British people safe from bombs in the Second World War. The war gave Ellen the opportunity to advance her political career. When Churchill became Prime Minister, he appointed Ellen to a minor ministerial post in the Pensions Office. She was only at the Ministry for a few months before being moved to work as Parliamentary Private Secretary to Herbert Morrison, now Home Secretary. From 1942 to 1945 she was Morrison's lieutenant in a hard-working and arduous office. The war proved to be a turning point for Ellen Wilkinson. She was now in a position to get things done, rather than to point out what others ought to be doing. She had lived all her political life on the other side of the barricades, always opposing, constantly protesting but now as a junior member of Government she had to learn the art of being responsible. At first, her status as a compassionate radical politician was confirmed, but as the war dragged on and she abandoned many of the principles she had once held dear, her reputation as a fiery socialist diminished. Naturally, as a junior member of Government, Ellen had to compromise her political beliefs and accept the wartime restrictions imposed by the Home Office.

Herbert Morrison, well aware of Ellen's popularity among the working class, put her in charge of shelter provision. Immediately she vowed to keep the population safe and public morale positive but it was a tough undertaking. Part of her new job was 'to put to bed each night, outside their own homes, 1 million Londoners'.[15] Shelter provision was woefully inadequate when Ellen took over. But within a week she had instigated a scheme to improve home shelters – soon called Morrison shelters – which would better withstand bombs. At the beginning of the bombing, Ellen encouraged people to stay in these home shelters but not everyone had the money to buy one or the space in which to put them. And once heavy bombing began, people wanted somewhere safe and quiet to sleep at night. There were a few communal shelters but those which existed soon became too crowded, too unsanitary or too unsafe to use.[16] Many flocked to the London Underground. In the early days of the war Ellen spent her time improving conditions in these places. As usual, she threw herself into the challenge. She promised people 'Safety, Sanitation and Sleep', a typical Ellen sound-bite highlighting people's understandable human

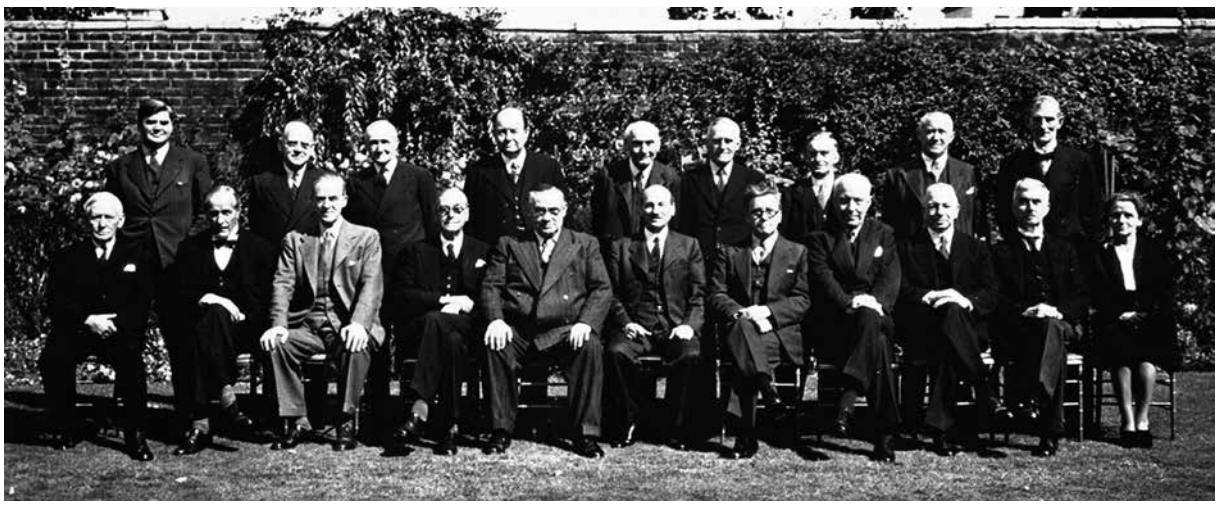
urge for all three. She chivvied and bullied, encouraged and threatened, ordered and charmed. By the spring of 1941, thanks partly to the efforts of Ellen Wilkinson, people were sheltering in some relative comfort. Bunk beds were installed, chemical lavatories were set up, and ventilation, lighting and running water became available. In some shelters canteen facilities, night classes, films and other activities were offered. Despite these shelter improvements, people still got hurt and many were killed. Ellen drove around inspecting air raid shelters immediately after they had been bombed – on her own, often in the dark and without using headlights. Soon she was dubbed the 'Shelter Queen'. One newspaper commented that 'Miss Ellen Wilkinson's personal visits to the East End ... have done more to put heart and courage into families than anything that has gone before'.[17] Certainly Ellen's work contributed to raising public morale and helped create the image of a nation working together against a common enemy.

Looking after a vulnerable population suited Ellen. But she was now a member of Government and had to conform to Government policies or resign. She was severely tested over her role in the Fire Services. In April 1941, Herbert Morrison restructured the fire services and 1,400 local fire brigades were forced to amalgamate down to 32. Ellen's job was to convince firemen to accept the changes, but she faced criticism. She was thought to be 'the most tactless woman who ever held minor office' when she informed firemen that 'the new regulations are not meant to be understood by them – they just had to do what they are told'.[18] It got worse. On New Year's Eve 1941, Herbert Morrison established *compulsory* and *unpaid* fire-watching and asked Ellen Wilkinson to oversee it. Trade unions objected. They insisted that fire-watchers be paid for their time. Ellen, who in the past might have *led* the protest, endorsed the Government's position. Why?

In her opinion, the great evil of Fascism threatened democracy and fighting it was more important than protecting the rights of the working class. There was no point in trying to fight for equality in Britain, she argued, if there was no Britain left. The needs of the country, she insisted, *had* to take priority over trade-union demands. And she kept the pressure up, constantly urging fire-guards to put in more effort. (She once told a fire-training conference that 'some fire-guards think they are doing their training if they come to their place and play cards or darts ... this must stop!')[19] More compromise and more criticism followed. For example, strikes and lock-outs were banned. Oppressive measures such as these would once have been anathema to Ellen but now, as a member of Government, she was forced to back them. In August 1941, a strike in the North East was settled when she persuaded the men to resume work.[20] 'If you want a fight', she told them 'fight Hitler'.[21] On 30 April 1945, Hitler committed suicide. A few days later Germany surrendered and the war officially ended in Europe.[22] No more bombs would be dropped on Britain, no more houses destroyed, no more families made homeless, no more people killed or injured and no more need for shelters or fire-watchers. Ellen collapsed in a relief-fuelled exhaustion. But she was left with no time to recuperate as Parliament was dissolved and new elections took place. By now, Ellen was firmly established as a key political figure. She was a senior member of the National Executive Committee and Chair of the Party. At the time, the NEC supervised policy development and Ellen played a pivotal role, helping to direct strategy, and undoubtedly arguing for Labour to be more radical.

This brings me on to the fourth and penultimate achievement: I believe that Ellen helped create the post-war Labour Party's philosophy and values. Ellen Wilkinson, Michael Young, Herbert Morrison and Patrick Gordon Walker co-authored the 1945 Labour Party Manifesto *Let us Face the Future*, a document which embodied the thinking of two decades and years of work. I believe that *Let us Face the Future,* a passionate, expressive, radical manifesto, had Ellen's hand, and principles, written all over it. The manifesto declared that the

> Labour Party stands for freedom – for freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of the Press ... But there are certain so-called freedoms that Labour will not tolerate: freedom to exploit other people; freedom to pay poor wages and to push up prices for selfish profit; freedom to deprive the people of the means of living full, happy, healthy lives.[23]



Ellen as only female member of the 1945 cabinet.

Ellen had long argued that 'to nationalise the banks is to attack the very citadel of capitalist supremacy'[24] so was delighted when the manifesto declared that the Bank of England must be brought under public ownership. And in an even more radical paragraph – with direct reference to Clause IV in the Labour Party's former constitution – the manifesto stated, 'The Labour Party is a Socialist Party, and proud of it. Its ultimate purpose at home is the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth – free, democratic, efficient, progressive, public-spirited, its material resources organised in the service of the British People.'[25] The transformation of society that Ellen had worked for all her life now seemed possible. At the 44th Annual Conference of the Labour Party, Ellen presided over the largest Labour Party conference ever held. She was now at the pinnacle of her power, sitting centre stage on the conference platform and delivering a rousing, socialist speech. It was, claimed a colleague, Ellen's finest hour. Her union journal proudly commented that, 'No one will ever forget the nerve, the verve, the wit, the confidence and the joyful challenge with which she led the Conference from its brilliant opening to its triumphant close.'[26] Ellen herself said, 'This is the proudest moment of my life.' And in the usual tradition the conference ended with singing the 'Red Flag' and 'Auld Lang Syne'. Ellen went into the election with her gun full of socialist ammunition, firing round after round of bullets at the Tory party. She was part of a special Campaign Committee, including Clement Attlee and Herbert Morrison, which directed the election. She wrote, spoke and hectored to as many as she could, reminding each audience of the bitter period of eighteen years of inter-war Tory rule, promising a new dawn under a Labour Government. The Labour Party won a sweeping victory. It held to its electoral promise of reform, despite Britain being on the verge of bankruptcy. It created the National Health Service, introduced a more comprehensive system of national insurance, nationalised the Bank of England and the coal and iron industries, repealed anti-union laws and reformed the education system. Ellen's hopes for her country seemed to have materialised.

This leads me to the fifth and final achievement: Elllen's work in the post-war Labour government. Clement Attlee, the Prime Minister, pencilled in Ellen as Minister of Health but – at her request apparently – he changed it to Minister of Education. And so, on 3 August 1945, Ellen became the first female Minister of Education, the second woman in Britain to become a Cabinet Minister and the *only* woman in a Cabinet of twenty. Ellen's main task as Minister was to implement Butler's 1944 Education Act. This Act set out a controversial tripartite system. It proposed grammar schools for the most intellectually gifted, secondary modern schools for the majority and technical schools for those with a technical or scientific aptitude. Given her radical past, it was perhaps surprising that Ellen did not abolish public schools and replace them with comprehensives for all. But abolishing public schools would perhaps have been a step too far for a hard-pressed Labour Government keen to change so much else. Indeed Ellen had to fight hard to implement the reforms she held dear, namely the

Ellen chairing the Labour Party Conference, May 1945

provision of free school milk and the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen. In fact the Labour Cabinet wanted to delay the raising of the school age because it would cost too much and money was tight but Ellen stood firm in the Cabinet – she even threatened to whip up support from outside Parliament – and it was implemented. She also persuaded a reluctant Government to pass the 1946 School Milk Act that gave free milk to British school children – we know who abolished it in 1970!

Another of Ellen's educational achievements was to help set up UNESCO. At first the organisation was called UNECO – 'an educational and cultural organisation' – but Ellen put the 'Science' into it. At the founding conference, which she chaired, she suggested that 'Science' be included in the organisation's title because 'in these days when we are all wondering what the scientists will do to us next, it is important that they should feel that they have a *responsibility* to mankind'.[27] The delegates, all too aware that the dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had made science a very topical subject, agreed. And so the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) was born.

By now, Ellen's health was deteriorating fast. All her life she had suffered from asthma, bronchitis, influenza and lung infections. During the war she had been admitted to hospital at least seven times. Exhausted by the war effort, her health was undermined further by the demands of her new post. One of her last public engagements was opening, with Laurence Olivier, the Old Vic Theatre School. The school building had been bombed and at the time of opening on 24 January still had no roof. Ellen caught pneumonia and a few weeks later, on 6 February 1947, she died in a private ward at St Mary's Hospital Paddington. There were fears that she had taken her own life.

So to conclude: what was Ellen Wilkinson's legacy? It is certainly impressive in its scope and depth. Throughout her life, Ellen was involved in so many of the important left-wing and feminist issues of the day, and very different groups of people had reason to be grateful to her. I have mentioned young women who benefited from equal franchise; her Jarrow constituents for alleviating unemployment; borrowers who bought goods on hire-purchase; war-time city dwellers for keeping them safe from bombs. Everyone, save the bankers, had reason to thank Ellen for trying to safeguard their

economic rights. In addition, the post-war generation was indebted to her for helping to shape the Labour programme for social, economic and cultural change. However, the key lesson Ellen teaches is not anything as specific as a list, instead she shows us the need for political engagement, compassion, energy, concern and courage – freshened with a dash of utopian thinking. She did, I believe, encapsulate the spirit of '45!

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A woman of her time: Dr Frances Woods and the intersection of war, expansionism and equal rights

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'STARTED TO MANILA', headlined the *Oregonian* newspaper on 18 August 1898, 'Two Portland Nurses Take Their Leave'.[1] Dr Frances Woods, along with fellow Portland, Oregon resident Lena Killiam, was on her way to the Philippines to serve in the Spanish-American War. Eager to take part, but knowing she would never be allowed to go as a woman doctor, Dr Woods grasped the option of volunteering as a nurse. 'I feel just as patriotic and earnest as a man', she declared. 'But, you know, they have a way of turning aside lady physicians and giving men the first chances to go to the front. I wanted to go to the war from the first. This was my first chance and I gladly accepted it'.[2] Woods' war service would help shape her world views and the course of her career, drawing her into the public arena as a lecturer and suffragist. Her attitudes and experiences were deeply entwined with the fabric of her times. Late nineteenth-century American thinking about the war and about citizenship turned upon perceptions of race, rights, gender, and patriotism. All of these ideas were bolstered by the experiences and image of a vigorous westward-expanding nation. As a white woman of privilege who viewed herself as a patriot and activist, Woods seized upon the emerging opportunities of her era and developed her own complex, often contradictory, perspectives toward the war, expansionism, and equal rights. A study of her life experiences and their intersection with the central political and gender issues of her day opens a unique and personal window on the America of the turn of the twentieth century.[3]

Third of ten children, Frances Jane Woods was born on 2 December 1864 to western entrepreneur James Moses Woods and his wife Martha Stone Woods. She grew up in Nebraska City, Nebraska, where her father owned a large farm and raised stock. Frances Woods' family roots reached back to colonial America, including a great great grandfather who commanded a Virginia regiment during the Revolutionary War. Her enterprising family embodied the spirit and followed the course of American westward expansion. Woods' maternal grandfather's rovings led him from Kentucky to Missouri to the California gold fields. In 1876, Woods' father struck out for the Black Hills of Dakota Territory, outfitting a wagon train, carving out a trail, and establishing a freighting operation as the gold rush boomed and prospectors and settlers increasingly appropriated Native American lands. In Deadwood, James Woods opened the Miners' and Mechanics' Bank, that town's first monetary institution. In 1889, he moved his family to nearby Rapid City, having purchased several thousand acres in the area. There, he ran a large-scale ranching operation and partnered for a time with his brother Dr William Woods, bringing herds of twenty thousand cattle from Texas in a single season. From 1890 to 1894, he served as Rapid City's mayor.[4]

Like her father, Frances Woods displayed ambition and energy. Her drive for higher education was also fed by the example of her mother, an 1856 alumna of Christian College of Columbia, Missouri. In 1882, Woods graduated from that same institution. Nine years later, she entered medical school, following the path opened by women such as Elizabeth Blackwell, who in 1849 became the first American woman to receive a medical degree. By the end of the nineteenth century, women comprised around five percent of the profession in the United States. Not until the 1970s would the percentage of women pursuing medicine increase by any significant degree.[5]

Woods attended the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, where she completed a three-year course of study. The college, founded in 1850 as the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania, was the first medical school established exclusively for women. Men were ineligible to enrol until 1969. When Woods was a student, about half of American women studying medicine attended all-female schools, but that figure declined precipitously as most women's medical colleges closed their doors in the early twentieth century. While increasing coeducational opportunities brought welcome benefits, the women's school experience had distinct advantages of its own, creating a sense of female solidarity and professional identity, with women faculty members serving as role models. Woods graduated in May 1894, scoring near the top of her class of fifty-two women.[6]

Upon graduation, Woods interned at the Memorial Hospital in Worcester, Massachusetts, and at the New England Hospital for Women and Children (founded in 1862 for the clinical education of women physicians and also the home of a pioneering training school for nurses). Woods then headed west to Portland, Oregon, where she served as resident physician and nurse at St. Helen's Hall, a girls' boarding school.[7] Woods' choice of work at an institution and her focus on female health paralleled the route taken by many women physicians as medicine became increasingly specialised. The reformist impulses of the Progressive Era, especially as related to the welfare of women and children, further motivated women in medicine.[8] Historian Regina Markell Morantz-Sanchez observes in *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine*, female doctors were able to 'pursue a career *and* reform society without overstepping too far the bounds of accepted propriety'.[9]

In the late nineteenth century, the field of medicine underwent unprecedented growth, both scientifically and professionally. The advances – including germ theory, antiseptic surgery, and anesthesia – and physicians' progressively specialised roles created a strong need for trained nurses. The establishment of the first official nurses' training programme at Saint Thomas' Hospital in London in 1860 by Florence Nightingale after her service in the Crimean War, and the opening

of a number of nursing schools in the United States in the 1870s, propelled the field's rapid development. The declaration of war with Spain in April 1898 would greatly accelerate the nursing profession's advancement in the United States and lead to a radical change for Woods.[10]

Popular sympathy toward the struggles of Cubans and Filipinos against Spanish rule and ferment over the sinking of the *U.S.S. Maine* in the Havana harbour rallied support for the war. Gender politics may have been an even stronger contributing factor. A goal of many war advocates was to halt what they perceived as a trend toward effeminacy and decline in American politics. In *Fighting for American Manhood*, Kristin L. Hoganson studies how this perception and the growing presence of women in the public sphere challenged male notions of manliness and political authority. Adopting a martial posture, war promoters believed, would strengthen manly character and national credibility. In her study *Manliness & Civilization*, Gail Bederman explores late nineteenth-century conceptions of race and gender, nation and civilisation through the frame of Theodore Roosevelt's vision of male virility, character, and racial primacy. To 'win for themselves the domination of the world', declared the future President, Americans 'must boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do [their] duty well and manfully'. Roosevelt and other believers in character-building as manifested through vigorous force pointed to the Civil War and westward expansion as supportive examples. Models of European expansionism, particularly imperial Britain and its view of empire as a training ground for manhood, played their inspirational role as well.[11]

Regardless of her gender, Frances Woods was resolved to follow the patriotic call. At the onset of the Spanish-American War, the army's medical personnel were exclusively male and extremely limited in numbers and, often, in experience. Although women had long worked in civilian hospitals and had served as nurses during the Civil War, strong resistance remained to their presence in the field. That situation soon began to change. With the enlistment of large numbers of soldiers and the escalating toll of injury and especially disease, the need for a well-trained force of nurses, including women, became critical. In consequence, US Army Surgeon General George M. Sternberg sought and received Congressional authority to appoint army nurses under contract without gender restriction. As applications from women poured in, Dr Anita Newcomb McGee, vice-president general of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, oversaw the selection process, carefully screening thousands of applicants. More than 1,500 women nurses served under contract during the war, stationed in the States and overseas, including in the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and on hospital ships. The success of the contract nurse programme would give rise, in February 1901, to a permanent Army Nurse Corps.[12]

Traditional role perceptions, though, would be slow to change. Nurses' work was often sentimentalised or treated as secondary. 'Men who did acknowledge women's endeavors often refused to see them as having any bearing on women's roles as citizens', observes Hoganson. 'Instead, men frequently interpreted women's wartime service as a sign of their ability to stand above politics as extraworldly angels and to inspire men to acts of heroism'.[13] Kimberly Jensen addresses this continuing attitude in her study of American women in the First World War. She suggests that idealised images of women's selfless devotion served as a justification for denying nurses full and permanent military rank. Not until 1947 did American nurses achieve that recognition with commensurate pay and benefits.[14]

