

**Opening Up the National Co-operative
Archive: Co-operative Woman, Visual
Culture and the Co-operative Movement
in Interwar Britain**

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**Opening Up the National Co-operative Archive: Co-operative
Woman, Visual Culture and the Co-operative Movement in
Interwar Britain**

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Abstract

This project explores the National Co-operative Archive (NCA) in order to challenge traditional archival perceptions and open up the NCA to fresh audiences through new ways of knowing. The NCA, established in 2000 and located in Holyoake House Manchester since 2001, holds the national print collections of the co-operative movement in Britain. The project aims to broaden the reach of what is a substantial educational and ideological resource for the co-operative movement and society. To do so it negotiates two distinct approaches in the context of the co-operative movement: i) visual analysis ii) participatory collage-making.

Visual analysis examines how the gender identity of co-operative woman was represented in the setting of home and work in specific co-operative publications between 1919-1939, arguing that fluid and diverse visual representations of co-operative woman constructed a political continuum which reached beyond being a married member of the Women's Co-operative Guild. The project's main focus is *Woman's Outlook* (1919-1967) the women's periodical of the co-operative movement, together with other co-operative publications: *The Manchester and Salford Equitable Society Monthly Herald* (1896-1960), *The Wheatsheaf: A Monthly Co-operative Record & Magazine* (1896-1964), and *Ourselves: C.W.S. Employees' Journal* (1925-1939) and alongside its wider print culture. These publications are compared and contrasted with the high circulation commercial women's magazine *Woman's Weekly* (1911- to date), and *Labour Woman*, (1913-1971), the women's periodical of the Labour Party.

Participatory collage-making explores the interface between archival practice, the academic investigation and the disciplinary boundaries of the Arts and Humanities, Design and Education in order to open up different spaces for new voices and alter participants' perceptions of the NCA. The project offers potentially significant lessons for other archives and contributes substantive new insights to studies of co-operative woman, the co-operative movement, the archive, visual culture, collaboration and co-production, women's periodicals and design history.

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And finally, I give my deepest thanks to my husband and children, family and friends, thank you for your unfailing support and cheer.

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List of Abbreviations

AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
CC	Co-operative College
CDA	Collaborative Doctoral Award
CHT	Co-operative Heritage Trust
CIS	Co-operative Insurance Society
CU	Co-operative Union
CWS	Co-operative Wholesale Society
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
ESRI	Education and Social Research Institute
FSU	Friends of the Soviet Union
HLF	Heritage Lottery Funding
ICA	International Co-operative Alliance
LHASC	Labour History Archive and Study Centre
LPWS	Labour Party Women's Section
MSECS	Manchester and Salford Equitable Co-operative Society
MMU	Manchester Metropolitan University
NCA	National Co-operative Archive
NCPS	National Co-operative Publishing Society
NSU	Nordic Summer University
WCG	Women's Co-operative Guild
WHR	Women's History Review
WLL	Women's Labour League

Introduction



Figure 1 Holyoake House, Manchester, home of the National Co-operative Archive. Side view with Co-operative Union dedication plaque to George Jacob Holyoake (1917-1906), staunch co-operator and historian of the movement

'How do books cross the threshold of a collection'?'¹

This project explores the National Co-operative Archive (NCA), (Figure 1).² Established in 2000 and located in Holyoake House, Manchester since 2001, the NCA holds the national print collections of the co-operative movement in Britain,³ a significant and democratic worldwide movement. The NCA offers a substantial

¹ W. Benjamin, 'Unpacking My Library', in *Walter Benjamin, Selected Writings. Vol. 2, Pt. 2, 1931-1934*, M. W. Jennings, H. Eiland and G. Smith, (eds.), (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 486-493, 487-8.

² The National Co-operative Archive, <https://www.co-operativeheritage.coop/> accessed 14112019.

³ At the time of writing there are 135 catalogued collections listed in the archive. See Archives Hub: The National Co-operative Archive <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/locations/c0e3eaca-cba5-3c18-8d3d-3fde15994bf8> accessed 11072018.

educational and ideological resource for the co-operative movement⁴ and society: 'Archives sit at the heart of our collective understanding: who we are, where we came from, and, indeed, where we are going'.⁵ Recognising the importance of the NCA, this project challenges traditional perceptions,⁶ opening up the archive to fresh audiences through new ways of knowing.

To develop the broader reach of the archive, two research strands, of initial individual visual analysis and collaborative participatory collage-making examine the representation of the gender identity of co-operative woman. Her everyday life, depicted in the setting of home and work, is found in the visual culture of word and picture in interwar Britain. As such the project investigates 'How do books cross the threshold of a collection?' as observed by Walter Benjamin, (1892-1940) philosopher, theorist and contemporary of the interwar co-operative movement in his 1931 essay, 'Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Book Collecting'.⁷ Seeking to 'unpack'⁸ the NCA,

⁴ Co-operative Heritage Trust <https://www.co-operativeheritage.coop/> accessed 28112019.

⁵ The National Archives, Archives Unlocked – Releasing the Potential, (2017), p. 1, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/Archives-Unlocked-Brochure.pdf> accessed 08112019; The National Archives, Archives Inspire: Plans and Priorities 2015-19, (The National Archives, 2018)

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/our-role/plans-policies-performance-and-projects/our-plans/archives-inspire/> accessed 08112019;

<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives-inspire-2015-19.pdf> accessed 08112019; J. James, V. Johnson and I. Hunter, 'Archives Matter', *Insights*, Vol. 31, No. 26, (2018) pp. 1–10, 1.

⁶ Please refer to Appendix One - A Selection of Publications Using Research in the National Co-operative Archive compiled by Gillian Lonergan Librarian and Sophie Stewart Archivist June 2018; Nina Lager Vestberg argues, 'Archives are shaped not simply by the character of their contents and the organizational preferences of their custodians, but also by the nature of the inquiries directed at them', N. L. Vestberg, 'Ordering, Searching, Finding', *Journal of Visual Culture*, Vol. 12, No. 3, (2013), pp. 472-489, 487; N. Moore, A. Salter, L. Stanley and M. Tamboukou, 'Prologue', in N. Moore, A. Salter, L. Stanley and M. Tamboukou, *The Archive Project: Archival Research in the Social Sciences*, (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. ix-xi; N. Moore, A. Salter, L. Stanley and M. Tamboukou, 'In Other Archives and Beyond', in N. Moore, A. Salter, L. Stanley and M. Tamboukou, *Archive*, pp. 1-30, 1-2.

⁷ Benjamin, 'Unpacking', pp. 487-8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

engenders understanding of co-operative woman, the movement and in turn archival practice.⁹



Figure 2 *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover

⁹ Niamh Moore et al point out that there are currently few books which offer thorough methodological insights into archival research, Moore et al, 'Prologue', pp. ix-xi; L. Stanley, 'Archival Methodology in the Black Box: Noise in the Archive', in Moore et al, *Archive*, pp. 33-67; M. Tamboukou, 'Reassembling Documents of Life in the Archive', *The European Journal of Life Writing*, Vol. 6, (2017), pp. 1-19, 6-7.

To expand engagement beyond customary modes of historical enquiry with the NCA, the woman-edited *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 2)¹⁰ first published in November 1919 by the National Co-operative Publishing Society (NCPS) (1919),¹¹ is compared and contrasted with the other co-operative publications: *The Manchester and Salford Equitable Society Monthly Herald* (1896-1960);¹² *The Wheatsheaf: A Monthly Co-operative Record & Magazine* (1896-1964)¹³ and *Ourselves: C.W.S. Employees' Journal* (1925-1939),¹⁴ both published by the Co-operative Wholesale Society (CWS);¹⁵ alongside the wider print culture of the movement which are located in the NCA.¹⁶ As a control, the visual gender identity of women outside the movement is compared with the high circulation (490,000 in 1938)¹⁷ commercial women's magazine *Woman's Weekly* (1911- to date),¹⁸ and *Labour Woman*, (1913-1971)¹⁹ the

¹⁰ Please note, the 'house style' publication date of each of the magazines is adopted in the footnotes. This approach reflects the changes in 'house style' of each publication.

¹¹ In 1919 the Co-operative Newspaper Society (1873) and the 'Scottish Co-operator' Newspaper Society amalgamated to become the National Co-operative Publishing Society. See W. M. Bamford, *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921: Jubilee Souvenir of the "Co-operative News"*, (22 Long Millgate, Manchester: National Co-operative Publishing Society Ltd., 1921), pp. vii, 39. In 1935 the National Co-operative Publishing Society became known as the Co-operative Press.

¹² *The Manchester and Salford Equitable Society Monthly Herald*, published by the *Manchester and Salford Equitable Co-operative Society*, will subsequently be referred to as *Herald*.

¹³ *The Wheatsheaf: A Monthly Co-operative Record & Magazine* will subsequently be referred to as *Wheatsheaf*.

¹⁴ *Ourselves: C.W.S. Employees' Journal* will subsequently be referred to as *Ourselves*. The publication is available from January 1928 in the NCA collections. Publication was suspended at the onset of the Second World War.

¹⁵ Formed in 1863 the CWS was one of the biggest co-operative bodies in the UK. After a number of mergers, it became known as The Co-operative Group in 2001.

¹⁶ As an investigation of the NCA all the co-operative publications are drawn from the NCA. See Chapter One for discussion of rationale of sources and sampling.

¹⁷ C. L. White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, (London: Michael Joseph, 1970), Appendix IV no page numbers (n.pn).

¹⁸ *Woman's Weekly* is sourced from the British Library <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues-and-collections> accessed 20122016; British Library Reading Rooms Boston Spa, Wetherby <https://www.bl.uk/visit/reading-rooms/boston-spa> accessed 28122016.

¹⁹ *Labour Woman* is located at the Labour History Archive and Study Centre (LHASC), People's History Museum, Manchester <https://phm.org.uk/collections/labour-history-archive-study-centre/> accessed 20122016.

women's periodical of the Labour Party. Significantly, each publication communicates a character, in which the 'visual style'²⁰ offered different representations, across a range of women's commercial and political publications for the period 1919-1939.

Representation is defined as both a linguistic and illustrative process which can support making sense of our domain. The relationship of design, typeface and image, rarely addressed in twentieth century magazine studies²¹ is examined. As such, taking a visual cultural approach tests how far 'the shared practices of a group, community, or society' are conveyed 'in symbolic and communicative activities' where text and illustration might 'create meaning about the world around us' and 'understand, describe, and define the world'.²² The project examines how far imagery, which is quickly apprehended and easily consumed, can potentially contribute to the relevant and significant ideological and pedagogical role of the movement in contemporary society, and lend itself to the opening up of the archive.

²⁰ C. Holstead, 'Magazine Design: Defining the Visual Architecture', in D. Abrahamson and M. R. Prior-Miller, (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Magazine Research: The Future of the Magazine Form*, (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 392-409, 392.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 392, 404.

²² M. Sturken and L. Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*, 2nd Ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 3, 12.

The Co-operative Movement and the National Co-operative Archive

In Britain the movement was inaugurated in 1844, by 28 working men who founded the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers.²³ To cope with the socio-economic hardships of the 1840s the Pioneers developed their distinctive co-operative ideology, Law First. This was a clearly communicated set of principles set out in their inaugural publication, 'Laws and Objects of the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers', published in 1844.²⁴ Underpinned by the co-operative ethos of self-help and democratic membership of 'one man one vote'²⁵ the Pioneers fostered self-help as an alternative to individualist capitalism. Membership was an individual choice which enabled collective mutual benefit which could potentially, although not desired by all, manifest in the form of the Co-operative Commonwealth.²⁶ Intended to enhance the quality of life, rather than look for private profit, co-operation indicates an ecology of the individual and the collective.²⁷ A rapid expansion of self-governing co-operative societies across Britain followed throughout the second half of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century in which a self-conscious approach

²³ G. D. H. Cole, *A Century of Co-operation*, (Co-operative Union: Manchester, 1944), p. 59, Appendix 402-413.

²⁴ *Laws and Objects of the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers*, (Rochdale: Jesse Hall, 149 Yorkshire Street, 1844).

²⁵ Cole, *Century*, p. 64.

²⁶ Jean Gaffin and David Thoms consider the Co-operative Commonwealth, as 'a production orientated utopia' and distinct from 'the welfare of the consumer' as the aim of the Pioneers', J. Gaffin and D. Thoms, *Caring and Sharing: The Centenary History of the Co-operative Women's Guild*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1983), p. 8. The ideal of the Co-operative Commonwealth is discussed in Chapter Three. The Co-operative Commonwealth is not the focus of this project however it is important to understand the ideal as part of the ethos of the movement and the role it played in representations of co-operative woman, for example see *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 13.

²⁷ Linda Shaw refers to 'the rich ecology of educational provision', which developed as an outcome of the emphasis co-operative societies placed on local connections, in the delivery of education in the co-operative movement. See L. Shaw, 'A Turning Point? Mapping Co-operative Education in the UK', in T. Woodin, (ed.), *Co-operation, Learning and Co-operative Values: Contemporary Issues in Education*, (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 161–176, 162.

to the dissemination, education and documentation of the co-operative ethos contributed to a distinct visual identity.

The movement placed education at the heart of its philosophy and vision and produced a rich visual culture. Hundreds of co-operative societies consistently published a large volume of often well-illustrated high-quality print material. A vast array of distinctive journals,²⁸ books, leaflets, pamphlets, photographs, reports, brochures, posters, catalogues, information sheets, bulletins, newsletters, periodicals, film²⁹ and correspondence date back to the nineteenth century. As we shall see the movement engaged in the production and distribution of goods and services such as insurance and banking and comprised of large numbers of employees. Societies offered lectures and talks, correspondence courses and residential programmes. Entertainment and cultural activities included society sports teams, drama groups, musical and dance hall events, day trips and fashion shows.³⁰

In the diverse and challenging landscape of nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first century Britain the NCA maintains the movement's commitment to internal and

²⁸ For example, published journals include CWS Annuals. These were annual publications produced by the CWS between 1880s-1960 to give information on the economic aspects of the CWS and the Scottish CWS. Co-operators' Yearbooks (1900-1960), were also produced annually to report about the range of activities of co-operative societies. Innumerable societies produced journals for their members and employees, for example, *The Bolton Co-operative Record* (1889-1929), the *Failsworth Industrial Co-operative Society Messenger* (1891-1954) and *The Eccles Co-operative Record* (1911-1947).

²⁹ A. Burton, *The British Consumer Co-operative Movement and Film, 1890s-1960s*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).

³⁰ Shaw, 'Turning', p. 162.

external dialogues with its members and the public.³¹ The current organisation of the NCA was established in 2000 through the amalgamation of the Co-operative Union (CU) (1869)³² and Co-operative College archives previously located at Stanford Hall in Loughborough. The newly formed NCA then relocated to Holyoake House, Manchester in 2001.

The origins of the NCA and collections can be dated to 1903³³ with the deposit of the Robert Owen Correspondence Collection to the CU by George Jacob Holyoake, (1817-1906), dedicated advocate and historian of the movement.³⁴ Upon his death in 1906, the CU, whilst renting buildings at Long Millgate in Manchester, sought to commemorate Holyoake's dedication to co-operation through the building of Holyoake House which would function as the main educational hub of the CU. Each year enrolment onto CU courses typically exceeded 50,000 students.³⁵ A comprehensive range of content and mode of delivery included correspondence courses, 'lending libraries' and 'a wide array of educational materials'. The CU was

³¹ The perspective of dialogue as proposed by Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, (1895 – 1975), twentieth century Russian philosopher and contemporary of the co-operative movement, was revealed as a useful concept early on in the research process in a discussion with Professor Yvette Solomon, ESRI, MMU. The approach considers Bakhtin's concepts of dialogue and 'heteroglossia...a multiplicity of social voices' in his 1934-5 essay, 'Discourse in the Novel', important. The notions of openness and multiple perspectives enabled the investigation of the public and accessible qualities of the publications and in turn, influenced the project. See, M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, (ed.), M. Holquist, transl., C. Emerson and M. Holquist, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 263, 341,428.

³² The Co-operative Union, (1869), now known as Co-operatives UK, consistently published co-operative material, leaflets, pamphlets, reports and photographs and played a key part in the education of the movement before the founding of the Co-operative College in 1919.

³³ See Appendix Two - G. Lonergan National Co-operative Archive 28 March 2018.

³⁴ G. J. Holyoake, *Self-Help by the People: The History of The Rochdale Pioneers 1844-1892*, 10th Ed., (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893).

³⁵ T. Woodin, 'Co-operation, Leadership and Learning: Fred Hall and the Co-operative College Before 1939', in *Mass Intellectuality and Democratic Leadership in Higher Education*, R. Hall and J. Winn, (eds.), (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 27-40, 28.

‘pioneering in adult education, and helping to establish the Workers’ Educational Association’.³⁶

Meanwhile the Co-operative College (1919) as a ‘unique organisation’ was established as an adult and staff training centre for the movement. With an explicit pedagogic purpose, ‘to provide training and knowledge to challenge the current competitive economic system’,³⁷ creation of the College formalised an amalgam of educational undertakings.³⁸ Areas studied included ‘the history of co-operation, economics of co-operation, industrial history...technical and vocational learning’.³⁹ But ‘the aspiration to educate for a Co-operative Commonwealth was frequently frustrated by the reality that the College could only handle relatively small numbers’ of co-operative members and employees.⁴⁰ In fact, the educational drive of the co-operative movement found a fuller expression in the production of a plethora of often richly illustrated co-operative publications for all age ranges from the nineteenth century. This would suggest that the archive is part of the ideological strategy of the movement.

As a registered charity⁴¹ the NCA is designated to the Co-operative Heritage Trust (CHT), together with the Rochdale Pioneers Museum building and collections it was

³⁶ I. MacPherson, ‘Mainstreaming Some Lacunae: Developing Co-operative Studies as an Interdisciplinary, International Field of Enquiry’, in Woodin, (ed.), *Co-operation*, pp. 177–194, 179.

³⁷ Woodin, ‘Co-operation’, p. 30.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴¹ Registered Charity Number 1121610.

administered by the Co-operative College from 2007 to 2019. In October 2019 the CHT became a Charitable Incorporated Organisation and the management agreement with the Co-operative College came to an end.⁴² As archivist Sophie McCulloch observes because it is no longer part of the College the NCA has a new found independence and identity.⁴³ Importantly, autonomy offers the space and opportunity for the archivist and users to define, explore and shape its identity through its collections, attending to the rich complexity of the movement in different ways, and importantly asking what role the archive can play in the complex socio-economic and political landscape of the 2020s.

The ongoing engagement of external audiences is vital to its life. Importantly, Jacques Derrida has observed that the archive is a construct and without the presence of the exterior, there is '*No archive without outside*'.⁴⁴ To do this project now is significant. It is a Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA) originated by Professor Jim Aulich, Head of Postgraduate Arts and Humanities Centre, Professor John Schostak, Education and Social Research Institute, at Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) and Mervyn Wilson, Principal of the Co-operative College, with the aim of developing an innovative interdisciplinary partnership between MMU and the NCA. Funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and the CHT it is the product of a particular contemporary political context characterised by the crash in 2008 and

⁴² The Co-operative Heritage Trust (2007) is managed by six trustees selected from Co-operatives UK, the Co-operative Group and the Co-operative College.

⁴³ Email correspondence Sophie McCulloch 20 December 2019.

⁴⁴ J. Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, transl. E. Prenowitz, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Paperback 1998), p. 11, Derrida italics.

austerity, now challenged, as I write by the Coronavirus pandemic. The United Nations confirmed in 2012 the significance of the contemporary co-operative movement with its 1.2 billion members globally:

The United Nations General Assembly has declared 2012 as the International Year of Cooperatives, highlighting the contribution of cooperatives to socio-economic development, particularly their impact on poverty reduction, employment generation and social integration.⁴⁵

Primarily the co-operative movement is a retail organisation with the objective of co-operation, it is a social movement.⁴⁶ It did not participate in politics and there was no political affiliation until the formation of the Co-operative Party (1917).⁴⁷ Distinctively, its print culture was an important and major strategy used to disseminate its principles as a democratic organisational structure and demonstrated its sense of responsibility.⁴⁸ Extensive and detailed co-operative self-documentation, described as an 'extraordinary feature of British co-operative business,'⁴⁹ indicates a unique and progressive approach to self-conscious decision making and identity building. The NCA collections are a surviving and living trace of how the movement, which is yet growing and evolving, communicated and expressed its intentions and aspirations in Britain.

⁴⁵ United Nations: 2012 – International Year of Co-operatives
<http://www.un.org/en/events/coopsyyear/> accessed 16/10/2018.

⁴⁶ Gillian Scott identifies both the movement and the WCG as a '*social* movement' of which the aims of the WCG 'committed it only to the study of Co-operation, and work to secure reforms in the interests of working women', Scott, *Feminism*, pp. 2, 16, Scott italics.

⁴⁷ A. Whitecross, *Co-operative Commonwealth or New Jerusalem? The Co-operative Party and the Labour Party, 1931-1951*, (Unpublished DPhil, University of Central Lancashire, in collaboration with The Co-operative College, 2015), p. 1.

⁴⁸ J. Southern, *The Co-operative Movement in the North West of England, 1919-1939: Images and Realities*, (Unpublished DPhil, Lancaster University 1996), p. 12.

⁴⁹ J. F. Wilson, A. Webster and R. Vorberg-Rugh, *Building Co-operation: A Business History of the Co-operative Group, 1863-2013*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 7.

The archive, presents a physical manifestation of Law First. Through the collections, it embodies the role of self-help which underpinned the ideals of the Pioneers and suggests a distinct pedagogical practice. Embodied in the print culture the archive preserves the trace of the co-operative values, ideals and principles. This was necessitated because of its existence outside the dominant individualist capitalist ideology.

Holyoake House (Figure 1) demonstrates the movement's commitment to the public dissemination of co-operative ideology and desire to build a co-operative community. A sizeable dedication plaque to George Jacob Holyoake (Figure 3) positioned prominently on the exterior of Holyoake House, projects the movement outwards to invite participation and publicise the ethos and principles of the co-operative movement:

The co-operative union is a federation of co-operative societies in the United Kingdom for the purpose of propagandist and defensive action. Its objects are, 1. To establish and organize co-operative societies. 2. To diffuse a knowledge of the principles of co-operation by advice and instruction – literary, legal and commercial.⁵⁰

The inscription boldly crafts a visible public declaration of the extent of the movement and the substantial commitment to co-operation of its members, 'This building was erected by the voluntary contributions of 794 co-operative societies members of the union'.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Dedication plaque to George Jacob Holyoake, Holyoake House, Manchester.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

The public dialogue of the movement is manifest in the outside space, on the exterior of the building and in the co-operative collections. The outside is employed with the aim to provoke the NCA as Derrida observes, 'there is no archive without consignment in an *external place* which assures the possibility of memorization, of repetition, of reproduction'.⁵²

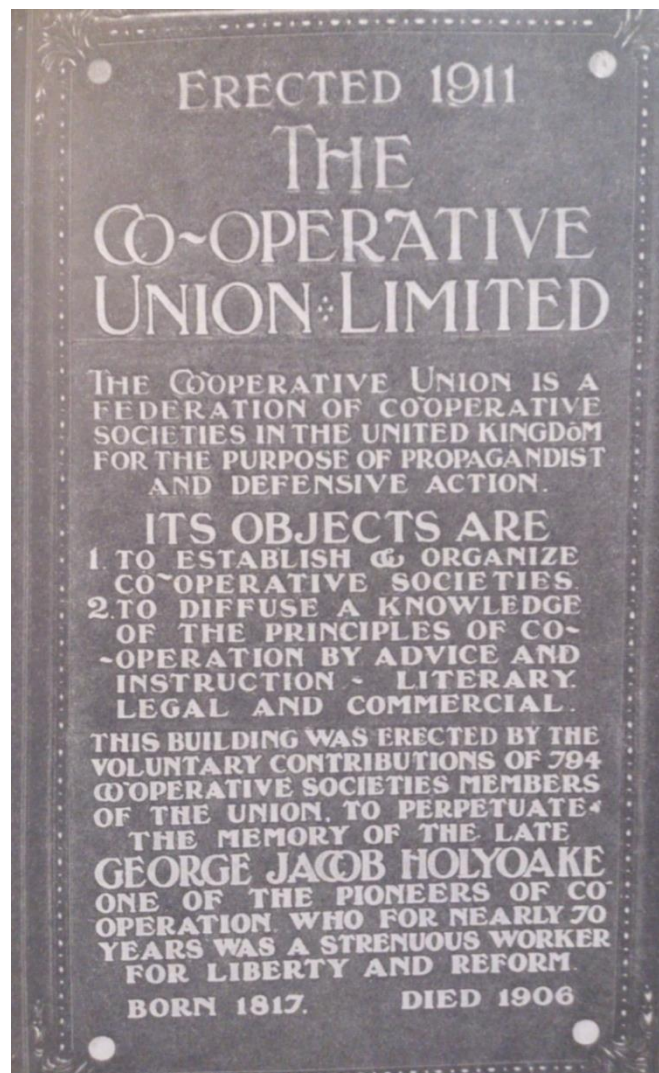


Figure 3 Detail image of dedication plaque to George Jacob Holyoake, Holyoake House, Manchester

⁵² Derrida, *Archive*, p. 11 Derrida italics.

Echoing co-operative practices of the public dissemination of its ethos, the project demonstrates how dialogues with the outside are established, with communities beyond the threshold of the NCA. To dislocate the collections underpins the disruption of the boundaries of the NCA, viewed as a representation of, 'the unstable limit between public and private, between the family, the society and the State'.⁵³ Although to some extent the publications are vehicles of internal propaganda, promoting the co-operative ideology, produced autonomously by co-operative societies they suggest a much richer agenda.

How everyday lived experiences became potentially politicised⁵⁴ in the co-operative rhetoric is explored in the post First World War context and subsequent landscape. Representing a significant period of socio-economic-political change and upheaval, parallels can be drawn between the historical backdrop of the NCA and the contemporary context in which the archive currently functions at the time of writing and potentially has an equally important educational role. As Tom Woodin proposes, 'At a time of tumultuous social and economic change, co-operation is offering a vision and a strategy for transforming education'.⁵⁵

This is particularly meaningful when, borne out by this project, awareness of the archive, its extensive collections and the movement are relatively little known and,

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵⁴ M. Savage and A. Miles, *The Remaking of the British Working Class 1840-1940* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 19-20.

⁵⁵ T. Woodin, 'An Introduction to Co-operative Education in the Past and Present', in Woodin, (ed.), *Co-operation*, pp. 1-13, 1.

potentially obscure beyond the co-operative research field. Indeed, they almost seem to be hidden. In this context, it is important to draw attention to the archive, its relationship with the movement and to wider society. As John Walton highlights, the relative abundant yet disregarded co-operative architecture as, 'so ubiquitous as to have become almost invisible to most historians'.⁵⁶ The archive and the movement offering 'a hidden alternative'⁵⁷ to 'the dominant capitalist mode of production'⁵⁸ presents a significant rationale to open up this archive.

Past Present Future

The project has a particular focus on the inaugural 1919 edition⁵⁹ of co-operative publication *Woman's Outlook*, which boldly asserted on behalf of the co-operative woman that it was: 'seeking freedom for their own progress, and the equal fellowship of men and women in the home, the store, the workshop, and the State'.⁶⁰ The analysis is set in the complex landscape of the British co-operative movement⁶¹ at a time when the movement aimed to promote co-operative values through 'forthright and unequivocal' propaganda: presenting the co-operative world view,

⁵⁶ Walton, 'Commemorating', p. 162.

⁵⁷ A. Webster, L. Shaw, D. Stewart, J. K. Walton and A. Brown, 'The Hidden Alternative?', in A. Webster, A. Brown, D. Stewart, L. Shaw and J.K. Walton, (eds.), *The Hidden Alternative: Co-operative Values, Past, Present and Future*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 1-15.

⁵⁸ T. Linehan, *Modernism and British Socialism*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 80.

⁵⁹ F. A. Hackney, "'They Opened Up A Whole New World": Feminine Modernity and the Feminine Imagination in Women's Magazines, 1919-1939', (Unpublished DPhil, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2010), redacted, npn, Chapter Two. Fiona Hackney's doctoral study was recently published as a monograph, see F. Hackney, *Women's Magazines and the Feminine Imagination: Opening Up a New World for Women in Interwar Britain*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2020).

⁶⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁶¹ Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, p .7.

disseminating co-operative ideology became a marketing strategy as well as a social objective.⁶² Visual culture addresses ephemera which, often produced independently in the print workshop by artisans for illustrative purposes is often incidental and not directly propagandist, but no less ideological because it is unconsciously a product of the environment. Examination of the movement's multifaceted relationship with women members, tracing new understandings of the historical moment, revealed tensions between practice and ideology, in the context of equal fellowship.⁶³

This historical knowledge is then mobilised in an experimental encounter with new audiences. Offering an anchor for the traditional academic analysis, this inaugural issue similarly became the focus in the second, collaborative⁶⁴ strand which places participant engagement at the centre of the project. The approach initially began as a one-off participatory collage-making workshop. It was conceived in 2015 in response to the Nordic Summer University, (NSU), Winter Symposium⁶⁵ conference call for papers 'How Does Artistic Research Transform Society?'.⁶⁶ I introduced a

⁶² J. Reeves, *A Century of Rochdale Co-operation 1844-1944: A Critical but Sympathetic Survey of a Significant Movement of the Workers for Economic Emancipation*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1944), pp. 93-102. Joseph Reeves was the education secretary (1918-38), for the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society. He was a leading figure and advocate in the movement of co-operative education through film, developing the Workers' Film Association in 1938 and then the Labour Movement Film services. Burton, *British*, pp. 118, 149-156.

⁶³ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁶⁴ C. Peach; P. McNulty, and M. A. O'Rourke, (revised), *Guide to Collaboration for Archives and Higher Education*, (National Archives, Research Libraries UK, 2018), p. 8, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/2018-edition-archive-and-he-guidance-all-sections-combined-ci-final.pdf> accessed 27022019.

⁶⁵ Nordic Summer University <http://nordic.university/study-circles/archive-study-circles/practicing-communities-transformative-societal-strategies-artistic-research-2018-2020/> accessed 06032018.

⁶⁶ Workshop One, Practicing Communities: Transformative Societal Strategies of Artistic Research: How Does Artistic Research Transform Society? Nordic Summer University, (NSU), Winter Symposium, Circle 7, 18-20 March 2016, Riga, Latvia. See Appendix Three – Project Outputs.

workshop proposal to Gemma Meek, fellow faculty doctoral researcher. This plan was then further developed as a collaboration. Gemma was interested to experience the workshop process. Primarily it offered a way of engaging with different audiences and also disseminating knowledge about the NCA, co-operative woman and the movement. Subsequently, during 2016-2017 ten workshops engaging 108 participants took place at a range of formal, disciplinary, feminist and gender themed academic conferences across Europe.

The workshops were carried out, often with Gemma,⁶⁷ and with the consent of the conference delegates as workshop participants. The understanding of the position as originating researcher in a collaborative and co-production⁶⁸ project is influenced by Naomi Joy Godden's discussion of her position as 'initiating researcher' in a participatory workshop context.⁶⁹

Developed as an emergent methodology employing an improvisational⁷⁰ participatory arts-based approach, the workshops invited delegates to create a

⁶⁷ Six of the ten workshops were developed and delivered in collaboration with fellow faculty doctoral researcher, Gemma Meek. Four were developed and delivered individually by myself. See Chapter One and Seven, Appendix Three – Project Outputs.

⁶⁸ C., Durose, Y., Beebeejaun, J. Rees, J., Richardson, and L., Richardson, *Towards Co-Production in Research with Communities*, (AHRC: Connected Communities), https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/geography/reframing_state/CCDiscussionPaperDurose2etal.pdf accessed 02032019; M. Kelemen, M. Phillips, D. James and S. Moffat, 'Performing the Legacy of Animative and Iterative Approaches to Co-producing Knowledge', in Facer and Pahl, (eds.), *Valuing Interdisciplinary Collaborative Research: Beyond Impact*, (Bristol: Policy Press, 2017), pp. 107-130, 107; M. Gearty, 'Learning History', in D. Coghlan and M. Brydon-Miller, (eds.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Action Research*, (Los Angeles, Sage Publications Ltd., 2014), pp. 493-496, 493-494.

⁶⁹ J. Godden, 'A Co-operative Inquiry About Love Using Narrative, Performative and Visual Methods', *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 17, No. 1, (2017), pp. 75-94, 77.

⁷⁰ T. Ingold, *Bringing Things to Life: Creative Entanglements in a World of Materials*, Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) National Centre for Research Methods, Working Paper Series No. 15 (2010), pp. 1-14, 3, 10.

collage employing photocopies of *Woman's Outlook*. Working together with participants as co-researchers,⁷¹ new audiences engage as participant-researchers.⁷² At eight of the ten conference workshops the collages were constructed into a book for each workshop.⁷³ Here invention resides 'in the capacity of seizing on the capabilities of a subject'.⁷⁴ The same material collection of the archive is employed in an alternative way with different audiences in which the majority of participants involved had little previous knowledge or experience of the NCA, the co-operative movement or *Woman's Outlook*.

By effecting a material dialogue with the publication through collage this methodology opened up the archive to new audiences. Their in-the-moment and physical encounter with the provided photocopies of *Woman's Outlook* viewed as a 'nonseparation of thinking and doing' invoked an embodied improvisational intervention.⁷⁵ Considered engagement fused in an encounter of 'thinking through making' (Chapter Seven).⁷⁶ The production of knowledge engenders interrelated yet

⁷¹ R. M. Boylorn, 'Participants as Co-Researchers', in L. M., Given, (ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd., 2008), pp. 599-601.

⁷² A. Hackett, 'Parents as Researchers: Collaborative Ethnography with Parents', *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 17, No. 5, (2017), pp. 481-497, 482-483, 485, 488, 494.

⁷³ See Chapter Seven and Appendix Three – Project Outputs

⁷⁴ M. Shelley, *Frankenstein Or The Modern Prometheus*, (London: Penguin Classics, 1818; 1992, 2003), p. 8.

⁷⁵ Maxine Sheets-Johnstone's research into the phenomena of movement especially her observations about improvisation, adds valuable insight to this project in relation to the physical acts of the participant traced in the collage-making. Her approach to movement was revealed in a discussion with Professor Ricardo Nemirovsky, ESRI, MMU. See M. Sheets-Johnstone, 'Thinking in Movement', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (1981), pp. 399-407; M. Sheets-Johnstone, *The Primacy of Movement*, 2nd Ed., (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2011), pp. xvii, xxxi, 419-449.

⁷⁶ A. Ravetz, "'Both Created and Discovered": The Case for Reverie and Play in a Redrawn Anthropology', in T. Ingold, (ed.), *Redrawing Anthropology: Materials, Movements, Lines*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011) pp. 157-176, pp. 159, 171; T. Ingold, *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), pp. xi, 5-7.

discrete outcomes. A contemporary interpretation might view this project as an entangled relationship.⁷⁷

In the context of the co-operative movement these distinctive encounters negotiate the challenge of engaging with two different methodologies. Enacting one definition of visual culture incorporates the notion of how the past acts in the present.⁷⁸ In turn, the NCA and the material is constructed anew with each encounter, shaped by the conditions of investigation.⁷⁹ The archive becomes 'more palpable'⁸⁰ building new relationships and dialogues with the NCA, the movement and society, and reveals the contemporary social, economic and political relevance of co-operation.⁸¹

Visual Analysis

Typically, the focus in the academic literature on women in the co-operative movement tends to be located within the organisational perspective of the Women's Co-operative Guild (WCG).⁸² Formed in 1883 for the married women of the co-

⁷⁷ K. Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, (2007), pp. 152, 224, 383-384, 389; Ingold, *Bringing*, p. 3.

⁷⁸ N. Mirzoeff (ed.), *The Visual Culture Reader*, 3rd Ed., (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

⁷⁹ T. Nesmith, 'Seeing Archives: Postmodernism and the Changing Intellectual Place of Archives', *The American Archives*, Vol. 65, (2002), pp. 24-41, 32; Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 19-20.

⁸⁰ Benjamin, 'Unpacking', p. 486.

⁸¹ N. Robertson, *The Co-operative Movement and Communities in Britain, 1914-1960: Minding Their Own Business*, (Surrey: Ashgate Press, 2010), p. 1.

⁸² Initially named The Women's League for the Spread of Co-operation the organisation changed its name in 1884 to the Women's Co-operative Guild and then to the Co-operative Women's Guild in 1963, reflecting their commitment to co-operation, Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring & Sharing*, pp. 1, 184.

operative movement it was 'a self-governing organization'.⁸³ Visual analysis of depictions of women co-operators from a wider field, reveals how the movement negotiated its understanding of who co-operative woman was, beyond being a member of the WCG. Contrasted with studies of predominantly written sources for example Co-operative Congress Reports, Annual Reports and minutes of the WCG and newspapers such as *Co-operative News* and *Reynolds News*, the project fills a space in the scholarship of the co-operative woman and the movement.⁸⁴ Significantly, this analysis differs from the largely organisational approaches of previous studies of co-operative women.

⁸³ M. L. Davies, 'Introduction', in M. L. Davies, (ed.), *Maternity: Letters from Working-Women Collected by the Women's Co-operative Guild*, (1st Ed., London: G. Bell, 1915; Reprinted, London: Virago, 1978), pp. 1-17, 1.

⁸⁴ Exceptionally Jayne Southern's 1996 doctoral study introduced a fresh visual approach and established *Woman's Outlook* as a primary source. However, her study features only one illustration from *Woman's Outlook* and ten references to the magazine. Southern utilises *Co-operative News* as the main source, see Southern, *Co-operative*, pp. 12, 44, 99, 114-116, 118, 138-141. *Co-operative News* is the 'official' weekly journal of the movement, Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, p. 272. Despite the extensive volume of co-operative publications *Co-operative News* is frequently utilised as a source in studies of the movement. For example, see: Wilson et al, *Building*, p. 7. Alternatively, this project utilises the wider periodical collection. For example: Gillian Scott offered the first major examination of the WCG. Initially published in 1998, Scott's study of the development of the WCG, addressed the social and political context of the 1880s to the Second World War. Scott includes five references to *Woman's Outlook* in the inter war period, G. Scott, *Feminism and the Politics of Working Women: The Women's Co-operative Guild, 1880's to the Second World War*, (London: UCL, 1998; Taylor & Francis, 2005), pp. 141, 173, 179, 181; Barbara Blaszak, cites primary sources which include Annual Co-operative Congress Reports 1883-1922, Annual Reports of the Women's Co-operative Guild, 1893-1922 and *Co-operative News* 1871, 1882-1921, B. J. Blaszak, *The Matriarchs of England's Cooperative Movement: A Study in Gender Politics and Female Leadership, 1883-1921* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), p. 199; Andrew Flinn, includes several references to *Woman's Outlook* in the context of the WCG in the interwar period, A. Flinn, "'Mothers for Peace", *Co-operation, Feminism, and Peace: the Women's Co-operative Guild and the Antiwar Movement Between the Wars*', in L. Black and N. Robertson, (eds.), *Consumerism and the Co-operative Movement in Modern British History: Taking Stock*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 138-154, 144, 147-148, 153-154, f/n 23, 28, 31; Davies, 'Introduction', p. 1; M. L. Davies, (ed.), *Life As We Have Known It: by Co-operative Working Women*, (London: Hogarth Press, 1931 with a foreword by Virginia Woolf, Virago reprint 1977); C. Webb, *The Woman with the Basket: The History of the Women's Co-operative Guild, 1883-1927*, (Manchester: Co-operative Wholesale Society's Printing Works, 1927); G. Scott, "'Working Out Their Own Salvation": Women's Autonomy And Divorce Law Reform In the Co-operative Movement, 1910-1920', in S. Yeo, (ed.), *New Views of Co-operation*, (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 128-153; R. Vorberg-Rugh, 'Employers and Workers: Conflicting Identities Over Women's Wages in the Co-operative Movement 1906-18', in Black and Robertson, (eds.), *Consumerism*, pp. 121-137.

With an initial circulation of 40,000,⁸⁵ *Woman's Outlook* offers entry into an overlooked discrete aspect of the co-operative movement. Edited by Annie Bamford Tomlinson (1919-1933)⁸⁶ and then Mary Stott (1933-1943),⁸⁷ it is a magazine produced by women⁸⁸ for women which represented a new departure for the co-operative movement amongst its raft of publications and distinguished it from commercially produced magazines.⁸⁹ *Woman's Outlook* had high production values and featured a nuanced range of representations of co-operative woman (Chapter One, Four, Five, Six). Marginalised in the study of women's periodicals it has been central to only two contemporary analyses. Rachel Ritchie's detailed doctoral study of the period 1954-69 in 2010,⁹⁰ and a recent chapter by Natalie Bradbury which focuses on the interwar period.⁹¹ This project goes beyond Bradbury's emphasis on the printed word⁹² to focus on the abundant depiction of co-operative woman in word and image positioned within 'the complexities of individual's relationship to political practice'⁹³ and draws attention to the politics of the everyday housewife and

⁸⁵ *Woman's Outlook* December 1919, p. 28.

