Turns and Twists in Histories of Women's Education

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Introduction

The 'turns and twists' of the title of this special issue on new readings in histories of women's education takes its starting point from the approach to intellectual developments that Kathryn Gleadle highlights in the *Women's History Review* article, 'The Imagined Communities of Women's History: Current Debates and Emerging Themes: A Rhizomatic Approach'.[1] The special issue aims to illustrate some of the dynamic and heterogeneous methodological developments and manifold tracks that characterise the history of girls' and women's education[2] that Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's rhizomatic metaphor suggests.[3] Contributions to the special issue have been sought in order to illustrate what Gleadle terms 'fresh nodes of departure' - the emerging methodological approaches in histories of women's education that run alongside 'more prolonged conduits of inquiry'. As Gleadle's essay on women's history illustrates, when taken together 'fresh nodes of departure' and 'more prolonged conduits of inquiry' produce 'modulated and complicated intellectual chronologies'.[4]

This editorial introduction illustrates the ambiguous nature of women's education as a means through which women have sought to challenge orthodoxy within prevailing gendered constructions and intellectual traditions. It looks at Joan Scott's framing of such challenges through her discussion of the nature of paradox;[5] and it outlines how contributors to the special issue nuance Scott's framing of paradox through 'fresh nodes of departure' that seek to capture the dynamic interplay of ideas, conditions and practices by shifting attention more explicitly from descriptions of content to processes, practices, doings and actions. Like Gleadle's

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discussion in 'The Imagined Communities of Women', we build on insights from Deleuze and Guattari's metaphorical tool of the rhizome. As Gleadle notes, the rhizome is a botanical term that denotes a complex, non-linear root system which twists and turns as it grows in multiple directions. Deleuze and Guattari differentiate this from traditional linear metaphors, which they liken to the upward growth of a tree. In contrast, rhizomes grow subterraneously along manifold tracks.'[6] To seek some of the manifold twists in histories of women's education, we deploy the metaphor of 'turning'. When used in woodworking, 'turning' is a 'wasting' process, in which layers of wood are removed at different depths, revealing on the wood the profile on which the 'turner' has worked to pick out a shape that serves his or her purpose. This purpose may be explicit, as when a turner follows a pre-planned design, or implicit as the turner works on something freeform until it is pleasing aesthetically. The following section turns some of the ambiguities that histories of women's education illustrate. This is followed by a section in which we turn histories of women's education around processes and practices.

Turning histories of women's education for ambiguity

Whether understood as informal education, self-education, or institutionalised as schooling, education (or the lack of it) has been understood as an important aspect of women's lives. Many historical accounts of girls growing up chart their lack of formal education or its sketchy nature. As Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova and Anna Loufti highlight in their overview of the biographies of women in twenty two countries of central, eastern and south eastern Europe, this resulted in women's education becoming one of the first initiatives undertaken by women's organisations.[7] de Haan et al. also provide examples of women who personally suffered from the lack of a thorough and structured education but who, nonetheless, became 'pioneers' of women's education: Hermin Beniczky (1815-1895), who attempted to structure study periods for herself and went on to establish the National

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Association for Women's Education in Hungary and to co-found one of Hungary's first high schools for girls in 1869;[8] and Elška Krásnohorská (1847-1926), who was educated at home and became involved in Prague's elite philanthropic - educational Améric‎ý Klub dam (American Ladies' Club) and in the Ženský výrobni spokejk český (Women's Czech Production Society, 1871), which worked to alleviate poverty among the female population through educational programmes.[9] The educationist, political activist and seamstress Marie Bouclé first became interested in feminism while attending the evening lectures of the people's universities in Paris, an educational initiative for 'the masses', while the self-education of her counterpart, emigré Rose Pesotta in New York's East Ninety-sixth Street Public Library Harlem Branch included learning English by reading the daily press and magazines and re-reading her favourite authors in the library's Russian section.[10] Black feminist internationalists like Jamaican Amy Ashwood Garvey and Nigerian Kofoworola Aina Moore, too, saw education as an element of political activities.[11]