In the spring and summer of 1898, the logistics of selection were still in flux, and many female nurses who wished to serve found their options uncertain. Frances Woods' decision to pursue her objective through the Oregon Emergency Corps and Red Cross Society resulted in her being in the first group of female nurses sent to the Philippines. Women of Portland had organised the Oregon Emergency Corps on 26 April 1898 to support the Oregon soldiers and their families. The Corps' 1,500 members actively raised funds, sent supplies (including food, clothing, and books), and otherwise worked for the welfare of the troops. On 30 July, the Corps voted to unite with the National Red Cross Society, which allowed them to send volunteer nurses officially recognised by the Red Cross.[15]

As a Red Cross volunteer, Woods was not under government contract. She nonetheless filed an application, secured endorsements, and received the approval of Anita Newcomb McGee, 'without which acceptance, there is no entering the army lines'.[16] Although the selection requirements stipulated graduation from a nursing training school, McGee also considered women physicians in good standing as eligible. Woods persisted until she obtained the requisite permission from General Henry Clay Merriam, commander of the Pacific Coast and in charge of organising, supplying, and transporting the troops.[17]

Thus on 18 August 1898, with little advance notice, Woods found herself bound for the Philippines. Her travelling companion, Lena E. Killiam, was an 1893 graduate of the Hahnemann Hospital Training School for Nurses in Philadelphia, who had served as training school director and head nurse at the Portland hospital and also engaged in private nursing. The two were among a group of eleven commissioned women nurses, chiefly from California, sailing on the US transport *Arizona* from San Francisco to Hawaii and then on to Manila. Woods' charge required her to fulfil her Red Cross nursing duties wherever necessary, giving particular attention to the Oregon Volunteers.[18]

In May 1898, the Second Oregon and the First California volunteer regiments had become the first infantry units to embark for the Philippines, departing from the Presidio of San Francisco, where soldiers from throughout the United States gathered and trained for the war. When Woods set sail on the *Arizona* in August, the Oregon troops had recently arrived at Manila Bay and taken possession of the city with only token resistance, made possible through a decisive US naval victory in May under the command of General George Dewey. For the next several months, the Oregonians guarded the Spanish prisoners and policed the city.[19]

Even without war-inflicted injuries, the need for medical care was great. Disease and other illnesses ran rampant, and nurses' contributions would prove vital. Lieutenant George F. Telfer of the Second Oregon Volunteers provided a candid, first-hand view of the war experience in letters to his wife and family back home. The medical situation was a frequent topic. 'The lack of nurses and hospital supplys [sic] is the greatest scandal of the war', he wrote on 11 September 1898:

> Think of a man sick with typhoid fever—with no nurse. Think of *50 fever* patients in one room with *one* man to look after them—that man a soldier, knowing nothing about the care of the sick. Take this room at night—without lights—except what is afforded by a single candle—carried by the attendant. Think of the misery of it all. Then add to this a lack of mosquito nets—to keep off flys [sic] by day and mosquitos [sic] at night—nothing but the commonest food—none of the prepared foods ordinarily given the sick—even a lack of medicines. ... What we want is trained nurses.

This was a plea frequently voiced by those faced with the overwhelming care of the troops.[20]

Lieutenant Telfer explained in his letters that hospitals were run by chief surgeons sent from Washington, with a staff of assistants: 'Our regimental surgeons do not have access to these hospitals', he wrote. 'They look after [the] sick in quarters and decide what cases should be sent to the hospital. When the man goes there—we lose all authority over him. We are allowed to visit him—but must ask permission of the surgeon in charge'.[21] On 2 October, Telfer was happy to report that the Red Cross nurses from Oregon and California had arrived but noted with exasperation that the chief medical officer, whom he described as 'a weak old gentleman—way behind the times',[22] had informed them that he had no use for them and they should not have come: 'So our men are dying at the rate of two a day as heretofore'.[23]

Determined to serve as full-fledged nurses, Woods and Killiam worked to break down the resistance of the medical authorities. By persisting in visiting the hospital and the barracks and helping as needed, they ultimately attained official work assignments. Woods was placed in charge of a ward at the First Reserve Hospital in Manila, and Killiam worked in the special diet kitchen. The hospital, which had previously served as the Spanish military hospital, was built to accommodate from 800 to 1,000 patients. The Americans added several tent wards as space needs arose.[24]

As the weeks progressed, Woods was among the enthusiastic advocates of a separate place to care for the Oregon soldiers who were convalescent or not seriously sick. In this regimental or 'sick in quarters' hospital, soldiers could receive more personal care, better food, and other home comforts. Other regiments, including California, had successfully established such hospitals for their own men. As Killiam explained in a letter to the Oregon Emergency Corps, some soldiers had such an aversion to the general hospital that they 'will stay in the noisy barracks, and eat what and when they please until they are in a sad condition when sent to the hospital'.[25]

The hospital finally came to fruition, with space made by clearing rooms in the regiment's headquarters and monetary contributions from the Oregon Emergency Corps. In December, Woods transferred to work in the new hospital quarters. A few weeks later, the *Oregonian* reported that there were now over thirty patients attended by Woods and the regimental surgeons. Final statistics indicated a daily average of seventy-one Oregon soldiers sick in quarters, with a high of 135 on 2 January 1899. In a letter to the *Rapid City Daily Journal*, Woods described a death from typhoid fever, the first in the new quarters. She compared the soldier's 'home-like' experience, surrounded by his captain, lieutenant, and friends, with the more impersonal treatment he would have received at the division hospital.[26]

Attending funerals, visiting gravesites, and writing letters of condolence to loved ones constituted a significant part of Woods' duties. The extent to which she was able to use her medical knowledge and training as a physician in her hospital duties is unknown. Captain Sandford Whiting, assistant surgeon of the Second Oregon Volunteers, did commend her ability 'as a physician and a practical nurse'. In her nursing role, Woods received praise from the medical and military officers with whom she served and the enlisted men for whom she cared. 'She was as faithful and attentive to each member that comes under her care as if he was right at home and cared for by his own people', attested Colonel Owen Summers, commanding officer of the Oregon Volunteers.[27]

Woods found Manila Bay 'beautiful', but the sorry state of local sanitation provoked her ire. Sanitation and 'municipal housekeeping' were becoming popular causes of late nineteenth-century Progressive Era reform. Woods was disparaging of what she perceived as the indolence and 'sloppiness' of the natives, as contrasted with the 'modern push and energy' of Americans.[28] 'The Pasig river is a large sewer that nature has provided for these shiftless people', she declared, deploring 'the awful filth of the town' resulting from 'disease germs ... allowed to multiply and flourish for 300 years without molestation'.[29] She facetiously proposed taking three million scrubbing brushes to the entire population.[30] Woods' judgements failed to take into account that some of the conditions stemmed from the period of Spanish rule, the war itself, and other circumstances beyond the Filipinos' control. Her views reflected elitist attitudes toward race and class. Like other privileged Americans, Woods saw herself as a representative of a superior civilisation.

The Spanish-American War formally ended in December 1898, but in the Philippines the conflict was far from over. Tensions were high, and the United States' denial of independence to the islands after Spain's transfer of sovereignty stirred up anger and a sense of betrayal on the part of the Filipinos. In early February 1899, fighting broke out near Manila between American soldiers and Filipino nationalist forces, marking the beginning of the Philippine-American War. With the

Battle of Manila churning out the war's first heavy casualties, Woods returned to the First Reserve Hospital, where the many wounded were brought from the front and her services were most needed.[31]

With the intensification of hostilities, American attitudes and soldiers' conditioning increasingly issued in racial slurs and a disregard for the lives of the Filipino people. The acquisition of the Philippines was viewed by many Americans as a natural extension of America's westward expansion and experience with its native peoples, with the Filipinos deemed even more 'uncivilised'. An *Oregonian* headline depicting the Filipinos as 'Worse Than Indians' was typical.[32] To American expansionist eyes, the natives were manifestly unfit to rule themselves, with no legitimate claim to the land they inhabited. Woods shared that sense of white American mandate. She pronounced the Philippine Islands a paradise for men with capital, declaring the soil the richest she had ever seen, with bananas, mangoes, and other fruit growing without cultivation. There were fortunes to be made for those running sugar, rice, or coffee plantations, she asserted, and the mountains were filled with gold, silver, and lead, waiting to be mined. Her ranching background elicited visions of vast cattle operations with Americans as overseers. Such ambitions were a predictable progression of the story of conquest and subjugation begun in the American West.[33] America's imperialist ventures operated, of course, within a broader framework of empire. Rudyard Kipling's poem 'The White Man's Burden: the United States and the Philippine Islands', published in February 1899, exhorted American men to take on the duties of colonisation and civilisation as had Britain and other European nations. The poem became a favourite with American imperialists to justify occupation of the Islands.[34]

In the spring of 1899, even as the fighting persisted, the discharge of the volunteer regiments commenced. The terms of enlistment for the volunteers had expired, and the arrival of regular army troops allowed them to begin returning home. The regiments were released in the order in which they had arrived in the Philippines. Thus, in June 1899, the Oregonians were among the first of the troops to leave the islands. Given the opportunity to enter the army as contract nurses at a salary of fifty dollars a month, Woods and Killiam sent applications to Washington, D.C. and both were accepted. However, while Killiam went on to serve as an army nurse, Woods opted to return to the United States. She sailed with the Oregon troops on the *Newport*, reaching San Francisco on 12 July and Oregon shortly thereafter. Described by acquaintances as 'thinner in flesh' (she weighed just ninety-three pounds upon her return), with a complexion 'considerably browned', Woods was otherwise in good health.[35]

Upon her return to the United States, Woods began to receive invitations to share her wartime experiences. In early August of 1899, she travelled to Rapid City, South Dakota, reuniting with her family. From there, Woods embarked on a busy lecture tour. The positive popular reception of her narration doubtless boosted her confidence level to continue to perform on the public stage. On 11 August, she spoke at Rapid City's Library Hall. The local paper promoted her as the only woman lecturer who was a Red Cross nurse in the Philippines. The next week, Woods spoke in the nearby Black Hills towns of Deadwood and Lead. She attracted the largest audience that had ever gathered in the opera house for a lecture, the Deadwood paper reported. In her talks, Woods invoked themes of patriotism, civilisation, and religion. The government should send 75,000 soldiers to achieve a quick end to the insurrection, and bring order out of chaos, she declared: 'Then, God grant that as expansionists or nonexpansionists, we in deed and in truth, may prove ourselves a Christian nation'.[36] The newspapers undertook to pin down her stance: 'Miss Woods evidently tries to steer clear of expressing an opinion on the question of expansion', observed the Deadwood *Pioneer Press*, 'but her glowing description of the resources of the islands ... with her faith in the omnipotence of the flag, leads us to think with her keen sense of observation and opportunities to know the truth that she must be an ardent expansionist'.[37]

Over the next few months, Woods lectured in Nebraska, Iowa, and Missouri. In Lincoln, Nebraska, in September 1899, she addressed a crowd of around 7,000 at the annual Grand Army of the Republic reunion. In her talk, she aligned herself squarely with the notion that war built character and could inspire national greatness. She sought to relate service in the Philippines to that in the Civil War: 'Rise up, you people of Nebraska,' she exhorted, 'and honor these men as you have not honored ... men since the civil war. For they have taken your burden upon them, and offered themselves a living sacrifice to their nation's honor'. Debate over the war was fruitless, she argued. Rather, it was important to speedily complete what had been started – 'to fight with all the force and strength within us' to inspire the Filipinos with awe and respect. 'The effect of this war has been great upon the individual and upon the nation', she continued:

> As a nation, we are dealing with problems for the solving of which we have neither rules nor experience. Our diplomats, financiers and statesmen are grasping and generating thoughts as new to them as warfare to a raw recruit. Therefore, though it is true that we have had few men in the Philippines in proportion to those who fought in some of the battles of the civil war, this Philippine insurrection is tremendous in its importance. The men who have fought in it have dipped their sword points in human blood, and written therewith one of the most important pages of American history.[38]

There was perhaps a bit of irony in Woods stepping into the public sphere to promote the vital role of male strength and character when it was that very public activity by women which men were afraid was eroding their manliness.

As Woods shared her war experiences and honed her message, she increasingly directed her focus toward

the place and role of women. She described being struck by what she styled the free and independent life of women in the Philippines. 'I know that is a startling statement', she acknowledged,

> but it is the land of feminine and masculine equality. We have heard so much lately of down-trodden women ... But ... the women ... seem to have things very much their own way. True it is not always a very desirable way, but it is theirs, and that is the greatest comfort to both masculine and feminine humanity. You do not see ... that double standard of morality that tries the soul and temper of the average American woman. ... The women do not vote, but neither do the men, so there are no odious comparisons. ... The women are not excluded from any occupations. ...There seemed to be a friendly partnership in home, shop and field. The woman quite as frequently holds the purse strings and the balance of power, smokes the cigars and drinks the vino as does her husband.[39]

Besides fostering notions of superiority, American expansionist reach provided women like Woods the opportunity to encounter and learn from other races and cultures. In her study of women, race, and imperialism in American history, Louise Michele Newman writes that white feminists were 'not ... able to look to primitive societies as a model (the racism in social evolution was too blinding), but they did appreciate that primitive women maintained a measure of economic independence and personal autonomy that civilized women had lost'.[40]

As Woods' views developed, women's rights and suffrage became her central emphasis. Her reputation as a public lecturer provided her a ready platform to speak on this topic increasingly close to her heart. Woods joined the American suffragist movement at a transitional time in its history. By the turn of the twentieth century, women were enfranchised in four states (Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho), all in the western United States. As with the medical profession for women, women's suffrage had achieved a measure of respectability. Five decades on from the groundbreaking Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, the cause had broadened and taken on a more moderate cast. Fitting into the mainstream, however, often meant avoiding taking countercultural stands on racial issues and discrimination. In her study of the suffrage movement in the American West, Rebecca J. Mead asserts that, 'Unwilling or unable to resist contemporary racist attitudes, white suffragists ... helped to reinforce them'.[41] The same sense of cultural superiority embedded in America's expansionist mindset extended to the self-perception of the elite white women who filled suffrage's ranks. As exemplars of social evolutionary development, white women activists could position themselves as more deserving of full citizenship and autonomy than less educated or 'civilised' classes or races.[42]

Privileged women's ideologies of race, class, and citizenship were clearly impacted by the experience of empire, as scholars of colonial history worldwide have shown. Encounters with colonised peoples led both to efforts to consolidate and to reform existing policies and attitudes. As Ann Laura Stoler observes in her comparative study of empire, 'Racial discrimination and social reform ... were not contradictions but complementary political impulses created out of the same cloth'.[43]

Woods' perspective encompassed these seemingly opposing impulses, as is evidenced in her attitudes toward the Filipinas. While she viewed her position as one of superiority – 'Yes, these women are certainly independent, but I saw none with whom I cared to exchange places', she wrote[44] – she yet allowed for the potential of eventual equality through the influences of civilisation and education. In the spring of 1900, she conceived a plan to establish 'a sort of college settlement' in Manila and wrote to Clara Marshall, dean of her alma mater, the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, seeking women physicians for the project. 'Do you know of any doctor who would like to go out?' she asked: 'She would have all the "experience" she wished. The natives would receive her with open arms. ... I believe for the glory and advancement of our sex it would pay medical women to start this settlement themselves, though my idea was to have an English school as its backbone'. The project, though, never materialised.[45]

In 1900, Woods, now based in Des Moines, Iowa, travelled through Iowa establishing suffrage clubs with Mary Garrett Hay, a national organiser for the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).[46] In October, Woods was elected state organiser for women's suffrage at the convention of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association. There, she gave a talk describing her conversion to the cause while serving as a Red Cross nurse. She had seen much to accomplish, she relayed, much that she could have done better if she had a vote. 'I found then, as I had not before, that woman must have political liberty before she can have liberty of conscience. The colonel of the regiment knew I would have no vote for him for governor and so far as influencing him was concerned, I could only work through some other man'. Woods urged organisation and 'constant work' in the suffrage cause 'until it became dearer to its supporters than anything else'.[47]

As suffragism entered its second generation, the movement had begun adopting more modern campaigning techniques. Woods, like her colleagues, generally used these open tactics, welcoming discussion and debate. In the spring of 1901, working now as a national suffrage organiser for NAWSA, Woods traversed Kentucky, Arkansas, and Ohio, lecturing, forming clubs, and helping to introduce suffrage legislation. There is no record of Woods addressing racial issues during her suffrage work in the South.[48] Speaking at a women's suffrage convention in Sandusky, Ohio at the end of April 1901, Woods declared that all women desired the vote, if they only knew it. The ballot was needed alike by women out in the world earning their own living and by women carrying out philanthropic work. Most certainly, it was needed for the home. 'If the women would teach their children better citizenship', Woods contended, 'they

must themselves be citizens. If they would have a high place in their own homes they must wield an influence that has a power [at the] back of it'.[49]

Woods next turned her efforts to the open spaces of the West, where suffrage efforts had found their most receptive environment. In the fall of 1901, she agitated in Kansas, where she followed a rigorous schedule, holding meetings and lecturing throughout the state, with a marathon stint in which she visited sixteen towns in as many days.[50] In October 1902, NAWSA sent Woods to Arizona Territory. She visited all but one of its counties, setting up some twenty clubs and giving numerous public lectures in which she invited audience members to sign a petition urging legislators to enfranchise women.[51] In Phoenix, Woods spoke on 'Woman's Position in the Modern World'. Women had once been producers in their homes just like their husbands, she stated, but trade and mechanisation had altered conditions to the point that the home was no longer used to produce what was needed. To obtain the necessities of life, many women had to go out to earn a living. 'She has not gotten out of her sphere, but the sphere has left her'. And, for those not compelled to earn a living, they had an obligation to go out to work for humanity, able to carry the work to completion by venturing outside their 'proper place'.[52] Woods headed a committee, formed in January 1903, to plead the cause of suffrage with the members of the Arizona territorial legislature. Her organisational and legislative efforts seemed to bring promising results. In March, the legislature successfully passed a suffrage bill. The victory, though, was short-lived, as the governor quickly vetoed the bill. (A suffrage amendment would ultimately pass in Arizona in November 1912).[53]

Woods continued to actively organise in the West over the next few years. In the Oklahoma and Indian territories, her speeches before press, labour, farmers', and veterans' associations drew large audiences, new allies, and a growing sense of confidence. 'There can be no doubt of our ultimate success', stated the movement's territorial president Kate Biggers, crediting Woods with strengthening the suffrage clubs and arousing broad public interest.[54] Despite the well-organised campaign, Oklahoma women would have to wait more than a decade before gaining enfranchisement. In November 1918, the state finally adopted a suffrage amendment.[55] Nationally, the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote passed in the United States Senate on 4 June 1919 and was ratified in August 1920.

The strain of national organising work began to take a toll upon Woods' health, causing her to resign her position around 1908. For the last five decades of her life, she remained largely out of the public eye, residing for much of that time in Tucson, Arizona, where she found the climate greatly beneficial. She died on 7 October 1959 in Tucson at the age of ninety-four and was buried in Nebraska City, Nebraska.[56]

Frances Woods' spirit evoked the aspirations and ambition of the young and expanding country she was part of. Her societal status, determination, and taste for adventure enabled her to make the most of the emerging options of her era and parlay a public career out of her war experience and passion for women's rights. Contemporary readers, with an awareness of the fraught history of the ideologies of race and gender, will recognise that her path was one layered with complexity and paradox. While Woods shared in her era's broadly held cultural assumptions, she yet bent them to her own experiences. She displayed racialist and classist views and effectively endorsed expansionist/imperialist policies, but also celebrated the independence of women anywhere, regardless of race or class. Filipina women, in her estimation, were not inherently lesser, but in need, rather, of America's civilising influence and drive. Woods' dedication to suffrage and women's rights was unswervingly strong and sincere. It cohabited, however, with a deeply ingrained sense of cultural superiority and mandate that clearly aligned itself with that of 'civilised' white Americans and their position of authority in an expansionist nation. She was a woman shaped by the tensions and contradictions embedded in late-nineteenth-century American imperialist concepts of civilisation and notions of democracy.