⁸⁶ Annie Bamford Tomlinson was the daughter of Samuel Bamford, the editor of the *Co-operative News*, 1875-1898. The *Co-operative News* (1871- present), was published by the (North of England) Co-operative Newspaper Company Limited (1871).

⁸⁷ M. Stott, *Forgetting's No Excuse: The Autobiography of Mary Stott*, (London: Virago, 1973), pp. 53-57.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁸⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 4th 1939, pp. 1-2; See Chapter Four.

⁹⁰ R. Ritchie, *The Housewife and the Modern: The Home and Appearance in Women's Magazines, 1954-69*, (Unpublished DPhil, The University of Manchester, 2010).

⁹¹ N. Bradbury, 'Woman's Outlook 1919-39: An Educational Space for Co-operative Women', in Clay, C., DiCenzo, M., Green, B., and Hackney, F., (eds.), *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1918-1939 The Interwar Period*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), pp. 421-434; In addition, Sophie Greenway considers *Woman's Outlook's* approach to gardening in the period 1930-1970, in comparison to *Home and Country*, *Amateur Gardening* and *House and Garden*. See S. Greenway, 'Producer or Consumer? The House, the Garden and the Sourcing of Vegetables in Britain, 1930-1970', *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 16, No. 3, (2019), pp. 337-357.

⁹² Bradbury, 'Woman's', pp. 422, 428.

⁹³ K. Hunt, 'Rethinking Activism: Lessons from the History of Women's Politics', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 62, No.2, (2009), pp. 211-226, 212.

social, economic and political citizenship.⁹⁴ By expanding the analysis across four co-operative magazines in the context of the visual culture of the movement, rather than focusing 'on a single discrete organisation' or aspect, the project opens up previously marginalised representations.⁹⁵

The themes of home and work are the focus of Chapters Five and Six and they offer insight into the underexplored, lived experience as the co-operative movement would like to see it.⁹⁶ Drawn from the four areas identified as significant for co-operative woman in the inaugural editorial of *Woman's Outlook* (1919), in 'seeking freedom for their own progress, and the equal fellowship of men and women in the home, the store, the workshop and the State'.⁹⁷ These two themes represent the public and the private spheres and were chosen as a way to manage the scale of the project, which also sought to embrace an educational aspect. The home described by Alistair Thomson as 'that most sealed place of all...' represents the private sphere.⁹⁸ Whilst, examination of 'The women who work for us'⁹⁹ explores representations of their relationships with the public space of work (in 1939, the co-operative movement was one of the foremost employers in the country).¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ K. Hunt and J. Hannam, 'Towards an Archaeology of Interwar Women's Politics: The Local and the Everyday', in J. V. Gottlieb and R. Toye, (eds.), *The Aftermath of Suffrage: Women and Gender in Politics in Britain, 1918-1945*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), pp. 124-141, 133; C. Beaumont, *Housewives and Citizens: Domesticity and the Women's Movement in England, 1928-64*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 2-5, 62.

⁹⁵ Hunt, 'Rethinking', pp. 212, 225.

⁹⁶ *Ourselfes* November 1931, p. 31.

⁹⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁹⁸ A. Thomson, "'Domestic Drudgery Will Be A Thing of The Past": Co-operative Women and The Reform of Housework', in Yeo, (ed.), *New*, pp. 108-127, 109.

⁹⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Southern, Co-operative, p. 130.

The visual qualities of the front cover (Figure 2) mobilise word and image, juxtaposing domestic, work and political identities and priorities. For example, the depiction of 'The Woman with the Basket', the picture on the membership card of the WCG, which Margaret Llewelyn Davies, the General Secretary of the WCG (1889-1921), and a seminal figure in the co-operative movement, regards as the 'typical Co-operative woman – the woman with the basket power'.¹⁰¹ Davies describes the woman standing next to the wall of her home 'in which her everyday life of wife and mother is passed; where her work of Home-building is done'.¹⁰² Yet, overlooking the industrialised working landscape co-operative woman reclaims the gendered image and space. Typically, it is the male worker, who is positioned with a workplace panorama as a common image.¹⁰³

Gender is a significant aspect of magazines.¹⁰⁴ As we shall see, *Woman's Outlook*, challenged the traditional portrayal of women in magazines as 'shoppers'.¹⁰⁵ The inaugural editorial identified and acknowledged affiliations of the WCG associated with the front cover image, to appeal to a collective identity of co-operative women across Britain, (Chapter Three, Four, Five). However, in contrast to the WCG, the

¹⁰¹ 'The Woman with the Basket' is the central front cover picture on the membership card of the WCG (1908) and seminal publication M.L. Davies, (ed.), *Life*. The cover of Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, adding a rainbow represents international co-operation.

¹⁰² M. L. Davies, *The Woman With the Basket: The Card of Membership of the Women's Co-operative Guild Designed by Muirhead Bone*, (Guild pamphlet, Manchester, 1909, amended 1932), CWS – D 1- 424 S, npn.

¹⁰³ R. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*, (California: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 244-245.

¹⁰⁴ E. Groeneveld, 'Gender in Magazines', in M. Sternadori and T. Holmes, (eds.), *The Handbook of Magazine Studies*, (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell, 2020), pp. 214-225, 214, 221.

¹⁰⁵ D. Weiss, 'Magazines and the Construction of Lifestyles', in Sternadori and Holmes, (eds.), *Handbook*, pp. 165-179, 172.

strap line 'A Popular Magazine Devoted To Woman's Interests In All Spheres And Phases Of Life' petitions to a cross section of readers. It appeals to a broader constituency, and aimed to extend the fellowship of co-operative woman and provide opportunities for identity beyond that of a married woman in the WCG.¹⁰⁶ This analysis adds to Judy Giles observation that class distinctions between women were constructed in the spaces of the domestic, work and the political.¹⁰⁷ The inaugural editorial analysed the role of word and picture to make explicit their aim to engage in dialogue,¹⁰⁸ 'We hope "Woman's Outlook" will be a friendly mediator between its readers and those who have information to impart'.¹⁰⁹ *Woman's Outlook* editorials self-consciously highlight their awareness of the potential limits of the magazine as a medium including its visual aspects in their anticipation that it instantiates 'so far as printed word and picture can do, all that this woman asks for'.¹¹⁰

Interestingly, the editors were aware of the historicity of the publication, 'Some day, when a real history of humanity is written, women such as we have interviewed for "*Woman's Outlook*" will receive the recognition they deserve'.¹¹¹ The period of analysis begins in November 1919 and culminates in November 1939 with the commencement of the Second World War. Simultaneously, 1919-1939 represents a

¹⁰⁶ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover.

¹⁰⁷ Giles, *Parlour*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ Bakhtin, *Dialogic*, pp. 263, 341,428pp. 263, 341,428; The concept of multiple voices is also discussed by Judy Giles in J. Giles, *Women, Identity, and Private Life in Britain, 1900-50*, (London: Basingstoke Press, 1995), pp.165-166.

¹⁰⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

¹¹⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2; See Chapter Four and Five for detailed analysis of *Woman's Outlook* front cover.

¹¹¹ *Woman's Outlook* May 18th 1929, p. 474.

period in which the movement, despite a politically and economically hostile environment, increased its economic breadth and cultural reach.¹¹² The editors witnessed significant changes in women's social and political lives and they illuminate co-operative woman's experiences of the everyday. Co-operative membership in Britain, which between 1918-1919 expanded from 3.8 million to 4.1 million,¹¹³ suggests that there were two million co-operative women members.¹¹⁴ By 1928 women were the largest part of the electorate.¹¹⁵ By November 1939 the *Wheatsheaf*, a free monthly publication declared the total at six and a half million members.¹¹⁶

Located in the complex and shifting debates concerning the roles of women in the changing landscape of interwar Britain, analysis of *Woman's Outlook* demonstrates how the tensions, which marked co-operative woman's gender identity, were diversely manifested in the editorial use of word and image. Appealing to aspirations for hope in the aftermath of the First World War, the Spanish Flu and fear of the potential implications of the Russian Revolution played a significant role in the

¹¹² P. Gurney, "'The Curse of the Co-ops': The Mass Press and the Market in Interwar Britain', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 130, No. 547, (2015), pp. 1479-1512, 1479.

¹¹³ Cole, *Century*, pp. 371-2.

¹¹⁴ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, p. 86.

¹¹⁵ In 1918 the Representation of the People Act enfranchised women over 30 who met a property qualification. While this represented 8.5 million women, it was only two-thirds of the population of the UK. The vote was extended to almost all men over the age of 21. The Equal Franchise Act of 1928 meant that women over 21 were able to vote with equal voting rights as men. Parliament: About Parliament, Women Get the Vote <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/overview/thevote/> accessed 29042019; Parliament: About Parliament Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act, 2 July 1928, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/electionsvoting/womenvote/parliamentary-collections/collections-the-vote-and-after/equal-franchise-act-1928/> accessed 22102018.

¹¹⁶ *Wheatsheaf* November 1939, p. 3.

formation of the then present and future identity. According to Judy Giles it was ‘an historical period when women’s various roles in society were in the process of being redefined culturally, socially and politically’.¹¹⁷ And, as a period of adjustment and re-negotiation of gender roles they are prominent in historiographical debates around gender identity and are embedded across the project.¹¹⁸ Examination of the visual evidence allows us to see the representation of the nameless co-operative woman who was written out of history,¹¹⁹ ‘the content of these tales: the release of muffled and occluded voices’¹²⁰ to render visible those not represented in the textual sources.¹²¹ To explore archives in a different way allows holes to appear which may be viewed productively as spaces for new dialogues and for fresh voices to be heard.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Giles, *Women*, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ For example, see Gottlieb and Tøye, (eds.), *Aftermath*; M. DiCenzo, ‘“Our Freedom and its Results”: Measuring Progress in the Aftermath of Suffrage’, *Women’s History Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3, (2014), pp. 421-440; A. Bingham, ‘“An Era of Domesticity”? Histories of Women and Gender in Interwar Britain’, *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 1, No.2, (2004), pp. 225-233; A. Bingham, *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Clay et al, *Women’s*; M. Pugh, *Women and the Women’s Movement in Britain since 1914*, 3rd Ed., (London: Palgrave, 2015); M. DiCenzo, L. Delap and L. Ryan, *Feminist Media History: Suffrage, Periodicals and the Public Sphere*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); S. Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

¹¹⁹ M. Beetham, ‘The Body in the Archive: Reading the Working Woman’s Reading’, in A. Easley, A. King and J. Morton, (eds.), *Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Case Studies*, (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 145-160, 146.

¹²⁰ C. Steedman, *Dust*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 150.

¹²¹ For exceptions see Ritchie, *Housewife*; Yeo, (ed.), *New*; P. Gurney, *Co-operative Culture and the Politics of Consumption in England, 1870-1930*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); V. Kelley, ‘The Equitable Consumer: Shopping at the Co-op in Manchester’, *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 11 No. 4, (1998), pp. 295-310; Burton, *British*; Black and Robertson, (eds.), *Consumerism*; Robertson, *Co-operative*.

¹²² W. Duff, and V. Harris, ‘Stories and Names: Archival Description as Narrating Records and Constructing Meanings’, *Archival Science* Vol. 2, (2002), pp. 263-285.

Gender and Co-operative Woman

Exploring the gendered representations of co-operative woman illustrates the need to 'unravel' the interpretations of identity and the complexity as, 'sometimes contradictory, sometimes overlapping' enables an understanding where 'fluid and flexible meanings' operate.¹²³ The term 'co-operative woman', derived from the title of the co-operative publication *Woman's Outlook* central to the project, offers an interconnectedness between identities and roles.¹²⁴ As Judy Giles reminds us 'there is no homogenous or universal category 'woman'',¹²⁵ likewise there is no homogenous co-operative woman.¹²⁶ The focus on the category of co-operative woman indicates the possibility of manifold individual identities which shift and slide across each other, as part of a political continuum.¹²⁷

The diverse depictions of the co-operative woman politicise her relationship with the everyday.¹²⁸ A co-operative and visual construction of the home and work presented a steady array of maternal, domestic and working pictures, where according to Doreen Massey's notion of 'dynamic simultaneity':¹²⁹ 'the spatial is as an ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification'.¹³⁰ The magazine's attempt to

¹²³ Giles, *Women*, pp. 97-8.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹²⁶ Southern, Co-operative, pp. 97-98, 143.

¹²⁷ See Judy Giles discussion of the connectedness of 'the consumer housewife and the citizen housewife' in J. Giles, *The Parlour and the Suburb: Domestic Identities, Class, Femininity and Modernity*, (Oxford: Berg, 2004), pp. 28, 101-140.

¹²⁸ Savage and Miles, *Remaking*, pp. 19-20.

¹²⁹ D. Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2005), pp. 120-121, 297-314.

¹³⁰ D. Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 3.

construct a co-operative woman who had an adaptable and active role in the private and public discourse followed a 'constellation of trajectories'.¹³¹

The first edition of *Woman's Outlook* in November 1919, specifically drew attention to the use of image¹³² to enable a relationship between the individual co-operative woman as reader in a 'dialogic space' which gave voice to and embodied the diverse issues and concerns of the period, the movement and co-operative woman.¹³³ Text juxtaposed with a multitude of images of women in illustrations, photographs and advertisements demonstrate how the magazine invites co-operative woman to participate and enter into a range of dialogues around image content.¹³⁴

Employing gender as a tool to open up the archive illustrates and extends understanding of the complex¹³⁵ and fluid gender identity of co-operative woman whilst simultaneously demonstrating the multifaceted capacity of the archive and the collections. The term co-operative woman speaks to woman in the singular, yet as we shall see, the publication's visual representations offer diverse roles and multiple identities. Judith Butler's fluid construction of gender identity, argues that

¹³¹ Massey, *For*, pp. 297-314, 297, 300, 314.

¹³² *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, pp. 1-2.

¹³³ V. M., Plock, "'A Journal of the Period': Modernism and Conservative Modernity in *Eve: The Lady's Pictorial* (1919-1939)', in Clay et al, *Women's*, pp. 28-41, 29.

¹³⁴ P. Tinkler, 'Fragmentation and Inclusivity: Methods for Working with Girls' and Women's Magazines', in R. Ritchie, S. Hawkins, N. Phillips and S. J. Kleinberg, (eds.), *Women in Magazines: Research, Representation, Production and Consumption*, (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 25-39; P. Tinkler, 'Miss Modern: Youthful Feminine Modernity and the Nascent Teenager, 1930-1940', in Clay et al, *Women's*, pp. 153-169, 154.

¹³⁵ For an examination of the complex construction of co-operative woman in *Woman's Outlook* in the post 1945, 1950s and 1960s see Ritchie, *Housewife*, pp. 10, 26, 30-32.

‘the singular notion of identity [is] a misnomer’.¹³⁶ Similarly, Joan Wallach Scott’s examination of the linguistic use of gender as ‘a category of analysis’ facilitated the articulation of the gender identity of co-operative woman as part of a political continuum.¹³⁷

The historical research is guided by a visual cultural approach to word and image. The image is viewed as an object of analysis, as is the relationship of the image with the text.¹³⁸ Although word and image are graphically distinct, the experience of the differences is one of ‘*within* as well as *between* media’.¹³⁹ For W.J.T. Mitchell, the visual comprises both word and image.¹⁴⁰ Mitchell’s theory of image employs the notion that the picture, a physical object which can be hung on the wall, for example, is not limited to its physicality, but generates images in the mind and exists in dynamic relationship to the text.¹⁴¹ This approach sought to establish how far in the context of a shifting, fluid and diverse visual discourse an identifiable and complex

¹³⁶ J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, (2nd Ed.), (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 6.

¹³⁷ J. W. Scott, ‘Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis’, *American Historical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 5, (1986), pp. 1053-1075, 1070, 1073; J. W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, 2018), pp. 28-50, J. W. Scott, ‘Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis?’, *Diogenes*, Vol. 22, No. 5, (2010), pp. 7-14.

¹³⁸ W. J. T. Mitchell, *Image Science: Iconology, Visual Culture, and Media Aesthetics*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 23; Mitchell, W. J. T., *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 1-9.

¹³⁹ Mitchell, *Picture*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ My approach draws on W. J. T. Mitchell and is driven by a desire to open up the process of interpretation and to make visible how the analysis is abstracted from the pictures. I engage with the visual in critical detail. The visual is viewed as word and image composed as a page layout. Following the lead of Mitchell, I textualise my interpretation to draw out the unseen to clarify and make open the methodological process of abstracting interpretation. W. J. T. Mitchell set out to produce a ‘valid *theory* of images’, in W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 1-3; W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

¹⁴¹ Mitchell, *What*, pp. xiii-xiv.

co-operative woman's identity might manifest itself in *Woman's Outlook* in different ways and lend itself to the construction of multiple understandings.¹⁴² Margaret Beetham pointed out the significance of the material features of the periodical and the meaning-making process to the reader and she identified 'the relation of blocks of text to visual material' as a central part.¹⁴³ How much the reader was influenced is unknowable:¹⁴⁴ 'After all a woman's outlook in life is coloured by the impressions she gathers of other people's ways and thoughts'.¹⁴⁵ In fact, typeface and image working both discretely and in combination with each other¹⁴⁶ suggested a particular shared message of women in the co-operative movement both as individuals and a collective body (Chapter One, Three, Four). Opening up the archive with a focus on word and picture, reveals the capacity of archival materials to foster agency in 'iterative changes to particular practices'.¹⁴⁷ Archival sources activate a certain effect which suggests a particular agentic understanding, enacted by the visibility of the archival material, which as we shall see engenders more effects in a developing area of research in archival studies.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² M. Beetham, 'Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 22, No. 3, (1989), pp. 96-100; M. Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre', in L. Brake, A. Jones and L. Madden, (eds.), *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990) pp. 19-32, 31.

¹⁴³ Beetham, 'Towards', p. 24.

¹⁴⁴ Marchand, *Advertising*, pp. xvi-xvii.

¹⁴⁵ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ Mitchell, *Picture*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁷ Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 177, 132-185, 214.

¹⁴⁸ Jane Bennett engagingly refers to this notion as 'thing-power'. See J. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, (N.C.): Duke University Press, 2010), pp. xvi-xvii, 1-19; K. M. Carbone, 'Artists and Records: Moving History and Memory', *Archives and Records*, Vol. 38, No. 1, (2017), pp. 100-118, 102, 108, 112, 114 f/n 19.

Collage

Establishing a 'Conference Workshop Methodology', as set out in Chapter One and Seven, reveals an atypical arts-based mode of participatory encounter.¹⁴⁹ The possibility of reconstruction of the research process as an approach, was prompted by Celia Lury's observation of how the method/process/feedback of research become entwined and recursive 'to make social research responsive to social life, to bring it alive'.¹⁵⁰ By drawing on a particular focus, in this case the gender identity of co-operative woman collage-making as 'creative practice'¹⁵¹ offered an alternate mode of engagement with the collections of the archive.

The photocopied archival materials become dislocated from the archive as 'archival fragments'¹⁵² in which the collages are also the archive in the (re-)making. Participant and researcher engagement with archival material creates the fragment and this is viewed as the 'Participant and researcher's cut'.¹⁵³ Collage can be regarded as one of the apparatuses by which the archive is accessed¹⁵⁴ and enables the participant and researcher to have an effect on the collections. Drawing on the work of the feminist

¹⁴⁹ A. Grimshaw and A. Ravetz, 'The Ethnographic Turn – And After: A Critical Approach Towards the Realignment of Art and Anthropology', *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, (2015) Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 418-434, 429.

¹⁵⁰ C. Lury, 'Going Live: Towards an Amphibious Sociology', *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 60, No.1, (2012), pp. 184-197, 185.

¹⁵¹ S. Breakell, 'Archival Practices and the Practice of Archives in the Visual Arts', *Archives and Records*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (2015), pp. 1-5, 1.

¹⁵² Steedman, *Dust*, pp. 45, 68, 146; Moore et al, 'Other', pp. 1-30; Stanley, 'Archival', pp. 33-67; M. Tamboukou, 'Archival Rhythms: Narrativity in the Archive', in Moore et al, *Archive*, pp. 71-95, 86; Moore et al, 'The Beginning in the Ending: Reassembling Archival Practices', in Moore et al, *Archive*, pp. 155-169, 168; M. Tamboukou, 'Archival Research: Unravelling Space/Time/Matter Entanglements and Fragments', *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 14 No. 5, (2014), pp. 617-633, 619, 624, 626, 631.

¹⁵³ Tamboukou, 'Archival Research', pp. 626, 628, 631.

¹⁵⁴ Moore et al, *Archive*.

philosopher of science, Karen Barad, Maria Tamboukou uses the term the “researcher’s cut” which produces ‘an agentic intervention shaping the form of the research that will emerge as a report, an article or a book’, to which we might add collage.¹⁵⁵ Within this context the researcher and participant produce:

the researcher’s archive...that creates a unity, piecing together archival fragments, theoretical insights, spatio-temporal experiences and material conditions and limitations.¹⁵⁶

The archival ‘data’, the publications and the subsequent collages, as traces of the past and present have a distinct quality, expanding the capacity of the collections and calling attention to the archive as process and outcome: the archive in the making.¹⁵⁷

Pictorial representation and the technique of collage-making introduces and encourages new contemporary audiences to connect with the archive.¹⁵⁸ The work of the individual scholar informs participant understanding ‘in a way that...is inclusive’.¹⁵⁹ The mode of collage extends the perspective of a single researcher producing an interpretation to that of multiple participant researchers.¹⁶⁰ To look outwards beyond the typical relationships with the NCA engenders interdisciplinary and subjective relationships with the archival material which in turn opens up the

¹⁵⁵ Tamboukou, ‘Archival Research’, p. 626.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 631.

¹⁵⁷ Moore et al, ‘Beginning’, p. 167.

¹⁵⁸ The contemporary relevance of gender as a tool to engage in dialogue, promoting complexity, collaboration and connectedness in the current social, political and economic landscapes is highlighted in the Call for Papers for Conference Theme: Gender Complexity, Collaboration and Connectedness, the Gender and Education Association International Conference 2020 Hosted by the University of Calgary, Werklund School of Education, Calgary, Alberta, Canada June 15th-18th, 2020. See <https://werklund.ucalgary.ca/gc32020/call-papers> accessed 16012020.

¹⁵⁹ Breakell, ‘Archival’, p. 1.

¹⁶⁰ N. Mirzoeff, ‘Introduction: For Critical Visuality Studies’, in Mirzoeff, (ed.), *Visual*, pp. xxix-xxxviii, xxxvii.

archive. Fostering an open and iterative dialogue allows, ‘a respect for the dialogic play of ‘voices’ that exceed interpretive structures aimed at containing them’.¹⁶¹

For example, underpinned by an understanding of the magazine as ‘heterogeneous’¹⁶² *Woman’s Outlook* suggests multiple, complex and diverse ‘avenues for engagement’ for dialogue with the reader.¹⁶³ Regarding the magazine as ‘heteroglossic’¹⁶⁴ is a fruitful concept because it offers understandings of choice, agency and multiple voices where the presence of different perspectives was underpinned by ‘Bakhtinian dialogics in the public sphere’.¹⁶⁵ Ann Ardis’ conceptual consideration of the internal dialogics of a publication enables the examination of particular parts of the magazine, positioning and ‘the creation of meaning through these juxtapositions’.¹⁶⁶ Whilst investigation of the external dialogics of the publications allows exploration of the temporal and geographical aspects of the

¹⁶¹ Giles, *Women*, p. 165.

¹⁶² The complex heterogeneity of the magazine is discussed in Beetham, ‘Open’, p. 97; Beetham, ‘Towards’, p. 24; M. Beetham., *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman’s Magazine 1800 – 1914*, (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 1, 34, 69-70, 136; B. Green, ‘Complaints of Everyday Life: Feminist Periodical Culture and Correspondence Columns in the Woman Worker, Women Folk and The Freewomen’, *Modernism/modernity*, Vol. 19 No. 3, (2012), pp. 461-485. The heterogeneous nature of graphic design is discussed by P. Jobling and D. Crowley, *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation Since 1800*, (Manchester: Manchester University 1996), p. 129.

¹⁶³ Green, ‘Complaints’, p. 462.

¹⁶⁴ L. Warren, “‘Women in Conference’”: Reading the Correspondence Columns in *Woman* 1890–1910’, in L. Brake, B. Bell and D. Finkelstein (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 122-134, 127.

¹⁶⁵ A. L. Ardis, ‘The Dialogics of Modernism(s) in the New Age’, *Modernism/modernity*, Vol. 14, No. 3, (2007), pp. 407-434, 409, 416; Martin Conboy discusses how Bakhtin’s concept of dialogue and heteroglossia influenced his understanding of ‘the textual strategies of the popular press’ in M. Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture*, (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2002), pp. 18-19.

¹⁶⁶ A. Ardis, ‘Staging the Public Sphere: Magazine Dialogism and the Prosthetics of Authorship at the Turn of the Century’, in A. Ardis and P. Collier, (eds.), *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 30-47, 38.

magazines, in relation to the 'discursive exchanges with other print media' (Chapter Three, Four, Five and Six).¹⁶⁷

In the workshops, to underpin their engagement and dialogue with *Woman's Outlook* multiple audiences drew on the diverse range of their situated knowledges and disciplines.¹⁶⁸ The different encounters with *Woman's Outlook* became a tool to engender fresh perspectives and new perceptions of the NCA.¹⁶⁹ Arts-based methodologies opened up the archive. Power relationships exist in the construction and consumption of archives and this has significance for the future of the archive.¹⁷⁰ New understandings negotiate archive practices which as Jacques Derrida argues, occupies an arcane authority¹⁷¹ raises questions of 'archival identity and its relationship with social communities'.¹⁷² This in turn may affect what the archive might mean in a specific time in the present and future¹⁷³ and how we generate new knowledge and how we use those ideas ethically is crucial for the writing of history.¹⁷⁴

Margaret Beetham whilst researching in the NCA reflected on nineteenth century co-operative woman's access to reading material. In her discussion of the body in the archive she considers the context of the 'blind spot'. We may not be able to see the

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ D. Haraway, 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and The Privilege of Partial Perspective', in *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, (1988), pp. 575-599, 581, 583, 590, 592-596.

¹⁶⁹ Nesmith, 'Seeing', pp. 26, 30, 32, 36.

¹⁷⁰ J. M. Schwartz and T. Cook, 'Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory', *Archival Science*, Vol. 2, (2002), pp. 1-19, 5, 9-10, 13.

¹⁷¹ Derrida, *Archive*, pp. 1-5, 22, 29, 80-81.

¹⁷² T. Cook, 'Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms', *Archival Science*, 13, (2013), pp. 95-120, 118.

¹⁷³ Derrida, *Archive*, pp. 18, 29, 33-36, 68, 75.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

gaps in our individual perspectives but, working with others enables them to be highlighted. A commitment to a 'politics of knowledge' and 'an ethics of research as dialogic and shared rather than purely individual and self-aggrandizing' challenges traditional research hierarchies of power.¹⁷⁵

The notion of loosening boundaries is continued throughout. Seeking to negotiate new ways of knowing the archive, offered the opportunity to develop a working relationship with the archivists Gillian Lonergan (retired March 2019) and Sophie McCulloch and its collections. The project raises awareness of the political and creative capacity of the NCA with potential new audiences.¹⁷⁶ It also endeavours to see how far it is possible to highlight contemporary and future significance of co-operation, as an alternative economic mode of organisation to individualist capitalism.

Taking the position that engaging with archives is a creative, ongoing and open-ended process,¹⁷⁷ Derrida's observation that the "'Archive" is only a *notion*...the unstable feeling of a shifting figure, of a schema, or of an in-finite or indefinite process'¹⁷⁸ is important. He offers a 'boundless, limitless space' to imagine¹⁷⁹ to engage with the outside, audiences typically beyond the NCA.

¹⁷⁵ Beetham, 'Body', pp. 146-147.

¹⁷⁶ As Elisabeth Kaplan argues 'The point is not simply to study archives, but to increase the consciousness of practicing archivists, and to illuminate and improve practice', E. Kaplan, "'Many Paths to Partial Truths": Archives, Anthropology, and the Power of Representation', *Archival Science*, Vol. 2, (2002) pp. 209-220, 219.

¹⁷⁷ Nesmith, 'Seeing', pp. 34-35.

¹⁷⁸ Derrida, *Archive*, p. 29 Derrida italics.

¹⁷⁹ Steedman, *Dust*, p. 83.

In both the scholarship and the public's view of archives,¹⁸⁰ Sue Breakell writing from the archivists' perspective, observes that little attention is paid to the archivists.¹⁸¹ Consequently, investigating what might collaboration with the archivists and new audiences uncover,¹⁸² encourages greater engagement with archive materials. Significantly, 'everyone, not only archives specialists, would benefit from a deeper and better informed engagement with archival objects and practices'.¹⁸³ Archival documents are hypothetically considered as 'fluid' which have the potential to shift in response to the 'interactions of archivists and users'.¹⁸⁴ Collections viewed as constructive spaces offer 'endless possibilities of reiteration and regeneration'.¹⁸⁵ Sue Breakell poses the question 'What is the archive, and what do we want it to be?'¹⁸⁶ New approaches facilitating manifold narratives offer fresh understandings, in the retelling of different accounts.¹⁸⁷ In this way, the transformation of traditional perceptions of the NCA, through different relationships widening across participation, is suggestive of renewal.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁰ Nesmith, 'Seeing', pp. 26-28.

¹⁸¹ S. Breakell, 'Encounters with The Self: Archivists and Research', in J. Hill, (ed.), *The Future of Archives and Recordkeeping: A Reader*, (London: Facet Publishing, 2011), pp. 23-36, 23.

¹⁸² A. R. Green and E. Lee, 'From Transaction to Collaboration: Redefining the Academic-Archivist Relationship in Business Collections', *Archives and Records: The Journal of the Archives and Records Association*, pp. 1-20, Published online: 19 Nov 2019 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23257962.2019.1689109> accessed 30012020.

¹⁸³ F. Foscarini, H. MacNeil, B. Mak and G. Oliver, 'Editor's Introduction', in F. Foscarini, H. MacNeil, B. Mak and G. Oliver, (eds.), *Engaging with Records and Archives: Histories and Theories*, (London: Facet Publishing, 2016), pp. xi-xv, xii Foscarini et al, italics.

¹⁸⁴ V. Lane and J. Hill, 'Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going? Situating the Archive and Archivists', in Hill, (ed.), *Future*, pp. 3-22, 9.

¹⁸⁵ S. Breakell and V. Worsley, 'Collecting the Traces: An Archivist's Perspective', *Journal of Visual Arts Practice*, Vol. 6, No. 3, (2007), pp. 175-189, 176-177.

¹⁸⁶ Breakell, 'Archival', p. 4.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸⁸ Benjamin, 'Unpacking', p. 487.

This negotiation engages with the challenges of the investigation of the archive, the archival material within it and the process of collaboration. Breakell emphasises the important effect on archival practices of establishing non-linear ways into the archive through, for example, material and graphic aspects which are often difficult to detail in standard modes of cataloguing.¹⁸⁹ Opening up the archive to audiences, particularly those not familiar with the co-operative movement or the archive asserts the often marginalised method of creativity in archival practice.¹⁹⁰ Engaging with the archive in ways which may appear to be new to the archivist generates fresh interpretations of the archive.¹⁹¹ These multiple pathways, offering a multivocal yet contiguous approach to the archival holdings suggests that *Woman's Outlook*, and the archive, can be mobilised in numerous ways.¹⁹²

Project Structure

To broaden the pedagogical potential of the archive in relation to the complex gender identity of co-operative woman in interwar Britain, structurally, the first three chapters, explore the methods and concepts employed, to establish the methodological, scholastic and ideological foundation of the project. Chapter One establishes the methodology and terms of the research. Chapter Two explores

¹⁸⁹ Breakell, 'Archival', p. 3.

¹⁹⁰ Carbone, 'Artists', p. 101.

¹⁹¹ Breakell, 'Archival', p. 4.

¹⁹² R. Knifton, 'Life on the Outskirts: Making Sense and Use of a Creative Life', *art libraries journal*, Vol. 40, No. 3, (2015), pp. 5-10, 9.

literatures which consider the visual representation of the gender identity of co-operative woman, visual culture, collaboration and archives. Revealing the marginalisation of these topics extends understanding of the co-operative movement, magazines, gender, archives and arts-based research, these studies are then embedded establishing the distinctive and unique approach of the investigation.

Following this Chapter Three introduces the ideological ethos of the co-operative movement. The chapter then discusses how the co-operative ideology manifests its relationship with gender practically in the print workshop and publishing context of the co-operative publications. Next, Chapter Four offers an introductory examination of representative samples to illustrate how the co-operative ideology and gender manifest in the publications that underpin the project. Building on this, Chapters Five and Six utilise a visual analysis of the representation of co-operative woman and her gender identity, to explore how co-operative ideology was manifest in articles, features and advertisements, in the spaces of the home and work. In Chapter Seven, the boundaries of the visual analysis are then investigated in a discussion of the emergence of a 'Conference Workshop Methodology', in which participants construct collages at conferences across Europe. The chapter emphasises the holistic and organic development of the workshops. A chronological and visual analysis of the collage-making provides a particular focus on the distinctive qualities of each workshop as they unfolded and evolved during the research process. Consequently, Chapter One now turns to an in-depth discussion of the project methodology.

Chapter One: Methodology



Figure 4 The Robert Owen room, NCA, (researcher unseen, with back to door, view to the left) April 2017

The collaborative and democratic ethos of the co-operative movement together with the visibility of aspects of the collections and the material and substantive nature of the NCA informed the desire to open up the archive (Figures 4, 5).



Figure 5 The Robert Owen room, NCA, (researcher unseen, back to door, view to the right) April 2017

The chapter details two distinct methodologies. One is of historical research directed by visual analysis of word and image. The co-operative magazines suggest diverse representations of women compared across a range of women's commercial and political publications for the period 1919-1939. The historical understanding of the movement arrived at through academic understanding of the publications informed the methodological approaches.

The second is the emergence of the ‘Conference Workshop Methodology’ – in which conference delegates engage with photocopies of the inaugural edition of *Woman’s Outlook* through collage-making in a series of workshops held in Riga, Leeds, Budapest, Birmingham, Manchester, Porto, Saxnas and Helsinki.¹⁹³ There was a serendipitous correspondence between my values as a researcher and those of the co-operative movement. As such, the workshop methodology features the pedagogical, participatory and collaborative aspects of the ethos of the co-operative movement. In the current shifting political context, it was important to make visible and open to dialogue the potential and contemporary significance of the NCA and the co-operative movement.¹⁹⁴

The co-operative movement is distinctive. It is both a commercial organisation and a social movement. Addressing political matters the movement connects the public and the private and is better examined through an interdisciplinary approach.¹⁹⁵ Different ways of working with the co-operative archival holdings and archival space extends Lawrence Black and Nicole Robertson’s appeal for a wider historical study of co-operation: ‘the Co-op’s distinctive interface between practical, everyday issues and grander idealist concerns...demonstrate the cornucopia of choice the Co-op offers historians’.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ See Appendix Three – Project Outputs.

¹⁹⁴ I. MacPherson, ‘Mainstreaming Some Lacunae: Developing Co-operative Studies as an Interdisciplinary, International Field of Enquiry’, in T. Woodin, (ed.,) *Co-operation, Learning and Co-operative Values: Contemporary Issues in Education*, (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 177-194, 68.

¹⁹⁵ Southern, Co-operative, p. 3.

¹⁹⁶ L. Black and N. Robertson, ‘Taking Stock: An Introduction’, in Black and Robertson, (eds.), *Consumerism*, pp. 1-9, 7.

In the interests of bringing the two methodologies together more closely, I have chosen to use the third person singular as the predominant mode of address in preference to the first person typically used to indicate the subjectivity of knowledge produced. Researcher positionality and process are equally important. The first person allows me to reflect upon the emergence of the collage methodology. This approach whilst considering the reflexivity of the researcher in archival research, acknowledges concerns about the nature of reflexivity which focuses on the researcher rather than the research process.¹⁹⁷

The National Co-operative Archive

Engagement with the NCA is a central theme of the project. Typically, the NCA is not accessed by a wide range of audiences or in a diversity of ways. Yet, the archive can mean diverse things to different people which can influence the perceptions and functions of the archive.¹⁹⁸ Predominant traditional approaches are interrogated to produce the subsequent mandate for change. The challenge was to consider who with, where and how to engage with the 'outside', those typically beyond the community of the NCA. Consequently, the two methodological strands aimed to transform dialogues with the NCA.

All archives are different. Nonetheless, the NCA is typical. Admittance, for example, follows a standard procedure common to many archives. The Co-operative Heritage

¹⁹⁷ Moore et al, 'Other', p. 24.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

Trust (CHT) website¹⁹⁹ guides the researcher to contact the archive.²⁰⁰ To search the collections the CHT website directs the researcher to the online Archives Hub.²⁰¹ The website is important as it is the first point of access for most researchers and visitors.²⁰²

Unlike 'outsiders' the archive staff have unlimited physical access to retrieve material. However, accompanied by the archivist Sophie I have accessed the archival space several times. Not all the 135 collections are catalogued or digitised so direct access is important. Similar to the NCA, the Labour History Archive and Study Centre (LHASC), which holds the collection of *Labour Woman*, and the British Library custodian of *Woman's Weekly* are not physically open-access public spaces. In contrast, the Femorabilia collection of twentieth century womens' and girls'

¹⁹⁹ Co-operative Heritage Trust: Visit the Archive <https://www.co-operativeheritage.coop/visit-the-archive> accessed 14112019.

²⁰⁰ The website (2001-2019), was first established in 2001 as part of The Rochdale Project with the support of Heritage Lottery Funding (HLF). Since October 2019, the new joint NCA and Rochdale Pioneers Museum website offers details about the history of the movement. The original bid submitted in 2008 was developed through a team effort which comprised:- Mervyn Wilson, Principal & Chief Executive, Co-operative College; Emma Willder, Head of Finance & Corporate Services, Co-operative College; Gillian Lonergan, Learning Resources Manager & Archivist; Rachael Vorberg-Rugh, Project Manager, Co-operative Heritage Trust; Board of Trustees, Co-operative Heritage Trust ; Archive Committee, Co-operative Heritage Trust; Staff of the Rochdale Pioneers Museum and National Co-operative Archive; Staff of Loop Systems, architects. HLF Second Stage bid by the same people, with input and reports from a range of contractors and from the external Project Manager. As 'a team...we carried out surveys and interviews with users and non users in the Museum and Archive and at conferences and exhibitions to include the views of as many people as possible'. Timeline for Rochdale Project: 2003 – Start of development of an application to the HLF for Project Planning Grant, 2004 – HLF Project Planning Grant awarded, 2008 – HLF Stage 1 Pass awarded, 2010 – HLF Grant awarded. Email correspondence Gillian Lonergan 12 July 2018, 14 November 2018. National Co-operative Archive: The Rochdale Project <https://www.archive.coop/> accessed 13112018.

²⁰¹ Archives Hub <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/locations/c0e3eaca-cba5-3c18-8d3d-3fde15994bf8> accessed 11022020.

²⁰² For example, in 2017 there were a total of 664 research enquiries. There were 172 research visits to the archive and 492 enquiries by email, post and telephone. Email correspondence Gillian Lonergan 14 June 2018.

magazines at Liverpool John Moores University is a physically open archival collection.²⁰³ The archival space is exposed and readily accessible to the visitor. Researchers and visitors may wander amongst the collections freely. The reading area forms part of the archival space.

A consideration of the archival space contributed to the notion of disrupting prearranged relationships with the archive. In embracing this approach, the problem then becomes how to cross these limitations. To open up to whom and why, and to consider how different audiences may engage with the materials to 'revivify'²⁰⁴ the archive. This is what the visual cultural approach and workshop format, which offers the opportunity to circumvent the boundaries of the archive, can achieve.²⁰⁵ Although the workshop itself presents its own limited capability, constrained as it is in this case to the confines of the conference context and by the fact that the periodical collection is not digitized.²⁰⁶ This was a significant observation made by many of the workshop participants.

By drawing on a range of historical and contemporary sources an academic approach with an emphasis on the visual qualities of the source material outlined by the workshop leader offered both a contextualised understanding and the possibilities

²⁰³ Liverpool John Moores University: Femorabilia Special Collections and Archives <https://www.ljmu.ac.uk/microsites/library/special-collections-and-archives/arts-photography-and-fashion/femorabilia> accessed 08020219.