While education in various guises provided alternative spaces of possibility for women like Beniczky, Krásnohorská, Bouglé, Pesotta, Garvey and Moore, these are not linear stories of progress. Pesotta's self-education was prompted by the inadequate teaching at her night school; and her resulting poor progress with English illustrates a familiar strand in histories of women's education.[12] Black women like Anna J. Cooper,[13] Sarah Parker Remond[14] and Merze Tate[15] struggled to be able to study abroad and continued to struggle in the face of racial discrimination on their return to the United States, despite their scholarly achievements.[16] As Garvey and Moore were quick to point out, many accounts of women's education chart how understandings of education, the experiences of girls growing up, and women's access to higher education and to the professions[17] have been shaped (and continue to be shaped) by the positionality in which gender, class, ethnicity and 'race' intersect 'through the making of these categories' within the dominant strands of Western thought'.[18]

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Ideas and practices of education also intersected with notions of nation and internationalism and traversed geographic terrains and political borders, shaping notions of girlhood and womanhood in diverse and fractured ways,[19] as the edited collection by Mary O'Dowd and June Purvis illustrates.[20]

Correspondence between South African Lily Patience Moya and English feminist Mabel (Atkinson) Palmer demonstrates how the efforts of women educators were often ambiguous, particularly when they crossed the 'color line',[21] while education for indigenous girls in Canadian[22] and Australasian residential schools,[23] and in USA institutions like the Hampton Institute educating Native Americans in Virginia, disconnected women from their communities. Such institutions played into the governance of populations by introducing routines of daily life organised around Western notions of time and space at variance with the cosmologies through which indigenous communities operated.[24] Fiona Paisley illustrates the 'racial modernities' integral to histories of 'race' and 'nation' that were articulated in and through women's education and were implicated in the project of modernising colonialism itself. As a member of the League of Nations' Permanent Mandates Commission, Anna Bugge-Wicksell argued for women to be included in the 'applied' education that 'progressive' circles considered appropriate to native populations governed under the mandate system. The practice of education 'adapted' to what were thought of as 'African needs' was derived from a model of education for black populations in the rural South of the United States. Although 'adapted' education aimed to create a type of native subject thought necessary to modernise colonialism, it was perceived as requiring careful management because of the potential of education for self and community empowerment.[25]

The power of education to shape the lives of girls and women and the activities of women educators played out in complex ways; for girls and women were both complicit with and resisted educational messages, whether implicit or overt. Women like Beniczky,

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Krásnohorská, Bouglé, Pesotta, Garvey and Moore illustrate the potential of education for both constraint and agency[26] and highlight how education relates to what Deleuze and Guattari refer to as the molar (the static, the mass, the aggregate structure) and the molecular (the ceaseless, mobile atoms) that Gleadle situates as the dynamic agents who comprise history.[27] When countries are compared, the threads of religion, of religious selfhood and of forms of nationalism were entangled with women's education and with notions of girlhood and womanhood in complex ways that show general patterns but no straightforward trajectory.[28]

The recommendations for Japanese girls' education from Kasuya Yoshi, a teacher at the Tokyo Tsuda School who studied at Teachers' College, Columbia, combined indigenous understandings with the classifications that shaped Western intellectual disciplines in complex constructions of cosmopolitanism. Kasuya wrote of the educated Japanese woman who possessed the potential for rational motherhood but she also positioned women as doubly subject to the Japanese emperor and the authority of the father in the patriarchal family.[29] At the 1928 Pan Pacific Women's Conference, the principal of Ewha Girl's School, Kim-Hwal-lan, pointed to the impact of Japanese assimilationist educational policy on girls' schooling in Korea, which she argued on the one hand provided opportunities for girls to acquire languages and Japanese in particular, but simultaneously 'dominate[ed] the educational programme to such an extent that a distinct racial obliteration [was] feared'.[30] The 'tense and tender ties' and 'belongings of race, religion and citizenship' played out in the homes, missions and schoolrooms of 'empires at home' as well as in 'empires overseas' to discipline bodies. But they could be subverted by 'newly acquired tastes, cadences of speech and movement',[31] as at Hukarere [residential] School in New Zealand. Here, Maori girls gained skills that they deployed as future leaders of Maori communities,[32] while also

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receiving a curriculum in which domestic knowledge to run Pakeha (white) homes aimed to turn girls into model Maori citizens of colonial settler society.[33]