Notes

1. *Oregonian* (Portland, OR), 18 Aug. 1898.

2. Quoted in *Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu, HI), 2 Sep. 1898. For background on women and medical service in early American wars, see Mercedes Graf, *On the Field of Mercy: Women Medical Volunteers from the Civil War to the First World War* (Amherst, NY, Humanity Books, 2010); Mary T. Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999); Jane E. Schultz, *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Kimberly Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War* (Urbana, IL, University of Illinois Press, 2008).

3. For analysis of gender and politics in America at the turn of the twentieth century, see Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1998); Kristin L. Hoganson, '"As Badly off as the Filipinos": U.S. Women's Suffragists and the Imperial Issue at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', *Journal of Women's History*, 13 (Summer 2001), 9-33; Allison L. Sneider, *Suffragists in an Imperial Age: U.S. Expansion and the Woman Question, 1870-1929* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008).

4. For information on James Woods, see *Memorial and Biographical Record: The Black Hills Region: An Illustrated Compendium of Biography* (Chicago, Geo A. Ogle & Co., 1898), 346-50; Doane Robinson, *History of South Dakota*, vol. 2 (Logansport, IN, B.F. Bowen & Co., 1904), 1636-7. For Woods family information, see 'Daughters of the American Revolution', *Lineage Book*, vol. 73, 211; W. F. Switzler, *History of Boone County, Missouri* (St. Louis, Western Historical Company, 1882), 358.

5. O. A. Carr, ed., *Memorial of J K. Rogers and Christian College* (St. Louis, John Burns Publishing Co., 1885), 210, 228; Regina Markell Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1985), 47-9, 234; Ellen S. More, *Restoring the Balance: Women Physicians and*

Dr Frances Woods in the graduating class of 1894.

Image courtesy Legacy Center Archives, Drexel University College of Medicine, Philadelphia.

the Profession of Medicine, 1850-1995 (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1999), 5.

6. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 9 May 1894; Archives and Special Collections, Drexel University College of Medicine, Philadelphia [hereafter ASC/DUCM], *Forty-Third Annual Announcement of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1892); ASC/DUCM, Minutes of the Faculty Meetings, Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia; Steven J. Peitzman, *A New and Untried Course: Woman's Medical College and Medical College of Pennsylvania, 1850-1998* (New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers University Press, 2000), 1, 90-3, 112, 121; Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 111, 122-3, 245.

7. *Oregonian*, 18 Aug. 1898. For information on the New England Hospital, see Virginia G. Drachman, *Hospital with a Heart: Women Doctors and the Paradox of Separatism at the New England Hospital, 1862-1969* (Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1984).

8. Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 145-6, 163-4, 182; More, *Restoring the Balance*, 44, 70. For the story of a woman physician from Oregon whose timeframe paralleled Woods' and who likewise chose an activist path, see Kimberly Jensen, *Oregon's Doctor to the World: Esther Pohl Lovejoy and a Life in Activism* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2012).

9. Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 105-6.

10. *Ibid.*, 261-2; Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps*, 24; Philip A. Kalisch and Beatrice J. Kalisch, *The Advance of American Nursing* (Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott, 1995), 36, 67-75, 103-4. See also Sandra Beth Lewenson, *Taking Charge: Nursing, Suffrage, and Feminism in America, 1873-1920* (New York, NLN Press, 1996).

11. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 10, 140, 204; Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995), 170-215; Theodore Roosevelt, 'The Strenuous Life', in *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York, Century Co., 1901), 20-1. Writing in the *North American Review*, British colonial administrator and colonel Sir G. S. Clarke reminded Americans of their English roots and urged them to fulfil their imperial responsibilities: 'To India we owe in great measure the training of our best manhood. India makes men', he declared, 'and the influence, example and education of the men whom India makes reacts powerfully upon the whole social and political structure of the nation'. G. S. Clarke, 'Imperial Responsibilities a National Gain', *North American Review*, 168 (Feb. 1899), 137.

12. Army Reorganization Act (31 Stat. 753). See also Anita Newcomb McGee, 'Women Nurses in the American Army', in *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States held at Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 27, 28, and 29, 1899* (Columbus, OH, Berlin Printing Co., 1900), 242-8; Graf, *On the Field of Mercy*, 107-45; 'Nursing in the Spanish-American War', *Trained Nurse and Hospital Review*, 63 (Sep. 1919), 125-8.

13. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*, 128-9.

14. Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva*, 120, 141. See also Sarnecky, *A History of the U.S. Army Nurse Corps*, 291.

15. *Oregonian*, 6 and 28 Jul., 3 and 6 Aug. 1898, 9 Apr. 1899; *Evening Telegram* (Portland, OR), 17 Aug. 1898; 'Oregon State Red Cross: History and Report of Oregon Emergency Corps and Red Cross', in *A Record of the Red Cross Work on the Pacific Slope* (Oakland, CA, Pacific Press Publishing Co., 1902), 333-46.

16. *Oregonian*, 17 Aug. 1898.

17. *Report of the Commission Appointed by the President to Investigate the Conduct of the War Department in the War with Spain*, Senate Doc. 221, 56th Cong., 1st sess., 1900, 8 vols., 1:725; *Oregonian*, 23 Aug. 1898; *Rapid City Daily Journal*, 11 Aug. 1899; *Daily Journal* (Salem, OR), 6 Sep. 1899; George Thomas Little, comp., *Genealogical and Family History of the State of Maine*, vol. 1 (New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1909), 190.

18. Thomas Lindsley Bradford, *History of the Homœopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania; the Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, Boericke & Tafel, 1898), 566; *Oregonian*, 18 and 23 Aug. 1898; *Hawaiian Gazette*, 2 Sep. 1898. The group consisted of Dr Rose Kidd Beere from Denver, Colorado,

and eight women nurses (including one doctor) from California. *A Record of the Red Cross Work on the Pacific Slope*, 33-36; Wilbur Fiske Stone, ed., *History of Colorado*, vol. 4 (Chicago, S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1919), 37.

19. See *The Official Records of the Oregon Volunteers in the Spanish War and Philippine Insurrection*, comp. C. U. Gantenbein, Adjutant General (Salem, OR, W.H. Leeds, 1902).

20. George F. Telfer, *Manila Envelopes: Oregon Volunteer Lt. George F. Telfer's Spanish-American War Letters*, ed. Sara Bunnett (Portland, OR, Oregon Historical Society Press, 1987), 49-50. Chaplain James Mailley of the first Nebraska Volunteers wrote in September 1898: 'Our greatest need ... is neither medicine or food, but skilful nursing. It is here that the hospital is crippled most. There are few trained nurses; in the strict sense of the term, none. The War Department should have sent a few female nurses to Manila. They are sadly needed'. James Mailley, 'With the Army at Manila', *The Independent*, 50 (10 Nov. 1898), 1317.

21. Telfer, *Manila Envelopes*, 93.

22. *Ibid.*, 72.

23. *Ibid.*, 59.

24. *Oregonian*, 24 Nov., 1 Dec. 1898, 1 Aug. 1899; *Rapid City Daily Journal*, 21 Jan. 1899; *Report of the Surgeon-General of the Army to the Secretary of War for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1899* (Washington, DC, Government Printing Office, 1899), 100, 109.

25. Quoted in *Oregonian*, 1 Dec. 1898. See also *Oregonian*, 24 Nov., 30 Dec. 1898, 1 Aug. 1899.

26. *Oregonian*, 9 Jan., 1 Aug. 1899; William S. Gilbert, *Oregon in the Philippines: 2nd Division, 8th Army Corps, Second Regiment, Oregon Volunteer Infantry in Two Wars* (1899), 12; *Rapid City Daily Journal*, 21 Jan. 1899. 27. Quoted in *Oregonian*, 1 Aug. 1899.

28. *Rapid City Daily Journal*, 21 Jan., 12 Aug. 1899; *Daily Journal*, 6 Sep. 1899. For more on Progressive Era concern with hygiene, see Suellen Hoy, *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1995).

29. *Rapid City Daily Journal*, 21 Jan. 1899; *Daily Pioneer-Times*, 18 Aug. 1899.

30. *Daily Journal*, 6 Sep. 1899.

31. *Daily Pioneer-Times*, 6 Aug. 1899. Spain and the United States signed the Treaty of Peace in Paris on 10 December 1898. The conflict between the United States and Philippines officially ended on 4 July 1902. The Philippines gained autonomy in 1916, self-government in 1934, and full independence in 1946. For background, see Brian McAllister Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence, KS, University Press of Kansas, 2000); Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippine Islands at the Century's Turn* (Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1961); Stuart Creighton Miller, *'Benevolent Assimilation': The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1982).

32. *Oregonian*, 8 Mar. 1899. Sean McEnroe provides analysis of attitudes toward and treatment of the Filipino peoples in his 'Painting the Philippines with an American Brush: Visions of Race and National Mission among the Oregon Volunteers in the Philippine Wars of 1898 and 1899', *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 104 (Spring 2003), 24-61. See also Walter L. Williams, 'United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation: Implications for the Origins of American Imperialism', *Journal of American History*, 55 (Mar. 1980), 810-31.

33. *Daily Journal*, 6 Sep. 1899; *Daily Pioneer-Times*, 18 Aug. 1899. See also McEnroe, 'Painting the Philippines with an American Brush', 28, 31; Sneider, *Suffragists in an Imperial Age*, 7.

34. Rudyard Kipling, *Kipling: A Selection of His Stories and Poems*, vol. 2 (Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1956), 444-5.

35. Telfer, *Manila Envelopes*, 179; *Rapid City Daily Journal*, 22 Apr., 9 Aug. 1899; *Oregonian*, 21 July, 1 Aug. 1899, 26 Feb. 1900; *Aberdeen Daily News*, 13 Mar. 1899. Killiam worked as a contract nurse until 1902, serving in Manila and then in Tianjin and Beijing, China during the Boxer Rebellion. 'Changes in the Army Nurse Corps', *American Journal of Nursing*, 1 (Nov. 1900), 157; *Ibid.*, 1 (Aug. 1901), 851; *Ibid.*, 2 (May 1902), 633. Killiam died 23 April 1965 in California.

36. *Oregonian*, 25 Jul. 1899; *Rapid City Daily Journal*, 6, 11, 12 Aug. 1899; *Daily Pioneer-Times*, 9, 18 Aug. 1899; quote is from *Minneapolis Journal*, 21 Aug. 1899.

37. *Pioneer Press* (Deadwood, SD), 18 Aug. 1899.

38. Quoted in *Nebraska State Journal*, 18 Sep. 1899.

39. Quoted in *Omaha World Herald*, 22 Oct. 1899.

40. Louise Michele Newman, 'Women's Rights, Race, and Imperialism in U.S. History, 1870-1920', in *Race, Nation, & Empire in American History*, ed. James T. Campbell,

MISS FRANCES WOODS—A NEBRASKA CITY GIRL WHO SERVED AS NURSE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Dr Frances Woods in Omaha Daily Bee December 1899'

Matthew Pratt Guterl, and Robert G. Lee (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 166.

41. Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York, New York University Press, 2004), 1-2, 5-7, 120-1 (quote is from p. 7). See also G. Thomas Edwards, *Sowing Good Seeds: The Northwest Suffrage Campaigns of Susan B. Anthony* (Portland, OR, Oregon Historical Society Press, 1990), 157; Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1965); Nancy F. Kott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1987).

42. Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999), 7, 10, 17, 20; Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva*, 17.

43. Ann Laura Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies', *Journal of American History*, 88 (Dec. 2001), 845. Among the numerous works looking at gender, race, and class within the context of empire are Vron Ware, *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History* (London, Verso, 1992); Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Clare Midgley, ed., *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1998); Ian Christopher Fletcher, Laura Nym Mayhall, and Phillipa Levine, eds, *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation, and Race* (London, Routledge, 2000); Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004).

44. Quoted in *Omaha World Herald*, 22 Oct. 1899.

45. ASC/DUCM, Frances Woods to Clara Marshall, 13 May 1900.

46. *Des Moines Daily News*, 16 Oct. 1900.

47. *Moulton (IA) Tribune*, 26 Oct. 1900; quoted in *Des Moines Leader*, 18 Oct. 1900.

48. Mead, *How the Vote Was Won*, 118; Edwards, *Sowing Good Seeds*, 300; *Saint Paul (MN) Globe*, 12 Mar. 1901; *Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association* (Washington, DC, NAWSA, 1901), 69, 79, 92. For analysis of the suffrage movement in the South, see Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1993).

49. Quoted in *Sandusky (OH) Daily Star*, 30 Apr. 1901.

50. *Iola (KS) Daily Register*, 16 Oct. 1901.

51. *Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association* (Washington, DC, NAWSA, 1903), 65; *Arizona Silver Belt* (Globe City, AZ), 20 Nov. 1902; *Graham Guardian* (Safford, AZ), 21 Nov. 1902.

52. *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix, AZ), 6 Nov. 1902.

53. *Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association*, 65; *Arizona Silver Belt*, 29 Jan. 1903; Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 6: 1900-1920* (Washington, DC, NAWSA, 1922), 11, 14.

54. *Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association* (Washington, DC, NAWSA, 1905), 126; *Proceedings of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association* (Washington, DC, NAWSA, 1906), 107-8; *Proceedings of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association* (Washington, DC, NAWSA, 1907), 88-9 (quote is from p. 89).

55. Louise Boyd James, 'The Woman Suffrage Issue in the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention', *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 56 (Winter 1978-79), 379-92; Diane Sainsbury, 'US Women's Suffrage Through a Multicultural Lens: Intersecting Struggles of Recognition', in *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements: Contested Identities, Agency and Power*, ed. Barbara Hobson (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), 178.

56. *Tucson Citizen*, 8 Oct. 1959.

Eliza Orzeszkowa's influence on the feminist views of Polish women

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The Polish women's equality movement, drawing on influences from Western Europe and America, but with a specifically Polish inflection, began to develop in the late nineteenth century. News about events relating to women's endeavor to gain equality with men in different parts of Europe and the world reached Polish women through the press from around 1880. In their turn, Eastern European female authors, including the Polish writer Eliza Orzeszkowa, reflected upon changes happening in the world, as well as upon their own observations and experiences during their travels abroad. The question of equality was principally taken up by women from the social elites, especially from intellectual milieus. The example of women like Emmeline Pankhurst, active in the British suffrage movement, inspired those in Eastern Europe who had access to the press.[1] This was a critical period for Polish women's activity as the number of women's charitable, educational, or educational-cultural organisations were increasing. The women who founded these organisations were also involved in organisations which promoted equal rights.

Eliza Orzeszkowa, a Polish writer, found herself at the centre of the Polish women's equality movement which was then widely written about in Poland. By observing social life in Poland and Eastern Europe, she insisted in her writings that the emancipation of women could be achieved by educating them. From the 1880s, the writer looked at the issue of women's social position through the prism of social relations in Poland. She wrote about women's equality from the perspective of a lonely, educated woman. In her works, she drew attention to the upbringing and education of women as paths to their emancipation. As a married woman, but separated and living alone, she also acknowledged women's free choice of their own way of life, which she emphasised in her works.

Women's political activity in the north-eastern periphery of Europe – the pursuit of equality

The equal rights movement which developed in Poland in the late nineteenth century had a distinct Polish character. Until 1918, Poland was under foreign rule – Prussian, Austrian, and Russian. The focus of this article is the areas inhabited by Poles ruled by the Russian empire. The central political issue of the period, for women as for men, was Poland's struggle for independence. That struggle was apparent in the activity of men and women in various nationalist or patriotic social-political organisations. These were generally dominated by men, with women allowed a smaller, supporting role. Another key area of political activity in society, especially among Polish elites, was the spreading of Positivist ideas among the Polish intellectual milieu. Positivism was a progressive political movement, influenced by the philosophers August Comte and John Stuart Mill, who supported rational education, scientific and technological progress and equal rights for all members of society, including women and peasants. News about valiant, sometimes even radical speeches, especially by British women suffragists, appeared in the Polish press and became the inspiration for Polish women's social and public activity.[2]

The Russian-controlled area of Poland at the centre of this study was economically underdeveloped and largely rural, with a few small towns. Women's organisations, usually of an educational or philanthropic character, therefore tended to be rural-based and their founders were female intellectuals from small towns or villages. Independent women's organisations were generally set up by married women from the social elites, who did not work professionally, and their activities were financially supported by their husbands. Professional work was usually undertaken only by unmarried women, often primarily for economic reasons. In contrast, during the 1880s and the 1890s, larger and more numerous organisations were established in Western Europe in well-developed big cities where the members of mature women's rights organisations, including those campaigning for women's suffrage, popularised their political views during rallies.

The complicated legal and political situation in Poland also created difficulties in establishing organisations where Polish women could develop ideas of equality. Operating political organisations in the north-eastern peripheries of Europe was difficult because of the legal restrictions on combinations introduced by the Russian imperial authorities after the failure of the 1863 Polish national insurrection against Russia. As a result, a large number of organisations, including those set up by women, had to remain secret until the revolution in the Russian empire in 1905-1907, as they were not accepted by the Russian authorities.[3]

Women in neighbouring Lithuania and Russia had similar problems. In Russia, the women's equality movement had been similarly influenced by the British, and to a lesser extent, American context. Growing from around 1880-90, the Russian movement was closely tied to larger developments in central Europe. As amongst Polish women, it was largely led by those from the increasingly well-educated elite. Russian women's organisations promoted education, giving women access to accountancy, medicine and professional occupational networks.[4] The influence of the British suffrage and women's equality movement had been less influential in Lithuania, where they were strongly influenced by the German women's rights movement.[5] Lithuanian women's roles in political-social organisations were,

like their Polish counterparts, also strongly connected to their nationalist stand against the Russian empire during a period of growing national identity amongst the broader population. Lithuanian women's organisations were usually conservative and operated by the Catholic Church.[6] The Belarusian women's equality movement was different again, flourishing much later, mostly after 1920. Belarusian women, who lived mainly in the countryside, persisted in their traditional roles.[7]

The Polish, Lithuanian, and Russian women's organisations which began to appear around the 1880s and 1890s shared a number of features. Firstly, they were illegal organisations, outlawed until 1906 by the Russian authorities; they were also established by women from the elites, mostly married women, and supported financially by men. The Polish and Lithuanian women's equality movements, due to the weak bourgeois class and slow development of cities, were also primarily rural movements.[8]

Legal changes which enabled various forms of Polish people's public participation were introduced after the outbreak of the revolution in 1905. This revolution inspired the Polish people and the inhabitants of the whole Russian empire, particularly urban dwellers and workers. A key result of revolution was the legalisation of freedom of association in 1906.[9] The law was fairly liberal and allowed the establishment of legal social, educational, cultural, and economic associations, including women's organisations whose goal was the pursuit of equality.