²⁰⁴ Beetham, 'Body', pp. 148, 158.

²⁰⁵ Wendy Duff and Verne Harris explore the possibilities of how to probe what is in the archive. To free up and expand research outcomes they argue 'The more boundaries - geographical, cultural, class, gender, disciplinary, institutional, medium, and other - crossed by the process, the more liberatory its product is likely to be', Duff and Harris, 'Stories', p. 284.

²⁰⁶ Email correspondence Sophie McCulloch 25 November 2019.

for immediate cognitive responses. Developing an understanding of archival practice as an 'archival sensibility' the project considers the question of what archival research involves.²⁰⁷ In doing so, relationships between the formal and informal, the systematic and the subjective, the constructed and deconstructed can be mobilised.

Analytical Framework and Sampling Permutations

The visual evidence for this project centres on co-operative periodicals drawn from the NCA. The project's focus on a visual analysis of gender meant that it was necessary to develop a systematic approach to the chosen source material to ensure that it was representative. The evaluation and selection of archival sources were carried out in conjunction with discussions with the archive staff.²⁰⁸ This process clarified and confirmed the existence of abundant archival material containing potentially rich visual material. However, as Sean Latham and Robert Scholes found in their encounter with archives, there are gaps. Materials were not there: there was, as they put it, 'a hole in the archive'.²⁰⁹ With the exception of *Woman's Outlook*, the front and back covers of the publications the *Wheatsheaf*, *Herald* and *Ourselves* had been removed during the binding process.²¹⁰ The reason for this is not known. It could indicate a prioritising of the content within the publications, and an assumption that the front and back covers were less important. Possibly, it was carried out due

²⁰⁷ Moore et al, 'Prologue', pp. ix; Moore et al, 'Other', pp. 1-30, Stanley, 'Archival', pp. 33-67

²⁰⁸ Nesmith, 'Seeing', p. 37.

²⁰⁹ S. Latham and R. Scholes, 'The Rise of Periodical Studies', *PMLA*, Vol. 121, No. 2 (2006), pp. 517-531, 521.

²¹⁰ Informal conversation with Gillian Lonergan (October 2016).

to limited storage facilities at the time. Conversely, perhaps due to different archival practices, the front and back covers of *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly* were not removed from the magazines, on commitment to the LHASC, and the British Library. This one example highlights the complex nature of the archive and archival research.

As an investigation of the archive it was a desirable challenge to identify and confirm full runs of publications where possible.²¹¹ After establishing the availability of full runs it became apparent that in order to achieve a diverse analytical breadth, *Woman's Outlook*, *Herald*, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves* offered the opportunity for comparison and contrast. For example, *Woman's Outlook* was published at various frequencies by the NCPS. *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf*, published monthly by the CWS Printing Works, Longsight, Manchester for CWS employees and members respectively comprised of both national and local society news. Whilst the *Herald*, published for members by the Manchester and Salford Equitable Co-operative Society (MSECS) served a smaller local society.²¹² Opening up the archive through *Woman's Outlook* shifts the focus away from more popular materials typically used in academic co-operative research. For example, *Co-operative News* has been traditionally utilised as the main source for historical enquiries as outlined in the Introduction.

²¹¹ With the exception of *Ourselves*, available from January 1928.

²¹² The usefulness of the *Wheatsheaf* is highlighted by Nicole Robertson, *Co-operative*, pp. 20-21. Victoria Kelley confirms that many images endure because they were printed in the publications the *Wheatsheaf* and *Herald*, Kelley, 'Equitable', p. 300.

Following the selection of the sources the next step was to construct a consistent analysis across the interwar period from November 1919 to November 1939. Employing a latitudinal and longitudinal approach²¹³ a range of sampling permutations were considered to address how the publications documented responses to changing socio-economic and political conditions. In the interests of what was achievable within the project, the final sampling examined alternate years, taking examples of each periodical in May and November, commencing November 1919. This approach was extended to non-co-operative journals.²¹⁴ Whilst the focus on *Woman's Outlook* facilitates the comparison and contrast of the visual design and page layout²¹⁵ the strategy offered the opportunity to track changes and continuities across and within the periodicals.

Next, a frame for the analysis was developed to address the question of the complex relationships between co-operative woman and the movement. The two themes of home and work became the research foci (Introduction). These emergent themes, manifest in the wider visual culture, offered opportunities to locate and examine the complexity of co-operative woman gender identity. The examination explored how

²¹³ Tinkler, 'Miss', p. 154.

²¹⁴ See Appendix Four - Rationale for Sampling. Each co-operative magazine, typically produced monthly, consists of approximately 16-30 pages each. In order to conduct a comprehensive investigation, there could be a maximum of three or four different co-operative magazines. To achieve a broad and consistent comparison the sampling frequency of May and November, in alternate years, was systematically applied across all the co-operative and comparative magazines in the project. The sampling builds on Rachel Ritchie's study of two women's organisational magazines, *Home and Country* and *Woman's Outlook*. Ritchie mostly draws on the two months of April and October in each twelve month period, 1954-69. However, this project contrasts with Ritchie's comparative approach in which she applies a random sampling of one issue of *Woman* per year. See, Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 39.

²¹⁵ Hackney, "They", Chapter Two; Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 36.

these constructed identities occupied and connected two seemingly isolated spheres. However, it is recognised that a different sampling might reveal alternative perspectives.

The Sources

Co-operative Journals

Woman's Outlook offers high production values and throughout the period it was priced at Three Halfpence. In response to market conditions the frequency of publication varied throughout its production: monthly in 1919 to twice monthly in 1924; weekly in the late 1930s to resume monthly publication in 1957. Pagination typically ran to 28 pages. Page size measures approximately 6 x 8 ½ inches.

Colour front covers and a plethora of illustrations reflected the awareness of the NCPS and its editors of the competitive environment for new publications for women in the early twentieth century. At the beginning of the period it featured a two-spot colour front and back cover. This changes to three-spot towards the end of the interwar period.²¹⁶ Front covers typically depict a singular co-operative woman. The back cover usually displayed a full-page advertisement for a co-operative society product. A further full page advertisement was regularly placed inside the front and back cover. A small number of occasional advertisements were sprinkled within the magazine.

²¹⁶ Spot colour refers to a single colour, it is inked onto the print plate and printed on the press. To achieve two spot a second print plate is inked with the different colour. Front and back covers are printed at the same time on the same sheet.

The magazine characteristically featured illustrations on almost every page, and these pictures mostly comprised of either a singular woman or several women. Visually distinct it presents a combination of typography, strap lines, advertisements, line drawing, illustration, allegory and photography which reveal multiple manifestations of the co-operative woman in a range of styles and roles incorporating graphic and modernist page layouts. An informal combination of two and three column page layout placed throughout the magazine was common.

Graphic detail communicated a noticeable editorial use of different types of word and image. A complex dynamic communicated by those choices and juxtapositions, is discussed in Chapter Five and Six in detail and it becomes apparent the publication drew on a range of ideological standpoints. As Chapter Three will establish, to some extent this suggests that the editorial approach of the publication was partly influenced by the outlook of the WCG. This perspective extends Martin Pugh's argument, as he draws attention to the ideological breadth of the WCG, that it, 'stood strategically at the centre of three overlapping spheres: Cooperation, feminism and the Labour Movement'.²¹⁷

Published monthly by the CWS for employees, the *Wheatsheaf* described itself as 'A Monthly Co-operative Record & Magazine'.²¹⁸ By May 1925 it had become *The Wheatsheaf: A Co-operative Magazine for the Home*.²¹⁹ Although there were fewer

²¹⁷ Pugh, *Women*, p. 190.

²¹⁸ *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, p. 65.

²¹⁹ *Wheatsheaf* May 1925, p. 65.

pages than *Woman's Outlook* the physical size of the publication measures approximately 7 x 9 ¼ inches. Pagination typically ran to 16 pages. Unlike *Woman's Outlook* editorial authorship was unknown. A set of capitalised initials 'A. Z.' positioned at the bottom of the editorial page, entitled 'A Reader's Notes', (1919-1923), is the only recognition of the author which might suggest the identity of the editor.²²⁰

The *Wheatsheaf* presented a clear consistent approach to its graphic design and layout. In contrast to *Woman's Outlook*, each page steadfastly presented a three column format with four wide margins which allowed plenty of white space. The text was bold in a simple neat font to present a clean 'modern' look. With the exception of the first page, 'A Readers' Notes,' most pages contained at least one, line illustration and more usually photographs.

As a publication produced by the CWS for members it blurred the boundaries of employee/member/consumer. As we shall see, images and articles demonstrated the wide range of products produced by the CWS and the local co-operative societies, discussed in detail in Chapter Six. Similar to *Woman's Outlook*, pictures of co-operative woman featured throughout the journal, although not as extensively. Typically, she was often placed on the factory floor. Articles also illustrated co-operative woman engaged in a broader range of employment. There was a regular article dedicated to co-operative woman entitled, 'Mainly for Women By Martha'. It

²²⁰ *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, p. 65.

frequently occupied a full page and commonly focussed on domestic topics. Nevertheless, from the late 1930s the emphasis changed to matters featuring co-operative woman and work.

In contrast to the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves*, the *Herald* was published by the MSECS, which was established in 1857. It was a *gratis* monthly publication produced for members. Page size measures approximately 5 ½ x 9 ½ inches. Pagination usually ran to 24 pages. Layout typically consisted of two columns. Exceptions to this configuration characteristically appeared in a report item. For example, as typical features 'From A Downing Street Window' and 'Quarterly Meetings' the report format focussed on the society's business.²²¹ Here, the page layout was not demarcated into columns, and the text occupied a full page width emphasising the importance of the information conveyed. Although sparse at the beginning of the period, line drawings and photographs, were included more frequently from the 1920s. The gradual inclusion of images, suggests an acknowledgement of the immediacy and accessibility of the picture. By November 1939 the publication had a change in masthead and name to '*Herald*' and *Journal of Information*.²²²

Unlike the other co-operative publications sampled, the run of *Ourselves*, although continuous is only available from Vol III No. II January 1928. Like the *Wheatsheaf* it was a monthly publication, published by the CWS for employees. Priced at One

²²¹ *Herald* November 1937, pp. 346-347.

²²² *Herald* November 1939, p. 337.

Penny, with pagination runs to 40 pages *Ourselves* is distinctly the most voluminous of the co-operation's journals sampled. Page size measures approximately 9 ¼ x 7 inches. Features included a monthly beauty competition, with thumbnail portrait photographs of contestants, and a dedicated woman and girls' page: 'Gossip a page For Girls By Mary May'.

Significantly, *Ourselves* exhibits the similar self-conscious trait of *Woman's Outlook*, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Herald*. In the November 1931 issue the 'Editorial Gossip' opens with a description of the purpose of *Ourselves*, 'Every month the lives of the CWS employees are reflected through the pages...'.²²³ A cartoon like illustration portrays the male editor. His body is positioned towards the desk as he rests his outstretched legs on the desk edge. He twists his body to look over his shoulder and turns his gaze in the direction of the reader. He smokes a cigar whilst reading a copy of *Ourselves*. The production values of image and text were important. A significant number of photographs were included every month. The editor acknowledges the skills of the co-operative printers in a congratulatory contemplation of the quality of photography in *Ourselves*:

Perhaps one of the most interesting features of *Ourselves* is its photographs. Many of these are quite original, while in clearness and detail they are particularly good. (A tribute to our printers. – ED.).²²⁴

²²³ *Ourselves* November 1931, p. 31.

²²⁴ *Ourselves* February 1933, p. 1.

Non - Co-operative Journals

Woman's Outlook is considered alongside contiguous publication *Woman's Weekly* a popular commercial women's weekly magazine. The editor was Miss 'Biddy' Johnson.²²⁵ Pagination typically ran to 40-50 pages. Priced at Two Pence it was published by Amalgamated Press, circulation figures reached 490,000 in 1938.²²⁶ The page size measured approximately 8 ½ x 12 inches. Advertisements were heavily distributed throughout the magazine. There was a consistent uniform approach to the use of particular forms of word and image. Magazine illustrations were typically line drawings. Photography tended to be used by advertisers.

Woman's Outlook is appraised in conjunction with contemporary political women's publication *Labour Woman*, a monthly publication published by the Labour Party for the Labour Party Women's Section (LPWS) (1918). It is useful to contrast *Woman's Outlook* with *Labour Woman* to compare what the publication offered women in a politically aware context. From the perspective of gender, co-operation offers different approaches to the Labour movement. For example, the co-operative women members of the WCG retained their independence in the formation of the Co-operative Party (1917) unlike the members of the Women's Labour League (WLL), 1906-1918 which became subsumed within the Labour Party re-structure in 1918, as the LPWS. This is important because the Co-operative Party strove in its attempt to differentiate itself ideologically by asserting a political stance in relation to the state

²²⁵ White, *Women's*, p. 90.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, Appendix IV npn.

and the Labour movement 'against a much larger party that was appealing to a similar constituency' (see Introduction and Chapter Four).²²⁷

The banner at the foot of *Labour Woman* front cover declares, 'The Labour Woman A Monthly Paper for Working Women'. The page size measured approximately 11 ½ x 9 inches. With a cover price at Two Pence it was more expensive than *Woman's Outlook*. This might suggest that although aimed at a similar readership of the working woman it was anticipated that the audience of *Labour Woman* could afford this higher price. *Labour Woman* began as *The League Leaflet*, the journal of the WLL. The first edition published in January 1911 was priced at One Halfpenny. The inaugural number declared its intention of, 'Being a paper to interest and to help members of the women's labour league and other friends of the Labour Party'.²²⁸ Entitled 'Greetings from our friends' the editorial published letters of support from various significant people.²²⁹ For the majority of the interwar period *Labour Woman* was edited by Marion Phillips 1918-32, followed by Mary Sutherland 1932-1960. In this context both magazines paralleled in the longevity and the constancy of one editor for most of the period, with Annie Bamford Tomlinson (1919-1933), and then Mary Stott, (1933-1943) as editor of *Woman's Outlook*.

²²⁷ M. Hilson, 'Rochdale and Beyond: Consumer Co-operation in Britain Before 1945', in M. Hilson, S. Neunsinger, and G. Patmore, (eds.), *A Global History of Consumer Co-operation since 1850: Movements and Businesses*, (Leiden: BRILL, 2017), pp. 59-77, p. 71, drawing on Cole, *Century*, pp. 316-318.

²²⁸ *The League Leaflet*, January 1911, p. 1.

²²⁹ These included Beatrice Webb, Margaret Llewelyn Davies, Richard Whiteing, G. N. Barnes, Chairman of the Labour Party in Parliament, William Crawford Anderson, Chairman I.L.P., James Ramsay MacDonald, Labour Party, W.C. Robinson Chairman of the Executive Council of the Labour Party and Mary Middleton secretary of the WLL.

Visual Culture

Examination of visual cultural representation is an important way to explore contemporary and historical questions of gender²³⁰ which underpin or question constructions of identity found in written sources.²³¹ In order to do this W. J. T. Mitchell's theory of image, proposed in the Introduction, is important. Mitchell argues that the picture is multifaceted, 'a complex interplay between visibility, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies and figurality',²³² which 'as complex individuals' inhabit manifold characteristics.²³³

Mitchell further states in *What Do Pictures Want?* that pictures can be physically part of an assemblage for example, in a magazine, yet engagement with the image can be tacit beyond the physical, as a composition of 'virtual, material, and symbolic elements'.²³⁴ In doing so Mitchell aims to develop a nuanced science of images in which he engages with pictures ideologically and theoretically, in which the image is the object of analysis.²³⁵

As such the progression of analysis is an organic process, an ongoing course of action. This visual analysis is not based on one-off observations, but multiple considerations which opens up on-going possibilities of the archival matter. W.J.T. Mitchell's analysis

²³⁰ W. Washabaugh, 'Philosophical Bases for Visual Multiculturalism at the College Level', in J. Elkins, (ed.), *Visual Literacy*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 129-144, 129.

²³¹ Mitchell, *What*, pp. xiii-xv.

²³² Mitchell, *Picture*, p. 16.

²³³ Mitchell, *What*, pp. 47-8.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

²³⁵ Mitchell, *Image*, p. 23.

of word and picture facilitates an exploration of how the complexity and agency of visual culture of the movement is ascribed by the viewer in the act of viewing. The picture is a physical matter but the notion of a picture is not limited to its physicality.²³⁶ The image manifests through response to the picture. It is a process of and constructed through the imagination, it is not fixed but fluid. Mitchell argues that from the picture *we draw what we want to manifest*,²³⁷ 'whatever that picture is...we ourselves are in it'.²³⁸ As, Hans Belting echoes, 'images depend on our animation, without which they remain dead artifacts'.²³⁹ The viewer interprets the picture affecting the viewer. For Susan Buck-Morss 'the politically empowering image (as opposed to the manipulative image) escapes the control of its maker, and is augmented in the process of its reception'.²⁴⁰ As such, manifold uses and interpretations of images are possible over time and suggest, 'the vitality of images'.²⁴¹

Co-operative publications skillfully interweave word and picture in juxtaposition. Accordingly, Paul Jobling and David Crowley argue that 'meaning is constructed through an analysis of word and image relationships...an interplay of visual and

²³⁶ Mitchell, *What*, p. xiv.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

²³⁹ H. Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, transl., T. Dunlap, (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2014), p. 130.

²⁴⁰ S. Buck-Morss, 'Obama and the Image', *Culture, Theory & Critique*, Vol. 50, Nos. 2-3, pp. 145-164, 163.

²⁴¹ P. Mason, *The Lives of Images*, (London: Reaktion 2001), p. 16. See Jane Bennett's argument for the 'vitality of matter'. Bennett stimulated by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's notion of "'material vitalism'", argues that things possess a force which living beings engage with. See Bennett, *Vibrant*, pp. vii-x, referencing G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. transl. B. Massumi, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), pp. 351-423.

verbal elements'.²⁴² To do so involves examining word and picture holistically on the page.²⁴³ Mitchell's understanding of the intricate relationship between word and picture offers a recursive space a 'threshold' in which connections are made between and across word and image, on the page and with the reader.²⁴⁴

W.J.T. Mitchell's approach to image theory enables the distinctions and connectedness between word and pictures to be made. 'Word and Image' have traditionally been viewed as having separate qualities in terms of their visuality and how they are experienced. The image and text can be analysed for itself. Yet, the implication of the relationship between the image-text, as Mitchell argues, is actually much more multifaceted.²⁴⁵

Editorial use of different types of word and image is examined in the wider context of the single and double page spread, to explore the complex dynamics of the everyday, communicated by those choices and juxtapositions (Introduction). For Victoria Kelley a 'more complicated, holistic and contextualised approach' avoids the type of investigation whereby the page is cut from the magazine and examined in seclusion, rendering the complexities of the positioning, and interpretations of different viewers of the piece, lost.²⁴⁶

²⁴² Jobling and Crowley, *Graphic*, p. 5.

²⁴³ Mitchell, *What*, p. 106.

²⁴⁴ Mitchell, *Picture*, p. 178.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3; Mitchell, *What*, p. 47; Mitchell, *Iconology*, pp. 1-2; Mitchell, *Image*, pp. 39-47.

²⁴⁶ V. Kelley, "'The All-Conquering Advertiser'?" *Magazines, Advertising and the Consumer, 1880-1914*, in Aynsley J., and Forde, K., (eds.), *Design and the Modern Magazine*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 76-94, 90.

Mitchell's understanding of the difference between the image and the physical picture offers a useful and nuanced concept to underpin and reach into co-operative movement visual culture. The approach offers a tool which can be used to extend the individual relationship between the co-operative woman and the image, to a relationship with a community of readers. Reader interactions with the image 'do not merely reflect the values consciously intended by their makers, but radiate new forms of value formed in the collective, political unconscious of their beholders' which 'allows the image to assume a social, conversational' association.²⁴⁷ New ideas may have been formulated even as an unconscious 'doing' in engagement with the image.

Images are important as historical evidence. The project considers the movement's utilisation of visibility – image, colour and composition within and across the selected publications and the wider visual culture. Visually the co-operative movement, similar to the suffrage movement as pointed out by Lisa Tickner's seminal study of imagery, *The Spectacle of Women*, had 'its own contradictions and ironies and its own power to shape thought, focus debates and stimulate action'.²⁴⁸ The approach builds on historian Peter Burke's criticism of the use of images by historians more broadly. He argues that for historians' images often only serve to demonstrate and do not function as part of an historical analysis.²⁴⁹ Burke's suggestion of

²⁴⁷ Mitchell, *What*, pp. 105-106.

²⁴⁸ L. Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14*, (London: Chatto and Windus Ltd, 1987), pp. ix-xii.

²⁴⁹ P. Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), p. 10.

'eyewitnessing' offers a useful perspective, implying that the creators of the images were responding to the contemporary things that they saw and experienced. The problems associated with a visual approach however must be acknowledged including 'context, function, recollection...secondhand witnessing'.²⁵⁰ Similarly, the challenges of analysing the printed word should be recognised, of ownership; authorship; viewpoints; context of the magazine and with other magazines; readership and style.²⁵¹

The project considers the institutions in which the illustrations and pictures are produced.²⁵² To do this the historical analysis is informed by an interdisciplinary approach, which fuses political,²⁵³ visual²⁵⁴ and holistic²⁵⁵ approaches and engages and connects concepts, methodologies and methods in a dialogue with each

²⁵⁰ Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, pp. 14-15. Peter Burke usefully offers ten guidelines to the analysis of visual evidence for the historian in, P. Burke, 'Interrogating the Eyewitness', *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 7, No. 4, (2010), pp. 435-443.

²⁵¹ S. Vella, 'Newspapers', in M. Dobson and B. Ziemann, (eds.), *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History*, (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 192-208, 198-200.

²⁵² Art historian John Tagg's theories on photographs can be extended to pictures in general. Tagg interprets the photographic image 'as a composite of signs, more to be compared with a complex sentence than a single word. Its meanings are multiple, concrete, and, most important, *constructed*'. The contexts of the 'institutions and apparatuses' in which the photographs were situated are important. To demonstrate this Chapters Three and Four explore the founding of 'the material, social and symbolic contexts in which they are sited, in which they operate and in which they intervene' which as Tagg concludes, is important and is, in this case, the ethos and principles of the movement in the socio-economic and political landscape of interwar Britain. How this is then manifest is explored in Chapters Five and Six. J. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, (Minnesota: Minnesota Press, 1993), pp. 187, 211, Tagg italics.

²⁵³ Buck-Morss, 'Obama'.

²⁵⁴ J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, (London: Penguin, 1972); Tickner, *Spectacle*.

²⁵⁵ Tinkler, 'Fragmentation'.

other.²⁵⁶ As Marlene Manoff's discussion of the importance of interdisciplinary approaches and the role of the archivists indicates:

But it would also benefit from more interdisciplinary conversation...where scholars are confronting similar issues and harnessing theory as a way to make connections and transcend the limits of traditionally constituted disciplines. These fields, in turn, would be enriched by the perspective of librarians and archivists working inside the archive and who thus occupy a privileged terrain from which to address these questions.²⁵⁷

For example, the declaration 'Tellers of Life's Stories: From Wash Tub to Court of Referees' in *Woman's Outlook* in May 1929 (Figure 6), opens a full page feature which foregrounds a co-operative woman. She is 29 years old, a widow and a working mother with three children.²⁵⁸

Illustrated by two line drawings, a pictorial banner fills the width of the page to dominate the article, whilst a second large line drawing is placed centrally at the heart of the piece. The drawings presented an optimistic view and appear to contrast with her sombre memories which began in 'the dull, drab surroundings of lodgings'. Each drawing depicts a singular neatly dressed, pretty, young co-operative woman in the domestic setting of a kitchen, where she is engaged in food preparation. The relationship of word and image on the page illustrate how she improved her life with the co-operative principle of self-help through her participation in the co-operative

²⁵⁶ M. Bal, 'Mektoub: When Art Meets History, Philosophy, and Linguistics', in *Case Studies in Interdisciplinary Research*, A. F. Repko, W., H., Newell and R. Szostak, (eds.), (Los Angeles: Sage Publications Ltd., 2012), pp. 91-122, 95.

²⁵⁷ M. Manoff, 'Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines', *portal: Libraries and the Academy*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2004), pp. 9-25, 22.

²⁵⁸ *Woman's Outlook* May 18th 1929, p. 474.

movement. The dynamic of image and text produced this affect together, the one informing the other. This is her story of self-betterment. For example, her decision to shop at the co-operative stores benefitted her in the receipt of the dividend (Chapter Two).²⁵⁹

Issued quarterly, this co-operative action of distributing financial surplus to co-operative members, enabled her to save money and overcome the emotional and economic challenges she faced in the everyday. She embodies one of the many co-operative 'humble heroines' who are unseen and unheard.²⁶⁰

Woman's Outlook (Figure 6), makes present the historical dialogue. To underpin its attraction and potential sales, as Adrian Bingham and Martin Conboy suggest in their analysis of the commercial press and the New Journalism,²⁶¹ the reader, through engagement with the text and the visual layout generated a dialogue with the publication.²⁶² Albeit as a 'small-circulation alternative press'²⁶³ it was supported by communities of readers and some women engaged in the production processes of the magazine: 'By the early twentieth century, women reformers succeeded in

²⁵⁹ The dividend was the surplus amount of money distributed to the co-operative society members, in proportion to their purchases. As one of the founding principles of The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers (1844), it was formulated to foster self-help, as an alternative to individualist capitalism.

²⁶⁰ *Woman's Outlook* May 18th 1929, p. 474.

²⁶¹ New Journalism first developed in America during the mid-nineteenth century as a response to 'the emergence of the ordinary people as a truly mass market' and importantly, 'new reading markets', Conboy, *Press*, pp. 50-52; M. Hampton, 'Representing the Public Sphere: The New Journalism and Its Historians', in Ardis and Collier, (eds.), *Transatlantic*, pp. 15-29, 24.

²⁶² M. Bingham and M. Conboy, *Tabloid Century: The Popular Press in Britain, 1896 to the Present*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2015) pp. 3-6; Conboy, *Press*, pp. 19, 95-96.

²⁶³ Hampton, 'Representing', p. 23.

transforming the periodical into both a real and imagined space for female intellectual and political community'.²⁶⁴ This phenomenon is explored in the analysis of the movement, the production processes and the co-operative publications (Chapter Three, Four, Five and Six).



Figure 6 Tellers of Life's Stories, *Woman's Outlook* May 18th 1929, p. 474

²⁶⁴ M. E. Tusan, *Women Making News: Gender and Journalism in Modern Britain*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), pp. 1-2.

Printing and production processes were often artisanal. Typically, there is a lack of primary sources and records to identify who the artisans were and the decisions made about the frequently gendered production processes (Chapter Three and Four).²⁶⁵ Interwar Britain saw changes to the production processes and journalist and editorial roles and the drive of the movement to self-archive means that traces of printing practices can be garnered through its publications.

The co-operative printed ephemera was mostly produced by anonymous artisans in print workshops as part of an industrial and market driven process. Alongside typesetters, engravers and layout artists, the illustrators worked within conventions of realist styles to ensure ease of communication. Importantly, the magazine is a complex site of production, circulation and consumption and has a role within the community.²⁶⁶

Feminist Theory, Gender Identity, or Women's History?

There is an argument to be made from a feminist standpoint to examine the visual representation of the gender identity of co-operative woman: 'it is critical that we keep "women" centre stage', otherwise 'we run the risk of our past being pushed

²⁶⁵ Groeneveld, 'Gender', p. 221.

²⁶⁶ A. Gough-Yates, *Understanding Women's Magazines – Publishing, Markets and Readerships* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 5-7, 156-157; G. Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, 4th Ed., (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2016), pp. 23-47; Ritchie, *Housewife*, pp. 36-40, 54-55, 63.

back into obscurity, yet again, and of being marginalised and distorted through a male lens'.²⁶⁷

Primarily, gender is used as a concept to facilitate analysis and engagement with the movement's representation of the construction of the everyday life of co-operative woman.²⁶⁸ The perspective of gender and its political standpoint, in which 'gender constructs politics and politics constructs gender' was prompted by Joan Wallach Scott's exploration of gender as 'a category of analysis' as set out in the Introduction.²⁶⁹ However, because knowledge is situated, gender can be viewed as a contentious term.²⁷⁰ Some feminist theorists argue that it presents a false binary. Nevertheless, 'gender is a useful category of analysis' if used critically and analytically.²⁷¹ Discussion of what gender means opens up a deeper interrogation of what constitutes understandings of the terms 'man' and 'woman'. By emphasising how these terms are relational 'according to time, context, and place',²⁷² examination of co-operative publications suggests a diverse range of women's gender identities in the contexts of the home and work. As Scott concludes:

The "language of gender" cannot be codified in dictionaries, nor can its meanings be easily assumed or translated. It doesn't reduce to some known quantity of masculine or feminine, male or female. It's precisely the particular meanings that need to be teased out of the materials we

²⁶⁷ J. Purvis, 'From "Women Worthies" to Poststructuralism? Debate and Controversy in Women's History in Britain', in Purvis, J., (ed.), *Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945 An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1995, 2006), pp. 1-19, 13.

²⁶⁸ Scott, 'Gender: Still', pp. 7-14, 9-10, 2-13; June Purvis argues that the notions of women and gender are 'intertwined' in J. Purvis, "'A Glass Half Full"? Women's History in the UK, *Women's History Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1, (2018), pp. 88-108, 91.

²⁶⁹ Scott, 'Gender', pp. 1070, 1073; Scott, *Gender*, pp. 28-50.

²⁷⁰ Haraway, 'Situated', pp. 586-588.

²⁷¹ Scott, 'Gender', pp. 1065-1068; Scott, 'Gender: Still', pp. 10-13.

²⁷² Scott, 'Gender: Still', p. 9; Purvis, "'Glass'", p. 91.

examine. When gender is an open question about how these meanings are established, what they signify, and in what contexts, then it remains a useful – because critical – category of analysis.²⁷³

The concept of gender identity deployed here is guided principally by Judith Butler's fluid construction of gender. It is facilitated by the development of a historically specific and socially constructed understanding of the relationship between co-operative publications and co-operative woman.²⁷⁴

The term 'co-operative woman' addresses co-operative woman in the specific, yet the publication's visual representations offered varied roles and manifold identities. There is no homogenous co-operative woman (Introduction).²⁷⁵ The term co-operative woman proposes the relational constitution of diverse identities which shift and slide across each other, as part of a political continuum in a pattern suggested by Judith Butler.²⁷⁶

A fluid and shifting representation of co-operative woman, is constructed in *Woman's Outlook*, with multiple entry points, which crossed, challenged and supported traditional boundaries of public/private, inside/outside, home/industrial, political/social in a multifaceted fluidity of identities. Diverse representations enact co-operative woman's agency to effect change through choice, dependent on her own individual set of circumstances.²⁷⁷ Co-operative magazines offer a

²⁷³ Scott, 'Gender: Still', p. 13.

²⁷⁴ Butler, *Gender*, p. 14.

²⁷⁵ Giles, *Women*, p. 173; Southern, Co-operative, pp. 97-98, 143.

²⁷⁶ Butler, *Gender*, p. 6.

²⁷⁷ C. Lee and A. Logan, 'Women's Agency, Activism and Organisation', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 28, No. 6, (2017), pp. 831-834, 831, 834.

heterogeneous multitude of images which, as ‘an ongoing discursive practice...is open to intervention and resignification’.²⁷⁸

Collage

The Introduction established how collage as an arts-based research practice is working as a different process and mode of encounter from systematic academic visual analysis and is interpreted as an ‘integration of multiple methodologies used in the arts with the postmodern ethics of participative, action-oriented, and politically situated perspectives’.²⁷⁹ Collage, as an experimental approach, offers:

meaning-making through the juxtaposition of a variety of pictures, artifacts, natural objects, words, phrases, textiles, sounds, and stories. It is not meant to provide one-to-one transfer of information; rather, it strives to create metaphoric evocative texts through which readers, audiences, and patrons create their own meanings on a given research topic...What underpins the creation of research collages is the attempt to construct meanings about the research question and/or process, the participants, and emerging themes.²⁸⁰

Through collage, a physical material engagement is involved in ‘the process of cutting and sticking found images and image fragments from popular print/magazines onto cardstock’.²⁸¹ In comparison to the analysis of the first part of the project, which offers linear and systematic representation through text and the singular voice of the

²⁷⁸ Butler, *Gender*, p. 45.

²⁷⁹ S. Finley, ‘Arts-Based Research’, in J. G. Knowles and A. L. Cole, (eds.), *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research: Perspectives, Methodologies, Examples, and Issues*, (Los Angeles: Sage Publications Ltd., 2008), pp. 71-81, 71.

²⁸⁰ J. Norris, ‘Collage’, in L. M. Given, (ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008), pp. 94-97, 94.

²⁸¹ L. Butler-Kisber, ‘Collage as Inquiry’, in Knowles and Cole (eds.), *Handbook*, pp. 265-276, 265.

lone researcher the engagement offers an alternative approach which is multiple voiced, subjective, nonlinear and embodied.²⁸²

Typically, the emphasis in archival research and practice is on the material in the archive, not the process or mode of engagement:

visitors come and go and take their thoughts with them. Creative practice rethinks this relationship between experience and emotion and archival content, but it is not currently considered a mode of archiving in itself.²⁸³

To address this in October 2015 I prepared a workshop proposal, which I introduced to Gemma Meek, fellow faculty doctoral researcher and it developed into a collaboration. It originated as a one-off participatory collage-making workshop, (as set out in the Introduction and Chapter Seven), to the Nordic Summer University Conference call for '*Practicing Communities: Transformative societal strategies of artistic research. How does artistic research transform society?*'.²⁸⁴

The workshop was formulated as a way of connecting with new audiences and also distributing knowledge about the project and the co-operative movement. Articulated on the participant information sheet, and in the workshop introduction it aimed to gather the responses of participants to their experience of accessing and using the NCA material at the conference workshop.²⁸⁵ The objective to investigate

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ J. Ashton, 'Feminist Archiving [*a manifesto continued*]: Skilling for Activism and Organising', *Australian Feminist Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 91-92, (2017), pp. 126-149, 138.

²⁸⁴ Workshop One.

²⁸⁵ Appendix Five - Introduction to the National Co-operative Archive and the Co-operative Movement.

participant workshop experiences, explore their responses, the workshop process and outcomes were made explicit from the outset.²⁸⁶

In response to other conference calls during the period March 2016 to May 2017 a succession of collaborative hands-on archival workshops evolved at a range of multidisciplinary European conferences. These addressed themes of feminist reading and writing, arts-based research, the sociology of art and the co-operative movement itself. The geographical locations included Riga, Budapest, Porto, Birmingham, Manchester, Saxnas, (Northern Sweden) and Helsinki. The ten workshops saw the development of a living methodology attentive to lived academic and disciplinary conversations around a range of research issues.²⁸⁷ The intention was to establish a different and complementary frame from orthodox academic approaches (Chapter Seven).

Conference delegates as participants at the thematically related conferences created contemporaneous visual and material artefacts as individual collages within controlled environments where the workshops were predominantly entitled, '*Woman's Outlook*', *Past Present Future: Rip, Mark, Stick, Create, Multi-Vocal Image Making*'. Each event informed the other to open up the archive. Participants were encouraged to rip, cut and stick, to deconstruct and reconstruct photocopied pages of the first edition of archival material *Woman's Outlook*, (Figure 2) along with

²⁸⁶ V. Scotti and G. Chilton, 'Collage as Arts-Based Research', in P. Leavy, (ed.), *Handbook of Arts-Based Research*, (New York: Guildford Press, 2019), pp. 355-376, 360.

²⁸⁷ C. Lury, and N. Wakeford, 'Introduction: A Perpetual Inventory', in C. Lury, and N. Wakeford, (eds.) *Inventive Methods: The Happening of the Social*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-24.

contemporary NCA leaflets and crafting materials to physically dislocate archival material beyond the traditional handling protocols of the archive.

In the second strand of the project we see how spaces of contemporary European conference workshops mobilise understandings of fluid gender identity more broadly through the participants' interdisciplinary and personal perspectives. Each workshop offered an improvised in-the-moment intervention which follows 'the ways of the world, as they unfold, rather than to connect up, in reverse, a series of points already traversed'.²⁸⁸ Viewed as 'thinking in movement'²⁸⁹ the events engendered through physical encounter, an embodied engagement, understood as 'thinking through making'.²⁹⁰ Working with the photocopied materials wrenched from the NCA regenerated and revitalised the archive and the source material. Tim Ingold offers a useful proposition of knowing through making things.²⁹¹ His understanding of making as 'a process of growth' asserted the role of collage in the renewal of the archive.²⁹²

Different engagements with new audiences encouraged fresh approaches to the NCA and the archival material.²⁹³ The bodily actions of ripping and sticking employed in the physical deconstruction of material photocopies facilitated embodied responses *with* the material beyond academic work. Physical encounters with the material by walking, kneeling, rising, reaching, show that there are alternative ways of

²⁸⁸ Ingold, *Bringing*, p. 10.

²⁸⁹ Sheets-Johnstone, 'Thinking', pp. 399-407; Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, pp. xvii, xxxi, 419-449.

²⁹⁰ Ravetz, "'Both'", pp. 159, 171.

²⁹¹ Ingold, *Making*, pp. xi, 1-15, 21.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. xi, 21, 86.

²⁹³ Lury, 'Going', p. 184.

engagement with archives, whereby, 'embodied motives of re/researching can resist the normative lenses and functions of archive documents and prescribed relationships with them'.²⁹⁴

The adaptable and physical nature of collage as an embodied practice offers a resistance to archival hierarchical modes of enquiry. As a dance practitioner myself (2010-2015)²⁹⁵ the dance practice of Pina Bausch (1940-2009) was important to the project. Her employment of the concept of collage to movement making generated 'a multi-faceted perspective of the story, re-creating the condition and mood of each story rather than telling it through a more linear narrative'.²⁹⁶ This was a particularly useful perspective through which to consider the workshops as an antidote to the academic. Bausch approached dance creation from the everyday, individual events. She 'creates open points of connection to more universal structures of feeling'; to connect with a people's history opened up archival research in new ways which is not intended to replace present modes.²⁹⁷

In challenging the hierarchy of the archive, the intention is to be supportive and to flatten out the hierarchies of engagement:

dispelling the idea that research is only for the institutionally-trained historian and introducing the beauty of collaborative history as a process of taking everyone's contribution to build a bigger picture. Recognition that expertise is widely

²⁹⁴ H. Pester, 'Archive Fanfiction: Experimental Archive Research Methodologies and Feminist Epistemological Tactics', *feminist review*, Vol. 115, (2017), pp. 114-129, 117.

²⁹⁵ Dialogue Dance <https://www.dialoguedance.co.uk/> accessed 09092016.

²⁹⁶ R. Climenhaga, *Pina Bausch*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 10, 124.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

distributed and can be shared has a powerful effect, although issues around money and authority do not disappear.²⁹⁸

Different modes of archival enquiry generate new channels of 'knowledge production' which 'creates generative dialogues between practice-based and scholarly enquiry' (Chapter Two, Seven).²⁹⁹ Collage offers an accessible mode of engagement which does not require a specialist skill set.³⁰⁰ Indeed one workshop participant suggested that it offered an ideal way in which to engage children with the archive materials.³⁰¹ Collage has the capacity to generate connections 'between fragments that represent emergent feelings first and then ideas' which are then 'reconstructed to represent feelings that when viewed can suggest new meanings, or a whole new take on a phenomenon'.³⁰² The arts-based method offered the opportunity to engage in new collaborative and participatory interventions with the NCA. Participant 'active interpretations', explored through the experimental mode of collage reveal the potentiality of the archive and 'that resists the ideological orders and hierarchical principles of the archive'.³⁰³

²⁹⁸ S. Lloyd, and J. Moore, 'Sedimented Histories: Connections, Collaborations and Co-production in Regional History', *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 80, (2015), pp. 234-248, 239.

²⁹⁹ Pester, 'Archive', p. 115.

³⁰⁰ L. Butler-Kisber, and T. Poldma, 'The Power of Visual Approaches in Qualitative Inquiry: The Use of Collage Making and Concept Mapping in Experiential Research', *Journal of Research Practice*, Vol. 6 No. 2, (2010), Article M18, pp. 1-16, 3.

³⁰¹ Conversation with participant, Workshop Nine.

³⁰² Butler-Kisber and Poldma, 'Power', p. 13.

³⁰³ Pester, 'Archive', p. 115.

Widening-Participation

The complex nature of the project acknowledges its multiple heterogeneities. With the NCA always at the forefront the project stimulated the consideration of how it would be possible for the outside, that is communities beyond the NCA, to cross the threshold of the archive, and through collaboration with new audiences generate fresh understanding of the collections.