From the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, home as physical place and symbolic trope, linked with notions of marriage and motherhood as woman's true destiny, shaped much educational ideology and practice for girls and women around domesticity.[34] The domestic subjects curriculum worked to allocate women differently from men in discourses of citizenship and national identity.[35] But scholars also point to the importance of the home for intellectual and political encounters[36] and its centrality to the sociability that has underpinned political relations,[37] albeit marked by positionality. The view that the education provided for girls by tutors and governesses in nineteenth century European homes was uniformly 'unsystematic' has been critiqued, along with a lack of attention given to the importance of 'familiar' conversations.[38] As O'Dowd and Purvis argue, and Emily Bruce, Fang Quin and Marja van Tilburg demonstrate, perceptions of the ideal girl in nineteenth- and early-twentieth century advice books for use in a home-based education differed over time and in different social or national contexts, and an author's pedagogical advice might not be delivered in a uniform fashion.[39] Nineteenth century advice books in Europe as well as in places like China were often more nuanced in their prescriptive visions for girls' education than had been assumed. Advice books might, for example, incorporate a 'proto-feminism … as they encouraged [girls] to read and develop their intellectual curiosity'.[40] But as Mary O'Dowd's discussion of Irish Bishop Edward Synge's advice to his daughter Alicia demonstrates, the 'literary lady' continued to be an ambiguous figure. Alicia, for example was encouraged to read as much as possible but she was not to boast about her learning.[41] As O'Dowd and Purvis highlight, anxiety around the educated girl formed a long-running theme from the medieval period to the twenty-first century, and questions over the purpose and location of a girl's education, differentiated by social class, also persisted.[42]

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Christina de Bellaigue points to the 'longevity of the home for providing a vital educational culture that did not depend on formal schooling'.[43] She questions the tendency in historiography to over-emphasise the distinction between learning in the home and institutional instruction. She also highlights the historical specificity of the processes by which school education became established as a norm[44] and which as Asha Islam Nayeem illustrates, impacted on age-related understandings of childhood. Nayeem charts how, after the introduction of a Western mode of education in colonial Bengal following the Education Despatch of 1854, students were grouped in classes according to age ,and received an age-related structured curriculum, Nadeem argues that at a time when girls in nineteenth and early-twentieth century Bengal were generally married off between the ages of seven and nine, the replacement of indigenous forms of education with an age-related Western system that specified the stages of a child's life acted as a catalyst for change. It 'ushered into the life of a Bengali woman something she had not experienced before - a childhood',[45] whereas previously she had been a 'mini adult … learning domestic skills and awaiting her departure from the parental home to the marital one'.[46]

As women expanded the 'domestic' and reworked the 'maternal' to demonstrate their professionalism[47] they transformed notions of domesticity through 'social maternalism' to legitimise activity as educational philanthropists, educational administrators and educational policy-makers;[48] and they created spaces in the 'academic kitchen' of higher education through the household science movement.[49] Education also formed a tool to contest prevailing orthodoxy around the psychological, sexual, spiritual cultural, class and racialised boundaries suggested in the tropes of 'home' as 'prison' and as 'cage' that were deployed in national and imperial contexts, as the work of Carol Dyhouse and Meera Kosambi illustrates.[50] Women traversed transnational borders as teachers and education officers,[51] and returning from their travels and from international exchanges, they brought together aspects

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of the local and global in the spaces of elementary and secondary school halls and classrooms,[52] where girls might be educated in 'world-mindedness' or through imperialist framings.[53]

Resonating with views of space as socially produced, gendered, and constituted through the interaction between the physical and the social,[54] the mission house and mission field bring sharply into focus some of the ambiguous and contradictory ways that education was articulated for and by women in spaces and places that linked education and religion as a vehicle for women's agency, as well as constraint. Jane Rendall[55] and Tim Allender[56] illustrate how British women used the zenana as a powerful symbol of women's oppression in 'heathen' society and drew on a supposed 'cultural superiority' in Christian values to construct an educational role exclusive to women in missionary and other societies that also vindicated imperial rule. Religion also mediated responses to the purposes and practices of education for women by framing gendered assumptions around women's spiritual, emotional and sexual nature and their intellectual capacity by stressing domestic roles and notions of restraint. But as Ela Greenfield's study of the Islamic Girls' School in Mandate Jerusalem illustrates, religious messages in schools and classrooms could provide contradictory messages for girls. One of the Islamic school's main goals was to shape its pupils into modern Muslim women and its objectives were outwardly nationalist. Here, girls' education was to instil a devotion to Islam through study of the Qur'an and religious principles, and a love for the nation was to be fostered through the Arabic language, Arab history and geography. But banners in the school depicting 'Aisha, the wife of the prophet, and the pre-Islamic Arab queen, Zenobia, disseminated a bifurcated message that stressed girls should be devoted wives and Muslims, like 'Aisha, while also aspiring to public, even political positions, like Zenobia. The school also interacted with organisations and bodies representing colonial and Western interests and some of the pupils were sent to local missionary schools to