In Poland, women began to be involved with feminist organisations from 1908. They campaigned for an expansion of women's rights, including their access to professions hitherto practiced only by men. Women demanded the right to vote and for legal changes that would give them greater control over their own financial resources. One such organisation was the Association for Women's Equal Rights [PL: *Stowarzyszenie Równouprawnienia Kobiet*], which was established by women from liberal intellectual circles in cities such as Warsaw or Vilnius. Like similar groups of the period, its wider influence was limited. This was due to the conservative views of Polish society, which located women in traditional roles and saw their activity as limited to the household or charitable activity. This was not only the result of men's conservative views on women's issues, but also the attitude of the majority of Polish women.[10]

There was, of course, some variety of experience across different areas of Poland, particularly between those in Prussian, Austrian or Russian territories. Women living in Austrian-Poland had much greater freedom to participate in public life. For example, Maria Dulębianka, living in Lvov in the Austrian sector, was a well-known equality activist, publicist and feminist. She participated in international congresses in Berlin and Paris, where issues of women's political rights were discussed. She also cooperated with the French organisation, *Union Francaise pour Suffrage des Femmes*, and took part in a congress held by them in Paris in 1912.[11] In the Prussian sector, German women stood out in terms of their activity, especially in the professional

Eliza Orzeszkowa
Image courtesy of the Museum MariaKonopnicka inSuwalki (Poland).

and educational fields. The German women's movement had a particularly bourgeois character. It focused on the pursuit of state reforms, which would provide Prussian (German) women with access to education and professions equally with men. The year 1908 was a turning point for the German women's movement, as the new association laws [*Vereinsgesetzgebung*] were adopted. The laws gave women the right to become members of organisations and political parties.[12]

Polish female equality activists in Russian territories were especially interested in the activity of women from Western Europe and the USA. Female writers, such as Eliza Orzeszkowa, through their works and journalism, played a considerable role in spreading information about wider feminist movements and shaping their readers' views on women.[13]

Eliza Orzeszkowa's writing

Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841-1910), née Pawłowska, was one of the most renowned Polish female writers from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her works were also known and appreciated abroad, including in Western Europe. Because of her interest in feminism and her propagation of the movement, she was compared to the French feminist writer George Sand and dubbed 'the Polish George Sand'.[14] The writer spent most of her life in Grodno, a provincial town on the frontier of Eastern Poland. She was involved in social work, co-founded women's organisations and associations, and wrote articles for Polish newspapers such as *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* or the weekly newspaper

Bluszcz. In her written work, Orzeszkowa dealt with the cultural and social conditions which influenced women's opportunities in their pursuit of equality. She stressed the significance of women's education, upbringing, and professional work for their place within society. She also suggested that women's ability to pursue equality was linked to their social backgrounds and to the role of men. In so doing, Orzeszkowa joined a wider discussion happening across Europe and Poland.

Eliza Orzeszkowa was a role model in the struggle for women's equality in Poland and for neighbouring Lithuanian women. She was a notable influence on the intellectual women living in the provincial town of Suwałki, near her hometown of Grodno.[15] In 1908, the Association for Women's Equal Rights was established in Suwałki at Orzeszkowa's instigation. The association gathered local Polish intellectual women led by Anna Staniszewska.[16] Whilst not all members of the intellectual milieu were comfortable with the establishment of an organisation devoted exclusively to women's rights, the Association for Women's Equal Rights was registered in Suwałki in 1908. Initially, it consisted of fifteen women, mainly the wives of liberal representatives of the social elites of Suwałki. Among the most important liberals supporting the association was Stanisław Staniszewski,[17] the husband of Anna and a local lawyer and politician, who was politically connected to Aleksander Świętochowski, an influential philosopher and proponent of the Polish Positivist movement.[18] In June 1908, the association's management was elected and they began work in four areas: legal and political, economic, educational and ethical. The main goals set by the association were to stimulate women's activity in the educational, charitable, and professional sectors, but they also discussed women's involvement in politics. The sessions were open to all inhabitants of Suwałki and took place a few times every month on a regular basis. Over time, the organisation and its activities became more interesting to the community of Suwałki and membership expanded.[19] The growth of the association in a peripheral town, located far from the heart of Poland, aroused the astonishment of the region's inhabitants who were mostly conservative. At that time, associations of this sort were found only in big Polish cities. Its establishment was preceded by setting up the Orzeszkowa Institute in Suwałki whose main goal was to popularise the writer and her works among the inhabitants of the town and the region.[20] In an announcement published in the local intellectual newspaper, *Tygodnik Suwalski*, women connected with what later became the Association for Women's Equal Rights called Orzeszkowa their 'leader on their way to equal rights'.[21]

Orzeszkowa regularly referred to the social and cultural conditions that significantly influenced the development of equal rights or women's emancipation in her writing. However, she also argued that it was not only the social backgrounds in which women functioned that influenced their activity in pursuit of equality, but also their individual activeness and aspirations. The writer was critical of women's passivity on numerous occasions. She gave examples of women who were not interested in matters more significant than their household chores. According to Orzeszkowa: 'It is not enough to gain a right to do something. We have to know how to make use of it. So the problem lies not only in the fact that emancipation is being inhibited by conservative men. It is also about breaking bad habits maintained by women'.[22]

Polish women from the liberal intellectual milieu of Suwałki adopted Eliza Orzeszkowa's views. Anna Staniszewska wrote in *Tygodnik Suwalski* that women themselves show interest only in marriage and are critical of women's struggle for equality. Staniszewska saw the source of those beliefs in the upbringing of young women which: 'since their early years teaches them to be dependent on all the lifestyle and moral regulations, attempts to inculcate the belief in them that they are worth only as much as they are liked by others, especially by men'.[23]

Orzeszkowa also drew attention to the fact that the commonly adopted model of a woman in society, not only in Poland, but also in other European societies, was the model of a married woman. In her work entitled *A Few Words about Women* [PL: *Kilka słów o kobiecie*] she wrote:

> A woman ought to be a wife, a mother, a housewife. These are her only goals, her indispensable destiny. And if she does not achieve these goals, if her life follows a different path, among mankind she is like a useless offshoot of a fertile tree, a creature of a pointless life, something indefinite and unable to let herself or others know, why she exists ... A woman who is not a wife, a mother and a housewife, who is she in today's society? What ground does she have for useful and morally elevating work? What goals should she aspire to? All lips remain silent or smile derisively at this question. A woman who is neither a wife, nor a mother, nor a housewife is a spinster, a ridiculous and a malicious creature ... Or a woman who severs her marital relation, thus immoral and disrespectful towards the great family ideal![24]

While contemplating the situation of women in Poland she indicated that: 'women take a low and discounted place in the society and the family. The man has unconditional power over the woman, the power of the judge and the master. By law, a woman stays faithful to her husband'.[25]

Orzeszkowa was convinced that women's position was a result of the model adopted in Polish society where women performed the so-called 'household' roles, and men the 'professional' roles. Giving positive examples of Belgian and British women's professional rights, Orzeszkowa saw women's professional work as the road to equality. She stipulated, however, that while considering the place and possibilities of women's goals, the predominant lifestyle models of the time and the country's society ought to be taken into account. Orzeszkowa, as well as Anna Staniszewska who followed the writer's ideas, ascribed key significance to improving contemporary women's social status through education

and to a lesser extent through legal regulations, enabling equality of men and women in many fields of social life. Discrimination against women caused by differential legal regulations was the topic of numerous discussions and debates among the intellectuals of Suwałki and, as in other areas, Orzeszkowa's views were influential. Orzeszkowa emphasised the inequality caused by the laws relating to the inheritance of property and gave examples of similar problems occurring in Western Europe.[26]

Arguing with the opponents of women's emancipation on numerous occasions, she stressed that it was through education that women would become informed citizens, resulting in well-performed duties, including those of wife and mother. According to Orzeszkowa, one of the most important rights which women should aspire to was the right to improve their education. She added, however, that this right could only be implemented in women's lives in the context of broader reforms, for example changes in the conservative way that people thought about women's place in society. Scientific education and knowledge acquired by women should be used in their professional work. An interest in education, and in professional work, was observed by the writer mainly in young women from poorer families of lower social status. According to Orzeszkowa, those women believed that the struggle for women's rights ought not to be conducted by means of revolution or fighting against men but through persistent work on themselves. Education and professional work consequently would result in providing women with versatile and open mental horizons, thereby enabling equality.[27]

In her writing on women's equality, Orzeszkowa often referred to examples of equality from Western countries. She observed the changes happening there with much admiration. She requested support from Western European women for Polish women and for their labour during a period when they were, in her opinion, at the beginning of the road to equality. At the same time, Orzeszkowa spoke of women's equality in the West in a sceptical and careful way. She considered some feminist theories as purely theoretical and impossible to implement in Polish women's lives. She held the opinion that the cultural conditions within each European country played a key role in shaping the possibilities and form of equality implementation.

Orzeszkowa spoke with admiration about the lives and social position of women from Sweden. She stressed how their education led to their reaching a high intellectual level. She also indicated the possibilities of Swedish women's versatility: 'all women there, with no exceptions, can read and although this fact ought to be related to the general state of people's upbringing, it can serve as proof that in this country, the equality of sexes before laws of mentality is based on the most logical foundations'.[28]

The writer referred to the positive models of women's position in England, the USA, Germany, and Belgium. She indicated the possibilities which American and British women had in terms of educational paths, particularly those leading to university, and their

Eliza Orzeszkowa with her husband before separation (1874).
Image courtesy of the Museum MariaKonopnicka inSuwalki (Poland).

participation in public life. According to the author, university education resulted in their higher social awareness of women's rights. The writer claimed that women from the West were characterised by a higher degree of theoretical and practical knowledge of women's equality and general social topics.[29]

The views of Anna Staniszewska and the Polish intellectual women from Suwałki were very close to Orzeszkowa's in this area. The intellectual women from Suwałki, like the writer, assessed the activity of Polish women, finding both positive and negative features. Like her, they believed that women were divided into two groups: those with an active role in social and public life and those passively restricted to household activities. In *Tygodnik Suwalski*, they presented their opinion on women's participation in social life:

> We have numerous institutions where women participate, or could participate, and we really have women who proved how they perceive their duty as a member of the society ... we have women who fulfill the duties taken on by them with full devotion to the cause they serve. But are there many of them? Unfortunately not. In the sphere of social work there are definitely too few of them. And the reasons? These were indicated on numerous occasions in the most explicit way by the right person for that – by Orzeszkowa: faulty upbringing, shallow-mindedness, exuberant fantasy, no sense or understanding of their duties

> – these are the reasons why so few women participate in the social life.[30]

After Eliza Orzeszkowa's death in 1910, the activity of the Association for Women's Equal Rights began to deteriorate slowly. Slogans of equal rights were taken up by the Suwałki women less and less often. The *Tygodnik Suwalski* summarised the situation in 1914:

> The Association for Women's Equal Rights, which existed in Suwałki a few years ago, ceased to display any signs of life. Why? Did it stop believing in the truth of its slogans and goals, or just begin to doubt the possibility of achievement? Or perhaps, stigmatised by the wildness of parties and balls organised in women's favour, it noticed the new goal of its life in the charming tones of the waltz and the tango? I am unable to explain this strange indifference of the women of Suwałki to women's issues being decided in the world right now. Everywhere, or almost everywhere, women are pushed away from public life, deprived of the possibility to earn money, impaired in terms of the possibilities of using benefits of science, are fighting for their rights. Everywhere they see and feel their battered dignity; they understand that the ability to use the benefits of civilisation may not depend on hair length or outfit. Only here do beliefs differ. The goal of the Suwałki woman in her unmarried state is the wedding carpet, in her married state – growing children, and the top of her social feelings – a collection, a ball, or a charity concert.[31]

By the beginning of World War One, without the powerful influence of Orzeszkowa, women in Suwałki had turned their attention away from the feminist cause.

Conclusion

Eliza Orzeszkowa believed that education and professional work were the fundamental paths that would lead women to obtain equal rights with men. She noticed and stressed the differences in context between Eastern Europe and the West (e.g. Britain, Sweden, Germany, and the USA), as well as the related potential for introducing emancipation or equality. As a writer, she strongly emphasised cultural, educational, and background factors influencing women's possibilities in their pursuit of equality. She also gave significant consideration to women's individual character and motivation. She believed that, to a degree, women themselves were responsible for their lower social status, as compared to the social status of men, often due to their narrowed mental horizons. Orzeszkowa considered single women, especially those endeavouring to get an education and undertaking work in order to improve their social status, to be the most active in their pursuit of equality. Ironically however, Polish women connected with the liberal intellectual milieu, such as the intellectual women from Suwałki, were married, and received intellectual and financial support in establishing social organisations from their husbands.

Orzeszkowa devoted attention to the importance of women's intellectual upbringing. It was the open mind that was supposed to ensure equality with men. She did not advocate struggle against men; she started a discussion with men about matters concerning women and she brought up substantive arguments indicating the need for introducing more women's rights in Polish society. She claimed the need for the education of men in terms of the wider social and economic changes happening in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including those relating to women's equality. According to the writer, Polish women's pursuit of equality was demonstrated by their participation in the public sphere. In this, Eliza Orzeszkowa advocated 'moderate' feminism, also known as 'traditional' feminism.[32] Through her writing, Orzeszkowa took part in the public debate and shaped her readers' models of behaviour and views.

Thanks to Eliza Orzeszkowa's support and writing, Polish women, particularly those situated amongst provincial intellectuals, became interested in feminism, which was considered unique in the traditional and conservative society of those areas in that time. Whilst familiar with the Western feminist movement, Polish intellectuals from Suwałki were aware that their slogans and campaigns did not translate easily into the Polish context. Instead, they adopted the 'traditional' feminism popularised by Orzeszkowa, as best suited to a provincial context which was funded and dominated by men in liberal circles.

Notes

1. Barbara Caine, *English Feminism 1780-1980* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997), 178-83; Sandra Stanley Holton, '"In Sorrowful Wrath": Suffrage Militancy and the Romantic Feminism of Emmeline Pankhurst', in *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Harold Smith (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), 7-24.

2. Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, Dział Rękopisów, fond 6897 [Ossoliński National Institute Library in Wrocław, Manuscript Department, fond 6897]. Kept as a part of the collection, a clipping from the British press from around 1880, containing information on the subject of women's rights. A reprint from London. Suffragists demanding political rights for women. Approximately 800 women gathered at the demonstration many of whom were later arrested.

3. Anna Żarnowska, 'Prywatna sfera życia rodzinnego i zewnętrzny świat życia politycznego – bariery i przenikanie (przełom XIX i XX wieku', in *Kobiety i świat polityki. Polska na tle porównawczym w XIX i w początkach XX wieku*, ed. Anna Żarnowska and Andrzej Szwarc (Warszawa, Neriton, 1994), 6-12. [Anna Żarnowska, 'The Private Sphere of Family Life and the Outside World of Political Life – Barriers and their Penetration (the Late Nineteenth and the Early Twentieth Century)', in *Women and the Political World. The Comparison of*

Poland in Nineteenth and late Twentieth Century, ed. Anna Żarnowska and Andrzej Szwarc (Warsaw, Neriton, 1994), 6-12.]

4. Barbara Clements, *A History of Women in Russia: From Earliest Times to the Present* (Indiana, Indiana University Press, 2012), 167.

5. Virginija Jureniene, *Lithuanian Women's Movement at the End of 19th – the Middle of the 20th Centuries* (Vilnius, Vilnius University Publishing House, 2006), 270-81.

6. Jureniene, *Lithuanian Women's Movement*, 275-8.

7. Елена Гапова, 'Между войнами. Женский вопрос и национальные проекты в Советской Белоруссии и Западной Беларуси', in *Женщины на краю Европы*, ed. Елена Гапова (Минск, Европейский гуманитарный университет, 2003), 149-50. [Elena Gapova, 'Between the Wars. Women's Issues and National Projects in Soviet Belarus and Western Belarus', in *Women in the Periphery of Europe*, ed. Elena Gapova (Minsk, European Humanities University, 2003), 149-50.]

8. Adrian Zanberg, 'Klasa, płeć i demokracja. Relacje między sufrażystkami a lewicą społeczną w Wielkiej Brytanii przed wprowadzeniem powszechnego prawa wyborczego', in *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki...Samoorganizowanie się kobiet na ziemiach polskich do 1918 roku (na tle porównawczym)*, ed. Agnieszka Janiak-Jasińska, Katarzyna Sierakowska and Andrzej Szwarc (Warszawa, Neriton, 2008), tom 1, 239- 52; Anna Żarnowska and Andrzej Szwarc, 'Ruch emancypacyjny i stowarzyszenia kobiece na ziemiach polskich przed odzyskaniem niepodległości – dylematy i ograniczenia. Wprowadzenie', in *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki*, ed. Janiak-Jasińska, Sierakowska, and Szwarc, 13-26. [Adrian Zanberg, 'Class, Gender and Democracy. The Relations between Suffragettes and Leftwing Socialists in Great Britain before the Introduction of Universal Suffrage', in *Social Activists, Feminists, Female Citizens ... Self-Organization of Women in Poland until 1918 (a Comparison)*, ed. Agnieszka Janiak-Jasińska, Katarzyna Sierakowska and Andrzej Szwarc (Warsaw, Neriton, 2008), vol. 1, 239-52; Anna Żarnowska and Andrzej Szwarc, 'The Emancipation Movement and Women's Associations in Poland before Regaining Independence – Dilemmas and Limitations. Introduction', in *Social Activists, Feminists, Female Citizens,* ed. Janiak-Jasińska, Sierakowska, and Szwarc, 13-26.]

9. Wacław Makowski, *Prawo o stowarzyszeniach, związkach i zgromadzeniach publicznych* (Warszawa, Księgarnia G. Centnerszwera i S-ki, 1913), 95. [Wacław Makowski, *Law on Associations, Unions, and Public Gatherings* (Warsaw, Księgarnia G. Centnerszwera i S-ki, 1913), 95].

10. Małgorzata Dajnowicz, '*Działalność publiczna kobiet polskich na pograniczu ziem północno-wschodniej Polski (od końca XIX wieku do 1939 roku)', in Aktywność publiczna kobiet na ziemiach polskich. Wybrane zagadnienia, ed. Katarzyna Sierakowska and Tomasz Pudłocki (Warszawa, Neriton, 2013), 69-83. [*Małgorzata Dajnowicz, 'Public Activity of Polish Women in the Frontier of North-Eastern Poland (from the End of XIX Century to the Year 1939)*', in Public Activity of Women in Poland. Selected Problems,* ed. Katarzyna Sierakowska and Tomasz Pudłocki (Warsaw, Neriton, 2013), 69-83.]

11. Lwowska Narodowa Naukowa Biblioteka Ukrainy im. W. Stefanika. Lwów: Dział Rękopisów, fond 9, *Dulębianka, Maria, Listy 1911 – 1918*. [Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine. Lvov: Manuscript Department, fonds 9, *Dulębianka, Maria, Letters 1911-1918*] Maria Dulębianka, as a candidate for the National Sejm in 1907 obtained over 500 votes, which was an outstanding score for a woman.

12. Teresa Kulak, 'Proces organizowania się kobiet na polu zawodowym we Wrocławiu w końcu XIX i początkach XX wieku – na tle mieszczańskiego ruchu stowarzyszeniowego Prus i rzeszy Niemieckiej', in *Działaczki społeczne, feministki, obywatelki*, ed. Janiak-Jasińska, Sierakowska, and Szwarc, 210. [Teresa Kulak, 'The Process of Women's Organization in the Professional Sphere in Wrocław in the Late 19th and the Early 20th Centuries – in View of the Bourgeois Association Movement of Prussia and the German Reich', in *Social Activists, Feminists, Citizens*, ed. Janiak-Jasińska, Sierakowska, and Szwarc, 210.]

13. Małgorzata Dajnowicz, 'Polish Writers and Their Influence on Women's Public Activity. The Case Study of Józefa Kisielnicka and Eliza Orzeszkowa', *Studia Philologia of Babes-Bolyai University*, 3 (2013), 30-38.

14. Corinne Fournier Kiss, 'Eliza Orzeszkowa: une George Sand Polonaise? [Eliza Orzeszkowa: the Polish George Sand?]', in *Inspirations: Anglo, French and Polish Cultures*, ed. Dorota Guzowska and Małgorzata Kamecka (Białystok, University of Bialystok Publishing, 2011), 93-108.