Wider participation through traction with the collection of the NCA seeks to encourage individual inquiry and generate a people's history. The project aimed to broaden the scope of the understanding of co-operative history, expand the relevance and significance of co-operative women and visual artefacts to contribute to interdisciplinary debates and to enrich understanding of the educational potential of the NCA.

The project aimed to be comprehensible, pertinent and attract the interest of those in the fields of arts and humanities, archival theory and practices, arts-based research, gender and participatory projects. The need for greater exploration, visibility and discussion of the process of research and participation is a topic of current debate across disciplines.³⁰⁴ For example, in 2018 *Archives and Records: The Journal of the Archives and Records Association* issued a call for the Special Issue, Archives and Education: New Pedagogies and Practice, which, published in 2020, aims to focus on

³⁰⁴ The launch of the journal *Research for All* in January 2017 demonstrates the importance of bringing together participation, academic study and communities
<https://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/ioep/rfa/2017/00000001/00000001> accessed 15112019.

new pedagogical approaches to engaging with archives.³⁰⁵ Alexis Easley, Andrew King, and John Morton in their recent publication *Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Case Studies*, asked the contributors to discuss and make visible their research process. They encouraged their contributors to write reflectively about their research approaches with the Nineteenth-Century Periodical.³⁰⁶ In doing so they make clear a desire and necessity to ‘demystify the process of critical inquiry, providing inspiration for future research and for methodological innovation’.³⁰⁷

Widening participation through a different way of engaging is suggestive of renewal and aims to ‘revivify’ the NCA.³⁰⁸ Chapter Seven is inspired by the idea of ‘renewal’ put forward by Walter Benjamin:

Among children collecting is one process of renewal; other processes are the painting of objects, the cutting out of figures, the application of decals – the whole range of childlike modes of acquisition, from touching things to giving them names.³⁰⁹

Renewal is offered through collage. Examining how co-operative movement visual culture is approached and reconstructed situates images as the central apparatus. Calling for greater ‘transparency’ in ‘visual research practice in the study of gender and education’, Alexandra Allen and Penny Tinkler reason ‘It is difficult to evaluate

³⁰⁵ Archives and Education: New Pedagogies and Practice, *Archives and Records: The Journal of the Archives and Records Association* (2018). See <http://explore.tandfonline.com/cfp/pgas/cjsa-cfp-archives-and-education> accessed 10042018; *Archives and Records: The Journal of the Archives and Records Association*, Vol. 41, No, 2, (2020) <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/cjsa21/current> accessed 03082020.

³⁰⁶ A. Easley, A. King, and J. Morton, ‘Introduction: Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Case Studies’, in Easley et al (eds.), *Researching*, pp. 1-13.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁰⁸ Beetham, ‘Body’, pp. 148, 158.

³⁰⁹ Benjamin, ‘Unpacking’, p. 487.

the specific contributions of visual methods if we do not detail and explain how they work, and what they expose or obscure'.³¹⁰

Collaboration

The research process itself established co-operative social practices that drew upon the co-operative movement's legacy as a people's project. The approach responded to the co-operative ethos in which the participants engaged productively and directly with photocopies of archival materials. The archival workshops physically and conceptually took place in spaces located inside and outside the archive. Audience and collage, offered a 'collaborative, reciprocal process'. Whereby 'all participants have the opportunity to contribute equally, although not necessarily in the same ways, to curricular or pedagogical' exploration³¹¹ embodies multiple opportunities for 'co-operative transformation'.³¹²

During the early stages, the research considered Participant Action Research (PAR) as an approach.³¹³ PAR can offer a participant driven methodology to solve a

³¹⁰ A. Allan and P. Tinkler, "'Seeing" into the Past and "Looking" Forward to the Future: Visual Methods and Gender and Education Research', *Gender and Education*, Vol. 27 No. 7, (2015), pp. 791-811, 799-803.

³¹¹ A. Cook-Sather, C. Bovill and P. Felten, *Engaging Students as Partners in Learning and Teaching: A Guide for Faculty*, (San Francisco: Jossey Bass-John Wiley & Sons, 2014), pp. 6-7.

³¹² Co-operative Education and Research Conference 2017, 'Learning for Co-operative Transformations'
<https://www.thenews.coop/108011/topic/education/co-op-education-conference-calls-proposals/>
accessed 18122019.

³¹³ K. Herr and G. L. Anderson, *The Action Research Dissertation: A Guide for Students and Faculty*, (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2005).

problem raised by the participants.³¹⁴ However, following discussions with the archive staff during the course of the project it was not quite appropriate to support the nuances of the research. Certainly, the conference workshop approach does involve a cyclical aspect of PAR but ultimately the aim to 'open up the archives' was not initiated by either the archivists or the participants, but as an objective of the project.

Collaboration as undertaken in this research focuses on co-production³¹⁵ which the project embraces - through the conference workshop participants - to the research relationships with the archive staff and collaborator Gemma Meek. Keri Facer and Kate Pahl's understanding of collaboration readily map onto the research process offering useful conceptual frames of '*productive divergence...materiality and place...messiness and uncertainty...complexity...praxis...[and] embodied learning*'.³¹⁶

Materiality and place are particularly relevant. Firstly, in the historical examination of the visual culture of the co-operative, commercial and political publications. Secondly, in the examination of the spaces and collages produced in the conference workshops. The circumstances of the research, its time frame and methodological

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

³¹⁵ Durose, et al, *Towards Co-Production in Research with Communities*, (AHRC: Connected Communities), p. 2,

https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/geography/reframing_state/CCDiscussionPaperDurose2etal.pdf accessed 02032019; Kelemen, et al, 'Performing', p. 107; Gearty, 'Learning', pp. 493-494.

³¹⁶ K. Facer and K. Pahl, 'Introduction', in Facer and Pahl, (eds.), *Valuing*, pp. 1-21, 3, 17; K. Facer and K. Pahl, 'Understanding Collaborative Research Practices: A Lexicon', in Facer and Pahl, (eds.), *Valuing*, pp. 215-231, 216-219, 228-229, Facer and Pahl italics.

breadth 'shaped the conditions of research'³¹⁷ and the conference methodology evolved organically and self-reflectively to convey a sense of complexity, messiness and uncertainty.³¹⁸ The initial workshop emerged collaboratively and six of the ten workshops were delivered collaboratively with fellow faculty doctoral researcher Gemma Meek.³¹⁹ This approach 'brings the reward of shared knowledge and new skills'³²⁰ for the participant-researchers³²¹ and through co-production,³²² the conference workshops aimed 'to generate knowledge and experiences that are unlikely to emerge through more orthodox academic processes'.³²³

Conclusion

This chapter unpacks and makes visible the research process. The empirical and theoretical understanding of the archival collections and the rationale for the selection of primary sources and sampling process provides the foundation for the

³¹⁷ K. Facer and B. Enright, *Creating Living Knowledge: The Connected Communities Programme, Community-University Relationships and the Participatory Turn in the Production of Knowledge*, (Bristol: University of Bristol/AHRC Connected Communities, 2016) pp. 22-24, 33-55, 146-148.

³¹⁸ J. Groen and T. Hyland-Russell, 'Stepping Out: Collaborative Research Across Disciplines', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, Vol. 29, No. 6, (2016), pp. 814-826, 817, 820, 823.

³¹⁹ See Appendix Three – Project Outputs. For example, five books of collages were produced at eight of the ten conference workshops. Gemma Meek suggested and made the book board covers for the initial concertina book design of Workshop One. We then developed the book design, for which Gemma made the book board covers for Workshop Two, Three and Six. Gemma kindly suggested the book design and constructed the collages into the book at Workshop Five.

³²⁰ Lloyd and Moore, 'Sedimented', p. 238.

³²¹ Hackett, 'Parents', pp. 482-483, 485, 488, 494.

³²² Durose, et al, *Towards Co-Production in Research with Communities*, (AHRC: Connected Communities), p. 2,

https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/geography/reframing_state/CCDiscussionPaperDurose2etal.pdf accessed 0203201; Kelemen, et al, 'Performing', p. 107; Gearty, 'Learning', pp. 493-494.

³²³ Lloyd and Moore, 'Sedimented', p. 242.

methodological approaches of the project. *Woman's Outlook*, unique within the co-operative movement publications is the only dedicated women's magazine. Complete runs of publications of journals represent a large and significant part of the archival material in the NCA. The quantity and range of in-house journal publications indicates that this was an important and major strategy for the projection of its ethos as a democratic structure and consumer organisation.³²⁴

The empirical consideration of the sources – the breadth of publishers, visual design, page layout, cost and circulation of the publications demonstrates that the journals as a lens offer a foundation for an accurately dated and contextualised visual approach. Furthermore, the commitment to fund the Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA) project by the AHRC demonstrated the contemporary and future significance of the co-operative movement, periodical collection and the archive to the movement and wider society. As such, the methodology addresses the marginalisation of the home and work in the representation of the gender identity of co-operative woman in interwar Britain and through the workshops its relevance for the present.

³²⁴ Southern, Co-operative, p. 10.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In the interwar period the co-operative movement was pervaded by the tensions between democratic principles and everyday assumptions about gender in which the visual depiction of the identity of co-operative woman is seen to be multifaceted and complex (Chapter Three, Four, Five, Six). This literature review explores how this investigation is marginal in the wider study of the co-operative woman with its emphasis on visual culture and the field of archival research in which it is situated and how it might be extended.

Since the mid-nineteenth century women had played a significant role in the movement.³²⁵ Tom Woodin, in his discussion of the establishment of the Co-operative College in 1919, draws attention to the 'marginalization' of women in the movement's nineteenth and early twentieth century drive for education.³²⁶ These tensions contributed to the establishment of the WCG in 1883 which aimed 'to challenge the gap between rhetoric and reality',³²⁷ and its history is documented in a wealth of internal in-house publications as set out in the Introduction and Chapter Three. Yet, despite the formation of the WCG constraints of the role of 'married women of the working-class'³²⁸ continued. Challenging the limitations of the predominant organisational focus on the WCG,³²⁹ *Woman's Outlook* offered a

³²⁵ T. Woodin, 'Co-operative Education in Britain During the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: Context, Identity and Learning', in A. Webster et al, (eds.), *Hidden*, pp. 78-95, 84-85.

³²⁶ Woodin, 'Co-operation', p. 37; Woodin, 'Co-operative', 84-85, 88, 91.

³²⁷ Scott, *Feminism* p. 12.

³²⁸ Davies, 'Introduction', p. 1.

³²⁹ See Introduction. For example - Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*; Southern, *Co-operative*; Scott, *Feminism*; Blaszak, *Matriarchs*; Davies, (ed.), *Maternity*; Davies, (ed.), *Life*; Webb, *Woman*; Scott, "'Working'"; Vorberg-Rugh, 'Employers'.

broader and alternative fluid continuum which draws out and intertwines diverse interpretations.

The Co-operative Movement

The contemporary investigation of the history of the co-operative movement is currently expanding. As a field it is recently paying attention to its rich diversity. Chris Wrigley identifies at least twelve principal areas which offer plenty of scope for further study.³³⁰ Substantial investigations which reach beyond the in-house publications of the movement have been growing since the late 1990s. For example, Alan Burton in his examination of the extensive reach of cinema and the production of film by the movement, argues that it has typically been placed in a subsidiary role in historical studies of the British Labour Movement.³³¹ Ten years later in 2010 there had been little change to this position. Nicole Robertson's study of the relationship between the co-operative movement and local communities, builds on this position in her detailed account of the historiography of the co-operative movement. She argues that despite its importance in social and economic history 'Compared to the attention given by historians to the Labour Party and trade unions...it is generally under-represented in labour history'.³³²

³³⁰ C. Wrigley, 'The Co-operative Movement', *Moving the Social: Journal of Social History and the History of Social Movements*, Vol. 27, (2002) pp.103-116, 107, 115.

³³¹ Burton, *British*, p. 5.

³³² Robertson, *Co-operative*, p. 4.

In 2013, John Wilson, Anthony Webster and Rachel Vorberg-Rugh published a comprehensive 150 year history which pays specific attention to the commercial approach of the CWS and The Co-operative Group achieved in the circumstances of great economic, social and political change. However, they also point out that even within the context of business histories, co-operatives have received scant attention.³³³ Angela Whitecross observes in her 2015 study of the Co-operative Party that despite its significant position, spanning working-class associations it is 'barely visible' in economic, social and political historiographies.³³⁴ Anthony Webster's recent publication *Co-operation and Globalisation: The British Co-operative Wholesales, the Co-operative Group and the World since 1863* contributes the first in-depth discussion of co-operatives as global wholesalers and he makes a strong case for the worldwide political and economic role of the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies.³³⁵

Co-operative Woman

Similarly, the gendered dynamics of the co-operative movement in interwar Britain have received little attention. It is not the purpose here to offer an in-depth account of the WCG but, in order to establish an understanding of the relationship between

³³³ Wilson et al, *Building*, pp. 4-5.

³³⁴ Whitecross, 'Co-operative', p. 1.

³³⁵ A. Webster, *Co-operation and Globalisation: The British Co-operative Wholesales, the Co-operative Group and the World since 1863*, (London: Routledge, 2019).

the co-operative movement and co-operative woman, it is necessary to expand upon this literature and context.

Fresh academic interest in co-operative women and gender developed in the 1980s. Exceptionally, Linda McCullough Thew (1918-2013), offers a personal insight and critical evaluation of gender in her autobiographical account.³³⁶ In this consideration of everyday life growing up in a co-operative family she observes how gendered roles as a daughter and co-operative working woman in post First World War Britain extended to the gendering of the daily operations of the local co-operative store of the Ashington Industrial Co-operative Society (1893-1970). She draws attention to the gendered role of the woman as shopper and householder, yet observes that it was the male of the household who had the vote. Although she endorses the superior quality of the co-operative goods on sale, she also critiques how the cost excluded the very poor from participation in the movement and its drive to 'achieve a decent and improved standard of life for everyone'.³³⁷

The centenary of the foundation of the WCG in 1883, stimulated further research in the 1980s.³³⁸ Stephen Yeo's 1988 edited collection was a 'watershed' in co-operative historiography.³³⁹ In response to contemporary debates of gender and community

³³⁶ L. McCullough Thew, *The Pit Village and the Store: The Portrait of a Mining Past*, (London: Pluto Press, Co-operative Union, 1985).

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-106.

³³⁸ Wrigley, 'Co-operative', p. 104; For centenary publications see Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*; C. Salt, P. Schweitzer and M. Wilson, *Of Whole Heart Cometh Hope: Centenary Memories of the Co-operative Women's Guild*, (London: Co-operative Retail Services/Age Exchange Theatre Trust, 1983).

³³⁹ Yeo, (ed.), *New*; Robertson, *Co-operative*, p. 7.

it brought co-operation back into the historian's spotlight to offer fresh ways of looking at the movement.³⁴⁰ Indeed, Alan Thomson offers a thoughtful contribution in his consideration of the 'drudgery' of the co-operative home (Chapter Five).³⁴¹ However, these studies largely stress the role of the WCG as a universal representation of co-operative woman. Consequently, this project attempts to unpack the complexities of the visual identities of co-operative woman as pictured in co-operative publications.

Throughout the interwar period 'working women' was used by the movement as a term of identification in a range of scenarios. For instance, we can see how, the bold strapline 'Women Who Work For Us' placed prominently at the top of the front cover of the inaugural issue of *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 2), anchors the illustration of the co-operative woman standing on the doorstep as a working woman. In the opening paragraphs, the editors declared the co-operative woman as a worker in both the home and the workplace: 'Our little journal...for whom the working woman in the home, the working girl in the factory and in the stores, has been looking out for quite a while'.³⁴² As set out in Chapter Six visual analysis reveals the dynamic between co-operative woman and work as multifaceted and questions the focus on the WCG established in the in-house publications and continued in the subsequent literature.

³⁴⁰ Robertson, *Co-operative*, p. 7.

³⁴¹ Thomson, "'Domestic'", pp. 108- 127.

³⁴² *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

As an example, Margaret Llewelyn Davies, the General Secretary of the WCG (1889-1921), distinguished co-operative woman as married members of the WCG. Her 1915 publication *Maternity Letters from Working Women*, which documented through 160 personal letters the maternity experiences of the women 'officials' of the WCG typified co-operative women as 'the voteless and voiceless millions of working-women of England'.³⁴³ Here Llewelyn Davies blurred the boundaries between the private and the public, the familial and work roles, as she considered women co-operators in the WCG, married and working.

Another publication edited by Llewelyn Davies, *Life As We Have Known It: by Co-operative Working Women*, published in 1931 maintained the close alignment of the identity of co-operative woman with the WCG. Throughout the publication personal testimony continued to distinguish co-operative women as working-class and affirms the fluid identity of the lives of co-operative women as working women and housewives.³⁴⁴ Anna Davin's introductory observation emphasises the everyday lives of the co-operative women who self-identified as, 'workers, as housewives...and...their struggles for intellectual and political self-development'.³⁴⁵ Importantly, Davin also draws attention to Davies' dilemma 'as a middle class woman' and editor of both of these publications.³⁴⁶

³⁴³ Davies, 'Introduction', p. 1.

³⁴⁴ Davies, (ed.), *Life*.

³⁴⁵ A. Davin, 'Introduction', in Davies, (ed.), *Life*, pp. vii-ix, vii-viii.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

Gillian Scott, historian of the WCG, similarly characterises the co-operative woman of the late nineteenth and twentieth century, as a member of the WCG comprising of 'working-class housewives'.³⁴⁷ Scott's observation that the term 'working women' was used to differentiate between those who were working-class housewives engaged in domestic labour and 'industrial women' who were paid workers highlights some of the nuanced tensions surrounding the analysis of the representation of co-operative woman (Chapter Four, Five and Six).³⁴⁸

Importantly, the identification of the WCG as the predominant identity persists in the literature. Equally studies are typically reliant on the principally textual interpretation of, for example sources such as Co-operative Congress Reports and *Co-operative News*.³⁴⁹ However, Jayne Southern's 1996, doctoral study, *Co-operation in the North West of England, 1919–1939*, by taking a visual cultural approach as a mode of analysis, introduced a valuable and alternative approach to the examination of the movement and co-operative women to open up broader possibilities.³⁵⁰ Southern sought to address 'perceptions, status and actual functions' of co-operative women, who she argues 'were the largest and most recognisable section of co-operative membership'.³⁵¹ Refreshingly, Southern's understanding extends beyond the realm of the WCG, to offer a range of pertinent identities. Categorising women 'as members or employees and as activists or rank and file co-

³⁴⁷ Scott, *Feminism* p. 3.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 8 f/n 11.

³⁴⁹ See for example Southern, *Co-operative*, p. 12; Scott, *Feminism*, pp. 69-71, 94-98, 169-173, 194-197; Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, p. 199.

³⁵⁰ Southern, *Co-operative*, p. 10.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

operators and shoppers', her analysis is returned to in Chapter Six in a discussion of co-operative woman and work.³⁵²

Southern discusses images as perceptions rather than physical representations of co-operative woman. Yet, only six pictures of co-operative woman are included, which are predominantly drawn from WCG and CWS publicity material.³⁵³ Throughout her investigation, *Co-operative News* forms the predominant visual source, with a provision of ten pictures, three of which include co-operative woman.³⁵⁴ Congress Reports and *Co-operative News* are the main textual sources. These are supplemented with additional co-operative publications, *The Producer* and *Woman's Outlook* which Southern identifies as useful sources on co-operative employees and women members. *Woman's Outlook*, with the inclusion of one picture, is only referenced eight times,³⁵⁵ whilst, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Co-operative Official* publications provide general and technical information.³⁵⁶ This highlights an inherent issue of privileging certain archival sources. For example, Congress Reports and *Co-operative News* as the official publications of the movement offer certain perspectives, which this project seeks to re-address. The limitations of this approach are considered in the methodology and discussion of the sampling method employed (Chapter One).

³⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 97-8.

³⁵³ There are a total number of 128 illustrations in Southern's doctoral study.

³⁵⁴ Southern, *Co-operative*, pp. 29, 51, 241.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Barbara Blaszak's substantial study followed in 2000.³⁵⁷ Although, it received criticism with regard to its over generalisation and limited analysis of secondary research material. At the same time, John Walton, however, praised Blaszak for raising the 'gender-blindness' of the literature.³⁵⁸ Blaszak also published her findings in the *Women's History Review* (WHR) in 2000, which in turn generated a heated and public dialogue between herself and John Walton.³⁵⁹ The debate focused on Blaszak's emphasis on the gendered geography of the movement, in which she argued that there were different attitudes between the North and the South of England to the role of co-operative women. The debate encouraged the consideration of locality and place in the context of urban/rural/city and town boundaries which were manifest in the publications, and addressed in Chapters Four, Five and Six.

Blaszak's investigation of women in the co-operative movement, offered the perspectives of gender and space suggesting fresh insights. But it is within the context of the WCG that she proposed that women were often subordinate in the movement. Nevertheless, although, Southern, Scott and Blaszak primarily draw on

³⁵⁷ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*.

³⁵⁸ J. K., Walton, 'Locality, Gender and Co-operation in England: A Comment on Barbara J. Blaszak', *Women's History Review*, Vol.12, No.3, (2003), pp. 477-488, 477-478, 482-483.

³⁵⁹ This debate was conducted through three articles published in the *Women's History Review*, during 2000 - 2003. Barbara Blaszak's article published in 2000. Was followed by John Walton's critical response in 2003, with Blaszak's reply to Walton, in the same issue. See B. J. Blaszak, 'The Gendered Geography of the English Co-operative Movement at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (2000), pp. 559-583; Walton, 'Locality'; B. J. Blaszak, 'The Hazards of Localism: A Reply to John K. Walton', *Women's History Review*, Vol.12, No.3, (2003), pp. 489-498.

the organisational and textual sources of the movement, their studies contextualised the visual analysis of co-operative woman.

Visual Culture and Design in the Co-operative Movement

The co-operative movement's intention was to reach out to a larger audience and appeal with manifold images of co-operative woman. Co-operative publications show a commitment to high production values and distinct visual design. Yet, despite their visually rich nature, studies of the function and purpose of visual culture and design in the movement in interwar Britain are few.³⁶⁰ The project extends Rachel Ritchie's doctoral study of three women's magazines *Woman's Outlook*, *Home and Country* and *Woman* in which she explores the organisational identities of the co-operative movement, the WCG and the Women's Institute in a fresh visual direction and during the period 1954-69.³⁶¹ Indeed, historian John Walton comments that 'Historians have made little use of the visual resources generated by the British Co-operative movement'.³⁶²

Unusually, Victoria Kelley's material cultural analysis of the Manchester and Salford Equitable Co-operative Society (MSECS) (1885-1914) utilises their journal, *Herald*

³⁶⁰ See Introduction.

³⁶¹ Ritchie, *Housewife*, pp. 22-36.

³⁶² J. K. Walton, 'Commemorating the Co-op: Nostalgia, Identity and the Visual Traces of the Co-operative Movement in Twentieth-Century Britain', *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation*, Vol. 24 No. 2, (2008), pp. 159-172, 161-162.

together with the *Wheatsheaf*, published by the CWS for members of co-operative societies.³⁶³ Significantly, the *Wheatsheaf* is used by Nicole Robertson in her 2010 study, which she identifies as ‘an incredibly useful source’.³⁶⁴ Victoria Kelley explores the MSECS with a specific focus on the ‘Products, packaging, advertising and store design’³⁶⁵ examining the visual communication of this material culture. This approach highlights the blurred boundaries and connected interpretations between material and visual culture. Kelley offers examples of products carrying co-operative inflected names such as, ‘Beehive’, and ‘Wheatsheaf’ and cites visual invocations of the handshake which conveyed the shared ethos and outlooks of the movement.³⁶⁶

Together with an emphasis on the quality of the products, ideological considerations of trust and purity were part of the consumers’ everyday experience of shopping with the CWS,³⁶⁷ and Kelley draws attention to the movement’s commitment to the production and retail of high quality merchandise. She sets out how this purposefully brought together the emergent strategies of Victorian and Edwardian consumer culture with the co-operative ideals. Offering a more nuanced understanding reveals the complexity of co-operation, as it reaches beyond the traditional analysis of the rhetoric of the dividend.³⁶⁸

John Walton examined architecture together with shop displays, packaging and advertising, held by the People’s History Museum, Manchester, which he viewed, in

³⁶³ Kelley, ‘Equitable’, pp. 296, 299-310.

³⁶⁴ Robertson, *Co-operative*, pp. 20-21.

³⁶⁵ Kelley, ‘Equitable’, p. 295.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 300, 305, 307.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 295, 299-300; Walton, ‘Commemorating’, p. 163.

³⁶⁸ Kelley, ‘Equitable’, pp. 298, 306.

a similar approach to Kelley, as the visual manifestation of the material culture. His 2008 analysis confirms Victoria Kelley's 1998 exploration of the movements' tendency in advertising to describe products with an emphasis on wholesomeness. Walton corroborates Kelley and draws on Peter Gurney's analyses, in which consumers found an ethical ideology in the co-operative brands,³⁶⁹ based on a shared ethos of individual self-help and mutual support, as an alternative to the individualist capitalist mode of economic organisation.³⁷⁰

Walton, guided by Percy Redfern, press secretary of the CWS and co-operative in-house historian, who in 1938 authored a history of the CWS in Britain, emphasised the wide distribution of co-operative architecture. Walton compared this with the fragmented nature of the movement to promote a notion of, 'simultaneous ubiquity and invisibility'.³⁷¹ Walton argued for a co-operative drive for progress in the 'immediate postwar [1939-45] years', and concluded 'the Co-op adapted dynamically to innovation'.³⁷² Yet, he also observed that the co-operative movement failed to respond to changes, 'to make itself externally visible' and argued that this contributed to its later decline in the 1960s.³⁷³

Nevertheless, in line with the development of the high street, the movement's progressive response to visual identity can be dated to the interwar period.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 298; Walton, 'Commemorating', p. 162 referencing P. Gurney, 'Labor's Great Arch: Co-operation and Cultural Revolution in Britain, 1795–1926', in (eds.) E. Furlough and C. Strikwerda, *Consumers against Capitalism*, (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), pp. 135–171.

³⁷⁰ Walton, 'Commemorating', p. 161

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160, 162, Walton cites, P. Redfern, *The New History of the C.W.S.*, (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1938), p. 1.

³⁷² Walton, 'Commemorating', p. 169.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp.159-160.

Innovative visual design was a characteristic of co-operative publications. Tom Woodin and Nick Mansfield demonstrate a significant co-operative commitment to architectural design.³⁷⁴ As we have, building on Walton, begun to establish, the co-operative movement exhibited a self-assured commitment to high production quality and at times a distinct Modern visual design (see Chapter Four).³⁷⁵ Stefan Schwarzkopf usefully draws attention to the use of advertising in the co-operative movement.³⁷⁶ He argues that the co-operative movement adopted an innovative graphic modern approach in advertising from the 1890s to the 1960s.³⁷⁷ To look beyond the focus of advertising and the examination of the four selected co-operative publications, in their use of and relationship with word and pictures, in the context of the home and work, expands Schwarzkopf's contention that co-operative motivations had a pedagogic and publicist ambition to the realm of women's periodicals.³⁷⁸

Women's Magazines

Women's magazines were first established as an archival source in 1970 by Cynthia White. Her foundational historical analysis defined a "women's magazine" as 'any periodical intended primarily for female consumption'. However, magazines

³⁷⁴ Woodin, 'Co-operative', pp. 81-82; N. Mansfield, *Buildings of The Labour Movement*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013).

³⁷⁵ Walton, 'Commemorating', pp. 162, 168.

³⁷⁶ S. Schwarzkopf, 'Innovation, Modernisation, Consumerism: The Co-operative Movement and the Making of British Advertising and Marketing Culture, 1890s-1960s', in Black and Robertson, (eds.), *Consumerism*, pp. 197-221.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

deemed as specialist were excluded, this included those periodicals 'which are the organs of women's societies' and journals 'dealing with maternity...childcare, knitting and needlework'.³⁷⁹ Consequently, magazines characteristically viewed as organisational publications such as *Woman's Outlook* have until recently been typically excluded from debates in women's periodical studies. Rachel Ritchie's doctoral investigation of *Woman's Outlook* observes that it is a women's magazine that has not typically been considered as such in the field of women's periodicals, in spite of the fact that it functioned like 'a mainstream periodical'.³⁸⁰

In exploring the identity of co-operative woman readership is important and is often difficult to ascertain. Magazines were not only read by those that bought them.³⁸¹ Ritchie points out that although *Woman's Outlook* in the period 1954-67 was a publication intended for the WCG, correspondence demonstrates that it was read by 'non-members'.³⁸² Natalie Bradbury, offering the only other examination of *Woman's Outlook*, views the magazine as an educational space. She argues that addressing the needs of its readers it 'was aimed primarily at Guild members',³⁸³ but can this be readily applied to the interwar period?

Woman's Outlook contributes a distinct co-operative identity discrete from other comparable publications, commercial or political. Comparing *Woman's Outlook* to

³⁷⁹ White, *Women's*, p. 18.

³⁸⁰ Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 37.

³⁸¹ White, *Women's*, pp. 197, 216; Beetham, *Magazine*, p. 48.

³⁸² Ritchie, *Housewife*, pp. 18, 39.

³⁸³ Bradbury, *Woman's*, p. 422.

Woman's Weekly takes the magazine beyond the threshold of co-operative publications, like Ritchie's comparative examination, into the field of women's commercial magazines. Despite the extensive work carried out by Fiona Hackney and recent literary examination of readership and social class by Eleanor Reed, to date there are few recent additional analyses of *Woman's Weekly*.³⁸⁴

Increasing attention to word and image and a widening approach to what constitutes a woman's magazine are evident in a recent edited volume, *Women's Periodicals and Print Culture in Britain, 1918-1939 The Interwar Period*, published in 2018 and demonstrated in its inclusion of examinations of *Woman's Outlook*, by Natalie Bradbury³⁸⁵ and *Labour Woman* by Karen Hunt.³⁸⁶ Edited by Catherine Clay, Maria DiCenzo, Barbara Green and Fiona Hackney, it comprises of 30 chapters and is part of the edited series *The Edinburgh History of Women's Periodical Culture in Britain*. It is a substantial contribution to the field of women's periodicals in the interwar period in which Clay et al indicate that analysis of the 'juxtapositions of images and text' reveal finer subtleties.³⁸⁷ As such the volume is drawn on throughout the analysis.

³⁸⁴ F. Hackney, 'Woman Appeal. A New Rhetoric of Consumption: Women's Domestic Magazines in the 1920s and 1930s', in Clay et al, *Women's*, pp. 294-309; Hackney, "They"; E. Reed, Domestic Culture in *Woman's Weekly*, 1918-1958, (Unpublished DPhil, University of Roehampton, 2018). See also R. Ballaster, M. Beetham, E. Frazer and S. Hebron, *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine*, (London: Macmillan, 1991); Beetham, *Magazine*; J. Greenfield and C. Reid, 'Women's Magazines and the Commercial Orchestration of Femininity in the 1930s: Evidence from *Woman's Own*', *Media History*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1998), pp. 161-174; White, *Women's*.

³⁸⁵ Bradbury, 'Woman's'.

³⁸⁶ K. Hunt, 'Labour Woman and the Housewife', in Clay et al, *Women's*, pp. 238-251.

³⁸⁷ C. Clay, M. DiCenzo, B. Green and F. Hackney, 'General Introduction: Re-mediating Women and the Interwar Period', in Clay et al, *Women's*, pp. 1-8, 6.

Studies of *Labour Woman* are scant.³⁸⁸ Hannam's utilisation of *Labour Woman* in 'Women as Paid Organizers and Propagandists for the British Labour Party Between the Wars' published in 2010 represents a shift towards the use of this magazine as an archival source.³⁸⁹ June Hannam and Karen Hunt have examined this publication in the context of Labour Women as Labour activists and housewives respectively.³⁹⁰ Martin Pugh's 2015 study draws on a range of women's magazines, including *Labour Woman* (but not *Woman's Outlook*), as an 'important but rather neglected source for the ordinary British woman of the inter-war period'.³⁹¹ Nevertheless, he observed that despite successes achieved by women's organisations such as the WCG and the Women's Institute women faced limitations because of 'the prevailing ideology of domesticity'.³⁹² The full potential of *Woman's Outlook*, *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman* in the context of the themes of home and work are recognised in this project. In the field of design, media and social history there is a lively debate around the representation of home and the housewife in commercial women's magazines. It is argued that commercial magazines constructed woman in the home within traditional domestic parameters of the home-maker, specifically motherhood and

³⁸⁸ J. Hannam, 'Debating Feminism in the Socialist Press: Women and the *New Leader*', in Clay et al, *Women's*, pp. 374-387, 375.

³⁸⁹ J. Hannam, 'Women as Paid Organizers and Propagandists for the British Labour Party Between the Wars', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, No. 77, (2010), pp. 69-88.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Hunt, *Labour*; Hunt and Hannam, *Towards*; K. Hunt, 'Gendering the Politics of the Working Woman's Home', in E. Darling and L. Whitworth, (eds.), *Women and the Making of Built Space in England, 1870-1950*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), pp. 106-121; Barbara Humphries offers a brief overview of how articles in *Labour Woman* disseminated the views of the Labour Party Women's Section, see B., Humphries, *The Origins and Development of the Labour Movement in West London 1918-1970*, (Unpublished DPhil, University of Reading, 2018), p. 196.

³⁹¹ Pugh, *Women*, p. 172.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 193.

the housewife.³⁹³ There is also an argument that commercial magazines constructed a more complex multifaceted gender identity. For example, fragmentary and contradictory representations predominantly focussed on the private spaces of the home juxtaposed aspirational and everyday identities, which were occasionally positioned, as Hackney observes, alongside the topics of work and being a citizen.³⁹⁴ It is not the purpose of the project to review the extant literature in the field of women's periodicals, but to establish a foundation against which to compare how the co-operative woman was manifest, to locate *Woman's Outlook* within the growing investigation of women's magazines in the first half of the twentieth century,³⁹⁵ feminist media³⁹⁶ and gender and the popular press.³⁹⁷

Corporate Magazines

The *Wheatsheaf*, *Ourselves* and *Herald*, are not women's magazines. The co-operative publications neatly fit into the category of the in-house magazine. They embrace a corporate sensitivity to their co-operative approach (Chapter Four),³⁹⁸

³⁹³ White, *Women's*, pp. 96, 99-105, 110-112; D. Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: Women between the Wars 1918-1939*, (London; Pandora, 1989); Ballaster et al, *Women's*, p. 121; Pugh, *Women*, pp. 66-70, 173, 186; M. Pugh, *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870*, 5th Ed., (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), pp. 294-297.

³⁹⁴ Ballaster et al, *Women's*, pp. 4-7, 170-173; Beetham, *Magazine*, pp. 1-5; Hackney, "They", Chapter One.

³⁹⁵ Ballaster et al, *Women's*; Beetham, *Magazine*; Greenfield and Reid, 'Women's'; J. Aynsley and K. Forde, (eds.), *Design and the Modern Magazine*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Ritchie, Housewife; Hackney, "They"; Clay, et al, *Women's*; Reed, Domestic.

³⁹⁶ DiCenzo et al, *Feminist*; Green, 'Complaints'; Tusan, *Women*.

³⁹⁷ For example, A. Bingham, 'Modern Housecraft? Women's Pages in the National Daily Press', in Clay et al, *Women's*, pp. 225-237. Importantly, at the time of writing, there is no organisation or journal dedicated to the investigation of gender in women's periodicals, Clay et al, 'General', p. 4.

³⁹⁸ Woodin, 'Co-operative', pp. 81-83

distinct from business corporations instilled with the ethos of individualist capitalism.³⁹⁹ Internal publications, are characteristically, apolitical⁴⁰⁰ inward facing and aimed at employees⁴⁰¹ or occasionally customers.⁴⁰² The extensive production of co-operative publications since the nineteenth century, exemplifies the movement's approach to publishing. In comparison the adoption of in-house magazines by other companies was relatively gradual. Only by the 1930s did almost all corporations have an in-house magazine.⁴⁰³

A lack of scholarship in this area⁴⁰⁴ and particularly in the examination of the design of corporate magazines⁴⁰⁵ illustrates the potential contribution of co-operative periodicals to the research field of Business History and vice versa. Indeed, corporate and business histories tend to be discussed from a hagiographical, chronological or narrative perspective.⁴⁰⁶ To address this, the journal *Management & Organizational History*, was established in 2006. The editors recognised the need for a forum to consider different ways of examining histories and methodological approaches in the analysis of management and organisations.⁴⁰⁷

³⁹⁹ M. Heller and M. Rowlinson, 'Organizational Magazines: Addressing Captive or Cautious Audiences', in Abrahamson and Prior-Miller, (eds.), *Routledge*, pp. 119-134, 119.

⁴⁰⁰ M. Heller, 'British Company Magazines 1878-1939: The Origins and Functions of House Journals in Large-scale Organisations', *Media History*, Vol. 15, No. 2, (2009), p. 147.

⁴⁰¹ Heller and Rowlinson, 'Organizational', p. 119.

⁴⁰² M. Heller and M. Rowlinson, 'Imagined Corporate Communities: Historical Sources and Discourses', *British Journal of Management*, Vol. 00, (2019), pp. 1-17, 3.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 1; Heller, 'British', pp. 143-66, 145, 148, 153, 160.

⁴⁰⁴ M. Heller, 'Company Magazines 1880-1940: An Overview', *Management & Organizational History*, Vol. 3, No. 3-4, (2008), pp. 179-196, 179.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181; J. R. Lee, *Empire, Modernity and Design: Visual Culture and Cable & Wireless' Corporate Identities, 1924-1955* (Unpublished DPhil, University of Exeter, 2014), p. 361.

⁴⁰⁶ Lee, *Empire*, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁰⁷ C. Booth and M. Rowlinson, 'Management and Organizational History: Prospects', *Management & Organizational History*, Vol., 1, No. 1, (2006), pp. 5-30; A. J. Mills, R. Suddaby, M. William, M. Foster and G. Durepos, 'Re-visiting the Historic Turn 10 Years Later: Current Debates in Management and Organizational History', *Management & Organizational History*, Vol. 11, No. 2, (2016), pp. 67-76.

The publication of a special edition of *Management & Organizational History*, in 2008, drew attention to the production and analysis of corporate magazines as a new research field with a range of approaches. Two articles are of particular interest because they utilised Roland Marchand's observations on corporate identity and esprit de corps employed in his valuable examination of corporate images in America, *Creating The Corporate Soul*.⁴⁰⁸ First, Howard Cox discussed how the *BAT Bulletin*, which was originally a staff enterprise became more traditional in its outlook and eventually ceased production in the 1930s.⁴⁰⁹ Simon Phillips' analysis of *The Bee*, in-house magazine, circulated to retail staff of Boots the Chemist 1919-1939 highlighted how the Boots company communicated to the staff a specific perception of their role in the community.⁴¹⁰ Marchand's analysis importantly enables an insight into corporate imagery in the context of the movement's publications, and is returned to in Chapter Six.

The Archive

The NCA holds potential to promote the significance of co-operativism and what it can offer contemporary society⁴¹¹ and can generate further new dialogues and explorations of co-operative pedagogy.⁴¹² As a pivotal mechanism for the

⁴⁰⁸ R. Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business*, (California: University of California Press 1998).

⁴⁰⁹ H. Cox, 'Shaping a Corporate Identity from Below: The Role of the *BAT Bulletin*', *Management & Organizational History*, Vol. 3, No. 3-4, (2008), pp. 197-215, 203.

⁴¹⁰ S. Phillips, "'Chemists to the Nation": House Magazines, Locality and Health at Boots the Chemists 1919-1939, *Management & Organizational History*, Vol. 3, No. 3-4, (2008), pp. 239-255.

⁴¹¹ Woodin, 'Co-operation', p. 40.

⁴¹² Shaw, 'Turning', p. 161.

dissemination of the ideals and ethos of co-operativism, the NCA receives little attention in studies of the movement, the Co-operative College or histories of co-operative education more broadly. Its relatively recent formation in 2000 as a national co-operative structure offers a part explanation.

The status and role of the NCA as a pedagogical tool is intertwined with a complex historical topography and context surrounding the historical development of the archive and its archival collections. Co-operative scholars contributed to the production of historical accounts which included local histories, studies from the local co-operative societies and co-operative in-house publications. These assessments, many of which are located in the NCA, albeit predominantly published within the movement, illustrate the comprehensive ecology and social, pedagogical, political and economic breadth of the co-operative movement.⁴¹³

The co-operative movement established libraries and reading rooms in the nineteenth century that offered members the opportunity to read co-operative publications and wider reading materials, of which the archive provides a physical record.⁴¹⁴ Therefore, the notion of 'co-operative education' is important for an understanding of the archive. Linda Shaw stressed the significance of looking back at the historical context of the multi-layered development of co-operative education and at the same time demonstrated the lack of investigations on the subject: 'only a

⁴¹³ Black and Robertson, *Taking*, p. 7.