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complete their education.[57] Notions of service with the potential to engender agency also played out in the spaces of Catholic convents and classrooms replicating the tensions that Gail Malmgreen argues accrue to religion as both 'embodiment of ideological and institutional sexism and [a] transcendent and liberating force'.[58] As Deirdre Raftery outlines, the routinised behaviours learned in Irish convent schools prepared girls for noviciate life as they watched young teaching sisters depart to establish convents and schools in places like Malaysia and Japan, a form of service that provided opportunities for agency unavailable at home but framed within parameters defined by the Catholic church and its masculine hierarchy.[59]

These examples illustrate some of the ambiguities that played out around agency and constraint in both informal and formal education and as girls and women were complicit with but also resisted educational messages. Ambiguities also inhered in how women educators' practice related to the molar and the molecular as they crossed the 'color line', and as they became involved in modernising colonialism in the homes, missions and schoolrooms of 'empires at home' and 'empires overseas'. To unpack the ambiguous threads that run through histories of women's education, the following section of the introduction moves to Joan Scott's discussion of paradox in women's history. [60] It then summarises the 'fresh nodes of departure' deployed by contributors to the special issue, which nuance Scott's notion of paradox by focussing on the dynamic interplay of ideas, conditions and practices.

Turning histories of women's education for processes, and practices

The ambiguous threads that characterise histories of women's education resonate with aspects of Joan Scott's discussion of paradox.[61] In unpacking the notion of paradox Scott identifies a feminist dilemma that also inflects histories of education for women and girls: that of claiming access to masculine privileges while making claims on behalf of the

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culturally gendered construct of the category of woman. This implicitly acknowledges political intellectual traditions that assume ascription of individuality and freedom to masculinity. Scott points to two key threads in the notion of paradox: first, opinion that challenges prevailing orthodoxy and is contrary to received tradition and literally goes against the doxa. This surfaces in histories of women's education as women developed and deployed education as a means of social change and to challenge the status quo. Second, logicians' definition of that which is an unresolvable proposition simultaneously both true and false, which Scott sees as a constitutive element of feminism itself, and which the preceding discussion of histories of education illustrates. For Scott, the history of feminism is a history of women who have had only paradoxes to offer not because - as misogynistic critics would have it - women's reasoning capacities are deficient or their natures fundamentally contrary, and not because feminism somehow hasn't been able to get its theory and practice right - but because historically modern Western feminism is constituted by the discursive practices of democratic politics that have equated individuality with masculinity. For Scott, deploying gender as a mediator of power (whether ascribed, assumed, internalised or transgressed) points to the complicated, contradictory, and ambivalent ways gender has emerged in different social and political discourses and in the modes of thought and epistemological assumptions that inhere in paradoxes.

As the title of Lucy McMahon's *Mere Equals: The Paradox of Educated Women in the Early American Republic* indicates, some analyses of women's education refer explicitly to paradox, although not necessarily to Scott's discussion of paradox.[62] Jo-Anne Dillabough refers to paradoxes that have historically structured both teacher education and women's positioning as teachers and educational leaders, and which rumble on in schools and universities in constructions of 'the modern teacher'.[63] Evelien Flamez and Bruno Vanobbergen focus on 'the paradoxical effects' of the Belgian TV's 'emancipatory