15. Suwałki – the capital of the Suwałki Governorate. At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its population was approximately 25,000 people. The Suwałki Governorate was one of the ten administrative units of the Congress Poland, a part of the Russian empire in 1867-1915, located in north-east of Poland.

16. Anna Staniszewska (née Fiszer) – an intellectual from Suwałki (1860-1931). In July 1889, she married a lawyer, Stanisław Staniszewski. She was an activist in numerous social organisations with charitable, educational, and cultural profiles. She was a board member of the *Scientific Reading Room* [PL: *Czytelnia Naukowa*] which popularised culture among the region's inhabitants. She was involved in setting up the Illiterate Adult Course Association [PL: *Stowarzyszenie Kursów dla Analfabetów Dorosłych*] and was head of the Association for Women's Equal Rights [PL: *Stowarzyszenie Równouprawnienia Kobiet*]. She was the author of numerous articles on women's issues presented in the form of reports for the inhabitants of Suwałki at the *Scientific Reading Room* and later published in the *Tygodnik Suwalski*.

17. Stanisław Zygmunt Staniszewski (1864-1925) was a law studies graduate at the University of Warsaw, a lawyer in Suwałki and a political and social activist. He organised a number of associations in Suwałki: Farming Company, Fire Brigade, Urban Loan Company, Saving Company, Mutual Loan Company, and Polish Culture Society [PL: Towarzystwo Rolnicze, Straż Ogniowa, Towarzystwo Kredytowe Miejskie, Towarzystwo Oszczędnościowe, Towarzystwo Wzajemnego Kredytu, Towarzystwo Kultury Polskiej]. He was an associate of

Aleksander Świętochowski in the *Progressive-Democratic Union* party, publicist in the *Prawda* newspaper, and co-founder of the Economics School in Suwałki and the Polish newspaper, *Tygodnik Suwalski* where he published economic and political essays, columns, and poetry pieces.

18. Aleksander Świętochowski (1848-1938) was a Polish writer, publicist, philosopher and historian, political journalist, and social activist. He was the founder of the Polish Culture Society. He wrote for the *Przegląd Tygodniowy* newspaper and was founder of the *Prawda* weekly newspaper where he published a series of columns *Liberum veto*. He held liberal political views and was an advocate of progress, education, and culture. He also fought for women's and Jewish rights. He was an opponent of conservatism.

19. 'Ze spraw stowarzyszeń', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 26 (1908), 8-9. ['From Association Matters', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 26 (1908), 8-9.]

20. 'Instytut Orzeszkowej', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 35 (1906), 3. ['Orzeszkowa Institute', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 35 (1906), 3.]

21. 'Z powodu jubileuszu Orzeszkowej', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 25 (1907), 7. ['Due to Orzeszkowa's Jubilee', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 25 (1907), 7.]

22. Grażyna Borkowska, 'Wstęp', in *Eliza Orzeszkowa, Publicystyka społeczna*, ed. Grażyna Borkowska (Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2005), 38. [Grażyna Borkowska, 'Introduction', in *Eliza Orzeszkowa, Social Journalism*, ed. Grażyna Borkowska (Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2005), 38.]

23. 'Kwestia kobieca. Odczyt wygłoszony przez p. A. Staniszewską w czytelni naukowej d. 15.b.m', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 49 (1907), 4. ['Women's Issues. Lecture given by A. Staniszewska in an Academic Reading Room d. 15.b.m', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 49 (1907), 4.]

24. Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Kilka słów o kobiecie* (Warszawa, Druk S. Lewentala, Nowy świat nr 41, 1888), 28. [Eliza Orzeszkowa, *A Few Words about Women* (Warsaw: Druk S. Lewentala, 41 Nowy świat, 1888), 28.]

25. Litewskie Państwowe Archiwum Historyczne w Wilnie (dalej LPAHW), Archiwum Elizy Orzeszkowej (dalej AEO), fond 1135, (dalej: AEO), rkps, sygn. 31, *Eliza Orzeszkowa, O kobietach. Zapiski o życiu, bezprawiu, położeniu kobiety*, karta (dalej k.) 5-7. [Lithuanian State Historical Archives in Vilnus (hereafter referred to as LSHAV), Eliza Orzeszkowa Archive (hereafter referred to as EOA), f. 1135, (dalej: AEO), manuscript, reference no. 31, *Eliza Orzeszkowa, On Women. Records of Life, Lawlessness, and the Position of Women,* card 5-7.]

26. LPAHW, AEO, f. 1135, rkps, sygn. 31, k. 96-107. [LSHAV, EOA, fonds 1135, manuscript, reference no. 31, card 96-107.]

27. Iwona Wiśniewska, 'Nieznana rozprawa o kobietach. (Równość wobec prawa, pracy i wiedzy, czyli proste rozwiązanie kwestii)', in *Poznawanie Orzeszkowej. W stulecie śmierci (1910-2010)*, ed. Ireneusz Sikora and Aneta Narolska (Częstochowa-Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2010), 104-5. [Iwona Wiśniewska, 'Unknown Dissertation about Women (Equality before Law, Work, and Knowledge – Simple Solution to the Question)', in *Learning about Orzeszkowa. On the 100th Anniversary of her Death (1910-2010)*, ed. Ireneusz Sikora and Aneta Narolska (Częstochowa-Zielona Góra, Publishing House of the University of Zielona Góra, 2010), 104-5.]

28. LPAHW, AEO, f. 1135, rkps, sygn. 31, k. 165. [LSHAV, EOA, fonds 1135, manuscript, reference no. 31, card 165.]

29. Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Kilka słów o kobiecie*, 49. [Eliza Orzeszkowa, A *Few Words about Women*, 49.]

30. 'Kwestia kobieca u nas', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 5 (1914), 4. ['Women's Issues', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 5 (1914), 4.]

31. 'Z walki o prawa kobiety', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 11 (1914), 3. ['On the Struggle for Women's Rights', *Tygodnik Suwalski*, 11 (1914), 3.]

32. Grażyna Borkowska, 'The Feminism of Eliza Orzeszkowa', in *Gender and Sexuality in Ethical Context. Ten Essays on Polish Prose*, ed. Knut Andeas Grimstad and Ursula Philips (Bergen, Department of Russian Studies University of Bergen, 2005), 77-97.

1914-2014: The United Services Ladies' Golf Association celebrates the first one hundred years

Caroline Scallon
United Services Ladies' Golf Association

In 2014, the United Services Ladies' Golf Association celebrates its centenary. This report provides some of the background to their history and looks ahead to where they are going next.

In the beginning – 1914

The United Services Ladies' Golf Association (USLGA) was founded in 1914 by Mabel Stringer, following her successful launch of three other ladies' golfing associations tied to professional occupations: the Medicals and the Parliamentarians in 1911 and the Legals in 1912. Miss Stringer was tapping a rich vein in ladies' golf at the time – based in London and the Home Counties, there was no shortage of potential members willing and able to play frequently and to a very high standard. 1914, however, proved to be an inauspicious year.

A preliminary meeting was held at the Lady Golfers' Club, 3 Whitehall Court, London on Monday 15 June where it was resolved to form the Association. Membership qualification was to be 'the mother, wife, sisters, daughters, grand-daughters, daughters-in-law and nieces of any gentleman who holds or has held during the preceding twenty years a commission in His Majesty's Navy or Regular Army'. A management committee was formed, requiring three to form a quorum with an AGM to be held in December. The subscription was set at five shillings per annum. Miss Stringer agreed to be secretary and treasurer at a salary of ten pounds per annum. Mrs Martin Hall was elected the first captain of the Association. Without delay, and showing a degree of confidence, not to say audacity, it was decided to hold an autumn meeting. One has to marvel at this decision taken before there was even a membership list! Subsequent events overtook even this formidable group of women. War was declared on 4 August 1914 and in October the committee decided that all matters connected with the Association should remain in abeyance during the war. And so they were.

After the conclusion of hostilities, no time was wasted and it was resolved to hold a prize meeting on 24 July 1919 at Edgware, and to arrange a match with the Legal Ladies' Golf Association. The meeting at Edgware consisted of a morning medal round and afternoon foursomes. Ladies' Golf Union handicaps ranged from one to seventeen. Entry was one shilling. Eighteen members took part playing for Silver and Bronze Challenge Medals. The minutes record that the Gold Challenge Medal was won by Miss Molly Griffiths (handicap five) with a record score of seventy-nine – a feat she repeated at Foxgrove the following year, by now with a handicap of three. In October 1919, the Association met and defeated the Parliamentarian Ladies' Golf Association at Northwood by 10-2 in a twelve-a-side match. The challenge from the

'Miss Molly Gourlay O.B.E. (1898-1990)' with thanks to Camberley Heath Golf Club for use of their photograph.

Legals was taken up in March 1920 at Neasden and the United Services managed a narrow win with, we are told, the team at less than full strength! Matches had taken place between the Associations for some years – both first and second team – and in 1920 it was resolved to formalise these into regular annual events. The Countess of Wilton presented the Wilton Shield to be competed for by the big four – the Medicals, Parliamentarians, Legals and United Services. This took place at Edgware in April and the United Services won, beating Medicals in the afternoon final and becoming the first holders of the Shield. The annual matches for the Wilton Shield still take place in March at the Berkshire Golf Club.

The Association endured another enforced break from 1938-45 and golf resumed soon after the war with an enhanced pool of potential members. Friendly rivalry among the associations continues to this day.

Publicity

As Mabel Stringer was herself a journalist, coverage of the ladies' golf associations was guaranteed.

From the very early days, results of matches were posted in the newspapers. In *The Times,* club announcements appeared on the front page and results were printed on page two. The 1919 match against the Parliamentarians at Northwood (mentioned above) was given extensive coverage in three daily newspapers with photographs included. Two of the reporters were men (George W. Greenwood and R. Endersby Howard) who waxed lyrical and at some length about the golfing skills of the ladies. There was obviously no limit on space! Details of the team members and individual match results were printed, including full coverage of the cancelled Wilton Shield on 11 April 1924 at Addington. These leave a fascinating resource for historians. The Association itself does not have an extensive archive. A full set of minute books, books of news cuttings, match books and captain's logs from 1914 to the present do survive though and remain in private hands in the safe-keeping of the current committee.

A memorable president: Miss Mary Percival 'Molly' Gourlay OBE (1898-1990)

Miss Gourlay, for this was how she was always respectfully addressed, was a formidable force in women's golf for over seventy years; the USLGA was fortunate to benefit from her energy and her knowledge of the game from 1948. On joining, her membership was supported by Mrs Sylvia Hicks and Miss Doris Chambers. The qualifications for membership had been amended, quite rightly, in 1946 to enable those who had served in the Auxiliary Territorial Service, the Women's Royal Navy Service and the Women's Auxiliary Air Force to join the USLGA. Molly Gourlay qualified handsomely, having joined the ATS on the outbreak of war in 1939, becoming a Lt. Col., taking the first 500 ATS girls to France and not surprisingly ending up in charge of the ATS at Montgomery's HQ. In 1943, she was awarded the OBE and mentioned in despatches.

Molly began playing golf at the age of twelve at her family home, Kempshott Park, Basingstoke, where her father, a keen golfer, laid out a nine-hole course. When her father died in 1915, the family moved to Camberley. Her long association with Camberley Heath Golf Club began in 1919 and was to last for sixty-nine years, until her death in 1990. Miss Gourlay would, over her long life, become an honorary member of many other clubs in the area. She came on the scene in Surrey at the county championships in 1920, and while playing second fiddle to Joyce Wethered throughout the twenties, she was one of the finest amateurs in England. Their rivalry in Surrey saw her win the Championship from Joyce in 1923. She went on to win the event six more times. She was secretary of Surrey from 1923 until 1939 and English Amateur Champion in 1926 and '29. Molly was also an enthusiastic traveller, winning several national titles in Europe more than once (the French 1923, '28 and '29; the Belgian 1925 and '26; the Swedish 1932, '36 and '39). She was instrumental in setting up the first match against an American team at Sunningdale in 1930 – the forerunner to the Curtis Cup matches which began in 1932. She was president of Surrey from 1947-64; chairman of the Ladies' Golf Union 1957-60; and president of the English Ladies' Golf Association from 1963-65. She served on the USLGA committee from 1963-65 and again from 1968-71. During this period she continued to play golf successfully, winning the English Veterans' Championship in 1962. She turned out for the USLGA, playing in the Wilton Shield thirteen times from 1951, and she also managed to find time to play in some first team matches.

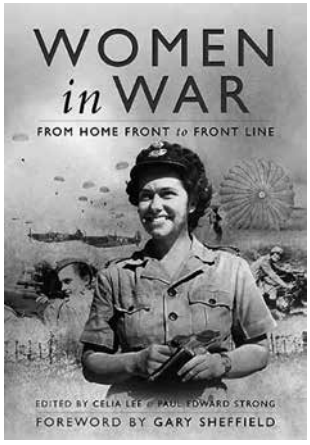
At the age of seventy-three in 1971, and still playing off four, she decided to call a halt to competitive golf. Her formidable knowledge of the rules of golf kept her busy thereafter, not least as chief referee at the AVIA Foursomes for many years. Miss Gourlay became president of the United Services at the AGM in October 1980. President's Day took place for the first time at Camberley Heath on 19 August 1981. Miss Sylvia Ripley donated a handsome trophy in memory of Mrs D. 'Bill' James, secretary of the Association from 1965 until her death in 1979. Molly Gourlay died in office in 1990, aged ninety-two.

Today

Today the Association runs spring and autumn meetings, Captain's Day and President's Day, and takes a full and active part in the Wilton Shield, the Inter Association Cup and Field Day. In addition, this year it is holding a centenary knockout tournament among members. From the outset, the USLGA has contained some formidable golfers, a veritable who's who of the times. The current membership still includes golfers who play at county, national and international level, as well as many who serve with distinction on county and national committees. Membership remains at about 100, allowing all a chance to play in at least one of the meetings each year and, with the qualifications for membership adapting to suit the times, there is a healthy waiting list. The Association retains its connections with the services. Applicants for membership may have served in the Navy, Army or Air Force, or have close relatives who have given service in the Navy, Army, Air Force, Royal Marines, Dominion and Colonial Forces, Royal Navy Reserve, Territorial Army or Auxiliary Air Force. More information about the history of the USLGA is available in their anniversary booklet. For further details on the Association and its booklet, please contact: Caroline Scallon at The United Service Ladies' Golf Association, 28 Grange Road, London, SW13 9RE, UK, or email **caroline@scallon.co.uk.**

Book Reviews

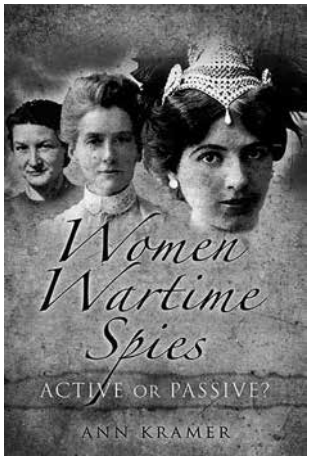
Celia Lee and Paul Edward Strong, eds, *Women in War: From Home Front to Front Line*
Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2012. £19.99, ISBN 978 1 84884 669 2 (hardback), pp. xvi + 237
Ann Kramer, *Women Wartime Spies*
Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2011. £19.99, ISBN 978 1 844680 58 0 (hardback), pp.160
Reviewed by Victoria L. Harrison
University of Birmingham



That women contributed to the war effort in the two World Wars of the twentieth century is now a well-established fact, with historians in the post-war period tending to focus on the specificity of the female experience in scholarly studies. However, there is still a temptation to consider women to have fulfilled a subordinate role to men, thus relegating them to supporting roles. Furthermore, to a certain extent, men are traditionally thought of as being the active agents in war whilst women are passive victims. Both *Women in War* and *Women Wartime Spies* challenge and refute these misconceptions as they focus on the specialist roles that women undertook, often alongside men, to great success.

Both works attribute our lack of knowledge about women who worked in specialist areas to one main factor: these women were dedicated to carrying out their jobs to the best of their ability and fully took on board the need for secrecy. For the period of their work, with many having signed the Official Secrets Act, they were forbidden from disclosing the nature of their work to anybody, even their work colleagues. Furthermore, they were not fully aware of the contribution they were making to the wider cause. To an extent this silence became a habit, which extended well into the post-war period.

Women in War: From Home Front to Front Line is an edited collection of eighteen essays, of which many of the authors are members of the British Commission for Military History (BCMH). The book is divided into six parts, with one part on the nineteenth century, another on the First World War and the remaining four focusing on aspects of the Second World War. It looks at how the experiences and roles of women in warfare have evolved throughout 150 years of conflict. Several chapters draw attention to the sense of continuity in the way women were perceived, mainly the fact that women's feminine, caring qualities were deemed valuable to the war effort; they helped to raise morale and bring a sense of 'normality' to the Western Front and, as part of the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry, were responsible for looking after the Special Operations Executive's (SOE) agents bound for occupied countries. Even those who worked in factories during the Great War were expected to maintain their domestic lives alongside their jobs. Other chapters, particularly those on the Second World War, show how the perception of women changed with them being drafted into non-combat roles within the British Army; in fact the 93rd Searchlight Regiment was the only all-female regiment to be on active service within the British Army. Women were also drafted into the Anti-Aircraft Command, Women's Royal Naval Service and the Air Transport Auxiliary, which involved piloting new or damaged aircraft between airfields and factories. The book also acknowledges the contribution made by women on the Eastern Front, with the USSR being the only country to assign them combat roles. On the Home Front, chapters are included on their various roles within the Secret Services, such as interpreting photographic aerial images and deciphering enemy messages at Bletchley Park. The justification for using women in these traditionally male roles was so that men could be freed up for combat duties.



The role of women in the Intelligence Services is also the focus of Ann Kramer's *Women Wartime Spies* which aims to shatter the preconceptions that female spies fell into two stereotypical roles – the duplicitous 'sexual vamp' who used her womanly charms to extract information from unsuspecting men, and the 'virtuous woman' whose love for her country resulted in her death. Comprised of eight chapters, Kramer shows that 'spy' is an umbrella term and rather than it being a single profession, it was actually a multi-faceted one. Often juxtaposing examples from the two world wars, the author uses personal testimony from the women who undertook these roles to show the diverse nature of their work.

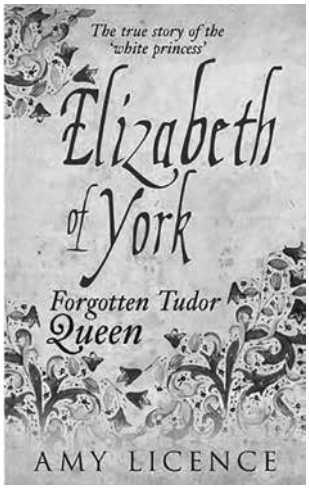
Kramer shows how the successful participation of women in the war effort in the First World War paved the way for them taking on more complex roles during World War Two. However, concerns were raised that using women in male professions would undermine masculinity and have a detrimental effect on femininity. Questions are also raised about the suitability of women to act as spies – male intelligence officers thought their sex was a double-edged sword as on the one hand their female status meant that they could go about their business without attracting any unwanted attention but at the same time it was felt that women were ruled by their emotions which could compromise their ability to do their job. In spite of this, there are examples where women and men were allocated equal status and carried

out the same work; this was the case for the women who worked in *La Dame Blanche* secret agent network, which operated in Belgium and Northern France. The British Intelligence Service (now known as SIS, which included MI5 and MI6) used women in a wide variety of both clerical and practical intelligence-based roles. Level-headed bilingual women were sought for the SOE which sent representatives into occupied countries to gather information about German activities and to carry out sabotage. Of the thirty-nine women agents sent to France, thirteen never returned. Those who were sent as wireless operators – which involved coding and decoding messages – had a life expectancy of six weeks. Those captured by the Germans were not given preferential treatment as women – they were tortured and subsequently killed or interned in concentration camps.