⁴¹⁴ Beetham, 'Body', p. 146.

few studies exist, either historical or contemporary, of the practice and theory of co-operative education'.⁴¹⁵

Like this project, over the last two decades there has been a large body of work generated by archivists, arts-based, literary and geographical researchers and historians, to name a few, often stimulated by available funding,⁴¹⁶ have taken educational, participatory and creative approaches to the archive.⁴¹⁷ This project is distinctive because it draws on an initial body of knowledge derived through research from the archive, which is then engaged with by participants through improvisation. The objective is to open up the archive through participant research, it is not the creative response of an artist to the archive such as an artist's residency⁴¹⁸ or an artist's collaboration with participants.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁵ Shaw, 'Turning', pp. 161-2.

⁴¹⁶ Facer and Enright, *Creating*; A. Buchanan and M. Bastian, 'Activating the Archive: Rethinking the Role of Traditional Archives for Local Activist Projects', *Archival Science*, Vol. 15, (2015), pp. 429-451.

⁴¹⁷ Peach, McNulty and O'Rourke, *Guide*; J. Gardner, C. Williams and R. Beckett, *Collecting Drivers for Higher Education Institutions with Archives and Unique and Distinctive Collections* (Libraries UK, The National Archives, 2016), <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/collecting-drivers-for-higher-education-institutions.pdf> accessed 27022019; B. von Bismarck, H. Feldmann, H. Obrist, D. Stoller and U. Wuggenig, (eds.), *Interarchive: Archival Practices and Sites in the Contemporary Art Field*, (Koln: Konig, 2002); Pester, *Archive*; J. Mann, 'Knitting the Archive: Shetland Lace and Ecologies of Skilled Practice', *cultural geographies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, (2017), pp. 91-106; H. Foster, 'Archival Impulse', *October 110* (2004), pp. 3-22; C. Merewether, *The Archive*, (London: Whitechapel, 2006).

⁴¹⁸ For examples see, S. Donnelly, 'Art in the Archives: An Artist's Residency in the Archives of the London School of Economics', in *Tate Papers*, No.9, (2008)

<https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/09/art-in-the-archives-an-artists-residency-in-the-archives-of-the-london-school-of-economics> accessed 20042020; L. Gunning, J. Melvin and V. Worsley, 'Tangentially: The Archive and the Bathroom', *Tate Papers*, No.9, (2008) <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/09/tangentially-the-archive-and-the-bathroom> accessed 20042020; C. Moriarty and A. Weight, 'The Legacy of Interaction: Artists at the Imperial War Museum 1981–2007', *Tate Papers*, No.9, (2008) <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/09/the-legacy-of-interaction-artists-at-the-imperial-war-museum-1981-2007> accessed 20042020.

⁴¹⁹ See for example the Archives & Access project, delivered by the Tate Gallery (2013-2017), funded by Heritage Lottery Funding

Two recent archival investigations have particular relevance in the context of participant encounters with the archive. Sharon Blakey and Liz Mitchell's concluding remarks from their collaborative partnership, *Mary Mary Quite Contrary*, at Manchester Art Gallery in which 'craft makers, educators and curators' investigated the Mary Greg Collection particularly resonate with this project. Significantly, they bring their study to a close with the provocation: 'So what if we make the public encounter with the collection a starting point rather than a conclusion?'.⁴²⁰

Similarly, participant reflections on their engagement with *Woman's Outlook* (Chapter Seven) echo Fiona Hackney, Hannah Maughan and Sarah Desmarais's case studies which discuss a range of intervention strategies. With a focus on textiles and making with different communities they explore 'various ways in which "making" can make a difference'.⁴²¹ Examining their experiences, embroidery students in the archive of local embroiderer Hazel Sims, held at Falmouth and Exeter Universities' archives, reflected on their transformative engagement with the archive material considering their future use of the archive.⁴²²

<https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/projects/archives-access-learning-outreach-programme> accessed 20042020.

⁴²⁰ S. Blakey and L. Mitchell, 'A Question of Value: Rethinking the Mary Greg Collection', in A. Ravetz, A. Kettle and H. Felcey, (eds.), *Collaboration Through Craft*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 170-185, 181.

⁴²¹ F. Hackney, H. Maughan and S. Desmarais, 'The Power of Quiet: Re-*making* Affective Amateur and Professional Textiles Agencies', *Journal of Textile Design Research and Practice*, Vol. 4, No.1, (2016), pp. 33-62, 34.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, p. 56, see Case Study Four, 'Live archive. Re-making sewing heritage in higher education: the Hazel Sims archive', drawn from the Arts and Humanities Research funded project: Co-Producing CARE: Community Asset-based Research and Enterprise.

Yet, despite the attention paid to the archive by artists, and the expansion of interest in arts-based research practices⁴²³ scant use and attention has been paid to collage as an immediate and accessible mode of engagement with archives.⁴²⁴ Although, at the time of writing, Hannah Bland has documented her concurrent examination of participant collage which considered understandings of the contemporary co-operative movement itself.⁴²⁵ Both contribute to the broad and diverse consideration of the utilisation of the process of collage as a practice to engage with a community.⁴²⁶

Conclusion

The marginalisation of the NCA, the collections and the movement in academic studies demonstrates how fresh approaches of visual cultural and gender analysis,

⁴²³ Butler-Kisber and Poldma, 'Power', p. 2.

⁴²⁴ One exception is Kathy Michelle Carbone's discussion of Kaia Sand and Garrick Imatani and their work as artists in residence at the City of Portland Archives and Records Center, Portland, Oregon (2013-2015). Sand and Imatani mobilised collage as a mode of engagement with the records of police surveillance in Portland. See Carbone, 'Artists'; Disrupting the archive in a different way, artist Andrea Fraser discusses her project 'Information Room' at the Kunsthalle Bern (1998), which materially dislocates and randomly 'disorganises' and 'derationalises' the archival collections. See K. Pratorius, A. Fraser, and A. Heusermann, 'Questions for Andrea Fraser', in von Bismarck et al, (eds.), *Interarchive*, pp. 85-87.

⁴²⁵ H. Bland, 'Collaging with Co-operators: An Arts-Based Inquiry into Member Perceptions of Co-operative Higher Education', in M. Noble and C. Ross (eds.), *Reclaiming the University for the Public Good: Experiments and Futures in Co-operative Higher Education*, (Switzerland: Springer, 2019), pp. 227-246.

⁴²⁶ For example see S. Anderson, *Emerging Narratives Through Collage*, (The Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, University of Glasgow, Economic and Social Research Council PhD Project Sept 2013-Feb 2015), www.revolvingdoors.org.uk/documents/good-life/ accessed 21022017; N. Simmons and S. Daley, 'The Art of Thinking: Using Collage to Stimulate Scholarly Work', *The Canadian Journal for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (2013), pp. 1-11; P. Gerstenblatt, 'Collage Portraits as a Method of Analysis in Qualitative Research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, Vol. 12, (2013), pp. 294-309; O. F. Perks Strohschein, 'Transforming Bodies: Affect and Collage in Eating Dis/order Recovery', (Unpublished MA Thesis Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, 2016).

detailed in Chapter One, provoke fresh insights and understanding. To intersect the separate literatures of the co-operative woman, the role of visual culture, women's and corporate magazines and the archive connects the disciplines in a shared dialogue. Exploring the archive in this atypical way, reveals and addresses research gaps, whilst interrelated, yet distinct approaches⁴²⁷ open up the NCA.

⁴²⁷ Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 375-377.

Chapter Three: The Co-operative Movement: Ideology

The history of the movement is already comprehensively documented,⁴²⁸ albeit in the relatively small field of co-operative research. This project has a different purpose: to disrupt the traditional way of knowing the NCA. Introducing the values, ideology and principles of Law First, equal fellowship of class and gender, autonomy and the Co-operative Commonwealth, the chapter aims to establish, with new audiences an understanding of the complex nature, form and ideology of the British co-operative movement.⁴²⁹ Following this the chapter explores the relationship with women members, particularly tensions between practice, ideology and equal fellowship⁴³⁰ manifest in the framework of co-operative printing and publishing.

Today, the British co-operative movement is a democratic consumer organisation. Members comprise of individuals who come together voluntarily with a shared ethos of mutual economic, social and cultural benefit to form⁴³¹ a diverse range of independent co-operative societies.⁴³² Fostering understanding of the movement and its relevance for people today opens up the connected relationships of co-operative ideology, visual culture and the archive.

⁴²⁸ As John Wilson, Anthony Webster and Rachel Vorbergh-Rugh demonstrate in their 2013 business history of the Co-operative Group in Wilson et al, *Building*.

⁴²⁹ Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, p. 7.

⁴³⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁴³¹ Co-op: International Co-operative Alliance <https://www.ica.coop/en/cooperatives/cooperative-identity> accessed 13020219.

⁴³² For example, in interwar Britain this manifest in different ways and included retailer, producer and consumer societies, the Co-operative Party (1917) and the Co-operative College (1919).

The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers and Law First

The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers founded their first shop in Rochdale on Toad Lane in 1844, countering the contemporary sale of adulterated food by merchants and traders by setting agreed standards. The values and principles addressed by the Rochdale Pioneers encompassed wider matters of social, economic and political issues in society. The Pioneers developed their distinctive co-operative ideology, Law First, articulated in a clear set of principles set out in 'Laws and Objects of the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers' (1844).⁴³³ 'Laws and Objects' underpins the origins of the British co-operative movement by establishing:

That as soon as practicable, this society shall proceed to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education, and government, or in other words to establish a self-supporting home-colony of united interests, or assist other societies in establishing such colonies.⁴³⁴

The co-operative advocate, Joseph Reeves (1888-1969), in his introduction to the centenary history of the Rochdale Pioneers in 1944, argued that 'Laws and Objects' laid down the guiding principle of self-help for the Society⁴³⁵ as a collective body and subsequently for the modern co-operative movement as a worldwide democratic movement.

Law First (see Introduction) aimed to secure material conditions and goods that the Pioneers could not individually obtain, but it also laid out a vision for a different sort of society and economy. As a self-governing consumer organisation, members owned

⁴³³ Laws and Objects.

⁴³⁴ Laws and Objects, p. 1.

⁴³⁵ Reeves, *Century*, pp. 24-25.

the society and so established an alternative and collective ownership model to the dominant mode of individualist capitalism. Reeves describing co-operation as a 'social cradle'⁴³⁶ argued that 'Co-operation...was an economic weapon designed to establish an increasing measure of social equality'.⁴³⁷

Dr William King (1786-1865) and Robert Owen (1771-1858) were instrumental in the development of the philosophy of the Rochdale Pioneers Equitable Society, their Co-operative 'Model' and the subsequent development of the British co-operative movement. As editor of *The Co-operator* (1828-1830), King was significant in the circulation of his philosophies on co-operation and how working people could organise from an economic point of view. His idea of a system of paid membership contributed to the creation of co-operative societies which enabled people to build up funds from, 'profits derived from the collective sale of goods'.⁴³⁸

Robert Owen, regarded as 'the Father of Co-operation',⁴³⁹ offered a vision of how a co-operative society might be run as an alternative to capitalism, privileging co-operation above competition.⁴⁴⁰ However, Owen's ideas met with opposition. Elizabeth Gaskell offered a contemporary albeit satirical view through the character

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴³⁹ Gillian Scott cites M. L. Davies and her discussion of the parallels between socialism and co-operation in 1890 in which Davies refers to Robert Owen as "the father' of both', Scott, *Feminism* p. 34 referencing M.L. Davies 'The Relations Between Co-operation and Socialistic Aspirations', Co-operative Congress 1890. Similarly, Jean Gaffin and David Thoms describe Owen who contested the principles underpinning the capitalist system as 'the outstanding contributor to the development of nineteenth century English socialism', Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, p. 8.

⁴⁴⁰ Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, p. 8.

of mill owner, Mr. Carson, in the penultimate chapter of *Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life*, (1848). In a discussion between Mr. Carson and Job the mill worker about a recently deceased fellow worker and trade unionist, Carson offered the perspective of a 'typical' mill owner: "'You mean he was an Owenite all for equality and community of goods, and that kind of absurdity'".⁴⁴¹ Although fiction, Carson's observation is suggestive of the wider hostile environment in which the co-operative movement evolved and functioned. Implicitly, it also presented a politicised critique of Owenite philosophy which centred on membership rather than private shareholders and ownership.

Although Owen 'was not the inventor of co-operation', his teachings were fundamental to its growth into a national movement.⁴⁴² G.D.H. Cole (1889-1959) the early twentieth century historian of the nineteenth century co-operative movement, whose ideas were shaped by a number of thinkers including Owen and William Morris, identified eight philosophies, which separately were not new but together was innovative, as 'essential,' to an understanding of co-operative ideals:

first, democratic control, so that each member should have one vote...secondly, open membership, so that anyone – at least up to a certain total number – could join the Society on equal terms with the original members; thirdly, a fixed or limited interest on capital subscribed to the society; fourthly the distribution of the surplus, after payment of interest and collective charges, in dividend to the members, in proportion to their purchases; fifthly, trading strictly on a cash basis, with no credit; sixthly, selling only pure and unadulterated goods; seventhly, providing for the education of the members in Co-

⁴⁴¹ E. Gaskell, *Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life*, (London: Penguin Classics, 1848, 1996, 2012), p. 462.

⁴⁴² Cole, *Century*, pp. 12-13.

operative principles as well as for mutual trading; and eighthly, political and religious neutrality.⁴⁴³

The direct pragmatism and gendered approach of the principle underpinning the dividend scheme, the fourth principle, is highlighted by Mary Stott, co-operative journalist and editor of *Woman's Outlook*, in her autobiography. The dividend accrued through shopping at co-operative stores, was a task which was typically assigned as the responsibility of the co-operative woman. In her critique of Owenite philosophy she illustrates how this dividend functioned to introduce a model for worker ownership:

It was not idealistic Robert Owen with his communes who got the co-operative movement off the ground, but twenty-eight poor weavers of Rochdale with their beautifully simple device of paying dividend on purchases rather than dividend on capital. The perfect launching pad, it seemed, for workers' ownership and control; no need for capital or capitalists.⁴⁴⁴

Stott, highlights the principled and practical advantage of co-operation 'combining idealism and commonsense' compared to a system of individualistic profit.⁴⁴⁵ Drawing on her own experience, albeit in 'a mainly middle-class environment,'⁴⁴⁶ Stott argued that the dividend enabled poorer families to make purchases when the payment of the 'divi' was released every three months.⁴⁴⁷ However, although a strength, tensions surrounded understandings of the complex working of the values,

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

⁴⁴⁴ Stott, *Forgetting's*, p. 32.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

principles and the ecology, of the movement.⁴⁴⁸ Of particular interest for us is the interpretation of the role of women within the movement.⁴⁴⁹

Consumers, by purchasing goods at co-operative shops, enabled surfeit capital to accrue which could then be used to develop wholesale suppliers and manufacturing works sold only to co-operative societies.⁴⁵⁰ This distinguished the Pioneers ideologically and organisationally from contemporary merchants and sellers.⁴⁵¹ John Wilson, Anthony Webster, and Rachel Vorberg-Rugh point out that the definitive innovation of the Rochdale Pioneers was the development of the 'Rochdale Model',⁴⁵² which underpinned the aim to extend the co-operative community and provide opportunities for identity beyond those established in the capitalist economy, to blur socio-political thresholds and open possibilities to equal fellowship of class and gender.⁴⁵³

Equal Fellowship: Class and Gender

Investigation of the role and gender identity of co-operative women, many of whom 'were under-educated and many were scarcely above the poverty line'⁴⁵⁴ reveals

⁴⁴⁸ See also Chapter Four.

⁴⁴⁹ Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, pp. 7-9.

⁴⁵⁰ Stott, *Forgetting's*, p. 32.

⁴⁵¹ Cole, *Century*, pp. 70-71, 130-131; N. Robertson, 'Collective Strength and Mutual Aid: Financial Provisions for Members of Co-operative Societies in Britain', *Business History*, Vol. 54, No. 6, (2012), pp. 925-944, 925.

⁴⁵² J. F. Wilson, A. Webster and R. Vorberg-Rugh, 'The Co-operative Movement in Britain: From Crisis to "Renaissance," 1950-2010', *Enterprise & Society* Vol. 14, No. 2, (2013), pp. 271-302, 274.

⁴⁵³ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover.

⁴⁵⁴ Stott, *Forgetting's*, p. 33.

tensions. Beyond this the ideal of equal fellowship encompassed the relationship between men and women in the movement. Yet, co-operative men were not visually portrayed as shoppers and consumers.⁴⁵⁵ Therefore, the question of gender identity in the movement is significant.

A co-operative identity based on friendship and belonging was reflected in the commitment of the original 28 Pioneers, who came from a wide range of philosophical and social viewpoints, incorporating Chartist; Socialist; Unitarian and Congregationalist.⁴⁵⁶ All were working men and included wool and flannel weavers; a clogger; a shoe maker; a block printer; a hawker and an engineer.⁴⁵⁷ The topic of class is not the primary focus of this project, but it is important to emphasise the movement's aim of a cross-class society, engendered in *Woman's Outlook* which was disseminated from the mid nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth century.

Chapel, trades unions and community at odds with burgeoning consumer imperatives, found fellowship in productive and unproductive leisure. Co-operative publications understood 'the effects of particular recreational pleasures on individual consciousness and social well-being' and presented a co-operative 'politics of everyday life'.⁴⁵⁸ Ideally, this fellowship extended to the identity of the consumer.

⁴⁵⁵ Southern, *Co-operative*, p. 122.

⁴⁵⁶ Cole, *Century*, pp. 44, 72, 163.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63, Appendix 403-412.

⁴⁵⁸ C. Waters, *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture 1884–1914*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 11-14. For further discussion see Chapter Six.

Co-operative customers often comprised the 'lower middle class and the so-called respectable working class'.⁴⁵⁹ This offered a social context where different forms of solidarity flourished with a quality of product designed 'to improve the quality of life'.⁴⁶⁰

The identity of co-operative woman and her relationship with the movement in interwar Britain, was shaped in the earlier period of the nineteenth century. Jean Gaffin and David Thoms attribute the approach to gender of the co-operative movement and particularly the WCG to Robert Owen.⁴⁶¹ They argue that Robert Owen believed that harmony might be realised in the 'village or small community' which 'were to be the New Jerusalem, democratic, non-sexist, classless and conflict-free'.⁴⁶² Gillian Scott confirms the influence of Owenite philosophy on the movement's approach to women, which she articulates as, 'the movement's historic commitment to sexual equality'.⁴⁶³ In so-doing, she draws on Barbara Taylor's examination of Owenite ideals in *Eve and The New Jerusalem* and 'the vision of women's emancipation'.⁴⁶⁴ However, Taylor also argues that 'Owen was not much of a feminist'; his approach to the position of women was 'so paternalistic that it militated against any real appreciation of the issues involved'. Although with regard

⁴⁵⁹ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, p. 66.

⁴⁶⁰ Kumbhat, *Working*, p. 53.

⁴⁶¹ Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, pp. 7-9.

⁴⁶² Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, p. 8.

⁴⁶³ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 11.

⁴⁶⁴ B. Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: Virago, 1983), p. xi.

to marriage he was 'sympathetic to the plight of wives' yet simultaneously he points out, 'all are made to suffer'.⁴⁶⁵

Co-operative man and woman, as members of local co-operative societies, restricted to one vote, were in democratic control through co-operative rather than capitalist ownership. In principle, women were not barred from the organisational aspects of the movement and ideally, 'enjoyed membership, including voting rights and access to educational provision, on the same terms as men'.⁴⁶⁶ However, in the nineteenth century, the context of gendered roles in which the movement operated illustrated a gender gap in the functioning of co-operative management, membership and the dividend. Family membership was often limited to one vote. A number of societies did not recognise women as members and some only paid dividend to the wife with the permission of the husband. Although joint membership existed, in everyday practice it was frequently the husband who participated in meetings.⁴⁶⁷ For example, in 1902, the system of "open membership", which allowed wives to be members, occurred in only 145 out of 1,454 co-operative societies.⁴⁶⁸

By the 1880s, some co-operative women were dissatisfied with the predominant representation of their role and identity as the consumer. They wanted greater

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴⁶⁶ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 11.

⁴⁶⁷ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, pp. 50, 67, 76-79, 144, 171.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 67 referencing Women's Co-operative Guild, *The Nineteenth Annual Report of the Women's Co-operative Guild*, (Manchester: Cooperative Wholesale Society's Printing Works, 1902), p. 7.

participation in the movement.⁴⁶⁹ Ideally, the basket, in the hands of the housewife, potentially represented freedom. How she used the basket, the consumer choices she made, could potentially achieve the 'utopia' of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Suggesting 'a wide objective of change of system' the ideal offered a critique of the individualist approach to a consumer economy, and is discussed in the later part of the chapter.⁴⁷⁰ The co-operative alternative aimed to 'liberate' the working-class housewife in the creation of the Commonwealth.⁴⁷¹ Yet, as we shall see, for many the belief of the power of the basket was not really a viable option to enable co-operative woman to have a voice or traverse her permitted role. Consequently, the WCG was established in 1883.⁴⁷²

The late nineteenth century context of gendered roles in which the co-operative movement functioned was a challenge to the WCG. It inherited the notion of the angel in the house and was confined by legislative and societal restrictions⁴⁷³ 'that by nature and custom 'women' belonged to the domestic sphere'.⁴⁷⁴ Barbara Blaszak, expresses ambivalence about the ideological and practical relevance and appeal of the WCG to the everyday co-operative woman.⁴⁷⁵ If her husband did allow her to join, time constraints and domestic responsibility meant that participation

⁴⁶⁹ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 12; Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, p. 87.

⁴⁷⁰ Cole, *Century*, pp. 1-2, 170, 303, 318.

⁴⁷¹ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, p. 117.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴⁷³ Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁷⁴ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 52; Sally Alexander, drawing on Virginia Woolf suggests that the notion of the 'angel in the house' continues in the interwar period. See, S. Alexander, 'Room of One's Own: 1920s Feminist Utopias', *Women: A Cultural Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3, (2000), pp. 273-288, 286 citing V. Woolf, *The Crowded Dance of Modern Life. Selected Essays Volume 2*, R. Bowlby, (ed.), (London: Penguin. 1993), pp. 101-106.

⁴⁷⁵ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, pp. 86-87.

was often not possible.⁴⁷⁶ Nevertheless, despite tensions between practice and ideology the movement and the WCG offered ‘possibilities for women that were not to be found elsewhere in the working-class movement’.⁴⁷⁷ Indeed, the publications, particularly *Woman’s Outlook*, in illustrating the potential liberation of co-operative woman through the practice of co-operative principles, presented a broader approach to her class and gender identity, beyond the identity of the working-class housewife of the WCG.

Although the early WCG confirmed the gendered rhetoric of the nineteenth century, Margaret Llewelyn Davies, (General Secretary of the WCG, 1889-1921), turned ‘the ideology of domesticity on its head’ so that it ‘became the source of a new and emancipatory discourse about working-class femininity’.⁴⁷⁸ However, the subsequent different leadership of Honorora Enfield (1921-1925) and Eleanor Barton (1925-1927)⁴⁷⁹ had to navigate an interwar landscape of political upheaval which included ‘set-backs for trade unionism...rising unemployment, the onset of the Great Depression, socialist defeats and the rise of Fascism’.⁴⁸⁰ The role of the WCG deteriorated. Overshadowed by politics of the public sphere, suffrage and the newly established Co-operative Party, the WCG was drawn ‘into an alliance with the working-class parties that rapidly *weakened* the feminist and socialist allegiances underpinning its former radicalism’.⁴⁸¹ This decline was particularly visible in relation

⁴⁷⁶ Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, p. 15.

⁴⁷⁷ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 11.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. x.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201, Scott italics.

to its position on married women in working-class families where it failed to challenge 'some of the worst problems confronting such women – unwanted pregnancies and economic dependence'⁴⁸² and as we shall see contrasts with the broader viewpoint and wider audience of *Woman's Outlook* (Chapter Five, Six).

However, the composition of the WCG's membership is contested. Blaszak characterises its late nineteenth century membership as women who potentially worked part-time or engaged in paid work in the home and were middle-aged with older children.⁴⁸³ Yet Scott describes the Guild, which expanded from 30,000 in 1919⁴⁸⁴ and reached its highest membership of 87,246 in 1939 as, 'a self-governing organisation of working-class housewives'.⁴⁸⁵

Despite the limited representation of women in the organisation of the co-operative movement, the WCG expressed an understanding of the everyday. It aspired to the equality of class and gender; an 'ideal democracy' in which its structure empowered 'the tens of thousands of housewives who became members'. The WCG offered the married woman, a voice; she was no longer inconspicuous.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁴⁸³ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, pp. 66, 88 f/n 17 and 20 citing M. L., Davies, *The Women's Co-operative Guild, 1883-1904*, (Kirkby Lonsdale Westmorland: Women's Co-operative Guild, 1904), pp. 148, 150.

⁴⁸⁴ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 124, this figure differs from the figure of 50,000 cited in *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. x.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

This was an important thing to do as Mary Stott, editor of *Woman's Outlook*, illustrated the effects of poverty in the 1930s, after a visit to Bolton in 1931. The experience indicates Stott's previous distance and potentially her lack of understanding of such poverty. It, 'open[ed] her eyes' to the harsh living conditions of the Depression, the context of co-operation, and how these particularly effected co-operative women:

I learned about the women who never went to the doctor despite prolapses and cancer fears, who bought spectacles at Woolworths and never had their bad teeth attended to because they couldn't afford it.⁴⁸⁷

Yet in a pre-Welfare State and co-operative context gender inequality continued. Stott praised the 'co-operative training system' for 'the able women it brought forward' yet criticized how 'far too few were elected to the major co-operative bodies'.⁴⁸⁸ Indeed, in 1942, Stott, 'the only obvious candidate', narrowly lost the role of editor of co-operative newspaper *Reynolds News* (1929-1962), a Sunday middle-of-the-road publication, to William Richardson, because of her gender, Richardson told Stott afterwards, "'There's no doubt you would have got it if you had worn trousers'".⁴⁸⁹ Interestingly from a contemporary perspective, Rebecca Harvey for the first time is a woman editor of the *Co-operative News*, in 2018.

⁴⁸⁷ Stott, *Forgetting's*, p. 31.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Autonomy

Despite being driven by the central principle of Law First, the movement understood itself as fragmented yet, nonetheless self-consciously assertive. Contrast and divergence, might occasionally have led to unproductive situations of 'inefficiency, excessive bureaucracy and duplication of resources'.⁴⁹⁰ Yet the autonomous nature of societies, founded on the Rochdale Principle of self-government, contributed to a diverse and comprehensive movement. In each society the members had a role in the decision-making process. Whatever endeavours each society engaged in, whether they were social, political, pedagogic, economic, cultural or benevolent choices and resolutions, members were involved.⁴⁹¹

These diverse interests and opportunities can be regarded as a strength, because in this democratic context, the movement potentially appealed to a wide range of communities. This distinct ideological and practical development benefitted the members and the movement because it addressed members requirements contributing 'to the creation of this community'.⁴⁹² This translated into the multiple representations and constructions of co-operative woman in the publications sampled.

⁴⁹⁰ Robertson, *Co-operative*, p. 210.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 211.

The Co-operative Commonwealth

The objectives of the Rochdale Pioneers were much broader than the narrow confines of commercial matters. They sought also to address ethical concerns relating to the standard of produce offered to the consumer and more, the quality of life,⁴⁹³ although this was by no means universal.⁴⁹⁴ The ideals of the 'Co-operative Commonwealth' present a distinct stance on co-operation. Ideologically and pedagogically informed by the Pioneers' inaugural publication, 'Laws and Objects' the Co-operative Commonwealth was articulated as an objective in the 1925 Co-operative Congress.⁴⁹⁵ Offering an appraisal of the individualist approach it was not opposed to a consumer economy as such, but against capitalism aimed at individualist goals. In this way the movement was in dialogue with capitalism proposing to develop an alternative pathway as a different basis for the economic structure of society.

Significantly, not all members of the movement had a radical vision.⁴⁹⁶ Gillian Scott's study of the WCG argues that 'the Co-operative Commonwealth was a real ambition for many active members'.⁴⁹⁷ How the ideals of the Co-operative Commonwealth were manifested visually across co-operative periodicals and publications is

⁴⁹³ Robertson, 'Collective', pp. 926, 934-938.

⁴⁹⁴ Cole, *Century*, pp. 169-170.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

⁴⁹⁶ Christine Pushpa Kumbhat highlighting observations expressed in the 1920 Annual Congress Report, makes the point 'the apathy demonstrated by the collective membership made the task of disseminating education in anticipation of building the Co-operative Commonwealth difficult'. Kumbhat, *Working*, p. 55.

⁴⁹⁷ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 11.

discussed in the context of visual representation in these publications, (Chapter Four, Five, Six).

The ideals of the Co-operative Commonwealth were adopted at the Co-operative Party Conference in 1933, which articulated:

the means of production, distribution and exchange shall be collectively owned, and wherein the Co-operative Movement shall function as the medium for the provision of the personal and domestic requirements of the community.⁴⁹⁸

The movement, proposing mutual benefit for individual and collective betterment aimed to penetrate many aspects of everyday working lives across Britain. Something of the significant role of visual identity to the movement and the dissemination of co-operative ideology can be found in its publications preserved in the NCA.

The Co-operative Movement: Publishing and Printing

Co-operative expansion in interwar Britain increased its economic breadth and cultural reach, simultaneously disseminating the movement's vision and identity. Engaging in a broad public dialogue, the vision of the co-operative movement was circulated in multiple ways. One of which was its print culture through which the movement displayed the remarkable extent and innovation of its retail and cultural amenities. The publications included an abundance of journals, periodicals, pamphlets and reports. Propagating co-operative values, the periodicals cannot be

⁴⁹⁸ Cole, *Century*, p. 328.

fully considered without an understanding of the landscape of co-operative publishing; the publishing societies and the print workshops that produced them.

The *Co-operative News* (1871- to date) commemorated its 50 years of publishing with the 1921 souvenir publication *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921: Jubilee Souvenir of the "Co-operative News"* (Figure 7). William Bamford author of the *Jubilee Souvenir*, was the son of Samuel Bamford, the editor of the *Co-operative News*, (1875-1898). Samuel Bamford's education in science and art was provided by the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society.⁴⁹⁹ Upon his death in 1898, the editorship passed to his son William Bamford.

The *Jubilee Souvenir*, published by the NCPS demonstrates the movement's practical aspiration to disseminate co-operative ideology and build a co-operative community and identity. As we can see in Figure 7 a full page line drawing establishes the sizeable premises and building of the co-operative printing works, located on Millgate Lane, Manchester. The substantial site occupies a commanding corner position and suggests a considerable size and volume of production. A significant commitment to build and staff such an extensive co-operative print works demonstrates the important role of dissemination of co-operative ideology to the movement.

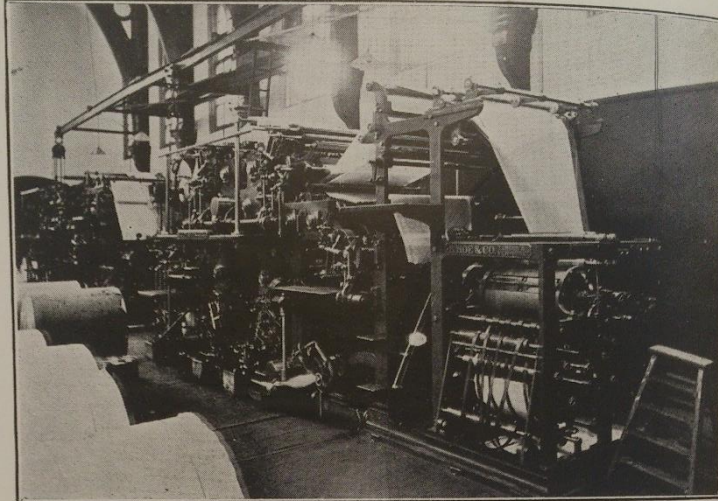
⁴⁹⁹ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, pp. 36, 57 f/n 25 citing A. Bonner, *British Co-operation*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union, 1961, 1970), p. 492.



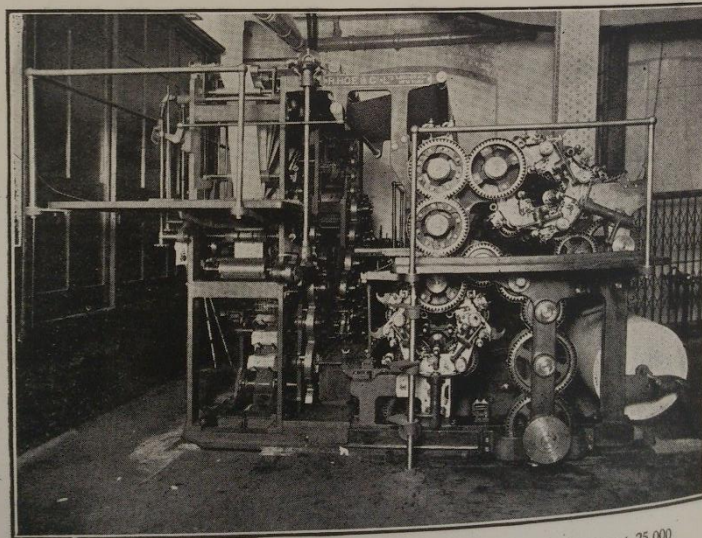
Figure 7 The Head Offices and Printing Works of the National Co-operative Publishing Society, Long Millgate, Manchester, W. Bamford, *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921: Jubilee Souvenir of the "Co-operative News"*, (22 Long Millgate, Manchester: National Co-operative Publishing Society Ltd., 1921), p. vi

As we can see, the *Jubilee Souvenir* self-consciously displayed advanced printing and photographic journalism. For example, the photographs of two printing machines, illustrate a sophisticated engagement with their progressive use of modern technology (Figure 8). The photograph placed at the top of the page shows the machine used to print the *Co-operative News*. The speed and volume of printing is detailed at 40,000 copies an hour. The lower photograph shows the machine which printed *Woman's Outlook* and the caption proudly discloses the details of production

capacity, 'View of Machine which turns out the "Woman's Outlook", with two coloured cover, at 25,000 copies an hour'.⁵⁰⁰



View of Machine on which the "Co-operative News" is produced at a speed of 40,000 copies per hour.



View of Machine which turns out the "Woman's Outlook," with two-coloured cover, at 25,000 copies per hour.

Figure 8 View of Machine, W. Bamford, *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921: Jubilee Souvener of the "Co-operative News"*, (22 Long Millgate, Manchester: National Co-operative Publishing Society Ltd., 1921), Facing p. 59

⁵⁰⁰ Bamford, *Our*, Facing p. 59.

Similarly, the Co-operative Printing Society, (1869) celebrated its Diamond Jubilee in 1929 with a commemorative publication *Sixty Years Co-operative Printing: Diamond Jubilee 1869-1929 Souvenir* (Figure 9). The publication confidently illustrates the distinctive nature of co-operative publishing. The intricate arts and craft inspired front cover design embodies the socially progressive agendas of the movement to communicate the centrality of high production quality print culture with the self-assured identity of the society. Simultaneously, within the souvenir publication the Co-operative Printing Society (CPS) clarify their unique self-definition which is placed in the context of the autonomy of the co-operative movement:

the Co-operative Printing Society cannot be fitted into any simple scheme of classifying co-operative productive undertakings...The Society is neither a producers' nor a consumers' organisation. It forms no part of the Consumers' Movement and does not belong to the Co-operative Productive Federation.⁵⁰¹

As part of this vision, the substantial realisation and extent of co-operation was achieved in conjunction with an unfavourable capitalist environment.⁵⁰² John Wilson, Anthony Webster and Rachel Vorbergh-Rugh, highlight the extent of co-operative commerce in the early twentieth century:

By 1914 co-operatives supplied between 7 and 9 per cent of the nation's total retail trade, and from 17-19 per cent of the trade in groceries and provisions.⁵⁰³

⁵⁰¹ T. W., Mercer, *Years Co-operative Printing: Diamond Jubilee 1869-1929 Souvenir*, (Manchester: Co-operative Printing Society Ltd., 1930), p. 122.

⁵⁰² Gurney, "Curse", p. 1479

⁵⁰³ Wilson et al, *Building*, p. 99 drawing on J. B. Jefferys, *Retail Trading in Britain 1850 – 1950*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) pp. 29, 163.



Figure 9 T. W., Mercer, *Sixty Years Co-operative Printing: Diamond Jubilee 1869-1929 Souvenir*, (Manchester: Co-operative Printing Society Ltd., 1930), Front cover

By 1939 the co-operative movement had a considerable economic presence. In 1935, the economic growth of co-operative trade, had produced 130 CWS factories.⁵⁰⁴ By

⁵⁰⁴ *Woman's Supplement, Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Back cover.

1939, when Britain's population stood at 50,232,000, there were 1,133 consumer co-operative societies with 8,023,000 members, which represented 16% of the population.⁵⁰⁵ The larger membership figure of eight million contrasts with the *Wheatsheaf* membership figure of six and a half million,⁵⁰⁶ which highlights the precariousness of co-operative statistics, which Mary Hilson points out and attempts to safeguard against by correlating figures from a range of sources.⁵⁰⁷ Even so, the extensive reach of the movement is borne out even by the more conservative figure promoted in the *Wheatsheaf*.

Abundant co-operative society publishing aimed to support and record the broad reach of the movement which sought to aid co-operative members throughout all aspects of their lives. The publications championed the remarkable achievements of extensive co-operative building and the production of a plethora of events within societies. For example, *Herald* and *Ourselves*, frequently illustrate the progressive approach to self-conscious and co-operative decision making. The broad range of social, financial, cultural activities and services offered by co-operative societies included events provided by the Educational Committee which was responsible for organising a number of ventures. As an example, the November 1919 issue of *Herald* advertised the Society dance undertaken in October 1919⁵⁰⁸ and the then forthcoming Whist Drive in November. Both events were held in the society's Co-

⁵⁰⁵ M. Hilson, *The International Co-operative Alliance and the Consumer Co-operative Movement in Northern Europe c1860 – 1939*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press 2018), p. 163.

⁵⁰⁶ *Wheatsheaf* November 1939, p. 3.

⁵⁰⁷ Hilson, *International*, pp. 162-163.

⁵⁰⁸ *Herald* November 1919, p. 158.

operative Hall, located at Downing Street in Manchester.⁵⁰⁹ Co-operative buildings provided a physical apparatus for the dissemination of the movement's values. For example, co-operative halls often included amenities such as, a 'stage and dance floor'.⁵¹⁰ Other activities frequently promoted by the *Herald* included trips to London,⁵¹¹ Paris and Edinburgh.⁵¹² In November 1923 an article discussing the intention to buy Cringle Park and Burnage Lane in Manchester to build houses for MSECS members suggests the breadth of vision promoted by the movement.⁵¹³

The publications continuously communicated the broad educational, social, cultural and financial provision of the movement, simultaneously publicizing the events and the co-operative built spaces in which they took place. Encouraging co-operation as 'a way of life'⁵¹⁴ societies built restaurants and cafes in their department stores. For example, in 1927 the MSECS announced the opening of the society's café in their Downing Street premises. Advertised in the *Herald* this was in conjunction with the promotion of their new 'drapery showroom and salon'.⁵¹⁵ Architecture was designed to play an important role in co-operative community building and to create the 'social spaces of these places'.⁵¹⁶ For example, this line drawing (Figure 10) published in 1909 by the Co-operative Wholesale Society's Printing Works, illustrates the extensive site of the CWS Crumpsall Works which included 'C.W.S. Recreation

⁵⁰⁹ *Herald* November 1919, p. 159.

⁵¹⁰ Robertson, *Co-operative*, p. 95.

⁵¹¹ *Herald* May 1921, p. 105.

⁵¹² *Herald* November 1923, p. 192.

⁵¹³ *Herald* November 1923, p. 181.

⁵¹⁴ J. Everitt, 'Co-operative Society Libraries', *Library History*, Vol. 15, No. 1, (1999), pp. 33-40, 34.

⁵¹⁵ *Herald* May 1927, p. 18.

⁵¹⁶ Robertson, *Co-operative*, pp. 99-100.

Grounds' comprising of a children's play area and tennis courts in the foreground and a sports court in the background.