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educational project for women' between 1954 and 1975, through broadcasts for women and children, which were intended to increase women's participation as a means towards their 'emancipation', while continuing to underline women's segregation from men.[64] In other analyses, the paradoxes suggested by Scott are more implicit, as in some scholarship on education that engages with power. Sarah Jane Aiston observes that the negotiation of social and cultural circumstances may involve 'internalizing or performing to received stereotypes'[65] and Deirdre Alemida shows how Native American women educated in schools like the Hampton Institute used knowledge of European American ways and values learned during boarding school education in the reform and resistance movements against non-Native efforts to destroy their culture.[66] Some analyses focus more on the ambiguities, complexities, tensions (and resistances) that are surface manifestations of underlying paradoxes that may or may not be named by authors. This is exemplified by advocates for educational change who pushed conservative aims bound up with overlapping hierarchies around class, race, religion and disability, including in forms of educational philanthropy. Underlying paradoxes also inhere in ambivalent messages about girlhood and womanhood in advice books and educational guidance,[67] as the collection by O'Dowd and Purvis illustrates.[68] They also thread through the popular periodicals that Penny Tinkler highlights for Britain,[69] and Kristine Moruzi and others outline for a British colonial context,[70] and inform the imperial role-models for Spanish schoolgirls during the early Francoist regime, that Jessamy Harvey analyses,[71] and the school stories that are the focus for Nancy Rossoff and Stephanie Spencer.[72]

How informal and formal education for women and girls might play out unevenly at different times and in different locations is exemplified by O'Dowd and Purvis, who highlight on the one hand the alignment of Georgeta Nazarska's analysis of secondary schools for girls in early twentieth-century Bulgaria with the view that the education of girls

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was a means of promoting middle class power, and on the other Alison Mackinnon's analysis of the uneven history of the admission of women to universities in Islamic countries, which cautions against exaggerating the event to which women benefit from education, particularly at the tertiary level.[73] O'Dowd and Purvis' collection illustrates David Hamilton and Benjamin Zufiaurre's point that no clear distinction can be demonstrated historically between education as a liberatory process on the one hand, and schooling to reproduce and ideologically sustain docile workers or bodies on the other.[74]

Maria Tamboukou argues, however, that Scott's framing of paradox presupposes a structuralist understanding of pre-existent discourses, ideas and practices that fails to capture the dynamic interplay of ideas, conditions and practices.[75] Contributions to the special issue from Tamboukou, Ning de Coninck-Smith, Inés Dussel, Josephine Hoegaerts and Barnita Bagchi nuance Scott's framing of paradox by working in various ways with the dynamic interplay to which Tamboukou alerts. To frame histories of women's education that deal with complexity and ambiguity they focus on methodological approaches that shift researchers' attention from descriptions of content - the 'what' that researchers derive from the sources with which they work - to a focus on how things emerge and 'become' through processes, practices doings and actions.[76] While the focus of special issue contributors is on the 'fresh nodes of departure' to which Gleadle refers, this does not mean that sources or topics that form 'more prolonged conduits of enquiry' are set aside. Rather contributors re-configure the relationship between 'fresh nodes of departure' and 'more prolonged conduits of enquiry' in differing ways that illustrate the 'modulated and complicated intellectual chronologies' in histories of women's education as an aspect of women's history to which Gleadle refers.[77]

In looking back at her research practice as a genealogist of women workers' education and at how the history of women workers' education 'erupted from the archive', Tamboukou (this collection) works with the archive as 'a research approach in becoming' in which the

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researcher follows specific storylines, *narrative personae* and analytical insights as strategy. She explores three interrelated methodological and epistemological planes in archival research from the situated position of a feminist genealogist, including archival technologies of the self and the visual turn in the era of the digital revolution. Tamboukou considers genealogical questions and spatio-temporal rhythms that impact on how researchers orient themselves within the archive and how this shapes re-imagining the archive and new modes of thought.

de Coninck-Smith asks how femininity was understood and practiced historically in the everyday academic context of Arhus University, surrounded by male professors and male students – and how it materialized in spatial arrangements and human figurations. Drawing on source material from residence halls, she deploys insights from a new materialist framework that stresses the co-constitution of material and discursive productions of reality to consider 'how material bodies, spaces and conditions contribute to the formation of subjectivity'.[78] de Coninck-Smith brings perspectives from new materialism together with the work of scholars on affective methodologies to explore how female academic identities were affectively constituted through bodies and materialities. de Coninck-Smith illustrates Margaret Wetherell's argument that an interest in affect leads researchers to focus on embodiment in an attempt to understand how people are moved, what attracts them, and to an emphasis on feelings and memories, which Wetherell argues can blur distinctions between human and non-human, animate and inanimate.[79]

An interest in affect also threads through Dussel's consideration of photographs as points of entry into the history of schoolgirls' material culture. Dussel brings together visual history with the contributions of new material feminism, actor-network theory and material studies to analyse shifts in photographic styles and technologies and in the visualities in which girls were inscribed in series of photographs of girls in uniforms and dress codes in

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Argentina between the 1900s and 1940. Like Tamboukou and de Coninck-Smith, Dussel asks questions about how the researcher places herself within networks of human and nonhuman actors, affecting and being affected by her knowledge of them.