Both these books contribute to existing work on the relationship between gender and war, showing the breadth of specialist roles that women undertook but which do not feature in typical histories of the World Wars. They show that far from being subordinate to men in the field of work, these women made a profound contribution to the war effort in their own right, motivated by a desire to do their bit for their country.

Amy Licence, *Elizabeth of York: The Forgotten Tudor Queen*
Stroud: Amberley, 2013. £20, ISBN 978 1 4456 0961 4 (hardback), pp. 256
David Loades, *Mary Rose: Tudor Princess, Queen of France, the Extraordinary Life of Henry VIII's Sister*
Stroud: Amberley, 2012. £20, ISBN 978 1 4456 0622 4 (hardback), pp. 256
Elizabeth Norton, *Bessie Blount: Mistress to Henry VIII*
Stroud: Amberley, 2011. £25, ISBN 978 1 84868 870 4 (hardback), pp. 352
Norah Lofts, *Anne Boleyn: The Tragic Story of Henry VIII's Most Notorious Wife*
Stroud: Amberley, 1979/2012. £18.99, ISBN 978 14456 0619 4 (hardback), pp. 176
John Guy, *The Tudors: A Very Short Introduction*
Oxford: Oxford University Press, second revised edition, 2013. £7.99, ISBN 978 0 19 967472 5 (paperback), pp. 149
Reviewed by Ruth E. Richardson
Independent Scholar

Anything to do with the Tudors is popular. The period has all the ingredients of sex, religion, personalised power politics and violence that are the mainstay for airport fiction, television drama and the tabloid press. While Henry VII and Edward VI tend to be ignored, and Lady Jane Grey was genuinely tragic, the other three sovereigns are popularly accorded the superficial glamour associated with celebrities. Henry VIII can be ranked as a serial killer, which is always a matter of public fascination. Queen Mary burnt people, while Queen Elizabeth I's reign was a 'Golden Age' for literature and exploration, when England, it is said, stood alone against the world. *The Tudors* television series about the reign and marriages of Henry VIII shown a few years ago, while controversial for its historical inaccuracies, was a big hit with audiences and made a star of Jonathan Rhys Meyers, while Hilary Mantel's Tudor-set historical novels have won prizes and critical plaudits.



The Tudor dynasty encompassed a defined number of years, from a recognised beginning with Henry VII's victory over Richard III in 1485, through the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Jane and Mary, to Elizabeth I's death in 1603.[1] Of these the least-famous Henry VII is treated as a prelude, and the later years of Elizabeth I as a postscript, to the Tudor decades of popular imagination, which are c.1510-c.1575. The family tree of these sovereigns is readily comprehensible and their names are sufficiently modern, but dissimilar from each other, to be memorable. This is not the case for the previous late medieval period when complicated family allegiances led to the Wars of the Roses (then called the Cousins' War). Here the interested reader can have difficulty working out who is who, and why they did what they did. The structures of medieval life seem far more removed from our century.

It is, therefore, to the author's credit that the first of this set of books, the biography of Henry VIII's mother, is an enthralling read from the period preceding the 'popular' Tudor years. Amy Licence in *Elizabeth of York* perceptively suggests that 'the attraction of biography may lie as much in escapism and difference [to our own lives] as in comparison'. (p. 14) While acknowledging that Elizabeth's story has a universal, female dimension, Licence poses specific questions to examine a woman's life in the late 15th century. Focusing on the legal and social changes marriage could bring, she examines how the accepted role of a wife and mother differed for a queen. Among her several apposite texts she quotes from Christine de Pisan's 'The Book of the City of Ladies', 1405, a manual for women's behaviour, which promoted new ideas of 'good manners'. Pisan wrote that wives were expected to maintain domestic harmony and act as peacemaker within the family. A queen's role was the same, albeit on a national scale.

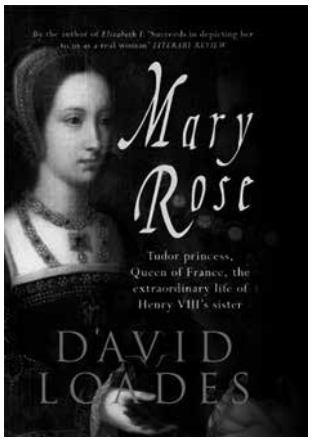
Elizabeth (1466-1503), the first child, and eldest daughter, of Edward IV and his queen, Elizabeth Wydeville, largely conformed to these expectations setting a pattern for her descendants to follow. Her importance to her parents and to the house of York 'made her a powerful bargaining tool'. (p. 57) Princesses were

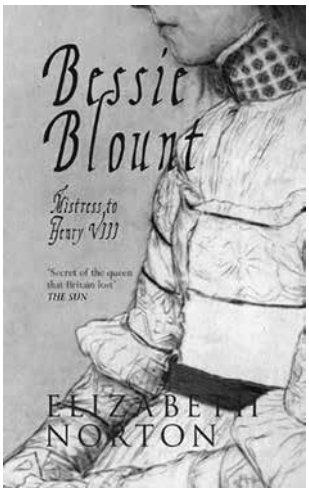
recognised as useful to further alliances and to cement treaties. Personal feelings were not considered. Her first foray into the marriage market, aged nearly four years, was an attempt to appease the Earl of Warwick, 'the kingmaker', who was furious at Edward's marriage to Elizabeth's mother, a widow with two sons from 'an obscure Lancastrian family'. (p. 19) The little Elizabeth was betrothed to Warwick's three-year-old nephew but nothing came of this due to Warwick's next rebellion.

The context of Elizabeth's life is described with appropriate, and varied, digressions. For instance, the implications attached to the date of her parents' wedding day on 1st May, and the functioning of Westminster Abbey, Coronations and other public events, the rituals surrounding birth, the upbringing of children, the introduction of printing, domestic life, entertainments and much more all enhance the text. Practical details of weather and the state of the roads make descriptions of pageants realistic. These digressions are not forced and continually focus on their significance for Elizabeth. She is not subsumed by a plethora of facts unrelated to her life.

After the defeat of her uncle, Richard III, in 1485, Elizabeth finally wed the Tudor King Henry VII and for many of her contemporaries it was Elizabeth who validated his claim to the throne. Their political match became a marriage of mutual respect, possibly even of love. Their first child, Arthur, was born early, or perhaps Elizabeth was pregnant on her wedding day. If so, she would not have known it because, as explained, it was then difficult to be certain of pregnancy before the fourth month. Nevertheless, Elizabeth had fulfilled her prime duty as queen by giving birth to a son and heir. Subsequently, the couple had six, or possibly seven, more children. Of these only three, Henry (VIII), Margaret (Queen of Scotland) and Mary (briefly Queen of France), outlived their parents and survived to adulthood. Apparently, most healthy Tudor mothers had a 'fair chance' of surviving childbirth but lack of hygiene and poor understanding of complications took their toll. A few months after her daughter Margaret was married, Elizabeth died, nine days after the birth of her last child.

The biographies of *Mary Rose*, *Bessie Blount* and *Anne Boleyn* focus on ladies who were adults during Henry VIII's reign. His portrait is recognisable to nearly everyone and, as already mentioned, he remains renowned in popular culture. To many, he personifies the 'early Tudors'. The politics of these years may have been raw but they were not complicated. The nobility had recognisable names, wore attractive clothes and rode about on horseback, a rural idyll before our industrial age. The period has romance and, on a superficial level, seems not so long ago and not too dissimilar to aspirations of today. Inevitably, much serious research is biased towards land ownership, government posts and the acquisition of perquisites, as these are the areas where most documentary evidence survives. These were, too, the over-riding concerns of gentlemen, male nobility and courtiers in Tudor times. Few women were then in the position to independently acquire such assets and the lives of those that did therefore have an added fascination. Despite this, fifty years of the hundred and eighteen years of the Tudor Dynasty were dominated by female sovereigns, so, for the first time in British history, the female role became crucial. Fortunately, women's histories are now given serious consideration but the women's lives, even more than for their male counterparts, need a rounded approach. The Tudors are taught in our schools and the personalities dominate our remembrance, and the Tudor period is considered accessible and popular by publishers, as this collection of recent publications illustrates.

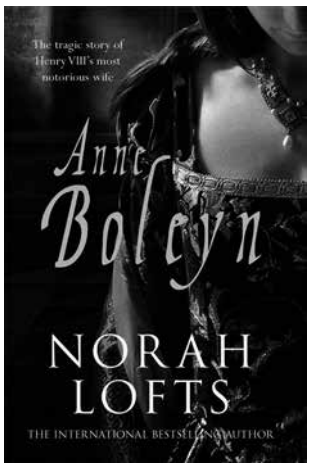




Mary Rose (with an extraordinarily heavy book-cover) is the well-researched biography of Henry VIII's younger sister. If Elizabeth of York, their mother, had been married for political expediency, Mary's equally diplomatic marriage was expected to be a tool to change international alliances, trade and warfare. Mary (1496-1533) and her sister, were trained from childhood for marriages that were supposed to be in the gift of the king, initially their father and then their brother. It was their relationship to the king that mattered. That Mary was beautiful was a gratuitous, additional asset.

While Elizabeth's biography provides a domestic context, Mary's biography has an increased emphasis on the male figures in her life. As such the two books complement each other, this biography also providing a very clear summary of the end of the Wars of the Roses. Mary's childhood and household are admirably described by Loades, but the events of her adult life revolve around her brother, Henry VIII, and her second husband Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. There is an excellent account of Mary's life as Queen of France, a position, which although brief, provided her title for the rest of her life. This biography highlights Mary's refusal to conform to the princess-stereotype. Having almost become Princess of Castile, then politically married to France, she made very sure that her next marriage removed her from the marriage market altogether. She either did not know, or did not care, that Suffolk had a poor reputation for relationships. Mary took control of her own life, and was probably the only person who could defy her royal brother in this way. Of the four children she bore Suffolk, her two sons predeceased her and Lady Jane Grey, one of her grand-daughters, was born after Mary's death.

Elizabeth Blount, known as Bessie (c.1498-1539), had no such early pretensions for independence. Her life, initially governed by her family's ambitions, was only partly in her own control once she had given birth

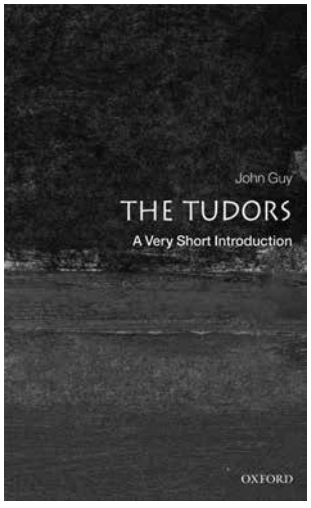


to Henry VIII's illegitimate son. Once widowed, however, she gained a greater degree of self-determination. Indeed, wealthy Tudor widows were often in a more advantageous position than their mediaeval predecessors. Bessie was Henry VIII's most famous mistress, due to his recognition of Henry Fitzroy, their son, whose birth proved his capability of fathering a healthy boy. Bessie, born in Kinlet, near Bridgenorth in Shropshire, was reputed to be a beautiful girl. Unlike Queen Elizabeth, Mary and Anne Boleyn there is no known portrait of her. However, Elizabeth Norton makes a convincing case for identifying her figure among the well preserved sculptures of her siblings on the side of their parents' tomb. The book is divided into four parts: c.1498-1512, her family background, connections and her childhood; 1512-1522 when she was a maid to Queen Catherine of Aragon and then mistress of the king by whom she had a son and possibly a daughter; 1522-1530 her first marriage, arranged by Cardinal Wolsey at the king's behest, to Gilbert, Lord Tailboys of South Kyme, and the story of Henry Fitzroy (1519-1536) who predeceased her; and finally, 1530-c.1539 Bessie's widowhood, her second marriage, presumably for love, to the younger Edward Fiennes-Clinton (Lord Clinton). Decades later he would be depicted, talking to the Earl of Leicester, in the painting of Queen Elizabeth I's presence-chamber.[2] From her three relationships, Bessie had seven surviving children. Unfortunately this biography suffers, even more than is usual with Amberley books, from a lack of good editing. It is perhaps necessarily dense with names, and here the five family trees do help. At times though, the book becomes a cornucopia of miscellaneous information, which is fascinating for those who know the period well but can be utterly confusing for those new to Tudor history. It is not an easy read, moving forwards and backwards in time, and side-headings would have greatly helped. If it is difficult to track a royal princess and queen, it is incredibly difficult to track a girl from local gentry, who became a discreetly kept mistress, and Henry VIII was discreet about his affairs. Inevitably, there is much supposition. Unfortunately, this leads to inconsistencies when a possibility quickly becomes a certainty. The author's detailed, and dedicated, research has now established that Bessie died in childbirth. For all its drawbacks this is a most interesting, new, biography of a remarkable lady.

There are far more records extant concerning Anne Boleyn and it is a pity that Nora Lofts does not quote any of her sources in this reprinted biography, one of her few non-fiction books. It pre-dates Eric Ives' masterful life of Anne,[3] where he does not even refer to it. The style of writing is attractive, particularly so in the first paragraph which offers a summary of Anne's life. Like Bessie Blount, Anne Boleyn's birth has to be deduced as when she 'was born she was of so little importance that nobody bothered to record the date or place of her birth' (p. 7), while, on the contrary, the precise day, and even the hour, of her death was recorded. As Lofts writes: 'She had been Queen of England for three years bar a few days; she had been the centre of one of the most famous love-stories and the subject of the most outrageous scandal. She had been the direct cause of the severance of the Church of England from the Church of Rome'. (p. 7) Five men died because Henry VIII decided to be free of her and her legacy was a daughter who would become Elizabeth I.

Although this book is essentially a story culled from secondary sources, it does provide a balanced consideration of Anne and those involved in her spectacular life. A particularly interesting point is that Henry and his queen, Catherine (here spelled Katharine) of Aragon, had divergent views on the possibility of a Queen Regnant being a success. Henry had grown up knowing about the struggles of the Wars of the Roses which he may well have firmly believed were only resolved by his parents' marriage subsequent to his father's victory at Bosworth. The only lady who had attempted to be Queen Regnant of England had been the Empress Matilda in the twelfth century and that had caused years of Civil War. A woman trying to rule in her own right was thought to be unnatural and not part of her accepted and prescribed role. However, Catherine's parents, the King and Queen of Spain, were Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, a powerful ruler in her own right of a country far more important than her husband's. Isabella did not delegate, she herself ruled Castile, famously leading troops into battle. It was no wonder that her daughter, Catherine, failed to understand Henry VIII's obsession with having a male heir. To Catherine, it was sad that their sons had died but they did have Mary, a surviving healthy heiress. Isabella's daughter would have seen no problem.

This book is an essay, a period piece, masquerading as documented history but with more inclination to be a novel. If this was all then it would still be interesting for the number of alternative suggestions, though without notes or sources nothing can be checked. There are inaccuracies (glaringly the Battle of Flodden is given as Plodden) but the line between inaccuracy and new interpretation cannot be referenced. However, Lofts also introduces several irrelevant diversions of which the main one is the serious, and lengthy, consideration she gives to Anne being a witch. Unfortunately, for her thesis, Anne was never charged with this.



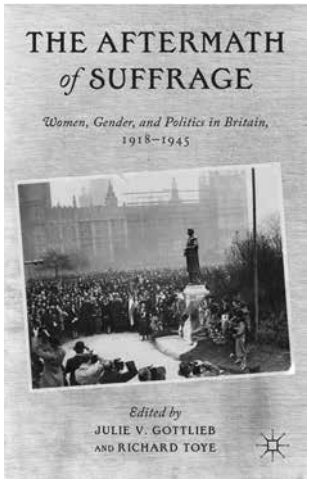
Elizabeth of York with its clear narrative, notes and family trees is the most reader-friendly of these books. However, all readers would benefit from having *The Tudors* as a reference book to consult. This slim volume is in the series entitled *Very Short Introductions*, begun in

1995, comprising more than 300 books on topics ranging over history, religion, science and the humanities, written by experts and published in more than twenty-five languages. This particular book is an admirable, and reliable, summary of political events, religion, careers of some notable persons of the age, culture and the arts. The chapters describe the foundation of Henry VII's dynasty and the personification of power by Henry VIII; the Reformation and 'imperial' kingship; the crisis of the succession; Philip and Mary; and Elizabeth I's reign before and after the Armada. It does not cover women's interests to the same extent as those of men. Nevertheless, as a pocket-sized compendium that admirably provides precise information, it is invaluable for checking that elusive fact. In addition, it is an easy read in its own right.

Notes

1. Queen Elizabeth I died at Richmond Palace on 24th March 1603 (modern dating). All the dates in this article are 'modernised'.
2. This painting conventionally, but wrongly, known as 'Queen Elizabeth Receiving Dutch Emissaries' is fully discussed in Ruth Elizabeth Richardson *Mistress Blanche, Queen Elizabeth I's Confidante* (Almeley, Herefordshire, Logaston, 2007).
3. Eric Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986).

Julie Gottlieb and Richard Toye, eds, *The Aftermath of Suffrage, Women , Gender and Politics in Britain, 1918-1945.*
New York and Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. £17.02, ISBN 978-1-237-01534-1. (paperback), pp. 154
Reviewed by Clare Debenham
University of Manchester



Recently there has been popular and academic attention on the struggle for the vote in 1918 and in particular the more spectacular activities of suffragettes. Yet up to now there has been little produced academically on the post-suffrage political situation. Political scientists have been compared to London buses, we wait and wait and then three come at once, or in this case the thirteen authors who have contributed to this volume on post-suffrage politics.

Most of the thirteen contributors are well-known political historians who have already written on this period as part of their existing work. These include joint-editor Julie Gottlieb, who has published on 'Feminine Fascism' and contributes to this volume an article on the contribution of female voters in the 1938-1939 Munich crisis. June Purvis addresses some of the most commonly debated personal and political questions of the immediate post-suffrage years, for instance: why did no former suffragettes get elected in their first eligible election, what happened to the dream of a Women's Party, and how did Emmeline Pankhurst continue to construct her family life? In contrast, Phillipe Vervaecke studies the unfashionable anti-suffragists to see how they contributed to public life after 1918. The new female MPs had to make their way in a hostile environment of the House of Commons. Richard Toye discusses whether this institution was changed by the advent of women and whether they devised cross party strategies to assist one another. Krista Cowman examines the achievements of women MPs through their autobiographies, sources which have been often overlooked. The importance of foreign policy issues in the interwar period to women MPs and voters such as Vera Brittain is analysed by Helen McCarthy. The female MPs' contribution to the mundane but necessary work of Parliamentary Committees is scrutinised by Mari Takayanagi. Inevitably the book cannot cover all the issues and these can be developed later, for instance the question as to how easy it was for Independent MP Eleanor Rathbone to work with fellow MPs Ellen Wilkinson (Labour) and the Duchess of Athol (Conservative) to campaign for refugees from the Spanish Civil War?

Newly enfranchised voters were important to party organisers and this dimension of politics is explored by Adrian Bingham. The strategies adopted by the political parties and women's organisations towards the new women voters are discussed by contributors such as David Thackeray, who researches the reaction of the main party organisations to their women voters. Laura Beers continues this theme by examining the pressure group, 'Women for Westminster' which was founded in 1942 as a non-partisan organisation aimed at increasing women's representation in parliament.