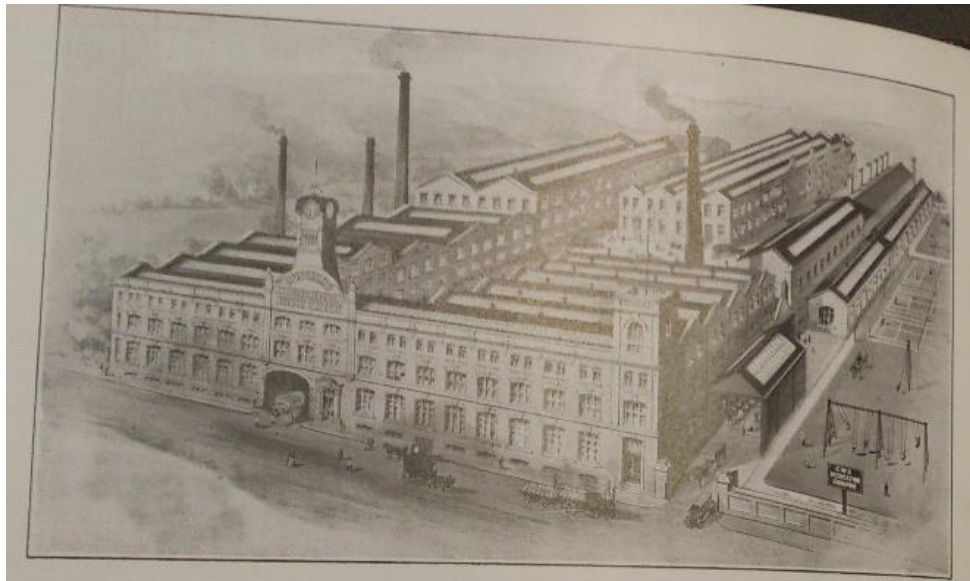


Figure 10 *Illustrated Description of a Visit to Crumpsall Works: Biscuits, Cakes, Sweets, Jellies and Sundries*, (Manchester: Co-operative Wholesale Society's Printing Works, Longsight, 1909), p. 2

Similarly, *Ourselves*, regularly offered an energetic array and almost breathless reportage of CWS undertakings from around Britain. A glimpse at the May 1929 issue features a cluster of activities which over a number of pages reveal a breadth of social, cultural, sporting, musical and educational activities and initiatives. Simultaneously, this offers an insight into the range of commercial enterprises the CWS participated in and its employment sectors. Activities include, 'a mystery tour in a 20 seater motor coach', the imminent formation of the first CWS Rugby team, led by 30 keen employees from the Clothing Factory and 'The Coming of the Co-operative Theatre' to Balloon Street, Manchester.⁵¹⁷ The short entries of only a few lines suggest the practical commitment and ideological implementation of the

⁵¹⁷ *Ourselves* May 1929, pp. 2, 12.

societies to the Rochdale Principles and common welfare. The pursuit of this objective continued in *Ourselves* throughout the interwar period and is particularly demonstrated in the 'snap' (Figure 11) of the newly completed tennis grounds of the Cardiff Biscuit Factory featured in the May 1935 issue.



Figure 11 A View from the roof at Cardiff Biscuit Factory, *Ourselves* May 1935, p. 219

As well as cultural provision co-operative societies provided services which attend to the more mundane aspects of everyday life, such as the 'newly-erected premises of

the Manchester and District Co-operative Laundries Association Limited situated in Longden Road, Longsight'.⁵¹⁸ In May 1931 a double page spread in the *Herald*, featured the topics of National Health Insurance, rambling and a competition to be a Co-operative Queen.⁵¹⁹ The MSECS offered an "'M&S" Free Life Assurance Scheme'⁵²⁰ to 'All Purchasing Members of "M and S"' in November 1931.⁵²¹ And in November 1939 the *Herald* feature a range of financial services.⁵²²

Driven by ideological motivation and practical enterprise⁵²³ the movement aimed to realise social improvement and the co-operative values and principles of self-help, equal fellowship and autonomy from which it materialised. It is not the purpose here to survey the extensive remit of activities that co-operative societies engaged in. But, Nicole Robertson's study of the co-operative movement in Britain during the period 1914-1960 provides a thoroughly stimulating and detailed account of eight local co-operative societies. She explores how local co-operative societies not only provided retail services but also functioned to provide a breadth of social, cultural and educational activities. Robertson examines how this in turn impacted on the region in which the societies were located and sometimes how this functioned in reverse.⁵²⁴ These activities suggest a commitment to the enlightened rationale of self-directed

⁵¹⁸ *Herald* November 1925, p. 220.

⁵¹⁹ *Herald* May 1931, pp. 134-135.

⁵²⁰ The Manchester and Salford Equitable Co-operative Society (MSECS) often abbreviated the name of the society to a shorter logo of "'M & S" and "M and S".

⁵²¹ *Herald* November 1931, p. 316.

⁵²² *Herald* November 1939, p. 347.

⁵²³ Stott, *Forgetting's*, p. 32.

⁵²⁴ Robertson, *Co-operative*, pp. 73-100.

decision-making by societies and the movement as a whole in producing and publishing the extensive co-operative print culture.

Gendered Nature of the Production Process

The Jubilee Souvenir publications have meant that extensive details can be traced about the print workers, the artisans, the society's directors and officials. However, it is not possible to know the degree of independent decision-making in the production of and choice of imagery. There may have been different degrees of autonomy within different parts of the process. Yet, artisans producing the images would have had to make decisions about the use of the images within the context of a long and robust tradition of woman editors who exercised strong editorial control.⁵²⁵

Approaches to publishing and printing reflect the organic and autonomous nature of the co-operative movement. For example, the progressive capacity for employment of co-operative woman in the co-operative printing society was situated within the context of a particularly gendered and traditional composition of the Publishing Society Board of Directors. The consistent demographic and gendered nature of the composition of the board is demonstrated by a photograph of the National Co-

⁵²⁵ A. Alexiou, *Design, Media, Gender Politics: The Paratext In the Late 19th Century Feminist Periodical (Britain, c. 1888-1899); A Transdisciplinary Inclusive Approach*, (Unpublished DPhil, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2016), pp. 93-98.

operative Publishing Society, English Section, 1920, (Figure 12). The details of membership included in the commemorative publications reveal the longevity and gendered constitution of the society's board of directors and officials which in total comprised of 18 men. Apart from the newly elected member in 1930 the majority of the board members had served, for at least a minimum of seven years.⁵²⁶

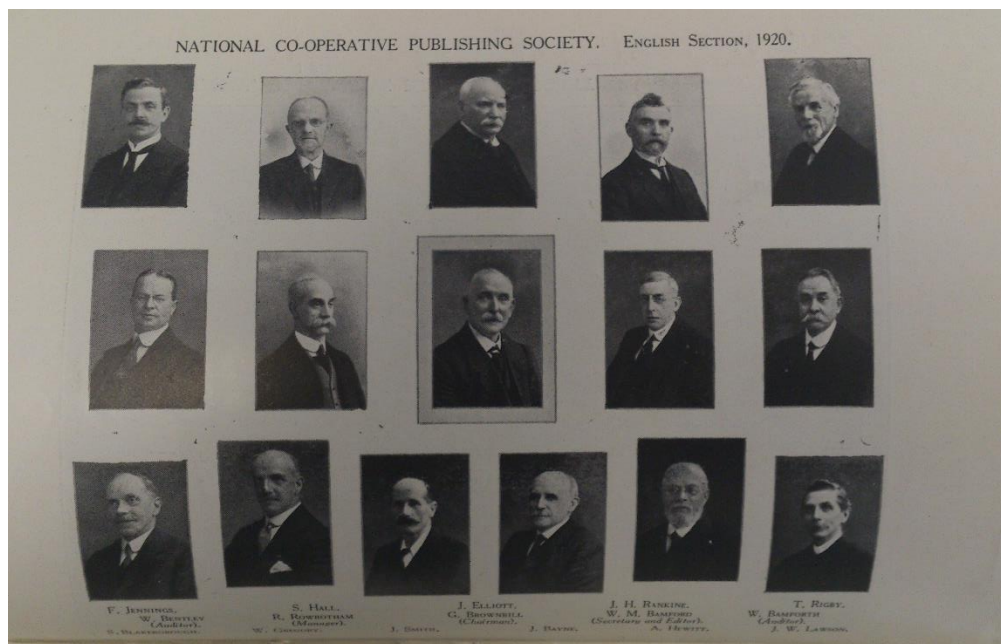


Figure 12 National Co-operative Publishing Society, English Section, 1920, W. Bamford, *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921: Jubilee Souvenir of the "Co-operative News" 1921*, (22 Long Millgate, Manchester: National Co-operative Publishing Society Ltd., 1921), Facing p. 1

The vision, selection and arrangement of typeface and image by compositor and artisan printer in the letterpress printing workshop, where two distinct trades, 'compositors and pressmen', operated was important.⁵²⁷ The compositors, as

⁵²⁶ Mercer, *Sixty*, Appendix 1, p. 159.

⁵²⁷ F. Robertson, *Print Culture: From Steam Press to Ebook*, (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 39-40, 54.

'skilled tradesmen',⁵²⁸ compose and position the textual layout. They select and arrange rows and columns of text from individual letters set in 'a composing stick'.⁵²⁹ The pressmen, 'strong, careful and systematic',⁵³⁰ craft the inking of the paper and take charge of the inked and white paper.⁵³¹ Despite the light and dexterous nature of the compositor's job, attempts by women to participate in this work were often prohibited in the trade.⁵³² Women were barred from joining the skilled print unions until the 1970s⁵³³ and the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975. Although in a minority, women had been working in the print trade as journalists, editors, book binders, compositors and printers from the 1800s and played an active role in suffrage publications and print workshops.⁵³⁴

The co-operative print workshop and editorial board were not exclusively male and women took an active part in editorial processes, production practices, and on the management board of the *Co-operative News*. The National Co-operative Publishing Society (NCPS) self-consciously illustrated the participation and role of women in the souvenir publication *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921*. For example, Mrs Eleanor Barton is named as a director of the *Co-operative News* for 1920 in a full page which lists the 'Directors of the "Co-operative News," '1920-21', identifying the name and year of election of each director. Barton is the only woman in a total of thirteen elected

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

⁵³⁴ Alexiou, *Design*, pp. 93-98.

directors between 1897-1920,⁵³⁵ an achievement independent of and prior to her leadership roles in the WCG, as Assistant Secretary in 1922⁵³⁶ and then General Secretary (1925-1927).⁵³⁷

The visual representation of the active role of co-operative woman in the production of co-operative publications indicates a desire to broadcast the progressive gender outlook of the NCPs. A full-page portrait of Annie Bamford Tomlinson (Figure 13), the inaugural editor of *Woman's Outlook*, and who remained so for the majority of the interwar period until her death in 1933, is displayed in the souvenir publication *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921*. Inclusion of a caption which celebrates her achievements, lists her editorial roles, attesting to her editorial skills and her esteem by the Society.

Annie Bamford Tomlinson, as the editor of 'Woman's Corner', the women's column in the *Co-operative News* (1871) is described by Barbara Blaszak, as 'the first professional journalist to edit the column'.⁵³⁸ The significance of her position is substantial when considered against the backdrop of a predominantly male Board and the prevailing gendered landscape of contemporary society. This progressive outlook potentially manifests the equal fellowship ideology of the WCG, *Woman's Outlook* and the co-operative movement.

⁵³⁵ Bamford, *Our*, npn facing 'Photograph of Directors and Officials of the English Section of the National Publishing Society, 1921'.

⁵³⁶ Scott, *Feminism*, pp. 124-125.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. x.

⁵³⁸ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, p. 48.



Figure 13 Mrs Bamford Tomlinson, W. Bamford, *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921: Jubilee Souvenir of the "Co-operative News"*, (22 Long Millgate, Manchester: National Co-operative Publishing Society Ltd., 1921), Facing p. 55

Similarly, the NCPS display a forward-thinking approach in the gender composition of the publishing staff. A full page photograph illustrates two employees, Mrs Irene Armstrong and Mrs Olive Ashton, the women's editorial department of the *Co-operative News* (Figure 14). A photograph of the 21 members of the Machine Room Staff shows seven women and fourteen men (Figure 15), compared with a photograph of the Composing Department Staff which comprises 21 men and one

woman (Figure 16). The significance of Mrs E., Goodier as a member of staff, is signalled by a large individual headshot photograph of her alongside a group photograph of seven male staff (Figure 17). The preponderance of men in the co-operative print workshop aligns to some extent with Frances Robertson's contention of gender bias in the print trade. Yet it also confirms Artemis Alexiou's argument that women did work in these jobs, although their role was often marginal and commonly in the production of feminist periodicals.⁵³⁹ Nevertheless, the enlightened perspective of the NCPS is suggested by the number of women who were working and involved in the co-operative print workshop, office and as editorial staff and elected directors.



Figure 14 Women's Editorial Department, W. Bamford, *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921: Jubilee Souvener of the "Co-operative News"*, (22 Long Millgate, Manchester: National Co-operative Publishing Society Ltd., 1921), Facing p. 58

⁵³⁹ Alexiou, *Design*, pp. 93-98.

Woman's Outlook was produced and published with a nuanced democratic and political agenda which engaged with the socio-economic-political context of which it was a product. Letterpress was the traditional mode of printing until the 1970s when the printing techniques of offset litho and photocomposition were introduced.⁵⁴⁰ The literary nature of the print workshop meant that printers were often 'educated and politically aware'.⁵⁴¹ Indeed 'letterpress printing was hailed as a democratic medium'.⁵⁴² Co-operative publishing aiming to make quality print available at affordable prices, had a political ethos which was woven into the fabric of its publications.



Figure 15 Machine Room Staff, W. Bamford, *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921: Jubilee Souvener of the "Co-operative News"*, (22 Long Millgate, Manchester: National Co-operative Publishing Society Ltd., 1921), Facing p. 90

⁵⁴⁰ Robertson, *Print*, pp. 60-61.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 37.



Figure 16 Composing Department Staff, W. Bamford, *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921: Jubilee Souvener of the "Co-operative News"*, (22 Long Millgate, Manchester: National Co-operative Publishing Society Ltd., 1921), Facing p. 87

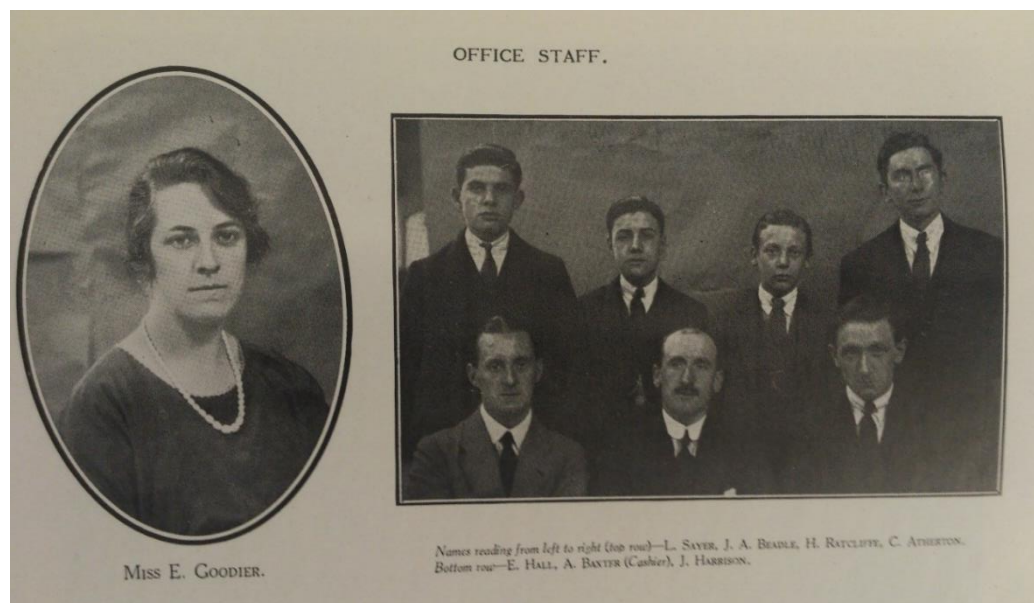


Figure 17 Office Staff, W. Bamford, *Our Fifty Years 1871-1921: Jubilee Souvener of the "Co-operative News"*, (22 Long Millgate, Manchester: National Co-operative Publishing Society Ltd., 1921), Facing p. 86

Co-operative Ideology: A Marketing Strategy and an Objective

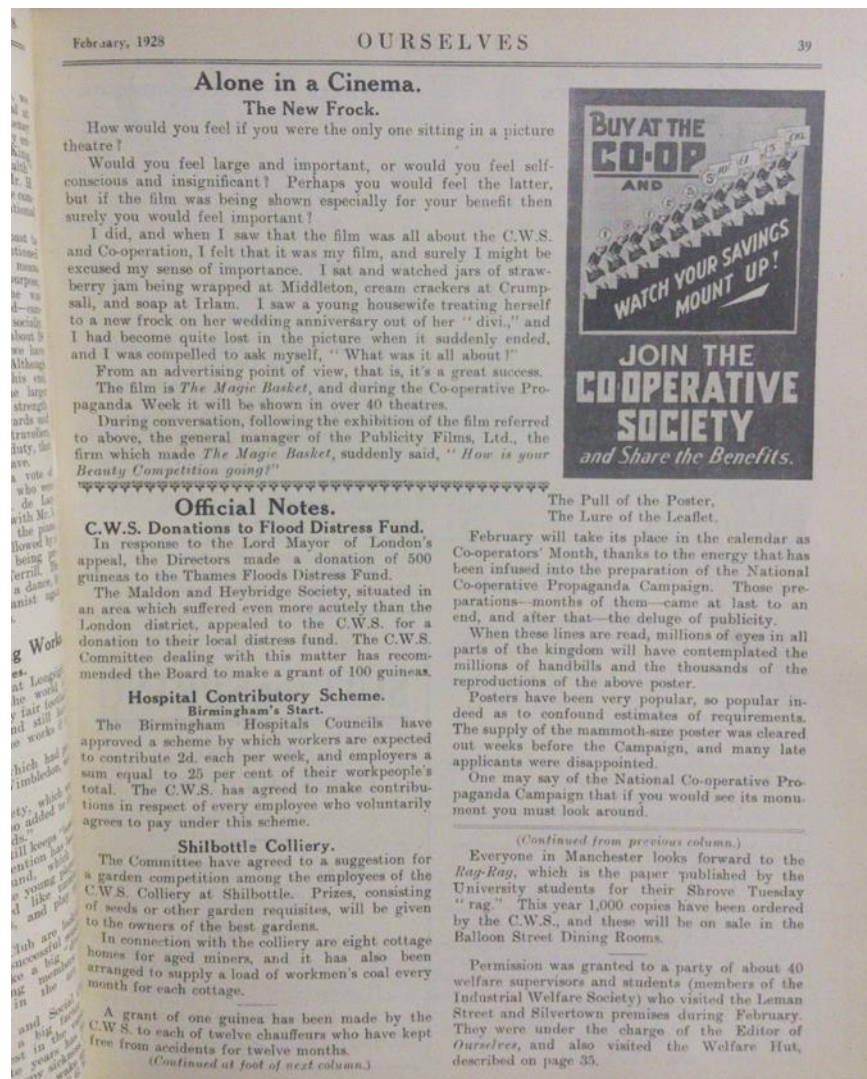


Figure 18 The Pull of the Poster, The Lure of the Leaflet, *Ourselves* February 1928, p. 39

Across the publications, co-operative ideology became a marketing strategy as well as a social objective. Published in *Ourselves* in February 1928 this small feature 'The Pull of the Poster The Lure of the Leaflet' (Figure 18) demonstrates awareness of the power of visual publicity. Positioned on the right half of the page the picture of the poster plays an understanding of co-operative woman and her relationship with the co-operative movement. It urges her as a consumer to spend money at the 'co-op'

and depicts the resultant growth of her savings. Savings accumulate transformed from coins to larger denomination notes. The pictorial and the textual are combined to 'pull' and 'lure' the viewer to join and share in being part of the co-operative movement to encourage individual betterment and mutual advantage reinforced with the capitalised caption 'BUY AT THE CO-OP AND WATCH YOUR SAVINGS MOUNT UP!' A rank of savers demonstrate how in a show of strength co-operative action will be mutually beneficial. Crucially, the main message is 'JOIN THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY and Share the Benefits'.⁵⁴³ Communicating themes of transition this understanding of being part of the movement runs throughout the co-operative publications and emerged in different ways across the period. Produced as part of a 'National Co-operative Propaganda Campaign' the article describes co-operative efforts to produce propaganda over a period of a few months which culminated with the production of this poster in February 1928. The National Co-operative Propaganda Campaign understood themselves to be engaged in propaganda and publicity rather than advertising, as compared with commercial media and its understanding of advertising. The campaign published millions of handbills and thousands of 'the mammoth-size poster'.⁵⁴⁴

The movement propagandised co-operative values through its print culture. Design and composition on the printed page strategically augmented the ideological perspective, to manifest as we shall see, multifaceted visual identities of women.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴³ *Ourselves* February 1928, p. 39.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ourselves* February 1928, p. 39.

⁵⁴⁵ See Chapter Five and Six.

The aims of the Pioneers to support the consumer were manifested in the visual to engender a dialogue around the protection of its consumers. The movement was not only selling the goods; it was selling an ideology, of trust, ethics and education with them. This pedagogical approach was fundamental to the ideal of the Co-operative Commonwealth.⁵⁴⁶

For the co-operative movement, co-operation as a way of life⁵⁴⁷ fosters aspiration, hope and the welfare of its members and was promoted in all aspects of the movement. As we have seen, co-operative premises stimulated community identity, which in turn produced, 'corporate feelings and fuel co-operative visions',⁵⁴⁸ similar to those of American corporations. Although the co-operative movement might not self-identify as 'corporate', the way in which visual identity was stimulated does suggest 'corporate feelings',⁵⁴⁹ in which a distinctive community identity through shared ideology was disseminated. Alan Burton shows how the production and general release of films produced by the co-operative movement such as *Work and Play* (1930), which addressed 'industrial welfare and the responsibilities of the employer' and *Co-operation in Industry* (1934) significantly supported 'Co-operative business culture' contributed to the expression of a corporate identity.⁵⁵⁰ Similarly, Rachel Ritchie's study of *Woman's Outlook* (1954-67) views the magazine as 'as an arena in which a number of factions (both individual and corporate) had a voice'.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁶ Kumbhat, *Working*, pp. 55-56.

⁵⁴⁷ Everitt, 'Co-operative', p. 34.

⁵⁴⁸ Woodin, 'Co-operative', p. 82.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-83.

⁵⁵⁰ Burton, *British*, p. 118.

⁵⁵¹ Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 36.

Although based on different economic approaches, individualist capitalism and member ownership, corporations and co-operatives employed similar communication strategies, including visual design to establish their different views on building community. Roland Marchand highlights the multifarious nature of the visual, observing how 'In addition to recognizing the complex motives of those who shaped corporate imagery, we need to consider the complexity of the images themselves'.⁵⁵² The movement embraced a progressive approach to the 'modern means of commercial mass communication' demonstrating the movement's capacity for and enjoyment of the visual.⁵⁵³ As Stefan Schwarzkopf contends co-operative motivations had an 'educative, propagandist drive'.⁵⁵⁴

Conclusion

This chapter has established an understanding of the ideology of British co-operativism as a background to the complex role of gender identity. Law First underpinned the tenet of self-governance of societies, the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth and the context of the print workshop. Educational activities and cultural initiatives were delivered independently by individual co-operative societies.⁵⁵⁵ The autonomous nature and pedagogical drive of the co-operative movement produced an abundance of publications through which to disseminate its ideology and vision. The journals as a product of the movement, the publishing societies that printed them and the landscape of co-operative publishing

⁵⁵² Marchand, *Creating*, p. 3.

⁵⁵³ Schwarzkopf, 'Innovation', p. 204.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ Shaw, 'Turning', p. 162; Robertson, *Co-operative*, pp. 91, 101.

underpins, in the context of economic expansion and cultural reach, the construction of gender identity with multiple manifestations of the visual representations of co-operative woman. The following chapter introduces a sample of the different ways in which various representations of co-operative woman engaged with the principles of the movement.

Chapter Four: The Co-operative Vision: Publishing and Representation

Offering a pedagogical and propagandistic tool the movement's publications permeated many aspects of everyday life. In this chapter, three co-operative publications, *Woman's Outlook* (1919), Co-operative Party leaflet (1921) and the *Wheatsheaf* (1935) are examined from a visual cultural point of view. Preliminary detailed visual analyses of these publications, reveal and exemplify how the commitment of the co-operative movement to the complex visual representation of co-operative woman and her gender was produced. We shall see how the representation of co-operative values manifest themselves varies. Critically, the analysis establishes that the visual culture was not incidental or accidental, but purposeful, conveying key values of the co-operative movement.

***Woman's Outlook* (1919)**

Vision

From the outset *Woman's Outlook* was developed as a stylish, up to date publication. William Bamford discussed how *Woman's Outlook* was born from the co-operative publication *Millgate Monthly* (1905-1953) which, including forward-thinking features and visually distinct, he considered a 'modern magazine'.⁵⁵⁶ For example, the November 1919 issue of *Millgate Monthly* described itself as 'A popular magazine devoted to association, education, literature and general advancement'.⁵⁵⁷ Bamford

⁵⁵⁶ Bamford, *Our*, pp. 43-48.

⁵⁵⁷ *Millgate Monthly* November 1919, p. 128.

explains how *Millgate Monthly*, when launching the idea of a separate magazine in December 1918, devoted 16 pages to matters for women.⁵⁵⁸

The content of *Millgate Monthly* was wide ranging from topics of domesticity to social reform and citizenship, with an emphasis on 'the homes and everyday life of the people'.⁵⁵⁹ *Millgate Monthly* paid great attention to detail in the printing of the illustrations "'on the flat"' rather than on 'cylinders' and the high quality of this 'picture magazine' was exemplified in *Woman's Outlook* 'in the way of an original and striking front cover in colours'.⁵⁶⁰

Visually and politically Bamford positioned *Woman's Outlook* as 'a distinct entity' within the co-operative publications and to non-co-operative and contemporary women's periodicals. According to Bamford, it was sophisticated in its approach countering the 'flood of sheets devoted to fleeting feminine fads and fancies instead of the eternal verities of life'.⁵⁶¹ It was distinct compared to 'outside periodicals' in the fact of 'being owned by the democracy; and of being devoted to the interests of the democracy'.⁵⁶²

In preparation for the launch of *Woman's Outlook*, the General Board of the Co-operative Publishing Society in April 16th 1919 recorded an interview with Mrs Annie

⁵⁵⁸ Bamford, *Our*, p. 47.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-48.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

Bamford Tomlinson, in regard to the position of editor and her intentions for the character and scope of this new magazine. The minutes reveal sparse details about the interview but do include a brief comment which illustrates *her* aims for *Woman's Outlook*, 'Mrs Tomlinson outlined the features which she considered essential to the popularity and success of such a magazine'.⁵⁶³ This suggested that she had a clear vision and purpose for the outlook of the magazine. Her objective was for it to be fashionable and influential.

Woman's Outlook aimed to do more than focus on the interests of the married working women of the WCG. To illustrate this Bamford described how the women in the movement, while 'they had of course their "Women's Corner"', demanded their own magazine.⁵⁶⁴ Although he assumed that the women of the movement were the WCG he pointed out that they 'desired something more to satisfy their broader outlook on life' than that offered by the Women's Corner in the *Co-operative News*.⁵⁶⁵ The launch of *Woman's Outlook* was heralded by its editorial as a response to the co-operative women in the movement and as part of the 'progressive ambition' of the National Co-operative Publishing Society (NCPS).⁵⁶⁶ William Bamford declared the inauguration as affecting 'the joy of separate existence'.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶³ National Co-operative Publishing Society Minute Book, November 1918 -1921, April 16th, p. 97.

⁵⁶⁴ Bamford, *Our*, p. 47.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁵⁶⁶ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁵⁶⁷ Bamford, *Our*, p. 47.

Woman's Outlook sought to extend its readership beyond the membership of the WCG. For example, the May 1928 issue included the notice 'What Future Historians Will Say' positioned on the lower half of the page. This suggested that the magazine was not primarily an organ of the WCG because it declared that 'for the next few issues "*Woman's Outlook*" will become a mirror of the Women's Co-operative Guild, in England, Ireland and Scotland'.⁵⁶⁸ Often distributed by the Guild,⁵⁶⁹ co-operative publications were officially available through subscription, co-operative libraries and stores to co-operative employees, society members and like commercial magazines, to the wider public through casual and familial networks.⁵⁷⁰

In November 1939 an editorial in the *Woman's Outlook* offered further insight into the magazine's identity, its relationship with the WCG and popular women's magazines.⁵⁷¹ Sternly critiquing the 'capitalist press' and other women's periodicals the magazine argued that they duped women into believing in men's ideas about how women should be. This self-conscious assessment, was sparked by a critical letter to *The Times* from Mrs Swanwick upon the Government's lack of consultation with 'working housewives such as the Women's Co-operative Guild' in the plans for evacuation. Her letter was not printed: "'I might have known my letter would not be printed. There are very few letters from women in 'The Times,' and those nearly all from the fashionable or official class'".⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁸ *Woman's Outlook* May 19th 1928, p. 467.

⁵⁶⁹ Bamford, *Our*, p. 57.

⁵⁷⁰ Southern, *Co-operative*, p.13; Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 39; Hackney, "They", Chapter One.

⁵⁷¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 4th 1939, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁷² *Woman's Outlook* November 4th 1939, p. 2.

The editorial cited her incisive charge that commercial papers do not allow women to have self-expression:

Daily papers are manager, edited written and sub-edited almost exclusively by men, and through the medium of these men's minds we are told what women think – if it be allowed that they think at all.⁵⁷³

She then continued to discuss the value and function of the commercial 'Woman's Page':

But these pages are – to any experienced reader... Advertisements, camouflaged as articles in 'Women's Pages' help to pay for the paper. Women are, in fact, exploited by the whole newspaper trade...which express only men's views, and what men think are or should be women's views.⁵⁷⁴

The editorial illustrated how *Woman's Outlook* distinguished itself from commercial women's magazines. In doing so, representations of co-operative women as the 'independent working-class', were firmly located with the WCG:

Just twenty years ago this month, the Women's Guild was given the reply to its persistent appeals for a paper of its own, "Woman's Outlook"...the commonsense, alert, imaginative women of the Women's Co-operative Guild have kept going a paper which has little in common with popular women's journalism. They have shown clearly that they don't want the "poppycock" of which Mrs Swanwick speaks, but articles which give the independent working-class women's view on what is happening in the world, whether it is in the kitchen or in international affairs.⁵⁷⁵

This echoes Rachel Ritchie who demonstrates that *Woman's Outlook* in the 1960s viewed itself as specifically aimed at the membership of the WCG (see Chapter Two).

Jayne Southern, by contrast, argues that the magazine in the interwar period offered

⁵⁷³ *Woman's Outlook* November 4th 1939, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁴ *Woman's Outlook* November 4th 1939, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁵ *Woman's Outlook* November 4th 1939, p. 2.

'an expression of the multiplicity of interests held by the Women's Co-operative Guild'.⁵⁷⁶ However, it viewed its readership more broadly. *Woman's Outlook* extends beyond the audience of the married co-operative woman of the WCG to reveal an instability of that identity.

In the media the visual was typically located in the periodical press, before the advent of radio as, the primary means of information for the masses.⁵⁷⁷ Advertisers especially valued the immediacy of the image, which could convey information quickly and efficiently at a glance.⁵⁷⁸ This is exemplified on the front cover picture of 'The Woman with the Basket' of the inaugural *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 19). The inscription "Of whole Heart Cometh Hope" originates from the fourteenth century poem 'The Vision of Piers Plowman' which offers a critique of the abuse of power by the rich.⁵⁷⁹ The motto, was also part of the original 1908 illustration 'The Woman with the Basket', on the WCG membership card⁵⁸⁰ and it reinforces and politicises the hope for economic independence and status.⁵⁸¹ One of the movement's iconic images,⁵⁸² the picture appeared on the front cover designed in 'yellow and chocolate,' with the 'legend "A popular magazine devoted to woman's interests in all spheres and phases of life"'.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁶ Southern, Co-operative, p. 140.

⁵⁷⁷ J. Aynsley and K. Forde, 'Introduction', in Aynsley and Forde, (eds.), *Design*, pp. 1-16, 8.

⁵⁷⁸ Kelley, 'All-Conquering', pp. 76-94; Tickner, *Spectacle*, p. 151.

⁵⁷⁹ Davies, *Woman*, npn.

⁵⁸⁰ Catherine Webb observed that at an international meeting of the WCG in 1908, one verse of the song for the WCG motto was suggested by Mrs Vaughan Nash. It read "' Of whole heart cometh hope, Of comradeship comes strength, The swifter step, the lightened load, The journey's joy at length,'" Webb, *Woman*, p. 168; Southern, Co-operative, p. 105; Davies, *Woman*, npn.

⁵⁸¹ Southern, Co-operative, p. 105.

⁵⁸² See Introduction.

⁵⁸³ Bamford, *Our*, p. 47.



Figure 19 *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover

By associating itself with the guild of women co-operators, *Woman's Outlook* established that there was already a community of likeminded women with common goals and purpose, inside and outside the home, on a national level. Using the membership card image signalled that the ideas and issues addressed in *Woman's*

Outlook were already part of the discourse of this community, connected to the Guild and an ongoing dialogue of self-help and fellowship.

The image was commissioned by the Central Committee c.1908, and executed by Muirhead Bone, a prominent artist and printmaker, a member of the New English Art Club who was the first approved war artist of the First World War.⁵⁸⁴ Margaret Llewelyn Davies, as leader of the WCG (General Secretary 1889-1921), fuelled by her interest in the capacity of visual representation, participated in the selection of this bespoke image. She was, perhaps, attracted by the symbolism of freedom represented by the open window: a common iconographical motif in the nineteenth century suggesting the possibility of hope, freedom, independence and empowerment.⁵⁸⁵

Significantly, an every-day co-operative woman in realist style is placed centrally on the front cover. In doing this Annie Bamford Tomlinson, editor of *Woman's Outlook*, (1919-1933), prioritised a historicised rather than a contemporary representation⁵⁸⁶ of co-operative woman to give the figure the allegorical character of a working woman. Although originally drawn c.1908, the fuller shape of her 'homely working'

⁵⁸⁴ Webb, *Woman*, p. 40; Davies, *Woman*, npn; Tate: Muirhead Bone <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/sir-muirhead-bone-778> accessed 23092017.

⁵⁸⁵ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, p. 117; For example, see W.H.F. Talbot, *The Open Door*, c1844, reproduced in S. Mays, 'Between Pandora and Diogenes: Fox Talbot and the Gender of Archives', *Journal of Visual Culture*, Vol. 12, No. 3, (2013), pp. 450-471, 466.

⁵⁸⁶ See R. F. Delderfield, *To Serve Them All My Days*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1972, 2006), pp. 68-69. Set in post First World War Britain the main character, David Powlett-Jones describes the dress of a young working woman that he has just met in the Spring of 1919, 'They were obviously off-the-peg clothes, chosen by someone who had to watch the pennies. The tartan skirt, ending half-way up the calf, was all the rage that year'.

dress,⁵⁸⁷ with a high waistline work apron and shawl, depict clothing typical of the late nineteenth century, although amongst working women, the high waistline and apron, albeit at a slightly shorter length, continued to be worn into the 1920s.⁵⁸⁸

The dress style contrasts with the contemporary style of 1919, worn as a lower waistline, uncorsetted with a mid-calf dress length portrayed within the magazine (Figure 20).⁵⁸⁹ Potentially aspirational, this simple line drawing demonstrates the contemporary and shorter dress style. Productive leisure is suggested in the making and wearing of the dress. The young woman holds a broom in her hand to illustrate the functionality of 'A pretty and useful overall'. Presented as a sewing pattern and worn by a young woman, it suggests that ownership of this fashionable dress design is desirable and achievable through useful personal endeavour and practical skill.

The line drawing on the front cover, originally produced in monochrome, suggests that this is the depiction of an ordinary working woman.⁵⁹⁰ The ambiguity of what trade, capacity or workplace she works in is important, as it facilitates a wider appeal. It offers a triptych: a fluid identity of consumer, housewife and worker, linked together through shared aspiration. Whether that work is within or outside the home, it offers the possibility for women to recognise themselves in the image.

⁵⁸⁷ Webb, *Woman*, p. 40.

⁵⁸⁸ E. Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890-1940* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), pp. 160, 190.

⁵⁸⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, pp. 13, 21.

⁵⁹⁰ The analysis is supported by a conversation with Dr. Alison Slater, Manchester Metropolitan University 12102018, and draws on the dress style depicted in photographs of women pit brow workers at a Lancashire coal mine c. 1914-1918. Imperial War Museum: The Employment of Women in Britain 1914-1918 (1918) Q 28302 <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205196412> accessed 12102018.

Co-operative Cruet Cures. Some "Do's" and "Don'ts."

FEW people realise that in their own house they have remedies to hand for many common little ailments and sudden emergencies which so often arise in everyday life. In the contents of the ordinary cruet bottles we find almost a complete emergency surgery, and remedies which, though simple, are often more efficacious than expensive drugs.

SALT.—Osformo salt has other besides seasoning uses. Lives have been saved before now by a timely application of a bag of hot dry salt to the stomach, or any part of the body where acute pain has to be reduced. As an antiseptic, too, it is an invaluable remedy. A gargle of common salt and water is very useful for hoarseness, or to relieve sore throat. Salt is excellent also as a tooth-powder, keeping the enamel white, the gums healthy, and the breath sweet. Salt water will stop gums bleeding after a tooth has been extracted.

The famous C.W.S. Middleton vinegar is also a first-rate doctor. Like salt, it makes a splendid gargle for sore and swollen throats. In fact, for inflammation of all kinds it is invaluable. Diluted with water it reduces itching and swelling in midge bites, nettlerash, and other skin afflictions. Have we a headache? A vinegar-soaked linen bandage round the forehead will invariably afford relief. In case of an attack of faintness, vinegar inhaled, will prove a restorative.

With your C.W.S. double superfine mustard you can not only add to the enjoyment of a meal, but you can feel sure of a valuable ally in case of illness. A member of the household is seized with, say cramp, chest trouble, or a sudden chill. Time is an object; prompt action everything. In the first two instances, a little of the contents of the mustard pot, applied as a local plaster, may avert serious consequences, and possibly effect a cure.

Do avoid drugs. They give only temporary relief.

Don't travel inside trams if you can avoid doing so.

Do form steady habits and arrange your life on natural and healthy lines.

Don't forget that bad teeth are a sure cause of indigestion.

Do have a good breakfast before you set out to work; enthusiasm and good work do not thrive on a vacuum.

Don't forget prevention is better than cure.

Do limit yourself to one entertainment a week if you

want to keep well and do good work. Once a week is quite enough for keeping late hours.

Don't forget that a penny saved is a penny gained, except in the food bill.

Do remember to get plenty of fresh air. It is the best tonic and often helps one to be bright and Christianlike as much as a good sermon does.

Don't dress unsuitably. Choose sensible good-wearing things. Light, but warm, should be your motto. Don't set out for a whole day without your mackintosh or dust-cloak. It is light and easy to carry, and may save you from getting wet through.

❖❖❖❖❖

OUR PAPER PATTERN.

—

A Becoming Overall.

—

A pretty and useful overall. To obtain a pattern of this, send 8d. in stamps to the Paper Pattern Department, "Woman's Outlook," Long Millgate, Manchester.

❖❖❖❖❖

Figure 20 Our Paper Pattern, *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 13

Typically, a woman would manage the home, as demonstrated in Figure 20, even if she was in paid employment.⁵⁹¹ Karen Hunt argues that a significant sector of women, deemed themselves as 'housewives'. Drawing on census figures of 1921, Hunt demonstrates that whilst 32.26% were in paid employment in the early interwar

⁵⁹¹ K. Hunt, 'A Heroine at Home', in M. Andrews and J. Lomas, (eds.), *The Home Front in Britain: Images, Myths and Forgotten Experiences since 1914*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 73-91, 75-76.

period, a substantial proportion of women were not documented as engaged in paid activity.⁵⁹²

The composition and design of the front cover suggests a direct appeal to attract and empower the politically and economically disenfranchised woman. Visual representations in co-operative publications in this period offered 'social and cultural emancipation' to those co-operative women who did not at this time have political representation.⁵⁹³ Representations in co-operative publications offered opportunities for self-recognition, as Jim Aulich and John Hewitt have argued in the context of First World War posters in Britain, Europe and America: 'The working people, who might not have the vote, were addressed through the commercial media to find representation in an image of itself'.⁵⁹⁴ Editorial strategies developed in the nineteenth century were utilised as an important way of developing women readers' curiosity about political issues. They were used to renegotiate women's identities in relation to how they viewed themselves and how they were viewed 'as a political subject'.⁵⁹⁵ Permitting 'disenfranchised women to imagine themselves as citizens'⁵⁹⁶ is a distinctive feature of *Woman's Outlook*.