The two texts that follow focus on the analysis of written texts. Hoegaerts continues the focus on bodies by unpacking the embodied practices of girls' and women's vocal education, as well as the particular contribution to debates on vocal education by female experts. Starting from the point that voices are also used to perform gendered and sexualised identities, Hoegaerts mines a selection of nineteenth century voice education and science manuals from the burgeoning field of vocal education. Hoegaerts reads these sources for their acoustic content, as incitements to vocal performance, and as 'recordings' of nineteenth century acoustic practices. She connects them to the corporeal and acoustic practices of education, at the crossroads of nineteenth century science, music and education. She concludes that gender was not only made 'legible' through embodied practices but was made 'audible' as well.

Bagchi uses varied literary sources written by Padmini Satthianadhan Sengupta (1880-1950) to analyse intergenerational portraits of women's education (and women's labour), as well as regional and international pictures of women's education. Setting off methodologically from the point of view that the 'Western' autonomous individualistic model of auto-biographical self-writing is fissured and fragmented, Bagchi traces the textual constructions of women's education to lay the groundwork for a better understanding of how Indian women writers represented their own educational trajectories and their own personal histories in the print and public sphere shortly after Indian independence, and before women's or gender studies had become established as disciplines. Bagchi seeks new insights about the history of women's education through reading different types of texts alongside and

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through each other, and she too, points to the importance of entanglements and affect in histories of women's education.

The special issue opens with an historiographical article by Joyce Goodman and Sue Anderson-Faithful which builds on Scott's argument that debates amongst historians of women are 'matters of strategy', rather than fundamental divides.[80] To discuss more prolonged 'conduits of inquiry' in histories of women's education Goodman and Anderson-Faithful focus on four overlapping frameworks: networks, sites, technologies of the self and Bourdieusian notions of reproduction. They also provide examples that link longer-standing threads of scholarship with newer approaches concerned with assemblages, affect, and post humanist questions around 'how matter comes to matter' and temporalities; and they highlight some implications that research strategies oriented to processes and practices suggest for future scholarship.

Finally, the point of departure for the editors in the Afterword is the various strategies through which historical researchers are enjoined to reflect on their location within networks of human and nonhuman actors. The Afterword invites readers to approach the special issue through diffractive reading. As the Afterword outlines in more detail, rather than being organised hierarchically or read against other texts, diffractive reading involves 'a mode of intellectual critique and textual engagement' in which texts are read 'dialogically through one another to engender creative and unexpected outcomes'.[81] Read diffractively, Anderson-Faithful and Goodman suggest, the special issue holds the potential to engender further turns and twists in histories of women's education.

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Notes

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1. Kathryn Gleadle, 'The Imagined Communities of Women's History: Current Debates and

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Emerging Themes, a Rhizomatic Approach', *Women's History Review* 22, no.4 (2013): 524-540.

2. For legibility, histories of women's education is used in the article to cover the education of girls as well as women.

3. Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia,* 2004 edn. (London: Continuum Press, 1988 [First published in 1980].

4. Gleadle, Imagined Communities. In seeking contributions to illustrate 'fresh nodes[s] of departure' the intention of the special issue is not to present a cohesive view of a single 'fresh node' in histories of women's education; nor is it to provide coverage or representativeness, nor to focus explicitly on important areas of concern, such as race, imperialism, colonialism, sexuality, intersectionality, religion, etc., although aspects of these concerns thread through the special issue contributions.

5. Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Mass.: London: Harvard University Press, 1996), 5, 6, 21.

6 Gleadle, 'Imagined Communities', 525.

7. Francisca De Haan, Krassimira Daskalova & Anna Loutfi eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006).

8. Anna Loutfi, 'Beniczky, Hermin (Mrs. Pál Veres) (1815-1895)', in de Haan et al, *Biographical Dictionary*, 54-57.

9. Libuše Heckzková, 'Krásnohorská Eliška (born Alžběta Pechová) (1847-1926)', in in de Haan et al, *Biographical Dictionary*, 262-265.

10. Maria Tamboukou, *Sewing, Fighting and Writing: Radical Practices in work, Politics and Culture* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016).

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11. Marc Matera, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).

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