Karen Hunt and June Hannam persuasively urge us to look at 'the archaeology of women's politics' and this emerges as one of the themes of the book. They stress the importance of the local and everyday in politics. As a Manchester academic I believe that the contribution of formidable Manchester local campaigners such as Hannah Mitchell, Arnot Robinson, Mary Kings-Mill Jones, all cited here, should be recognised. They had a different perspective on politics from the optimism of national organisers. Dr Marion Phillips, then Labour Party Chief Woman Officer, wrote in 1924: 'Whenever a few come together, whether at their door steps, in social intercourse in their homes, or in the long waiting queues outside shops, the talk necessarily centres more or less consciously upon the political events of our times.'[1] However, local activists realised that there was a lack of enthusiasm and felt that the only way to attract potential women voters was to appear non-threatening with cups of tea and competitions. Pat Thane discusses the attraction to female voters of national non-party organisations such as the Women's Institute and National Council of Women.

What is gained by bringing the contributions together, rather than creating a library of separate works? I found this volume an accessible introduction to the subject which contains new material. It is clearly

written, without jargon and the chapters' lengths, averaging eighteen pages, makes the book easy to read. This number of different authors could have made the volume disconnected so it helps when there is a cross fertilisation of ideas, such as Laura Beers referencing Pat Thane in her chapter on non-partisanship culture at Westminster. Although there are extensive end notes after each chapter it might have helped the general reader to have a more detailed bibliography drawing the themes of the book together. However, this is a worthy contribution to gender politics and women's history.

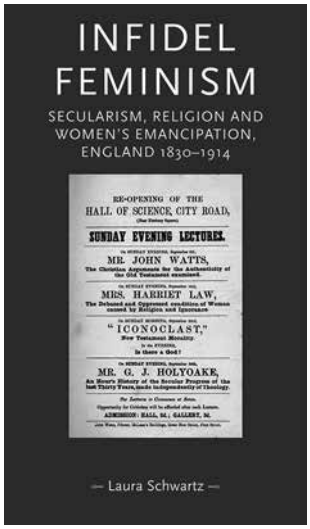
Notes

1. M. Phillips, *Women and the Labour Party* (London, Headly Bros, 1918) p. 9.

Laura Schwartz, *Infidel Feminism: Secularism, Religion and Women's Emancipation, England 1830-1914*

Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013. £65, ISBN 978 0 7190 8582 6 (hardback), pp. vii +256

Reviewed by Sybil Oldfield
University of Sussex



Champions of Eve against God, an important if small number of under-acknowledged nineteenth-century British feminists, saw religion, especially Christianity, as being 'the primary cause of woman's oppression' (p. 1). Laura Schwartz focuses on the women activists in the organised secularist movement who connected the radical Owenite feminism of the 1830s with the later, somewhat more respectable 'strong-minded' woman's movement in Britain after 1850. She also sees her 'infidel feminists' as a missing link with the *fin-de-siecle* 'New Women' who interrogated society's heterosexual marriage norms. In her first chapter, 'Freethinking feminists', she gives us a stirring roll call of these strong, redoubtable, quite fearless personalities who were leading figures in women's causes from suffrage to birth control, as well as taking on God. They ranged from Owenite social missionaries like Emma Martin to the feminist atheist lecturer Harriet Law (a socialist republican who was the only woman on the General Council of the First International), Sara Hennell, Harriet Martineau, Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy, Annie Besant, Hypatia Bradlaugh, Frances Power Cobbe and Dr Alice Vickery. In her third chapter, 'Preachers of truth', Schwartz makes clear how only the very bravest women could dare to stand their ground in public secularist meetings. They were mobbed by rowdies, assaulted and even stoned on occasion. Not surprisingly some of them confined themselves to public writing instead of public speaking, though they all advocated absolute freedom of thought and its unfettered dissemination.

In between Chapters One and Three there is a rather thinner chapter, 'Counter-conversion', which attempts to trace the intellectual path those women had taken from ardent, usually non-conformist Christianity, to scepticism and then outright atheism. Schwartz gives only the briefest of nods to the influence of Paine's *Age of Reason* and Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity* in which he defines his alternative Religion of Humanity, but she never engages with them closely or even quotes their most influential, inspiring passages so that the sheer excitement of discovering Free Thought is merely asserted rather than demonstrated.

The fifth chapter, 'Freethinking feminists and the women's movement', is much more meaty and illuminating. Laura Schwartz is good at complex, nuanced analysis and she shows convincingly both how 'infidel' feminists contributed to the daring demands of the Langham Place activists, and how these 'infidels' would also on occasion even prioritise their feminism over their atheism. For instance Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy deliberately passed the baton of agitating for the Repeal of the CD Acts to the religious Josephine Butler because she knew that the latter would be far more able to get public opinion behind her. (It is also very significant, though not mentioned by Schwartz, that the three well-known atheists, Emilie Venturi, Harriet Martineau, and Elizabeth Wolstenholme, swallowed their non-believing principles for the sake of their feminism when they signed Josephine Butler's grateful — and passionately religious — address to James Stansfeld on his 1873 appointment of Mrs Nassau Senior as the first woman civil servant.) Schwartz's final chapter, 'Freethought and Free Love? Marriage, birth control and sexual morality' is similarly nuanced as she shows the complexities of advocating sexual liberty c. 1900, given not just the physical and social vulnerability of women but also their political vulnerability when campaigning for political citizenship. Woman's suffrage could not risk being associated with libertine 'anarchism' by an already hostile press.

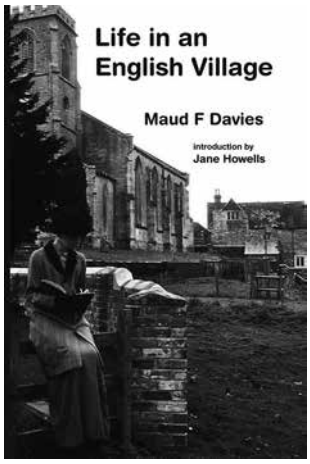
Like every ground-breaking study, this book leaves some important ground unbroken. A great deal more for example needs to be written on Harriet Martineau's necessitarianism in relation to her interventionist feminism. Quaker women's belief in 'the Inner Light' and their long tradition of speaking out , often in searching, radical ways, both about their non-conformist, quasi-heretical faith and about their revulsion at the social oppression of women, would reward more feminist philosophical analysis. And the Owenite education of Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon also deserves acknowledgement. But above all 'the elephant in the room' here is George Eliot. For there she was, the outstanding, (and notorious) Free-thinker, the defier of Christian sexual mores, *and* above all the author of the great feminist tragedies *The Mill On the Floss* and *Middlemarch*. Despite her doubts about emotion-denying

rationalism on the one hand and her aversion to any sentimental idealisation of women on the other, George Eliot's imaginative power was incalculably important in rousing women to change society so that there should be no more St. Teresas who were foundresses of nothing. Any future work on 'Infidel Feminism' in nineteenth-century England will have to engage deeply with her.

Maud F. Davies, *Life in an English Village* with introduction by Jane Howells,

Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 2013. £12.95, ISBN 978-1-906978-05-1 (paperback), pp. 317

Reviewed by Sue Jones
Independent Scholar



The innocuous title *Life in an English Village* is at odds with the local reaction to its publication in 1909. Maud Davies set out, with a zeal prompted by Beatrice and Sydney Webb and her training at the London School of Economics (LSE), to offer a rural equivalent of the sociological analysis of poverty by Booth and Rowntree in London and York respectively. This was a period of concern about the effect of poverty on the health of the nation, and government measures were beginning to respond with measures such as school medical inspection.

However, while reviewed at the time as a 'monument of scientific industry and accuracy' (p. 21), Davies' work was received with alarm in the village of Corsley, Wiltshire, and the parish council asked that Miss Davies 'consider whether she could see her way to withdraw the book ... from circulation in the parish and neighbourhood' (p. 23). Her father's reaction was apparently to buy all the copies he could find, hence the relative rarity of original copies today.

The re-publication of *Life in an English Village*, together with an introductory essay by Jane Howells, enables us to place the work in its historical context and to understand the alarm engendered in Corsley. The first section of the book is unremarkable, and has a strong antiquarian feel about it. Having first dealt, occasionally quite evocatively, with a physical and topological description of the area, Davies then has chapters on post-Reformation land organisation and 'the gradual transformation of a purely agricultural into a semi-industrial population' (p. 67) with the introduction of cloth-making. Her focus on late eighteenth to late nineteenth-century economic and social history owed much of its detailed approach to her near-contemporaneous work on the social and economic section of the Wiltshire Victoria County History. These chapters are more confident and therefore livelier than earlier ones, but there are hints of the problems she was to reveal in her investigative section, 'Corsley in the Present'. For example, after using the Webbs' more 'scientific' approach in looking at population trends in the eighteenth century (pp. 72-3), in the next chapter she quotes occasional personal reminiscences to form judgements on whether weavers could earn 'tolerable maintenance', and speculative language such as 'probably' and 'no doubt' becomes more common.

This has links with the major problem with the second section in which Davies applied the methodology of social investigation taught at the LSE. The problem is the conjunction of presentation of data about earnings, family size, budgets, diets etc. with moral judgements about character, the latter coming from questioning 'persons likely to be acquainted with the characters of the persons concerned, and to have no personal interest in concealing or exaggerating the facts' (p. 136). Some methodological confusion thus emerges.

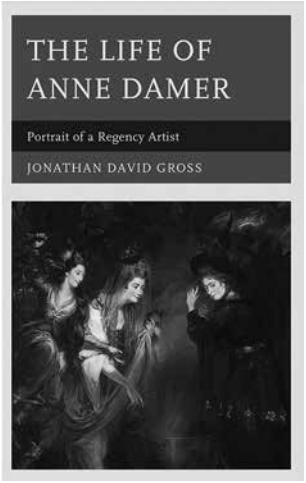
Although Davies thought that a random numbering of households would prevent identification of any household or individual, such is the detail on each that many would have been clearly identifiable. A typical reference is to a carter, wife and five children: 'Man gives no trouble. Wife inclined to drink; respectable otherwise. Son out of work; was bad at getting up in the morning some time back.' School report: 'Don't think much of parents. Eldest child slow, second dull, fourth very sharp' (p. 188). It was to this kind of entry that the parish council objected as 'the slander of the poor'. Her naivety in not foreseeing this reaction is remarkable. Howells suggests that her LSE mentors should have forewarned her but that ignores Davies' own intelligence.

While the central scandal associated with the work is interesting, the investigative section can be read in its own right as a fascinating insight into a rural community, revealing detail of lifestyle which is made richer by its non-scientific colour and judgements on character and household management. For example, observations about how many of each sex were in each pub over the Christmas period and their topics of conversation (pp. 265-6) add nothing about the causes of poverty but give unique brushstrokes to the overall picture. Indeed there are times when it seems that Davies would have been happier writing a more subjective work.

Davies' conclusion that the majority of villagers were in 'quite affluent circumstances' was an antidote to preconceptions of grinding rural poverty, but her concern for the welfare of children is conveyed: only one third of the village children were above the secondary poverty line and she felt that this had a profound effect on the 'brain and body' of such children. This linked to her work, described by Howells, on School Care Committees in London.

Howells' introductory essay is useful in contextualising Davies' book, allowing the reader to understand something of her family background (her father was an inspector of workhouse schools) and of her relationship to the intellectual milieu of the LSE, which enabled women to undertake work such as this. The latter is the most satisfactory area discussed, in contrast to the somewhat speculative comments on family relationships and her tragic death in 1913, probably the result of suicide. On the centenary of her death, *Life in an English Village* was worth re-publishing.

Jonathan David Gross, *The Life of Anne Damer: Portrait of a Regency Artist*
Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2014. [price £51.95] ISBN 978-0-7391-6756-6 (hardback), pp. vii +387
Reviewed by Anne Stott
Independent Scholar



Perhaps only a few of the many thousands who since 1839 have rowed in the Henley Regatta have been able to look up to the bridge to view the two keystone figures of the central arch, the downstream model representing the Thames and the upstream its tributary river, the Isis. These are copies of the original medallions, the work of the late-Georgian sculptor, Anne Damer (1748-1828), a woman who is now largely forgotten, but who in her day was a celebrity. Crowds flocked to Piccadilly to view her at work up her ladder (from which she fell down on at least one occasion). Horace Walpole, always inclined to over-praise his friends and relatives, celebrated her as the equal of the sculptors of the Renaissance. On the other hand, in William Holland's caricature of 1789, 'the Damerian Apollo', she is represented as chiselling the posterior of a larger than life-size Apollo while wearing inappropriate fashionable dress, a snide reference to her presumption in trespassing into a masculine genre, and also possibly to her lesbianism.

It certainly helped that Anne Damer was well-connected. Her father, Henry Seymour Conway, was the cousin of Horace Walpole, from whom she was to inherit the neo-Gothic mansion, Strawberry Hill. Her mother, Caroline Campbell, was the daughter of the 4th Duke of Argyll. Her short marriage to John Damer, described by Gross as 'a felon and a rake' (p. 16), ended with his squalid suicide in Covent Garden, an event that left her emotionally unmoved but which deprived her of the title (Countess of Dorchester) she would have acquired if he had lived. Untitled herself, she moved freely among the Whig aristocracy and it was her brother-in-law, the 3rd Duke of Richmond, and her friends Lady Melbourne and Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, who were among her earliest patrons.

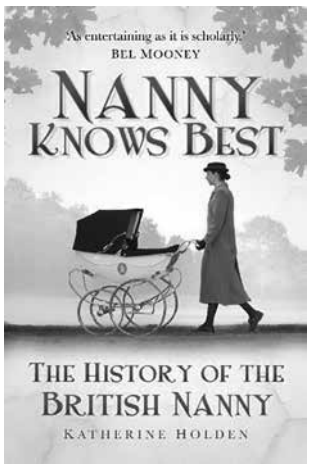
It is alleged that she was first encouraged to become a sculptor by David Hume, then serving as her father's under-secretary. She later studied sculpture under Guiseppe Ceracchi from whom she learned the classical restraint that was the hallmark of her style. Whereas her contemporary female sculptors worked in wax, she was more ambitious, modelling in stone, terracotta and marble, and undertaking ambitious projects like the statue of George III for New Register house in Edinburgh. In 1802 she presented First Consul Bonaparte with a copy of her marble bust of Nelson (whom she found an impossible sitter, as he kept moving his head). However she is now most remembered for her animal sculptures, such as the charming sleeping dogs, done in terracotta for Horace Walpole and in marble for the Duke of Richmond.

Damer is obviously a fascinating and significant figure, whose life and career encompass many areas of interest to scholars of the period: the opportunities available to women working in the arts and the constraints imposed upon them; the ambivalent nature of homo-erotic relationships such as Damer's long and intense friendship with Mary Berry; the political and cultural roles of the women of the Whig aristocracy. Unfortunately, while Gross's treatment of Damer as sculptor is illuminating and insightful, his grasp of the politics of the period is shaky, and this is not helped by his dense and repetitive style and hit-and-miss use of dates. To begin with it is unhelpful and misleading to describe Damer as a 'regency artist' when her major works were completed in earlier decades, and the confusion is further compounded when the Prince of Wales is described as the Prince Regent in the 1780s and 1790s (pp. 164-5). Throughout the book the politics of the period is confusingly portrayed, with (for example) Robert Walpole described as George III's prime minister (p. 1), the two Rockingham administrations apparently merged into one (pp. 21-2) and the Regency crisis mentioned so obliquely as to baffle the non-specialist reader (p. 133). The uncertainty extends to titles, such as referring to the Duchess of Devonshire throughout as 'Lady Georgiana'.

Nevertheless, the strength of the book lies in its judicious treatment of Damer as a sculptor. While recognising her importance, Gross wisely does not over-claim for her. She was no Nollekins or Canova, but she transformed the possibilities for female sculptors (pp. 342-3), and her dog sculptures in particular sell well to this day. It is a pity, therefore, that Gross has not been successful in locating her more firmly in her milieu. Art historians will learn a great deal from this book, but political and social historians are likely to come away disappointed and frustrated.

Katherine Holden, *Nanny Knows Best: The History of the British Nanny*
Stroud: The History Press, 2013. £18.99, ISBN 978 0 7524 6174 8 (hardback), pp.255
Reviewed by Susan Gregory
Independent Scholar

This engaging and thought-provoking book casts a spotlight onto the hidden world of 'shadow mothers'. It follows on from Dr Holden's previous exploration of single women in a largely coupled world and her observation that frequently such women become involved with children either personally or professionally (p. 8). The book opens with an explanation of the author's personal connection to the topic through her experience as a 'Mother's help' and her family members' recollections of nannies.



The history of the British nanny is charted in the book from the emergence of professional training at the start of the twentieth century through to the present day. Training, recruitment and retention are all explored within a changing social context, reflected in the evolving role of the nanny and its changing title from 'Ladies help' to 'Mother's help' and to *au pair*. The role of the nanny in popular imagination is also considered. From *Mary Poppins* to the infanticidal Bette Davis in *The Nanny*, Holden demonstrates how images in film, television and literature are continually used to promote contemporary social agendas. But two themes predominate throughout this book: the issue of social class and the emotional triangle that is the nanny-child-mother relationship.

Regarding the class issue, it is of course mainly upper- and middle-class families who employ nannies. As a consequence, the pivotal role they play in the transmission of values and social mores creates the employer's anxiety that their nanny should be of a similar class to the family. Holden argues that the 'fear that a nanny or servants from a lower class background might be a bad influence on the children they cared for has always troubled some parents' (p. 82), a concern demonstrated by the advertisements placed in publications such as *Nursery World,* with the expectation that a nanny should be a 'lady' or 'gentlewoman'. To address concerns about uneducated women being in charge of upper- and middle-class children and to provide a respectable career for middle-class women, Edith Ward set up the Norland Institute in 1892, which was followed by Princess Christian College in 1901. Both institutions aimed to train nannies to a high professional standard. Admission was largely confined to women aged between eighteen and thirty and in spite of an entrance exam, good character was considered more important than intelligence. Ward's aim was to 'train girls who had been brought up in conditions much closer to the habits and lifestyles of their employers but who were not clever enough to become teachers' (p. 113). By contrast Wellgarth College in Hackney, set up in 1910 by the Women's Industrial Council, aimed to train working-class girls to improve their prospects. However, the need to charge fees for its training nursery meant that Wellgarth soon became used by high-earning families, who wanted their children to be looked after by women of a similar class. Class pressure prevailed and by the time of its move to Hampstead Garden Suburb, training had ceased for those from a working-class background.

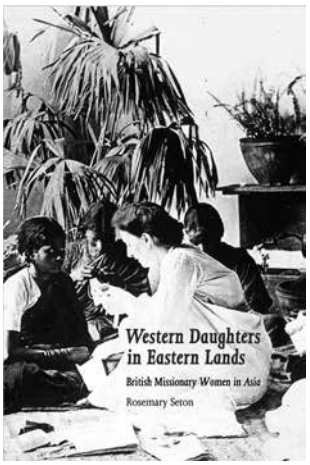
The extensive use of personal testimony ensures that Holden's book adroitly captures the profound emotional experiences of the nanny-child-mother triangle. Stories of 'attachment and loss, love and lust, control and vulnerability, professionalism and detachment' (p. 30) are presented to describe the uneasy dynamics of this triangular relationship. Holden found that many nannies chose temporary posts so that they did not become too attached to their charges, which then can have a devastating effect on the children who were cared for by an ever-changing primary care giver. On the other hand, nannies whose children became too attached to them could provoke jealousy from the mother and even face dismissal. There was often a power battle between mother and nanny for control of children's affections, as well as between children and nannies, particularly when wide class distinctions came into play. The book ably demonstrates the cauldron of emotions that could erupt from what is essentially an employer-employee relationship.