Significantly, publication of the inaugural issue closely followed the passing of the Representation of the People Act in March 1918, and appealed to women war-

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*

⁵⁹³ J. Aulich and J. Hewitt, *Seduction or Instruction? First World War Posters in Britain and Europe*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 107.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.119.

⁵⁹⁵ Tusan, *Women*, p. 34.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

workers' understandings of self-determination, agency and citizenship. The Act established that most women householders over thirty were entitled to vote, the legislation overlooked many other women. As Julie Gottlieb and Richard Toye observe of Mary Macarthur's⁵⁹⁷ comments in the *Manchester Guardian*, of June 1918, despite the fact that "the vote was conceded to women on the ground of their services in the war", the Act, 'excluded the vast majority of women war-workers'".⁵⁹⁸

The publication date of *Woman's Outlook* in the anniversary month of the first armistice, only twelve months previously, is equally significant. Suggestively, on the front cover co-operative woman's dress is dark, all in one colour, although some of it is the shadow (Figure 19). The clothing suggests a nostalgic vision of the historical legacy and significance of the working woman since the nineteenth century. Yet the front forward facing aspect of the woman bathed in the rising sunlight of a new day,⁵⁹⁹ has a visionary aspect, with the clouds clearing and parting to allow the clear sky to break through. It is suggestive of traditional socialist allegorical iconography. It is an example of how the movement self-consciously drew on its relationship with the past and its origins, whilst appealing to aspirations for hope in the aftermath of the war, the legacies of the Spanish Flu and fear of the potential implications of the

⁵⁹⁷ Mary Macarthur was associated with women's labour, the Women's Trade Union League, the National Federation of Women Workers, the Labour Party and established the *Woman Worker*. See, Hunt, C., 'Binding Women Together in Friendship and Unity?', *Media History*, Vol. 19, No. 2, (2013), pp. 139-152; C. Hunt, *The National Federation of Women Workers, 1906-1921*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) offers a substantial analysis of the often overlooked women's Trade Union - The National Federation of Women Workers and its relationship with women workers.

⁵⁹⁸ J. Gottlieb and R. Toye, 'Introduction', in Gottlieb and Toye, (eds.), *Aftermath*, pp. 1-36, pp. 1, 14 f/n 2 citing Mary Macarthur, 'Labour Rights', *Manchester Guardian*, 29 June 1918.

⁵⁹⁹ Blaszk, *Matriarchs*, p. 117.

Russian Revolution. Understandings of the past and hope for the future are used to signify the message of a new beginning and liberty.

The doorway's threshold to the woman's left is a liminal boundary which alludes to openings: opening up the co-operative movement and co-operative woman to the past, and the possibilities of the present and future. The open door mobilises an understanding of possibilities, movement and opportunity, suggestive of Llewelyn Davies's aim of extending the role, identity and relationship of co-operative woman into the world outside and beyond the home, 'as citizens' who 'had rights and responsibilities beyond the confines of the home'.⁶⁰⁰ The figure is not looking at us, but outward to the industrial landscape and the distant horizon. It draws us in so we become the figure,⁶⁰¹ allowing the viewer to internalise the existential relationship of the individual with the world. The image suggests a gateway for co-operative woman and co-operation as she stands on the threshold, beyond the domestic realm and in the public space, facing outward to a brighter future, as she overlooks the industrial landscape.

The notion of traversing physical and conceptual boundaries proposes alternative perspectives. Mikhail Bakhtin, (1895-1975), Russian philosopher contemporaneous with the co-operative movement, viewed the figure of the Janus as inhabiting the threshold, an in-between place looking inwards to home and outwards to the world.

⁶⁰⁰ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 56.

⁶⁰¹ Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, p. 119.

Deborah Haynes employs Bakhtin's work in an analysis of visual culture,⁶⁰² to offer a useful interpretation which can be applied to 'The Woman with the Basket' and its significance to the co-operative movement. Iconographically, this figure is not a Janus but in standing on the threshold she inhabits the space of the Janus:

gazing simultaneously into the cultural sphere and into lived life. Originally the numina or spirit inhabiting the doorway of a dwelling, the Roman God Janus...was without gender or anthropomorphic form. As a kind of doorkeeper, Janus looked in – to the hearth and home – and he looked out – toward the larger world...Janus became...the god of beginnings, the source of all things, the generator of life, the original chaos out of which all things came. A doorway, a portal. Beginnings.⁶⁰³

The editors of *Woman's Outlook* self-consciously chose imagery and text to support their ideological viewpoint, of a portal showing new ways of thinking about the social and economic organisation of society. The editorial self-consciously analysed and identified the front cover image as a visual manifesto of its purpose and where it placed itself in the movement.⁶⁰⁴ *Woman's Outlook* continued the interest, utilisation and consideration of visual representation established by Llewelyn Davies, 'No illustration could better represent the purpose and meaning of "Woman's Outlook" than the picture we have chosen for our frontispiece'.⁶⁰⁵

Annie Bamford Tomlinson, editor of *Woman's Outlook*, aimed to offer the co-operative woman choices and potentially liberation through her engagement with the magazine, much like Llewelyn Davies's aims for the WCG as its General Secretary

⁶⁰² D. Haynes, *Bakhtin and the Visual Arts*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

⁶⁰⁴ See Chapter Five, Chapter Six.

⁶⁰⁵ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

(1889-1921). For Llewelyn Davies, the image of 'The Woman with the Basket' represented freedom, although it did not represent the full ideological complexity of the co-operative movement and to some extent represented a contested identity.⁶⁰⁶ As we shall see, it is one of the most important images to represent the ideology of the co-operative vision and its principles of self-help, equal fellowship and its material basis. In this sense it represented a familiarity and distinctiveness with which co-operative woman could self-identify.

Self-help

Positioned in a strong forward-looking stance⁶⁰⁷ the picture of a singular working woman (Figure 19) is suggestive of the Pioneer's distinctive co-operative ideology of Law First. She is the consumer, in control of the power of the basket, self-sufficient, embodying the co-operative values of self-help and self-reliance, 'She holds in her hand the symbol of her special place and power'.⁶⁰⁸ The basket represents choice and agency. Her foot is raised on a stone as if to assist her movement forward *and* pause for contemplation. Her gaze looks beyond the industrial landscape below. The shopping basket, frequently used as a symbol of power of the co-operative woman throughout co-operative literature,⁶⁰⁹ can be seen in her left hand propped against her bent knee. This image was intended to illuminate her position as a shopper in

⁶⁰⁶ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 11; Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, p. 87.

⁶⁰⁷ Davies, *Woman*, npn.

⁶⁰⁸ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁶⁰⁹ Davies, (ed.), *Life*, Front cover image; Gaffin and Thoms, *Caring*, Front cover image; Southern, Co-operative, p. 99; Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, pp. 7, 87.

control of the nation's co-operative production and significant contributor to the national economy.⁶¹⁰ In this way *Woman's Outlook* continued the co-operative rhetoric of the nineteenth century based on basket power. The basket is a tool for betterment and she is about to carry it into the public spaces of the industrial. Seen in the context of Law First, the image evokes understandings of self-help and striving for the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Equal Fellowship

The front cover of *Woman's Outlook* signals a vision for the future; the role of the consumer and life beyond the domestic. This working woman is depicted in an easily readable realist style rather than in the faux classicism of an allegorical representation, typical of Walter Crane, which is also found within *Woman's Outlook*.⁶¹¹ As such, it petitions a cross section of readers and directs its appeal to a broad constituency. Compositional strategies complement and strengthen the message it conveys. Six different typographical faces are used on the front cover. The editorial use of multiple typefaces and their ideological associations is significant.⁶¹² Capitalisation and use of large point size for 'Women Who Work For Us', at the top of the page creates a strong banner which dominates the front cover. The choice of a modern *sans serif* font, associated with contemporary commerce and the high

⁶¹⁰ Davies, *Woman*, npn; Southern, Co-operative, pp. 98-99.

⁶¹¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁶¹² Artemis Alexiou points out that compositors often chose typeface because of issues of practicality, economics and aesthetics. Alexiou, *Design*, p. 52, f/n. 125.

street, is clear to read from a distance. Considered 'legible and efficient'⁶¹³ *sans serif* was often used on commercial and First World War propaganda posters. Communicating strength and robustness the bold statement connects it with contemporaneity, social progress and liberal democratic political forms and modernity. Positioned above the publication title the strap line reminds the reader to make a direct connection between the meaning of the banner and the title. It makes visible the co-operative woman worker and emphasises her importance within the community of *Woman's Outlook*.⁶¹⁴

Rich yellow lettering decorates the title. The arts and craft typeface is in keeping with the tradition of typography used by periodical publications in the late nineteenth century and Edwardian period by the women's movement. It locates the magazine within this social and political context, as discussed by Artemis Alexiou, who considers the effect of the arts and craft movement, notably William Morris and Walter Crane, in her examination of how the gendered customs of 1880s and 1890s Britain produced particular design identities in the feminist weekly periodical.⁶¹⁵ This image, against a chocolate background, presents an attractive masthead yet simultaneously suggests resilience and courage in the aftermath of the First World War. The supplementary choice of arts and craft typeface further emphasises an

⁶¹³ Jobling and Crowley, *Graphic*, p. 140.

⁶¹⁴ See Chapter Six.

⁶¹⁵ Alexiou, *Design*, p. 5.

affiliation with the arts and craft movement and the women's movement in the context of suffrage, feminism and socialism.⁶¹⁶

Placed beneath the magazine title, the eye-catching strap line design creates a front page which appeals to a range of different classes and ages.⁶¹⁷ Crafted in Times Roman, 'A Popular Magazine Devoted To Woman's Interests In All Spheres And Phases Of Life' the type indicates authority.⁶¹⁸ An added yellow outline, and additional prominent large yellow lettering, is again in arts and craft typeface. Positioned prominently on the left side, running vertically adjacent to the feature picture 'The Woman with the Basket', the strap line suggested identities beyond that of a married woman in the WCG. It adds to the decorative display while, perhaps, the overall distribution of typographical fonts asserts an authoritative declaration of the principles of social progress and suffrage embedded in the legacies of the arts and crafts movement.

Two narrative features positioned across the bottom of the front cover, encased in a rectangular shaped decorative border of daisies, focused on prominent contemporary issues strengthened the appeal to a wide readership. "Two Women", the 'Opening Chapters of a Modern Serial', is a fictional story about the modern life of two single middle-class or potentially upper-class women. Juxtaposed, 'Mrs Annie

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-180, 185-186.

⁶¹⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover.

⁶¹⁸ The Times New Roman typeface was designed in 1932 for mechanical setting for the *Times* newspaper by Stanley Morison, prior to this Times Roman was used by the *Times*. See Robertson, *Print*, pp. 24, 28.

Besant's Life Story' pays attention to Annie Besant (1847-1933), a theosophist and activist, to bring an international aspect. The use of a Times Roman style adds a serious tone and gravitas to the messages the editor wishes to convey.⁶¹⁹

'Mrs Annie Besant's Life Story' featured her life experiences and described her as 'first of all a human being: then a woman'.⁶²⁰ *Woman's Outlook* politically associates itself with the ideology of Annie Besant whose ideas about sexual equality are also a focus; she is described as delivering 'her first public lecture, in 1874, on "The Political Status for Women"', at the Co-operative Institute.⁶²¹ Her activism included, for example, birth control, with 'the publication of a pamphlet dealing with the limitation of families,⁶²² entitled *The Law of Population* (1878). The feature discusses the role of Mrs Besant in the "'match girls'" fight', and 'for the women chain-makers of Cradley Heath'.⁶²³

To know whether *Woman's Outlook* achieved its aim of a cross-class readership, is a challenge. Visually, the dynamic interchange between image and text in which the text anchors the image, is suggestive of a younger working woman and the political rhetoric of a lower middle-class woman because of the innovative complexity of the front cover. Combinations of typeface were quite common at this time.⁶²⁴ Paul

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁶²⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 14.

⁶²¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, pp. 14-15.

⁶²² *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 14.

⁶²³ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 15.

⁶²⁴ For example, see *Labour Woman* May 1921, Front cover; *Woman's Weekly* May 7 1921, Front cover.

Jobling and David Crowley's discussion of graphic commercial design of the 1930s highlights how the diverse use of different typefaces, dimension and range in conjunction with graphic elements contest the conventional. Although not as extreme as the example, *It's Up To Us* (1936), which Jobling and Crowley consider, the perceptiveness of the editors, artisan printers and compositors of *Woman's Outlook* demonstrates a 'lively, multi-layered and heterogeneous style'.⁶²⁵ Moreover, conceptual aspects of montage in the 1930s, which Jobling and Crowley discuss, are visible on the front cover of *Woman's Outlook* and clarify how it operates: 'montage not only constituted an innovative technique which challenged normative constructions of meanings, it also functioned as a symbolic rupture or fragmentation of its sources'.⁶²⁶

It could be argued that conceptually and graphically the layout, design and content of the front cover is representative of a modern montage approach through the use of different features readily found on the high street. For example, a filled in box, a straight edge outline and a daisy pattern outline are juxtaposed on one page. The box at the bottom of the front cover is complicated. Times Roman, the typeface of authority,⁶²⁷ marks the conviction of the message and its educative power on the subject matter of "Two Women".⁶²⁸

⁶²⁵ Jobling and Crowley, *Graphic*, p. 129.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

⁶²⁷ Robertson, *Print*, pp. 23-24.

⁶²⁸ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover.

The design features construct a dynamic visual composition of diverse visual representations of co-operative woman to confront and engage with capitalist norms and expectations. From the point of view of magazine design, it inserts the body of co-operative woman into the capitalist consumer economy. Furthermore, the time, effort and cost involved in the complex composition of diverse typeface suggests that this complexity was by design intentional. It would have been far easier, quicker and cheaper for the print shop to use one or two typefaces across the front cover text. This aligns with William Bamford's discussion in the 1921 *Jubilee Souvenir* publication in which he highlighted the production of a 'high-class magazine', particularly how the visual aspects, involve artistic finishing.⁶²⁹

Annie Bamford Tomlinson, as editor, intentionally drew on recognised understandings of self-sufficiency, associated with the front cover image on the membership card of the WCG, to establish her strength as an advocate of co-operative self-help rather than individualist capitalist identity. Within, the magazine appealed to an already established collective identity of co-operative women across Britain, which acknowledged and promoted the historicity of WCG and co-operative affiliations:

It is a copy of the card of membership held by over 50,000 women co-operators who have banded themselves into a guild to work through co-operation for the welfare of the people, seeking freedom for their own progress, and the equal fellowship of men and women in the home, the store, the workshop, and the State.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁹ Bamford, *Our*, pp. 44-45.

⁶³⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

By highlighting the size of the membership and the fact that there was a 'guild', the editorial suggested there was an established network a community of '50,000 women co-operators' with which the magazine could identify and of which the reader could be part.

The image is complex, and what this line drawing might suggest about the representation of co-operative woman is examined further in Chapter Five. The front cover presents a dynamic relationship. The line drawing framed by three banners articulates the reach and purpose of the magazine. The banners act as visual counterparts, to suggest that whilst understandings of the WCG are significant to *Woman's Outlook* it is balanced within the wider aims and outlooks of co-operative woman. Keeping the emphasis on the inaugural edition the focus now turns to the magazine's back cover, to demonstrate the interconnected role of co-operative woman as set within the ecology of the movement.

Ecology of the Movement

Visual analysis of the advertisement on the back cover (Figure 21) demonstrates, amongst other things, some aspects of co-operative ecology. This image is set in a theatre and prominently positions a tall, elegant figure of co-operative woman standing in the wings of a stage. In a potential appeal to a broad membership, this cultural setting contrasts with the industrial working landscape of the front page (Figure 19) and is suggestive of the multiple identities of co-operative woman. This

co-operative woman wears luxurious elegant evening dress in contrast to the working dress displayed on the front cover. A fashionable headband inscribed with the word 'Pax' is worn over her short contemporary bob hairstyle, as such she is an allegorical figure of Peace.



Figure 21 *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Back cover

Unlike the woman on the front cover she is positioned in relation to co-operative man. She is the largest of the five figures and similar to the front cover, she is the only woman. Looking poignantly above their heads and beyond, she appears to aspire to a realm of co-operation and a peaceful new order. The embodiment of the wide reach of co-operative culture, available to all is located within the enriching setting of the theatre. The backdrop seems to imply various roles within this. The male figures of businessman in top and tails, director, carpenter, and stagehand implicate a range of classes – capitalist, bourgeois, artisan and labourer. Whilst the woman has the central role, she is an actor.

Co-operative man is also distinguished by his apparel yet in comparison, he is designate in four different economic situations. Each male figure wears clothing typically associated with the upper-class, and white and blue collar workers. The artisan is the largest and he is placed in a dominant position at the forefront of the picture and in contrast to the rest of the male figures he faces co-operative woman. As an allegorical figure in contemporary dress her gaze is distinct from the men, who look toward the stage, with the exception of the artisan/skilled worker who looks to the co-operative woman.

This positioning indicates a number of meanings. The size of the artisan in comparison to the rest of the men as the largest male figure suggests he has the principal and significant role in the production of co-operative goods. The symbiotic relationship between artisan and the co-operative woman is indicated by their visual

exchange. Indeed, as the main figure, she stands on the threshold of the stage, amongst the stage curtains and classical column. As a figure of Peace, the illustration foregrounds memories of the First World War and is suggestive of a further portal to aspiration, through the commercial success of the CWS which, as the gaze of the worker indicates, is in the hands, or purse of co-operative woman.

Above the figures the strap 'CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY LTD., uses a bold capitalised typeface to declare with confidence the role of the loyal co-operative woman, albeit in the role of the consumer who contributed to the 'Annual Trade: over £80,000,000, capable of increase by the loyalty of women co-operators'.⁶³¹ Placed between the office and factory worker in arts and craft typeface the slogan 'C.W.S. brings together producer and consumer' hints at the legacy of English socialism and the importance of craftsmanship. Its connotations of honesty, authenticity and quality in manufacture affirm the mutually beneficial ecology of production and consumption in co-operation.⁶³² Unambiguously, the back cover advertisement establishes features of co-operative ecology: the interdependent relationship of the producer, (worker) in this case - distinctively co-operative man, and the consumer - co-operative woman (Chapter Six). However, as we shall see the political and economic environment was hostile to the vision of co-operation.⁶³³

⁶³¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Back cover.

⁶³² *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Back cover.

⁶³³ P. Gurney, 'Co-operation and the "new consumerism" in Interwar England', *Business History*, Vol. 54, No. 6, (2012), pp. 905-924, 907-909.

Co-operative Party (1921)

'Which Side Are You On?'⁶³⁴



Figure 22 Co-operative Party, Which Side Are You On? CP. 37-413, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1921)

⁶³⁴ Co-operative Party, Which Side Are You On? CP. 37-413, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1921).

Despite the commitment to political neutrality articulated by the Pioneers, a sense of frustration emerged during the early twentieth century,⁶³⁵ as manifested in government decisions against co-operation during the First World War.⁶³⁶ The government's opposition to co-operation aimed to restrict the movement's economic growth by stipulating co-operative payment of the Excess Profits Tax. The movement had been exempted from this Tax, since its legislation in 1862, as a non-capitalist organisation.⁶³⁷ Consequently, a Labour Party which did not really serve co-operators needs saw the formation of the Co-operative Party. This was important for the movement 'as a means of either safeguarding itself or presenting its case in Parliament'⁶³⁸ by furthering its sense of self and identity. Figure 22 is a Co-operative Party leaflet published in 1921 which utilises contemporary propaganda and advertising techniques of binary contrasts to promote the Co-operative Commonwealth to present a distinct stance on co-operation.

Such co-operative party ephemera would appear to represent a typical off-the-peg artisanal leaflet, yet the graphic and ideological associations upon which it draws suggest complexity. Strategic use of graphic design unequivocally positions the features of individualist and co-operative economic approaches. The capitalised red large font banner heading invoked a warfare scenario to demand, 'Which Side Are

⁶³⁵ In May 1935 the *Wheatsheaf* article 'Through 25 Years: A "Wheatsheaf" Review' describes the myriad ways in which this opposition was affected. Documented in the *Wheatsheaf*, May 1910 it continued in 1935 in much the same way, "'It may be the refusal of a schoolroom or hall; it may be an excessive rating of new premises or a refusal to accept a new contract for bread; it may be private intimidation or organised boycott'", *Wheatsheaf* May 1935, p. 72.

⁶³⁶ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 20.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶³⁸ *Ourselves* May 1929, p. 1.

You On?'. This evokes recent memories of combat suggestive of the moral dilemma of the First World War. In this period most leaflets, posters and news boards were typographical and this leaflet resonates with poster production prior to and during the First World War.⁶³⁹ Visually distinctive, it communicates a purposeful, didactic stance in red and black ink.

Individualism and co-operation capitalised are positioned in opposition to each other by the text 'or' placed between the two to set the economic approaches in conflict with each other. The disadvantages of individualism and the merits of co-operation are compared and contrasted, listed and weighed up to assess the moral value of each. Drawing on John Ruskin the devastating aftermath of the metaphor 'War' is positioned with Individualism and assigned the outcome of 'death'. Peace is representative of the transformative consequence of co-operation. The capitalised slogan at the foot of the leaflet, 'If your Motto is "All FOR EACH AND EACH FOR ALL" Work and VOTE for THE CO - OPERATIVE PARTY', addresses the individual and embodies a bold pedagogic message about co-operation.⁶⁴⁰

Significantly co-operative woman and families are not visible in the call to unity and co-operative fellowship on this particular leaflet, although they are represented on

⁶³⁹ Imperial War Museum: Don't (1916) Art. IWM PST 10117 <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/29731> accessed 30102018; Imperial War Museum: A Reminder From France (1917) Art. IWM PST 13554 <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31573> accessed 30102018.

⁶⁴⁰ The leaflet was produced by the CU, based at Holyoake House in Manchester. It was printed in Birmingham by the Birmingham Printers Ltd., for the Co-operative Party located at 19 Buckingham Street, Strand, in London.

many Co-operative Party publications throughout the period.⁶⁴¹ For example, the Party leaflet 'To the Woman Voter' (1919) primarily depicting the relationship of co-operative woman and the home, demonstrated a radical proposal to 'help her as a Woman and a Citizen', and underpins the discussion in Chapter Five.⁶⁴² A commitment to progressive design continues across the period. Later on, in 1935, as is discussed in the following section, the *Wheatsheaf* emphasised a different aspect of the ecology of the movement by demonstrating a particularly distinctive construction of the important and interconnected roles of co-operative woman.

The *Wheatsheaf* (1935)

Co-operative Contrasts

In April 1935 the CWS published the *Wheatsheaf* with an accompanying four page 'Woman's Supplement' (Figures 23, 24), in a leading position directly after the first page. Graphic layout, fragmented design and content of the front (Figure 23) and

⁶⁴¹ For example, Co-operative Party, *Women Guardians Are Wanted*, C.P. 21-317, Political Leaflet No. 11, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919); Co-operative Party, *To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs*, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919); Co-operative Party, *Women Citizens Should Support the Co-operative Party*, 25 000, CP-31-592-921 (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1921); Co-operative Party, *House to Let. No Objection to Children*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1922); Co-operative Party, *Britain Reborn No. 1 Power and Fuel*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1931); Co-operative Party, *Britain Reborn No. 2 Transport*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1931); Co-operative Party, *Britain Reborn No. 3 The Countryside*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1931); Co-operative Party, *Britain Reborn No. 4 Buy British*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1931); Co-operative Party, *Britain Reborn No. 5 Men and Money*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1931); Co-operative Party, *Britain Reborn No. 6 Work for All*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1931); Co-operative Party, *Britain Reborn No. 7 Civic Ideals*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1932)

⁶⁴² Co-operative Party, *To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs*, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919), verso.

back covers (Figure 24) of the supplement, is comparable to the front cover of *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 19).

Taking advantage of technological advances in printing technology the supplement is a distinctly modern photomontage. Jonathan Woodham considers how the progressive use of photomontage and typography initiated by American publicity material of the Container Corporation of America in the 1930s, was influenced by the European avant-garde of the Bauhaus, the Weimar Republic and modernism.⁶⁴³ Equally, Russian foreign language publications of the period such as *USSR in Construction* (1930-41;1949),⁶⁴⁴ *Soviet Weekly* and picture monthly *Russia Today*,⁶⁴⁵ an English language publication produced by the Friends of the Soviet Union (FSU) in the 1930s, employed such strategies.

The supplement in word and picture acknowledges and shows awareness of the significance of co-operative woman and her distinct and diverse roles in post-Depression Britain. It attempts to propagandise understanding of co-operation, self - help and ultimately to promote a shared vision.

⁶⁴³ J. M. Woodham, *Twentieth Century Design*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 150.

⁶⁴⁴ H. Card, 'The Tate Modern's *USSR in Construction*', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol. 8, No. 1, (2007), pp. 149-152.

⁶⁴⁵ See Chapter Six.



Figure 23 Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Front cover

Similar to Figure 19, the *Wheatsheaf* supplement front cover (Figure 23) illustrates an awareness of the complex nature of co-operative woman's gender identity. Equally, it illustrates and exemplifies, as one of the many examples examined the

importance of pictures and their pedagogical and advocacy roles in the co-operative movement marketing and advertising strategies. Large point size font is used to identify and situate her in the home as a housewife, 'The woman member of the Co-operative Movement has a most important place...in her capacity of housewife'. The high standards of co-operative production in quality and design are 'for her' highlighted in relation to her aesthetic requirements as a co-operative consumer. Her multifaceted relationship to the movement is further entwined and politically underpinned, 'the woman co-operator is ensuring ever increasing co-operative employment under conditions which are universally recognised as ideal'.⁶⁴⁶

The *Wheatsheaf* supplement draws attention to the 'co-operative contrasts' within the movement with the three photographs printed on the front cover. Editorial discussion of the photographs, broadens engagement with the supplement. The commentary promotes a dialogue about who the everyday co-operative woman might be and geographically where she might be located; rural and urban, country and city, individually and collectively:

The charming picture of an aged member leaving a pretty country branch of the Banbury Society, and the striking view of Southport Society's emporium are contrasts in the many phases of service to be found in the co-operative movement.⁶⁴⁷

Attention then shifts to the role of the younger co-operative woman in the city and the co-operative movement in the hustle bustle of city life, 'The picture to the right

⁶⁴⁶ Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Front cover.

⁶⁴⁷ Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Front cover.

shows a woman traveller interested in one of the CWS showcases on a Manchester station'.⁶⁴⁸ Throughout the publications co-operative identity is visually opened up and connected to the public space.

The CWS mobilised public space to emphasise the ideals of the Co-operative Commonwealth, communal control and belief that the delivery of 'production, distribution and exchange' should be 'collectively owned'.⁶⁴⁹ An important issue for the CWS was how to foster employee understanding of how the co-operative structure functions in the public and private economy. Positioned prominently inside the supplement as the lead column the subject matter is opened up with the question, 'What is the C.W.S.?' Covering two thirds of the available column space it illuminates the complexities of the movement's structure whilst also taking the opportunity to illustrate the everyday aspirations of co-operative woman and how her gender identity functioned within it. The feature is contextualised using an appealing maternal analogy. A mother's explanation of the CWS to her daughter, and CWS employees, is usefully employed to elucidate the complex ecology and principles of the co-operative movement:

As Dad works at the C.W.S. and I am a member of the stores here, I am one of your father's employers! I tell him that. We members own our local society. In other places the local members own their societies. Each is master in its own district. But none of the societies can do business for the rest. Now many years ago all the local societies set up a wholesale society to buy and manufacture for all. So the retail societies are the parents (and shareholders) of the Co-operative Wholesale Society. That is why the retail society is *not* a

⁶⁴⁸ Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Front cover.

⁶⁴⁹ Cole, *Century*, p. 328.

branch of the C.W.S...through our retailers we own great warehouses...factories...farms and a mighty bank...since the co-operative societies have started they have distributed over four hundred million pounds in dividend...There are no individual members of the C.W.S. Only societies can be members...the Board of Directors who manage the C.W.S. business are selected from the members of our retail societies. You could be a director some day!⁶⁵⁰

The inclusion of this explanation in the supplement exemplifies the movement's complexity whilst it also functions as a clarification to a generation of new younger members. It shows the continuous ongoing crisis and politics of the movement, trying to engender understanding that membership is an individual choice. Co-operation is about the ecology of the individual and the collective. Individual choice enables collective mutual benefit.⁶⁵¹

'What About the Dividend?'⁶⁵²

The back cover of the supplement (Figure 24), is used to explain another complexity and topic of tension within the movement: the dividend. With a large banner heading prominently positioned at the top of the page, half a full page is devoted to the question, 'What About The Dividend?'. Eleanor Royce, the article's author, takes an inclusive and familiar approach in clarifying the meaning and role of the dividend, to the respectable working-class co-operative mother and wider members of the movement:

What do we co-operative members do with our dividend, that bonus which comes every quarter? Some of us joined the

⁶⁵⁰ Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Inside Front cover, *Ourselves* italics.

⁶⁵¹ Kumbhat, *Working*, p. 55.

⁶⁵² Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Back cover.

stores solely because of that dividend, and only learned of the great co-operative ideals later. The dividend gave us an opportunity to save much more than we could in any other way. When the dividend day comes round there is at last the chance to buy those new boots for quickly-growing feet, or a gym tunic and a regulation hat for the daughter who is going back to the secondary school: and back the money goes into the Stores' till only an hour after it was taken out'.⁶⁵³

A photograph of a young girl baking, placed centrally in the feature, emphasises the co-operative woman's gendered role. A key message of the article that 'As a housewife you have a very special power'⁶⁵⁴ highlights co-operative woman's financial and managerial acumen in balancing everyday responsibilities of family life and the potential of the dividend, to help her control these financial demands.

On the lower half of the page this innovative graphic design displays a self-consciously modern use of montage techniques to additionally illustrate how the CWS connects with the ideology of the Co-operative Commonwealth in a co-operative ecology of production, distribution and exchange. This montage indicates a clear aesthetic affiliation with advanced German design exemplified in the Weimar Republic. A montage of word and picture conveys the size and breadth of the CWS whilst simultaneously suggesting the multiple gendered identities of co-operative woman. This design feature represents her as worker and housewife. She is integral to the movement, delivering and consuming the 'services of 130 C.W.S. workshops, factories...to the housewife in the local society's store'⁶⁵⁵ and this role is examined further in a discussion of co-operative woman and work in Chapter Six.

⁶⁵³ Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Back cover.

⁶⁵⁴ Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Back cover.

⁶⁵⁵ Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Back cover.

WHAT ABOUT THE DIVIDEND?

By ELEANOR ROYCE

WHAT do we co-operative members do with our dividend, that bonus which comes every quarter?

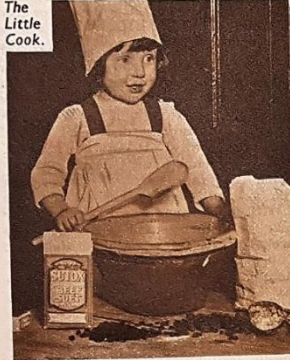
Some of us joined the stores solely because of that dividend, and only learned of the great co-operative ideals later. The dividend gave us an opportunity to save much more than we could in any other way. When the dividend day comes round there is at last the chance to buy those new boots for quickly-growing feet, or a gym. tunic and a regulation hat for the daughter who is going to the secondary school; and back the money goes into the Stores' till only an hour after it was taken out.

Girls sometimes can't very well take a job till the dividend gives them the money for the necessary outfit. Some women reckon on it helping to pay the gas or the water bill.

Some people can leave the money where it is for a while, and then buy a wireless set or a vacuum cleaner—or perhaps a baby's pram. Luckier folk leave the money to pile up, and make it an endowment for the children's education. And if the children get scholarships and it isn't used, the accumulated dividend might refurbish a house which those same children have worn out past all belief with their games and scrambles and jumping about.

In fact there is no end to the things one can do with it. I even heard once of some people who bought a new house out of their dividend. But it's no good ouilding castles in the air. I expect it will go on boots!

The Little Cook.



YOUR POWER

As a housewife you have a very special power. You certainly ought

to know of it, because all advertisers realised it long ago and most of the advertisements that cover the placards and almost fill our newspapers are intended to attract you.

You are the most important cog in the wheel of demand which turns the myriads of wheels of supply. You may increase your power and have the kind of influence in the world of industry that you desire to have by banding with other housewives whose ideals match your own.

Naturally you wish your family, and all families, to be sure of good food and clothing, and your home and those of your fellows to be comfortably furnished.

The principal need in the world of industry, as you realise, is that the terrible cloud of unemployment should be lifted and work found for the unwillingly idle.

When you are buying co-operatively you have the certain knowledge that your power counts in the right direction.

A Diamond Wedding

Thank you very much for your kind wishes and gift to us on the anniversary of our diamond wedding.

So began a letter from Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bush, pioneers of Luton Co-operative Society to their own organisation. They joined the society over 56 years ago, and have belonged to it nearly all their married life.

The services of 130 C.W.S. workshops, factories, and kitchens are at your call over the co-operative counter. Here we see C.W.S. women workers engraving cutlery, making silk stockings, designing Belmont gowns, filling cold cream tins, packing tomato sauce, and dealing with jam, salad dressing, and biscuits.

The centre picture shows the last stage of co-operative service to the housewife in the local society's store.



Figure 24 Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Back cover

Conclusion

This chapter has established an understanding of how the publications of the British co-operative movement expressed its ideology in the visual representation of the co-

operative woman and her significant and complex gender identity. These samples of co-operative print culture exemplify how specific use of typeface and image work both separately and in conjunction with each other.⁶⁵⁶ The considered use of typographical and graphic representations appealing to a shared perspective, develops Lisa Tickner's analysis of the strategic use of imagery in the suffrage campaign to hold 'up a mirror that invited identification and offered reassurance, both to potential converts and suffragists themselves'.⁶⁵⁷ Likewise, Laurel Brake, Bill Bell and David Finkelstein's understanding of the nineteenth century reader can also be utilised in relation to the interwar reader of co-operative publications, when considering the specific editorial use of typography, whereby 'The regular engagement with an individual periodical...made the...reader part of a clearly definable, and defining, textual community with its own ideologies, social aspirations and cultural assumptions'.⁶⁵⁸

The movement's publications responded to the context in which they were produced through popular and commercial realist narrative styles and the rhetoric of advertising. The nature of the co-operative movement was such that individual and plural interpretations of its ideology were encouraged. The publications visually documented the endeavours of societies and represented the everyday lives of co-operators. They illustrated co-operative woman and diverse social, political,

⁶⁵⁶ Mitchell, *Picture*, p. 4.

⁶⁵⁷ Tickner, *Spectacle*, p. 151.

⁶⁵⁸ L. Brake, B. Bell and D. Finkelstein, 'Introduction', in L. Brake, B. Bell and D. Finkelstein, (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 1-7, 3.

economic and pedagogical, productive and consumer undertakings to suggest a picture of the vibrancy of the co-operative movement.

Looking at the publications we can see how the movement adopted fashionable and marketable realist narrative styles and the rhetoric of retail and how a visual identity emerged from its progressive ideology. Depictions were often not directly propagandist but were subject to the demands of the market and the co-operative desire to simultaneously propagandise the new, to attract and paradoxically conform.

The analysis of word and image on the printed page establishes how these co-operative publications sought to create dialogue. Through the magazine, dialogic spaces⁶⁵⁹ produced in the context of a changing topography offered opportunities for the construction of fluid gender identities. Retaining an emphasis on the analysis of imagery, typography and text in *Woman's Outlook*, Chapter Five turns to examine how co-operative woman's gender identity was represented in the context of the private space of home, so important to the social and political agenda of the movement and society.

⁶⁵⁹ Giles, *Women*, pp. 165–166.

Chapter Five: The Visual Culture of Co-operative Woman and the Home

This chapter focuses on *Woman's Outlook* to expand the complex construction of co-operative woman's gender identity established in Chapter Four. Analysis of typography, strap lines, advertisements, line drawing, illustration, allegory and photography explores her relationship with the home in comparison to the *Wheatsheaf*, *Ourselves*, *Herald*, and with *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly*. To do this, the chapter considers the Co-operative Party leaflet, published in 1919 (Figures 27, 28), which is important because it advocated a radical social programme defining the co-operative woman's domestic life. It conveyed co-operative ideology and represents the hopes and aims of the journal. Like the Co-operative Party leaflet, the first edition of *Woman's Outlook*, published in November 1919, addressed the newly enfranchised woman, 'seeking freedom for their own progress, and the equal fellowship of men and women in the home, the store, the workshop, and the State', and whose transition into political space was signalled through advertising, features and fiction (Figures 25, 26, 29-32).⁶⁶⁰ The magazine drew on the classical practice of 'allegorical figures', for example, of Peace and Freedom (Figure 29), whilst also employing modernism, utilising the conventional and the progressive⁶⁶¹ to represent and construct the co-operative woman as mother and housewife.

⁶⁶⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover, pp. 1-2, 16, 18, 22-23, 25.

⁶⁶¹ Aulich, 'Advertising and the Public in Britain during the First World War', in D. Welch and J. Fox, (eds.), *Justifying War: Propaganda, Politics and the Modern Age*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 118-119.

The chapter re-visits the inaugural 1919 edition of *Woman's Outlook* examined in Chapter Four and develops an in-depth analysis of depictions in this issue as compared with the Co-operative Party leaflet published in 1919. The inaugural issue of *Woman's Outlook* offers a benchmark against which to explore how co-operative woman's role as mother and her duties in the home, as portrayed in the Party leaflet, changed over the interwar period and demonstrates that *Woman's Outlook* was significantly different, in its emphasis on the home, from the other co-operative publications, and in comparison, to *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly*.

Her domestic life was a dominant topic amongst a number of themes, including the importance of child health and the value of time for the mother (Figure 25).⁶⁶² Portrayals of the co-operative woman simultaneously featured her as housewife and consumer (Figure 49). The chapter shows how depictions of the co-operative housewife and housework fused Taylorist ideas of efficient labour-saving approaches⁶⁶³ with co-operative values. In connecting her with the recurring motifs of peace (Figures 21, 29, 49) and internationalism (Figures 57, 58), the magazine promoted her emancipation through the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. In this way, *Woman's Outlook* mobilised 'tradition and innovation'⁶⁶⁴ portraying the co-operative woman in different ways to entwine this

⁶⁶² *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 7.

⁶⁶³ Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, p. 120; D. Sugg Ryan, *Ideal Homes, 1918-39: Domestic Design and Suburban Modernism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), pp. 93, 101-134; J. Hollows, *Domestic Cultures*, (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2008), pp. 24-31; Giles, *Parlour*, pp. 9, 20, 109-110.

⁶⁶⁴ Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, pp. 107-109.


domesticated manifestation with the movement's ethos of self-help, democracy and its relationship with capitalism.

WOMAN'S OUTLOOK.

12

Boon for Mother.

A Jumper for Baby: Easy to Make.



JUMPERS have come to stay! And for small babies nothing can surpass them. The back and chest are well protected from exposure. They are easy to make, and quite inexpensive. They require no laundering. Here is a specially sweet one.

Materials required: Three ounces of 3 ply wool, white; a pair of bone needles suitable to the wool, size 9 will do. Cast on 84 stitches.

Knit 4, purl 4, to the end of the row. Do this four times.

Purl 4, knit 4, to the end of the row. Do this four times.

Repeat these four rows alternately. This produces a pretty pattern of squares.

Sixty rows is a nice length.

For the sleeves, cast on 56 stitches.

Knit 4, purl 4 on these 56 plus 28 already on the needle.

The remaining stitches can either be slipped on to another needle, or remain where they are.

Form the squares, as before, until 48 rows are completed.

Cast off the 56 stitches loosely.

The 84 stitches still remain.

Slip the 28 stitches that have been used for the sleeve on to another needle. Cast off 24 for the neck.

This leaves 28 for the next sleeve. Cast on 56 stitches, and proceed for the sleeve as before.

When 48 rows are complete, cast off the 56.

To the 28 cast on 24 stitches for the back of the neck;

slip the remaining 28 on to the needle, and again there are 84 stitches.

Commence the back; knit 4, purl 4, for four rows.

For plainer, nothing can be better than lusted wooden buckles and tanks. Bunny, too, is comfortably dressed in the same kind of attire.

necessary. Many women prefer to "make up" their own pattern for the bodice.

MAKING UP THE JUMPER

The side are best made by using a crochet needle. A dainty little finish for the neck and sleeves is easily crocheted. Instead of finishing the neck with ribbons, a thick crocheted chain is much more satisfactory. Complete this with a tassel, and the jumper looks very attractive. This is a suitable size for a six-months-old infant.

The Spring of Apples

APPLES are cheap. They are excellent for food. Grow them should this autumn. Lay them out on a dry floor, and separate from the stalk. Let them stay for three or four weeks. Carefully examine them, and remove all damaged ones. The remaining may then be finally stored. They are best placed in bags with straw between them. They should be taken that no mold reaches them.