Men are conspicuously absent from the world of the nanny, with males apparently only making appearances either as boys who were cared for, or as fathers who were potential seducers. Ultimately, the nanny had always to be subordinate to the mother, with the father being largely irrelevant. Holden suggests that even today 'a nanny's earnings must be less than the mother's in order for the mother to feel that she isn't "working for nothing"' (p. 222). The fact that the father's salary is rarely considered in deciding the affordability of a nanny, she argues, 'reinforces the widely held assumption that it is women not men who are responsible for the care of their children' (ibid.). As Holden skilfully demonstrates in this volume, in spite of the recent arrival at Norland College of a male student 'dubbed a "manny"', the world of the nanny remains predominately a female one.

Rosemary Seton, *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands*

Santa Barbara, California, Denver, Colorado and Oxford: Praeger, 2013. £25, ISBN 978 1 84645 017 4 (Hardback), pp. xxiv + 221

Reviewed by Jane Berney
Independent Scholar



In 1834, the 'Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India and the East' was set up in London to send women overseas as missionaries. By the end of the nineteenth century, Britain was sending out more missionaries than any other country and over half of them were women. Yet as Rosemary Seton argues in *Western Daughters in Eastern Lands,* very little has been written about these women. In part this is because men ran the missionary societies and their archives reflect this, but Seton has unearthed a wealth of other sources to plug the gap. By the imaginative use of letters, memoirs, magazine articles to name but a few, as well as the archives of the various missionary societies, Seton has successfully made a first step in redressing the balance.

The book begins with the history of the various missionary societies that sent women out to China and India. Seton has limited her study to these two countries because they saw the highest concentration of female missionaries. Her study is also limited to the hundred or so years after 1834 but even so this is a vast timescale and a vast (geographical) terrain to cover. To overcome this Seton has arranged her evidence thematically to cover topics such as women and education, women and medicine, as well as chapters on the training of female missionaries and the day-to-day experiences of life in an often hostile environment.

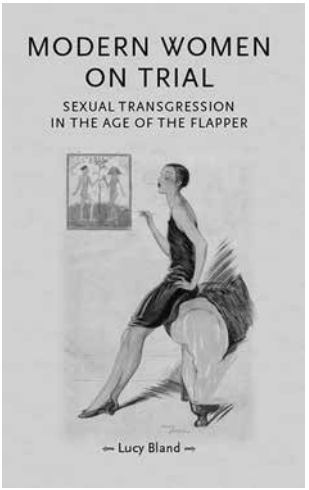
This thematic approach works particularly well as it allows Seton to demonstrate the changing nature of missionary work as the role of women changed. To begin with, most women who went to China or India went as the wives or fiancées of male missionaries. Only later were they allowed to travel as single women and / or as professional women, such as teachers or doctors. Although as Seton notes it was not just Western men who questioned whether females could or should work as a missionary, in whatever capacity: frequently male village elders were as suspicious of the women missionaries and would question them closely before allowing them access to female villagers.

Seton's final chapter looks at the role of evangelism, because after all the role of the missionary was primarily to spread the Christian gospel. Then as now, however, the role of women in this respect was problematic. Women could help with the day-to-day running of the mission, as a wife, sister, nurse or teacher, but they could not preach; thus their role, in whatever capacity, was essentially supportive of their male colleagues.

Yet without their own Christian faith the hardships and setbacks would have been unendurable. Physically the role was demanding and many succumbed to tropical diseases. Mentally the role was equally demanding as the isolation, coupled frequently with the indifference, if not downright hostility, of the locals must have been very trying. Successes were few and far between. One of the charms of Seton's book, however, is the inclusion of the very many positive and humorous accounts that the women gave of their experiences. Such women were often very reluctant to give up their work in spite of ill-health or adverse political conditions. Many missionaries to China for example, only left when forced to in the 1950s by the communist regime. This is not to say that the women missionaries were naïve or overly idealistic, as their observations are frequently realistic and truthful about their lack of or limited success, but their faith sustained them through thick and thin.

Western Daughters in Eastern Lands is, as Seton acknowledges, the first step in rescuing British women missionaries from the shadows of their male counterparts and can only be commended for this. There is however much more to study and explore, as Seton points out in her introduction, but she has demonstrated with verve and skill that the role of women missionaries is a study that can pay rich dividends, not just on the human scale but also as a means to understand the wider landscape of gender and empire within which these women lived and worked.

Lucy Bland, *Modern Women on Trial: Sexual Transgression in the Age of the Flapper*
Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013. £17.99, ISBN 0719082641 (paperback), pp . x + 272
Reviewed by Heather Shore
Leeds Metropolitan University



In February 1920, *The Times* reported on a speech that had been delivered the previous day at the Institute of Hygiene in Devonshire Street, London. Dr R. Murray-Leslie's subject was the 'surplus woman'. In a speech that ranged from the problem of the 'elusive male' to the 'social effects of sex disproportion', Murray-Leslie memorably described the modern woman: 'The social butterfly type had probably never been so prevalent as at present. It comprised the frivolous, scantily-clad, jazzing flapper, irresponsible and undisciplined, to whom a dance, a new hat, or a man with a car, were of more importance than the fate of nations' (*The Times*, 5 February 1920, p. 9). Lucy Bland's highly readable account of the sensational trials of several young women in the aftermath of the Great War illuminates the many anxieties about 'modern' women that characterise this period. As Bland concludes, the flapper '"carried" a series of fears and anxieties about modernity, and instabilities of gender, class, race and national identity' (p. 218). Whilst Bland has written on the 'Cult of the Clitoris' case, the trials of Madame Fahmy and Edith Thompson, and the Russell divorce case elsewhere, the substantially different or longer accounts in this book combine to provide a set of case studies through which a number of key tropes can be traced. As well as the themes that are distinctly engaged with by Bland (modernity, race, gender), a number of other strands run through the cases. Orientalism structured the descriptions of Maud Allan's exotic performances of *Salome* (in chapter 1), in a trial that also embraced 'deviant' sexuality, espionage, treachery and class. The trial of the French Madame Fahmy for the murder of her 'beastly' husband (in chapter 4) and the 'lure of the East' that rhetorically shaped the inquests into the drug deaths of Billie Carleton and Freda Kempton in 1918 and 1922 (in chapter 2), are also read by Bland through the prism of Orientalism. Another theme that links these trials is the class tension of the post-war period. Many of the female protagonists were portrayed as stepping out of the bounds of class and propriety that should have circumscribed their lives as young women. Maud Allan was the daughter of a Canadian shoemaker who as a performer was patronised by London society and claimed a close relationship with Margot Asquith; Edith Thompson worked as a successful

BOOKS RECEIVED AND CALL FOR REVIEWERS

The following titles are available so if you would like to review any of the titles listed below, please email me, Anne Logan at **bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org** As the list perhaps suggests, I would particularly like to hear from people willing to review books on North American (especially ethnic minority), Japanese, Irish and musical subjects. Please don't feel you need to be an expert to review, if you have a general interest and knowledge of the relevant historical period and/or territory then that will count for a lot. The ability to summarise a work and write interestingly about it is the most important thing.

Kevin Allen, *Gracious Ladies: the Norbury Family and Edward Elgar* (Allen)

Argha Banerjee, *Women's Poetry and the First World War* (Atlantic)

Joanna Bourke, *The Story of Pain: from Prayer to Painkillers* (Oxford University Press)

Clare Debenham, *Birth Control and the Rights of Women: Post-suffrage Feminism in the Early Twentieth Century* (I B Tauris)

Kate Côté Gillin, *Shrill Hurrahs: Women, Gender and Racial Violence in South Carolina, 1865-1900* (University of South Carolina Press)

Rachel Holmes, *Eleanor Marx: a Life* (Bloomsbury)

Pamela Horn, *Flappers* (Amberley)

David Loades, *Jane Seymour* (Amberley)

John Hudson, *Shakespeare's Dark Lady* (Amberley)

Anne Mac Lellan, *Dorothy Stopford Price: Rebel Doctor* (Irish Academic Press) [Subject was Anglo-Irish doctor who became a Republican and fought to eradicate TB in Ireland.]

Anne Mc Garry, *The Girls Who Walked Away* (Matador) [A history of Fairfield High School in Droylsden, near Manchester, 1796-2013.]

Elsa A. Nystrom , *Mad for Speed: the Motoring Life of Joan Newton Cuneo* (McFarland) [Subject was an early woman racing driver and car enthusiast in the USA.]

Senia Pašeta, *Irish Nationalist Women 1900-1918* (Cambridge University Press)

Nicola Phillips, *The Profligate Son: or a True Story of Family Conflict, Fashionable Vice, and Financial Ruin in Regency England* (Oxford University Press)

Blain Roberts, *Pageants, Parlors, and Pretty Women: Race and Beauty in the Twentieth Century South* (University of North Carolina Press)

John Read, *Catherine Booth: Laying the Foundations of a Radical Movement* (Lutterworth Press) [Booth was, of course, the co-founder of the Salvation Army.]

Nancy Rosenberger, *Dilemmas of Adulthood: Japanese Women and the Nuance of Long-term Resistance* (University of Hawaii Press) [Based on oral interviews, hence on recent period.]

Laura Seddon, *British Women Composers and Instrumental Chamber Music in the Early Twentieth Century* (Ashgate)

Edith Sheffer, *Burned Bridge: How East and West Germans Made the Iron Curtain* (Oxford University Press)

Jennifer Ward (ed), *Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare (1295-1360) Household and Other Records* (Boydell Press for Suffolk Records Society)

The following titles are still available from the lists published in earlier issues of the Magazine.

Crescy Cannan, *The Iron House: Jane Cannan and the rush to Melbourne* (Bugloss)

Elizabeth R. Escobedo, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits: the Lives of Mexican American Women on the World War II Home Front* (University of North Carolina Press)

Christina Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women: Politics, Personality and Literary Production in the Life of Nun Abutsu* (University of Hawaii Press)

Catherine Lee, *Policing Prostitution, 1856-1886: Deviance, Surveillance and Morality* (Pickering and Chatto)

Nina Reid-Marony, *The Reverend Jennie Johnson and African Canadian History, 1868-1967* (University of Rochester Press)

Sue Tate, *Pauline Body: Pop Artist and Woman* (Wolverhampton Art Gallery)

Nancy C. Unger, *Beyond Nature's Housekeepers: American Women in Environmental History* (Oxford University Press)

Sean Ward (ed), *Memoirs of Sophia of Hanover 1630-1680* (University of Toronto) [Sophia was the Electress Dowager of Hanover and mother of George I.)

If you are interested in reviewing any of these please contact Anne Logan, Book Reviews Editor, via bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org

businesswoman and Christabel Russell, the daughter of a Colonel, had married into the aristocracy. Carleton, Kempton and Marguerite Fahmy were from less socially secure backgrounds (for example, Carleton was illegitimate and Fahmy had borne a child at sixteen), whom had seemingly sought transgressive, metropolitan, experiences. Moreover, Bland's remarks on women as audiences (at trials), readers and consumers (of the press) underline the tensions inherent in the press when dealing with what *Reynold's News* called, 'people of the modern world' (p. 180).

Bland handles this series of overlapping themes and tropes with skill and style. Her analysis of the press is continually contextualised; tracing related sets of discourses across each of the trials, results in a study which adds significantly to the growing literature of the interwar period. Authors such as Adrian Bingham, John Carter Wood, Matt Houlbrook, Susan Kingsley Kent, Marek Kohn, and more recently, Judith Walkowitz, have written on similar territory. Read alongside such

studies, Bland's book will be seen as a definitive text on gender identities in this period. Whilst Bland has used some depositions (for the Fahmy trial) and Home Office files, her research is overwhelmingly focussed on the contemporary press. Adrian Bingham, in his study of gender in the interwar press, sought to view newspapers, 'as the sites of an ongoing discursive contest between various and diverse images of femininity and masculinity in which a number of different interests were represented' (2004, p. 11). Here Bland has used the same careful approach to her analysis of the press and of individual attitudes of journalists and editors. Whilst there are useful comments on the range of the press, its production, consumption and development in the introduction, one small criticism is that a more substantial introductory chapter on the press might have been desirable. There is some comparative discussion of the newspapers in the conclusion (pp. 214-6) but an expanded discussion could have usefully fore-grounded the case-study chapters. Nevertheless, this is a minor criticism. This is an engagingly written and persuasively argued book that uses a unique set of cases to provide a dramatic lens into the years of the Aftermath.

Getting to Know Each Other

Name: Cornelie Usborne.

Position: Professor Emerita of History, Roehampton University; Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Historical Research, University of London.

How long have you been a WHN member?
For c. twelve years.

What inspired your enthusiasm for women's history? In my final year as a mature student at the Open University (having previously read English and German literature in Germany), I came across Dora Russell's biography *The Tamarisk Tree: My Quest for Liberty and Love*. I was struck by her passion to help reduce maternal mortality mostly affecting poorer women with too many children who did not know how to limit their families. Her campaign, with her then husband Bertrand, for better access to birth control advice in 1924 during the first Labour government eventually became successful in 1930. I researched this in my History dissertation, which started a life-long interest in women's reproductive self-determination. A chance remark in a book (on the British Labour Party in 1930) regarding the courage of German Social Democratic politicians fighting for the decriminalisation of abortion in the 1920s led me to switch my attention to Germany. The result was a PhD thesis on population policy and fertility control in Weimar Germany. I discovered a whole world of fearless debate and unprecedented achievements in helping women towards bodily autonomy.

What are your special interests? History of sexuality and reproduction in Weimar and Nazi Germany; social and cultural history; social history of medicine; a new research project: 'Imagined pleasure, ambivalent practice: a cultural history of women's sexuality in Weimar and Nazi Germany'.

Most recent publications:
Co-editor (with Beat Kümin), Special Forum on 'At home and in the workplace: domestic and occupational space in Western Europe since the middle ages', *History & Theory* (2013).
Paperback edition, *Cultures of Abortion in Weimar Germany* (New York/Oxford, Berghahn, 2011).
'Social Body, Racial Body, Woman's Body. Discourses, Policies, Practices from Wilhelmine to Nazi Germany, 1912-1945', Special Issue on 'Fertility', *Historical Social Research* (2011).
Co-editor (with Charlotte Behr and Sabine Wieber), Special Issue on 'Picturing the past', *Cultural and Social History* (2010).

Who is your heroine from history and why?
Hildegard von Bingen (1098-1179): German Benedictine abbess, founder of two convents, writer, composer, philosopher, Christian mystic, visionary, polymath, and healer.
My grandmother (1895-1962): teacher, linguist, governess, mother of five, who celebrated the spirit of youth, friendship, independence for women, and love of life.

WHN Book Prize

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

The Women's History Network (UK) Book Prize is awarded for an author's first single-authored monograph that makes a significant contribution to women's history or gender history and is written in an accessible style. The book must be written in English and be published in the year prior to the award being made. To be eligible for the award, the author should be a member of the Women's History Network (UK) and be normally resident in the UK. The prize will be awarded in September 2015.

Entries (books published during 2014) should be submitted via the publisher by 31 March 2015

For further information please contact June Hannam, chair of the panel of judges.
Email: **bookprize@womenshistorynetwork.org**

Clare Evans Prize

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

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

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

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

Please send completed essays to Ann Hughes by 31st May 2015. Please also include brief

biographical details (education, current job or other circumstances) and include a cover sheet with title only (not name) to facilitate anonymous judging.

For further information and before you apply please email Ann Hughes **hia21@keele.ac.uk**

WHN Community History Prize – sponsored by the History Press

An annual £500 prize for a Community History Project which has led to a documentary, pamphlet, book, exhibition, artefact or event completed between the 1st of January 2014 and 31st May 2015.

To be eligible for the award the project must focus on History by, about, or for Women in a local or community setting. Candidates must submit both evidence of the project in written or photographic form and a 500-1,000 word supporting statement explaining the aims and outcomes of the project.

Individuals or groups can nominate themselves or someone else by 31 May 2015; for further guidance or advice on the application process email Professor Maggie Andrews **maggie.andrews@worc.ac.uk**

Committee News

The Steering Committee met on Saturday 22nd February, 2014. Committee roles were discussed, It was suggested that Ann Meutter be the new Schools Liaison; she would only need to come to one meeting a year. Tanya Cheadle will be leaving so we need a new publicity person. Barbara Bush., the current convenor, will be leaving in September; June Purvis will take over – to be ratified at the AGM in September. There has been a steady rise in membership. As of February, the number of members is currently listed as 481, of which 437 are UK members, 30 are International members, 9 are UK institutions and 5 are International institutions. However 120-130 members are in arrears with their subscription. The Treasurer's report demonstrated that we have a profit of £2000. It was decided that £1000 should go to remodelling the WHN website, which is in need of a make-over. There was a long discussion about the remodelling of the website. It was proposed that it be upgraded to a new system, potentially Wordpress and it was noted that it would be about 20 hours work to update the website at £15 per hour.

There was a discussion about publicity material. It was decided that more postcards and bookmarks would be printed and that a purple tablecloth was needed for conference displays. The Women's Library, now at LSE, was discussed. It was agreed that as well as maintaining links with the library through Anna Toulson attending the committee once a year, WHN should also be affiliated to the Glasgow Women's Library, and Wendy Kirk from GLW will be invited to the June committee meeting. There was a long discussion about whether the WHN magazine (Women's History Magazine, which may lose the 'magazine' part of its title) should go electronic. It was decided that it should, but that hard copy also be maintained. It was suggested that international subscribers, who pay a higher rate of WHN membership because of the cost of magazine postage, could have the option of the same subscription rate as UK members, so long as they opted for an electronic version of the magazine. This discussion was unresolved and will be higher up on the agenda at the next meeting as there was insufficient time.

Meetings of the Steering Committee take place at Senate House, University of London. Members are welcome to attend meetings of the committee and can email **convenor@womenshistorynetwork** for further details.

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.womenshistorynetwork.org/whnmagazine/authorguide.html

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 or join online at **www.womenshistorynetwork.org**

Women's History Network Contacts

Steering Committee Officers:

Membership, subscriptions, Imaobong Umoren:
membership@womenshistorynetwork.org

or **imaobong.umoren@stx.ox.ac.uk**

or write to Sue Bruley, 22 Woodlands, Raynes Park, London SW20 9JF

Finance, Aurelia Annat:
treasurer@womenshistorynetwork.org

Committee Convenor, Barbara Bush:
convenor@womenshistorynetwork.org

Web Team:
web@womenshistorynetwork.org

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

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

Charity Representative, Jane Berney:
charityrep@womenshistorynetwork.org

Newsletter Editor, Melesia Ono-George:
newsletter@womenshistorynetwork.org

WHN Blog, Jocelynne A. Scutt:
womenshistorynetwork.org/blog/

***Magazine Team*:**

Editors: Katie Barclay, Anne Logan, Emma Robertson, Kate Murphy, Lucy Bland, Rachel Rich:
editor@womenshistorynetwork.org

For Magazine submissions, steering committee and peer review:
editor@womenshistorynetwork.org

For book reviews: Anne Logan:
bookreviews@womenshistorynetwork.org

or send books to her at University of Kent, Gillingham Building, Chatham Maritime, Kent, ME4 4AG

For magazine back issues and queries please email:
editor@womenshistorynetwork.org

You may now join the WHN online – just go to ***www.womenshistorynetwork.org*** *and follow the instructions. Payments, standing-order mandates and Gift-Aid declarations can all be accessed online as well – see panel on page 10 for further details*

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: *Sue Bruley, 22 Woodlands, Raynes Park, London SW20 9JF*
Email: membership@womenshistorynetwork.org

Gift aid declaration

Name of Charity: Women's History Network

Name : .....

Address: .....

.....

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

Signature: _____ Date ...../...../.....

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

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

Banker's Order
To (bank)_____

Address_____

_____

Account no.:_____

Pay to the account of the Women's History Network, Account No. 91325692 at the National Westminster Bank, Stuckeys Branch, Bath (sort code 60—02—05), on _____20_, and annually thereafter, on the same date, the sum of

(in figures) £_____ (in words)_____.

Signature: _____