TINCTURE OF MYRRH AND BORAGE is a splendid remedy for barbers' sore gums with it helps to harden, as well as soothe them.

WOMAN'S OUTLOOK.

13

Thoughts on our "Outlook" Birthday

By ELEANOR MARSHALL.

Two Years Old This Month.

Birthdays are mother days. In these they are memory days. Over the years that are past, mother strongly persists. To her they are always a remembering of the very best of her days. Yet she knows the days of all others are present days. They are real "giving" days. With love, devotion, and faith the mothers present their little offerings—small, perhaps, in size, but big and rich in affection and confidence that her child possession is a lovely asset to a lovely country.

But birthdays are resolution days, too. They are days of heartfelt determination to conquer. Difficulties may lurk round the corner, but they are conquerable on birthdays. The path ahead may be dark and uncertain, but renewed hope is born every birthday. It is born because all around is love and sweetness and strength. With these three "all things are possible."

Before them darkness and doubt and fear all perish.

And so our little "Outlook" is having its birthday, too. Our thoughts return to its happy inception two years ago. Full of hope and rich with promise it came. To-day it travels thousands and thousands of miles to as many mothers. With temerity and shaking it was lovingly sent out to bear its message of hope, sweetness, and strength to all the world. "It came, it saw, it conquered." And now, two years old only, it stretches out its strong little hands for still further achievements. Many times it has comforted and cheered perplexed souls. Scores of times it has brought fun and frolic to the wee children of our wonderful movement. It has taught us to rejoice with those who do rejoice, and to weep with those who weep. To it we owe our heartfelt gratitude, and we wish it, and our Editor, many, many happy returns of a great birthday. Its aim is boundless. For a free, happy community in a Co-operative Commonwealth it stands. It shares all our sorrows, and it shares our joys. Before it darkness must flee. It was conceived in co-operative love. Its fashioning month by month has also been by love. Its birthday is indeed a memory day. It is helping to build a land of permanent sunshine for the little ones who now play in the crowded streets of big cities, where sunshine rarely penetrates.

IN LOOKING FORWARD OR LOOKING BACK, REMEMBER ALWAYS THE BEST IS YET TO BE.




Figure 25 Boon for Mother/ Two Years Old This Month, *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, pp. 12-13

'In looking forward or back remember always the best is yet to be'

In November 1921 *Woman's Outlook* celebrated its second birthday with the photograph above depicting a sculpture of a woman with a young child (Figure 25), suggesting timelessness and universal values. The caption 'In looking forward or looking back, remember always the best is yet to be' continued the message of hope established in the inaugural edition (Figure 26).⁶⁶⁵ The dictum, expressing

⁶⁶⁵ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover, pp. 1-2.

transformation, through the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, encouraged the mother and reader to look forward, 'to build a land of permanent sunshine for the little ones'.⁶⁶⁶ *Woman's Outlook* combined the image of the mother with the political rhetoric of a higher purpose (Figure 25), in a way which resonated with the co-operative ideology of 'a free happy community in a Co-operative Commonwealth' conceived and fashioned in love.⁶⁶⁷

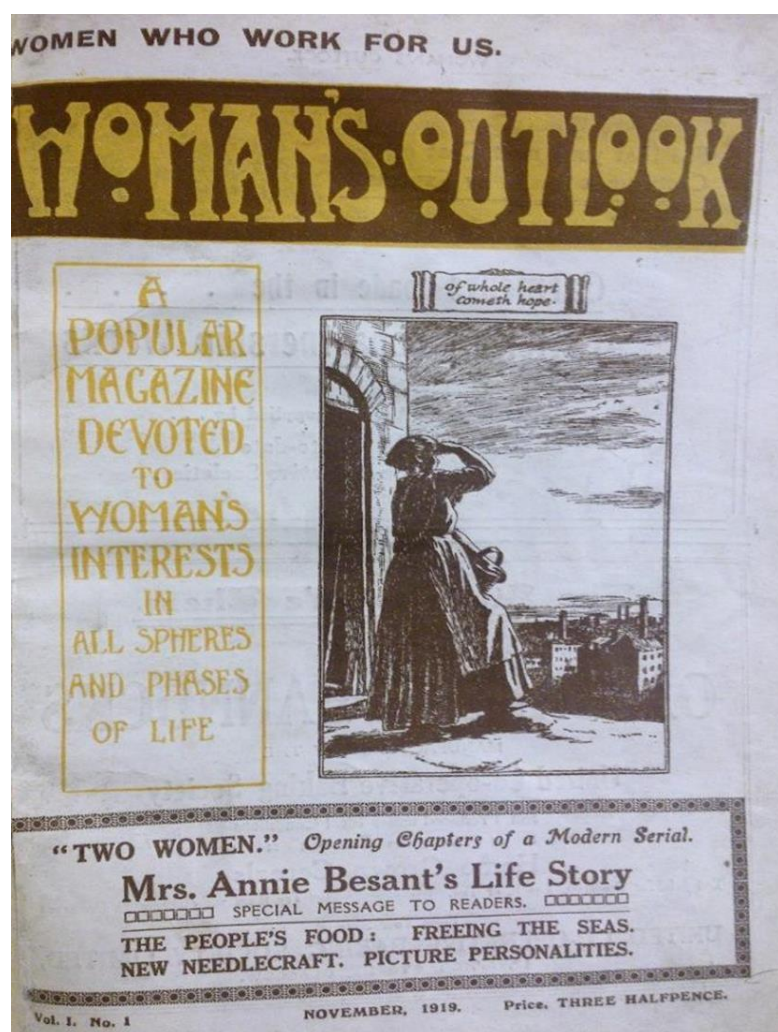


Figure 26 *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover

⁶⁶⁶ *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 13.

⁶⁶⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 13.

The photograph of the sculpture, aspirational and classical, (Figure 25) is opposite a full page knitting pattern feature. Both page titles employ arts and craft style lettering, signalling values of artisanship and craft. The double page spread appealed to contemporary feminine aspirations. The knitting pattern, entitled 'Boon for Mother A jumper for baby: Easy to Make' firmly placed the co-operative woman in the home in the traditional role of mother, as also expressed in the sculpture. The photographs of the young children on the knitting pattern page are suggestive of domesticity. Yet, the familial photographs on the left-hand page break the limitations of the physical frame and cross the hegemonic boundaries of home life to merge the domestic with the public and political space, reflected in the photograph of the sculpture. Whereas Fiona Hackney emphasises the home 'as a counter public sphere'⁶⁶⁸ *Woman's Outlook* constructed home as a fluid space; it was not in binary to the public sphere and was politicised in the co-operative rhetoric.

Socially and politically important,⁶⁶⁹ 'the home and the domestic were at the centre of national culture'.⁶⁷⁰ The home remained the central site to *Woman's Outlook* and

⁶⁶⁸ Fiona Hackney's study of four commercial magazines identifies the periodical as a forum for discussion, 'The editor represented the periodical as a bridge connecting political, cultural and domestic concerns. The "real home" became a place in which informed opinion was exchanged; a counter public sphere with the housewife at its heart'. Hackney, "They", Chapter One; For a nuanced discussion of the 'counter public' sphere see DiCenzo et al, *Feminist*, pp. 21-35.

⁶⁶⁹ A. Light, *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism Between the Wars* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 7-11.

⁶⁷⁰ Giles, *Parlour*, p. 12; Nicola Wilson discusses the importance of the home in working-class fiction, to a contemporary understanding of British working-class culture, identity and gender, in N. Wilson, *Home in British Working Class Fiction*, (Ashgate: Farnham, 2015), pp. 1, 7-8; The political pamphlet *The Working Woman's House*, in 1919, politicised the housing needs of the working woman. Authored by Averil Sanderson Furniss, Secretary of the Women's Housing Committee of the Labour Party and member of the Housing Council of the Ministry of Health, and Marion Phillips (Chief Woman Officer of the Labour Party, it declared, that she, 'wants her house to be fit for a hero to live in, but she also wants to free herself from some of that continuous toil which is the result of the bad housing conditions of the past, and has prevented her from taking her full share of work as a citizen,

to the co-operative movement. For example, the November 1919 edition of the *Wheatsheaf*, describing the purpose of co-operative societies, as primarily domestic, cautioned its readers 'Whilst going into public life, societies are not neglecting their first domestic function'.⁶⁷¹

The identity of the co-operative woman was constructed as a fluid continuum which responded to the different needs of the ecology of the movement. In Figure 27, the large bold masthead, positioned at the top of the Co-operative Party leaflet, (1919) addressed co-operative woman directly: 'To the Woman Voter'. The large lettering, placed beneath the masthead, proclaimed 'Every Woman Knows' and identified her everyday needs as a mother. This assertion of her maternal role as part of the 'politics of everyday life' suggests an intention to try to improve the life of co-operative woman and her family.⁶⁷² The leaflet drew on the ideals of – 'Pure Milk', 'a Clean & Comfortable House', to be 'Healthy', 'Happy' and 'Learn' in the new social environment. Beyond the home, it offered 'Warm & Pleasant Schools and Well-Educated Teachers'. 'What every Woman Wants' became politicised with 'the children' as her foremost responsibility. The caption 'For Herself', marked her in the role of the housewife engaged in the domestic activities of cleaning and looking after the home:

What every Woman Wants

wife and mother', see K. Cowman, "'From the Housewife's Point of View": Female Citizenship and the Gendered Domestic Interior in Post-First World War Britain, 1918–1928', *English Historical Review*, Vol. CXXX, No. 543, (2015), pp. 352–383, 352, citing A.D. Sanderson Furniss and M. Phillips, *The Working Woman's House*, (London: Swarthmore Press Ltd., 1919), p. 9.

⁶⁷¹ *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, p. 65.

⁶⁷² Savage and Miles, *Remaking*, pp. 19–20.

FOR THE CHILDREN IS The Right to HEALTH & SLEEP, PLAY & EDUCATION;
For Herself: Relief from the endless toil of house-cleaning and home-keeping.⁶⁷³



Figure 27 Co-operative Party, To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919), recto

⁶⁷³ Co-operative Party, To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919), recto.

How can the Local Council help a Woman to get what she wants?

IT CAN HELP HER

- By arranging for a supply of pure, cheap milk;
- By carrying out the Acts of Parliament which authorise the building of houses for working people at a reasonable rent;
- By providing Parks and Playgrounds, instead of saving halfpennies on the rates; and
- By making the Elementary Schools fit for the children of either rich or poor.

It can help her as a Woman and as a Citizen

- By establishing Nursery Schools and Kindergartens intended to relieve the overworked and tired mother;
- By setting up Schools for Mothers, in EVERY DISTRICT, intended to help those with delicate babies.
- By setting up Distributive Kitchens where cheap and wholesome meals may be had, so saving cooking on busy days;
- By providing Public Wash-houses with vans to take the washing to and from the laundry. Machines should do the dollying and mangling, **NOT WOMEN.**

Local Councils can do all these things

If you elect the right people.

Use your vote to benefit *YOURSELF* and *THE COMMUNITY* BY VOTING FOR THE

:: Co-operative Candidate ::

who knows the *NEEDS* of the Working People

Figure 28 Co-operative Party, To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919), verso

Overleaf, the typographical design (Figure 28), demonstrates a radical proposal to 'help her as a Woman and as a Citizen'.⁶⁷⁴ The Co-operative Party, advanced the

⁶⁷⁴ Co-operative Party, To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919), verso.

comprehensive social programme of quality child and maternal health, education, leisure and housing. This ideology played a part in politicising the pictures of domestic spaces of *Woman's Outlook* to establish a marketing strategy where 'life will be better, fairer, and fuller for all' within the Co-operative Commonwealth.⁶⁷⁵ Indeed, the leaflet predates the Children's Charter, published on the front cover of *Labour Woman* in December 1937 where 'Labour Women demand the Right to Health and Happiness for every Child'.⁶⁷⁶ It demonstrates that the Co-operative Party understood that a large proportion of the newly enfranchised in 1918 were housewives, and played on the social and political significance of this to the movement and how it would be mobilised. The declaration on the verso of the 1919 Co-operative Party leaflet, revealed the importance of cleanliness to the 'Happy' and 'Healthy' home, as not only the traditional responsibility of women, but one which should be made efficient and less labour-intensive: 'By providing Public Wash-houses with vans to take the washing to and from the laundry. Machines should do the dollying and mangling. NOT WOMEN'.⁶⁷⁷

Aware of the political tensions within the movement, the *Wheatsheaf*, in November 1919, proposed a variety of everyday circumstances to suggest when and where co-operative woman might like to read *Woman's Outlook*:

⁶⁷⁵ Co-operative Party, *Women Citizen's Should Support the Co-operative Party*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1921, 1926).

⁶⁷⁶ *Labour Woman* December 1937, Front cover.

⁶⁷⁷ Co-operative Party, *To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs*, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919), verso.

The size of the magazine is such that it can be carried in the ordinary handbag to be taken out in the train, in the tram, in the home, or whilst waiting in the shop.⁶⁷⁸

Although *Woman's Outlook* was a co-operative publication published by the NCPS, it had relative autonomy. Described in the *Wheatsheaf* in 1919 as 'democratic journalism',⁶⁷⁹ the self-governing approach employed by *Woman's Outlook* was important in the movement's commitment to democracy and education for citizenship. The visual qualities of image and text mark *Woman's Outlook* as unique within the co-operative publication portfolio at this time. Rachel Ritchie, the only historian to examine the home in *Woman's Outlook*, in analysing the design and relationship of image and text,⁶⁸⁰ highlights the distinctiveness of co-operative identity and how it has not been analysed to its full extent.⁶⁸¹

Woman's Outlook demonstrates what has been largely ignored in historical studies of the first half of the twentieth century: the significance of co-operative woman and her relationship with the home, beyond membership of the WCG. The home has played a part in co-operative historical accounts, local histories and studies from the local co-operative societies. Analysis of *Woman's Outlook*, however, contributes to and complicates previous studies of gender in the co-operative movement, offering an alternative interpretation to those derived from the analysis of the organisation of the WCG. Examination of the co-operative woman as mother and housewife adds complexity to the dynamic debates surrounding the return to domesticity, discussed

⁶⁷⁸ *Herald* November 1919, p. 169.

⁶⁷⁹ *Herald* November 1919, p. 169.

⁶⁸⁰ Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 36.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

in Chapters Two and Three. For example, Martin Pugh argues that traditional assumptions of identity and roles of motherhood and the housewife were reinforced in interwar Britain.⁶⁸² As the mother, she was responsible for the everyday household tasks and responsibilities of caring and nurturing children, family health, cooking, relationships and marriage. As the housewife she was responsible for efficiency and cleanliness in the home.

As we shall see, *Woman's Outlook* mobilised an assortment of design features commonly used commercially as a marketing strategy⁶⁸³ to engage audiences in a dialogue. Illustration, which appeared more regularly from the early nineteenth century promoted reflection and aspiration.⁶⁸⁴ Realist forms corresponding to descriptive text projected dialogue and suggested trustworthiness.⁶⁸⁵ Even if not politically enfranchised, the magazine offered the co-operative woman the opportunity to find representation⁶⁸⁶ in her everyday life, where she was 'enfranchised through the act of purchase'.⁶⁸⁷ In this way, the movement supported the emancipation of women through social progress and self-improvement.

During the First World War advertising tied together corporate and government activity.⁶⁸⁸ The need to reach the wider populace saw advertisements picture the

⁶⁸² Pugh, *Women*, pp. 66-70.

⁶⁸³ Kelley, 'All-Conquering' p. 85.

⁶⁸⁴ J. Aulich, 'Advertising', pp. 109-128, 120.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁶ Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, p. 107.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁶⁸⁸ Aulich, 'Advertising', p. 109.

people back to themselves, giving them a visual representation in the public discourse, before they had achieved political representation.⁶⁸⁹ Articles and advertisements, became an indicator of 'democratic life'. Charles Frederick Higham, one of the first 'advertising "men"'⁶⁹⁰ in Britain during the First World War advanced the cause of advertising in relation to education and self-development. The co-operative publications through the visual, mobilising this form of democracy constructed the identity of the individual.⁶⁹¹ Offering self-identification, worth and independence associated with the movement it marked the co-operative woman as a visible participant in the public dialogue.⁶⁹²

Mirroring the patriotic drive undertaken by advertisers and the government during the First World War the movement employed 'pageant, concerts, public meetings, the press, pamphlets and advertising'. Similarly, practicing 'repetition, imitation, affirmation'⁶⁹³ the movement's facility for 'production, reproduction and recognition of identity'⁶⁹⁴ promised social progress by forming a dialogue with its audiences. Aiming at those 'who had no investment in the traditional orders',⁶⁹⁵ it challenged hegemonic dialogues of gender and capitalism.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁸⁹ Aulich, 'Advertising', pp. 110, 114-115; Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, pp. 107, 119.

⁶⁹⁰ Aulich, 'Advertising', p. 120.

⁶⁹¹ Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, p. 113.

⁶⁹² Aulich, 'Advertising', pp. 109-115; Jim Aulich and John Hewitt highlight how Richard S. Lambert argued that advertising activated techniques of propaganda and this aspect of the visual is addressed in Chapter Six in the context of co-operative woman and work, Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, p. 112.

⁶⁹³ Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, pp. 107-109.

⁶⁹⁴ Aulich, 'Advertising', p. 110.

⁶⁹⁵ Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, p. 107.

⁶⁹⁶ Aulich, 'Advertising', p. 113.

Offering self-recognition, the visual constructed new ways of seeing.⁶⁹⁷ *Woman's Outlook* by presenting different representations to co-operative woman suggested nuanced and complex roles and identities. Judith Butler offers a distinct way of thinking about *Woman's Outlook* which suggests that the repetitive representation of acts tendered opportunities for transformation.⁶⁹⁸ This chapter argues that a focus on politicised depictions of the home relocates conversations and tensions surrounding the distinction of roles. Fused, identities form a political continuum to connect the private and the public space. This emphasis contrasts with Ritchie's consideration of binary distinction, in which she views the tensions of 'belonging/exclusion, rural/urban, older/younger, working-class/middle-class, old/new, professional/amateur, expert/not expert, collective/individual, work/leisure and consumer/producer', as 'different aspects of the same phenomenon'.⁶⁹⁹ This chapter's analysis adds new layers to Judy Giles's stance that 'Domesticity, the home, housework and 'private' life shaped the day-to-day existence of most women'.⁷⁰⁰ Reader responses to the visual must be acknowledged but that is a complex matter which warrants further attention, as the introduction to the project suggests.⁷⁰¹ As Ritchie notes, Ballaster et al highlight the importance of considering both 'the reader constructed in and by the text (the *implied* reader) and the actual historical reader'⁷⁰² to which we might add the relationship engendered by the

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁶⁹⁸ Butler, *Gender*, pp. xv, 8, 45, 191-192.

⁶⁹⁹ Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 30.

⁷⁰⁰ Giles, *Women*, p. 1.

⁷⁰¹ Aulich, 'Advertising', p. 110.

⁷⁰² Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 35; Ballaster et al, *Women's*, pp. 2, 4, 9, 24-25, 153, Ballaster et al italics.

picture, as the 'ideal reader implied by the magazine's contents'.⁷⁰³ For example, as we have seen in Figure 26, the visuality of the front cover together with the editorial of the inaugural 1919 issue of *Woman's Outlook* (Chapter Four), offer a sense of the complexity of how the periodical perceived who the implied reader might be in its construction of co-operative woman as 'the working woman in the home, the working girl in the factory and in the stores'.⁷⁰⁴

Home, central to the co-operative movement, was a consistent theme throughout *Woman's Outlook*. Articles offered an opportunity for a break from the day's domestic work; possibly they were intended as aspirational and to appeal to a cross-class dimension of readership. Broadening the argument, the next section illustrates the different ways in which the inaugural edition addressed the topics of hope, freedom and equal fellowship in relation to co-operative woman, the home and the wider world.

***Woman's Outlook* 1919: Of Whole Heart Cometh Hope**

It is often difficult to know what went on in the home.⁷⁰⁵ Margaret Llewelyn Davies, in her 1915 publication *Maternity Letters from Working Women*, highlighted how the needs of the married woman and the mother, 'hidden behind the curtain which falls

⁷⁰³ R. Scholes and C. Wulfman, *Modernism in the Magazines: An Introduction*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 144-147.

⁷⁰⁴ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁷⁰⁵ A. Blunt and E. John, 'Domestic Practice in the Past', *Home Cultures*, Vol. 11, No.3, (2014), pp. 269-274'

after marriage', had been politically marginalised.⁷⁰⁶ Addressing 'the gulf between rich and poor', she debated the needs of the co-operative woman as mother and citizen and her relationship with the State:

The State has first to realise that if it wants citizens, and healthy citizens, it must make it possible for men and women to have families while living a full life themselves and giving a full life to their children.⁷⁰⁷

Words and pictures in the co-operative publication presented the ideal and everyday realities of the co-operative woman. *Woman's Outlook* positioned her inside and outside the home space, framed in the context of 'welfare of the people' and 'freedom for their own progress'.⁷⁰⁸ A steady array of domestic depictions suggests an adaptable and active role in the private and public discourse.⁷⁰⁹

Hope

The co-operative home features strongly on the inaugural front cover and in the content of *Woman's Outlook*. The picture chosen for the membership card of the WCG, used as the front cover image (Figure 26), was motivated by Margaret Llewelyn Davies's perception of the working-class co-operative woman member as 'lonely and cramped': she needed the liberation offered by the basket and the WCG.⁷¹⁰ The editorial of November 1921 empowered her as the consumer: 'Under co-operation woman's function as the buyer is of such supreme importance that she may be said

⁷⁰⁶ Davies, 'Introduction', pp. 8-9.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷⁰⁸ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁷⁰⁹ Massey, *Space*, p. 8.

⁷¹⁰ Davies, *Woman*, npn.

to be the cornerstone of the Co-operative Commonwealth'. Each co-operative produced pair of boots and piece of soap she purchased helped 'to break down capitalism and build up co-operation' enabling her to take 'her part in forwarding the emancipation of the workers and the peace of the world'.⁷¹¹ The basket simultaneously represented, however, her limited role as a consumer.⁷¹²

Detailed re-examination of the 'The Woman with the Basket' (Figure 26) in conjunction with the inaugural editorial analysis and interpretation of the picture, in relation to the home, demonstrates a fluid and multifaceted identity, which reaches beyond the concerns and audience of the WCG. *Woman's Outlook* is self-conscious about its political message. Revealing a complexity of issues, the editorial choice of imagery and text supports their ideological viewpoint. Imagery plays an important part in communicating the magazine's political purpose. A critical analysis of the relationship between the front cover and the editorial offers insight into what the editors appeared to have thought, the motivations behind the magazine and their understanding of the relationship of co-operative woman, her gender identity and the home.

In the picture, 'The Woman with the Basket', co-operative woman is not directly in the public sphere (Figure 26). Positioned in the liminal space, with the basket instrumental in her self-identity, *Woman's Outlook* suggests she has agency to make

⁷¹¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 2.

⁷¹² Bradbury, 'Woman's', pp. 423-424.

choices. Yet, Barbara Blaszak comments, in her study of the period 1883-1921, that in reality women were restricted by their economic position, 'either unable or reluctant to use what the Guild referred to as their "basket power" to demand a voice or place beyond that which was permitted them'.⁷¹³ In a discussion of the experiences of women and the home front in Britain, Maggie Andrews and Janis Lomas suggest a useful appraisal of Arthur Marwick's frequently cited 'myth' that 'women's participation in the workforce in the First World War and the Second World War...led to greater emancipation for women'.⁷¹⁴ Despite the opportunities offered by the experience of war to foster fresh skills and outlooks, ultimately, 'domesticity expanded and was reworked...and did little to fundamentally challenge gender roles or the status of women'.⁷¹⁵ More often, the experience of women was predominantly shaped by position and capital.⁷¹⁶

Consequently, the image of 'The Woman with the Basket' is ambiguous. A long handled brush, just inside the doorway suggests the woman is taking a momentary respite from her domestic work in the home. The magazine's editorial shows its awareness of the power and potential limits of the visual and the need to anchor its meaning in text by presenting its own analysis of the co-operative home to the reader:

in these homes there are women standing as the woman in
the picture stands, looking from the door of a well-ordered,

⁷¹³ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, p. 87.

⁷¹⁴ M. Andrews and J. Lomas, 'Introduction', in Andrews and Lomas, (eds.), *Home*, pp. 1-5, 2.

⁷¹⁵ M. Andrews and L. Byron, 'Ideas and Ideals of Domesticity and the Home in the First World War', in Andrews and Lomas, (eds.), *Home*, pp. 6-20, 17.

⁷¹⁶ E. King and M. Andrews, 'Second World War Rationing: Creativity and Buying to Last', in Andrews and Lomas, (eds.), *Home*, pp. 185-200.

domestic life out upon the industrial world teeming with activity – the world of real life, of productivity and service on which the whole social organisation of humanity rests.⁷¹⁷

The editorial attempts to enhance the reader's understanding of the picture. Placing the woman materially next to 'a well-ordered, domestic life' the image reflects a particular notion of respectability, demonstrating an assumption about the co-operative woman. From her dress it is clear she is a working-class woman (see Chapter Four), although as Elizabeth Roberts observes, this is difficult to define. In this context, Roberts's interpretation is employed, as those who labour with their hands, are employees and often poor with few consumer goods.⁷¹⁸ Co-operative woman, as depicted here, is on the brink of 'the world of real life, of productivity', her domestic space situated in a dichotomous position to the world of work, 'the world of real life'.⁷¹⁹

The domestic world of 'The Woman with the Basket' image is ordered and elevated; the co-operative woman is looking out wholeheartedly upon the world of work, presented as a dynamic realm of possibility. The domestic is prioritised but the picture suggests it is possible to go beyond that threshold and liminal space. Facing toward the industrial landscape, her back turned to the home places the reader in the position of the woman. This is suggestive of the co-operative vision explored in

⁷¹⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁷¹⁸ Roberts, *Woman's*, p. 3.

⁷¹⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

Chapter Three and Four – the literal vision, and the abstract one of future possibilities - both outward and inward.⁷²⁰

The editorial suggests intellectual curiosity. Co-operative woman is, 'Looking out with an earnest desire to understand her part in the scheme of things, for she sees not only the factory chimneys, but the glory of the skies'.⁷²¹ Her right hand, placed to her brow, aids her scrutiny as she looked onto and beyond the busy everyday industrial landscape. The image evokes a domestic variation of hope and freedom discussed in Melanie Tebbutt's work on masculinity and landscape.⁷²² The co-operative woman is searching for her purpose beyond that of the everyday.

Woman's Outlook was an ally of women 'an eagerly expected friend' and 'for whom the working woman in the home...has been looking out for quite a while'. The editorial extended her identity to the role of 'the working girl in the factory and in the stores'.⁷²³ However, it also reinforced woman's place in the home by locating her in the space of the kitchen to 'make ourselves instantly at home, and quickly find a recognised niche upon the kitchen table'.⁷²⁴ For Judy Giles, the images of "housekeeping" propagated in commercial magazines such as *Woman's Weekly* functioned to connect women 'tightly to the home and their role therein as domestic managers (housewives)' and to 'construct the housewife as an homogenous

⁷²⁰ Webb, *Woman*, p. 40.

⁷²¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, pp. 1-2.

⁷²² M. Tebbutt, 'Rambling and Manly Identity in Derbyshire's Dark Peak, 1880s-1920s', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 4, (2006), pp. 1125-1153.

⁷²³ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁷²⁴ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

figure'.⁷²⁵ In contrast, the inaugural editorial utilises the same physical picture of the membership card of the WCG, exemplified by this front cover, as it was iconic and significant on a national scale to co-operative women. The editors use the power this image has in these women's lives, – to focus their hopes and fears, (Chapter Four), engendering images in the mind.⁷²⁶ This picture 'hangs in thousands of homes throughout the length and breadth of the country'; it was visible in their everyday lives and used on the front cover it offered something more nuanced, it was a reminder to the broader possibilities open to co-operative women.⁷²⁷

The editorial in this first edition of *Woman's Outlook* shapes the domestic space in which co-operative woman can return from the public landscape, rejuvenated and re-energised, 'And the well ordering of her home life, hints of value in economising labour, preserving health, and bringing bright thoughts and happiness into the home'.⁷²⁸ To support their aim 'to assist her in her outlook upon industrial and social questions',⁷²⁹ the editorial offered choice through a variety of areas it hoped to cover in future editions, including 'things of beauty for the homes, and the personal adornment of our readers' constructing the reader as a consumer.⁷³⁰

As can be seen from the layout (Figures 25, 26, 29-32) the nature of co-operative woman's work within the home is evoked through an image of her dipping in and out

⁷²⁵ Giles, *Women*, p. 6.

⁷²⁶ Mitchell, *What*, p. xiv.

⁷²⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁷²⁸ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

⁷²⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

⁷³⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

of illustrations, line-drawings, photographs, articles and fiction in the magazine. It is not a linear structure with a specific time for work and leisure activities indicated by the brevity of 'moments' articulated 'in some handy place where we can be taken up in moments of leisure'.⁷³¹ The editors tried to structure the magazine so that it would integrate easily with the sporadic nature of co-operative woman's leisure activities and social relationships. Even so, some of the articles are quite lengthy. The function of the magazine as a dialogic space in the Bakhtinian sense, is highlighted in the magazine's statement that 'leisure moments will be found in story, verse, and friendly chat...After all a woman's outlook in life is coloured by the impressions she gathers of other people's ways and thoughts'.⁷³² The editorial highlighted these topics to open up co-operative women's lives, to raise their consciousness about politics and identity.

The editorial also discusses the broader notions of the co-operative woman as a worker within a political realm of co-operation, 'There would be a far larger number of real co-operators to-day if we could all meet and exchange thought and ideas with one another and the people who lead the great worker's movements'.⁷³³ The magazine is seen as a facilitator, demonstrated in how readers responded to particular issues (Figure 30).

⁷³¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁷³² *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

⁷³³ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

The first issue of *Woman's Outlook* encouraged correspondence and engagement across a range of areas: husband and wife relations; employment opportunities; recipes; home crafts and fashion items. Similar to commercial magazines, the editorial choice of topics indicated an understanding of the everyday life of women⁷³⁴ but also subtly introduced a political and pedagogic aspect. This was an important issue. The editorial established the political and educational intentions of the magazine, as part of 'the possibility of radical democracy'.⁷³⁵ Yet this was difficult to do. The editorial, by locating co-operative woman in the home, the workplace and in the store opened up her horizons beyond the kitchen space. But she is still located within the kitchen as expressed by the fact that the magazine is usually found there 'within the work basket'.

Indeed, articles in *Woman's Outlook* did not always reflect the nature of women's lives and their ability to sit down and read a long article due to other constraints on their time, hence the importance of efficiency discussed later in the chapter. With the magazine's high standard of literacy, the immediacy of images⁷³⁶ was significant as it enhanced the reader's understanding of images and at the same time the picture enticed her to read articles. This relationship of word and image is important in *Woman's Outlook's* appeal to the non-linear nature of co-operative women's everyday lives, which meant that they were constantly moving in and out of different tasks.

⁷³⁴ Hackney, "They", Chapter One, Chapter Two.

⁷³⁵ Ardis, 'Staging', pp. 30, 37.

⁷³⁶ Aulich, 'Advertising', p. 120.

Freedom

The editorial use of the illustration entitled 'FREEDOM' (Figure 29) is important. Placed on the first page in the inaugural edition, it reveals contrasting messages and tensions between image and text. Womanhood, as the allegorical figure of Peace and the central focus, shows how this first editorial viewed co-operative woman and her relationship with the world. The picture embodies freedom. Armistice is suggested as the breaking chains fall from her wrist. The text beneath describes woman as 'unbound, untamed and fleet' yet paradoxically concludes with an image of her running towards a figure that could be her master, 'Towards...her King!'.⁷³⁷

The illustration locates 'Freedom' in an ideal natural space of a mountainscape. Like 'The Woman with the Basket' her iconographical stance is outward looking, with her hand raised to shield her eyes from the bright future which reinforces the notion of hope and freedom. In contrast, to a more traditional emphasis, the elaborate and flowing features highlight woman's femininity and knowingly makes reference to the universalism of classical antiquity.⁷³⁸ 'Freedom' wears classical Grecian dress. Her feet are bare and clearly visible. The whole image suggests spirituality. Like 'The Woman with the Basket', her left foot, although bare, is firmly placed on the ground, whilst her right foot is slightly raised in a forward moving motion. Simultaneously, she is grounded with and substantiated by the earth. Roses, lilies and carnations grow at

⁷³⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁷³⁸ L. Schneider Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: An introduction*, 2nd Ed., (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996, 2010), p. 109.

her feet and entwine around her ankles in a motif suggestive of reawakening and utopian abundance, which contrasts with the realist image of the front cover.

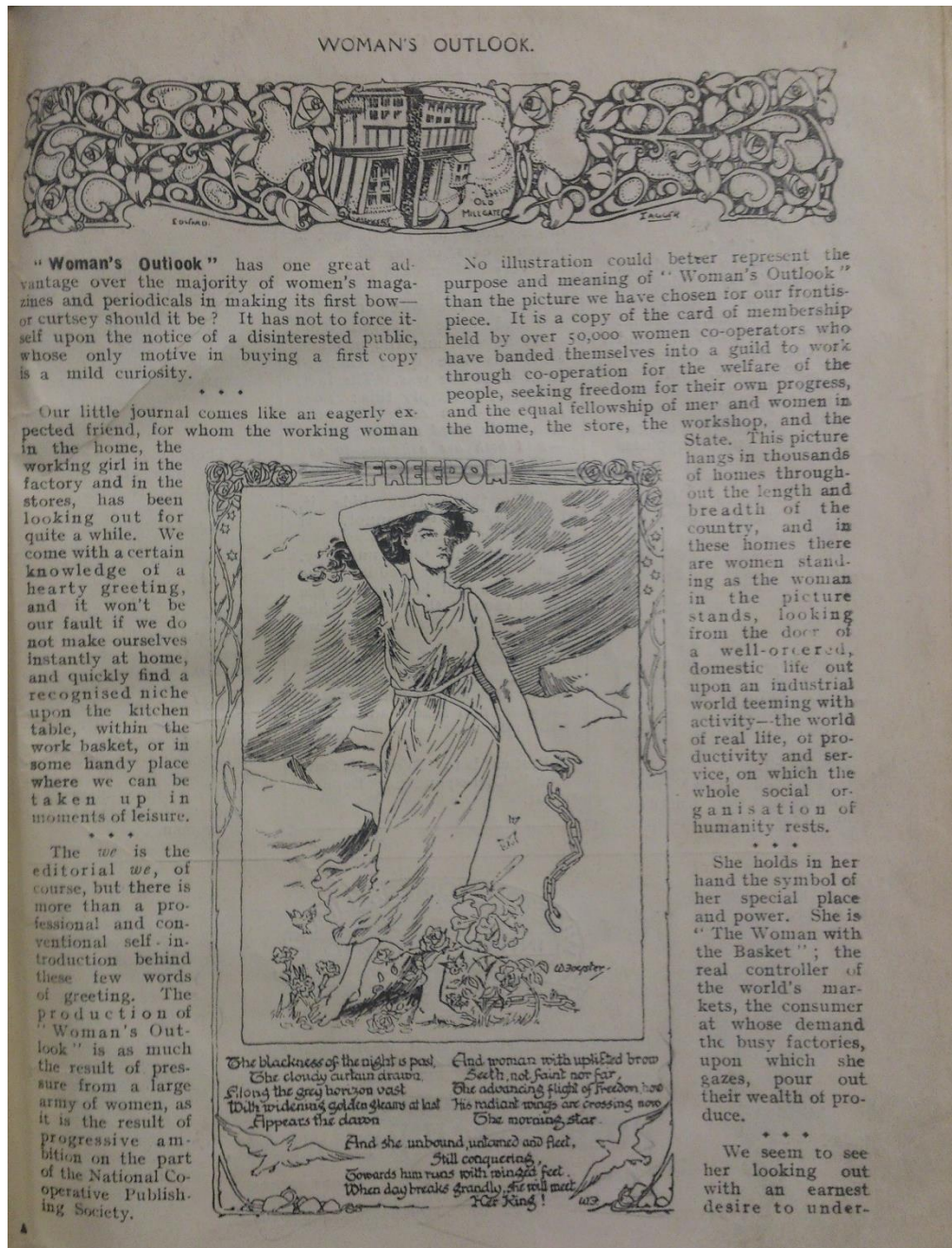


Figure 29 Freedom, *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1

'Freedom' belongs in the tradition of illustration represented by figures such as Walter Crane, whose close association with the socialist movement offered nostalgia and reflection on the past, as a way to negotiate for change and transition in the present and to construct the future.⁷³⁹ The use of Walter Crane inflected imagery, harnessed his political intent. Crane aimed to educate adult readers to develop visual literacy; their ability to critically read pictures.⁷⁴⁰ The signature on the illustration reads 'W. Foyster'. This is likely to be the children's author Winifred Beuzeville Foyster.⁷⁴¹ Her illustrations appeared in *Woman's Outlook* across the period⁷⁴² and further examples are discussed in the following chapter, in the context of co-operative woman and work.⁷⁴³ The picture of 'Freedom' is important because it establishes the complex relationships between the different styles of pictures and settings which *Woman's Outlook* employed in image and text. In contrast to the majority of editorials in subsequent issues of the magazine, the image of 'Freedom' is not referred to in the text; with no direct reference to the home, it is left to the reader to make their own interpretation.

⁷³⁹ Alexiou, *Design*, pp. 186-187.

⁷⁴⁰ A. Korda, 'Learning From "good pictures": Walter Crane's Picture Books and Visual Literacy', *Word & Image, A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, Vol. 32, No. 4, (2016), pp. 327-339, 327-328.

⁷⁴¹ Bradbury, 'Woman's', p. 424, 431-432.

⁷⁴² For example, this image is re-used. The caption 'Freedom' is omitted. A different poem is included of 5 lines, in *Woman's Outlook* June 14 1930, p. 513.

⁷⁴³ *Woman's Outlook* May 1921, p. 173; *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, p. 1.

Equal Fellowship

It is difficult to understand what went on in the everyday lives, relationships and habits of the co-operative woman in the home space,⁷⁴⁴ yet, *Woman's Outlook* offers new understandings of the historical moment. For example, the advice column 'Husbands and Wives' (Figure 30), placed in the centre of page two of the inaugural edition in 1919, highlighted the importance of marital relationships.⁷⁴⁵ Readers were encouraged to write in and receive advice from 'auntie' about their relationship concerns and a 'wife's difficulty with a husband'.⁷⁴⁶ The illustration of the co-operative man and woman in their underwear, positioned below the advice column, in an advertisement for 'Ladies and Gents Hosiery & Underwear', is suggestive of a modern outlook towards relationships and equal fellowship.

⁷⁴⁴ Thomson, "Domestic", pp. 108-109.

⁷⁴⁵ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, pp. 2, 14.

⁷⁴⁶ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

stand her part in the scheme of things, for she sees not only the factory chimneys, but the glory of the skies, and the happy free flight of birds—nature's gifts of beauty and inspiration to every human being with "eyes to see."

We hope to embody in "Woman's Outlook," so far as printed word and picture can do, all that this woman asks for. And to the well ordering of her home life, hints of value in economising labour, preserving health, and bringing bright thoughts and happiness into the home.

We hope to assist her in her outlook upon industrial and social questions, and to give her thoughts, through our pages, something of the freedom of a flight of birds.

Beauty, too, must be found in "Woman's Outlook," and we shall seek throughout our co-operative factories and workshops for things of beauty for the homes, and the personal adornment of our readers. If they cannot be found; if, for instance,

HUSBANDS AND WIVES.

In human life, there is such a thing as a wife's difficulty with a husband. This special difficulty is a mental illness, which often crops up after, say, a dozen years of married life. It very often appears first in the husband, but not always. The wife finds her husband quite changed from what he was, and the husband finds his wife quite changed from what she was. The fact, however, is simply this: *They are bored with each other—tremendously bored with each other—and both are ashamed to say so to themselves and to each other.*

They think they hide it, but they really cannot. It makes the woman who is their mutual friend quite unhappy. She was at their wedding, the little ones call her auntie, she kissed each at their birth. She longs to help, but she knows not how.

Now, if "auntie" wrote to the "Woman's Outlook" Correspondence Department, stated the case, and asked advice, we will endeavour to give helpful advice.

Post cards to "Woman's Outlook," Correspondence Department.

man's ideas of what *THEY* think women should buy do not meet our standard of beauty, then the "Outlook" must set the fashion and create the demand for comely and dainty things.

Interest and recreation for leisure moments will be found in story, verse, and friendly chat about friends far and near. After all a woman's outlook in life is coloured by the impressions she gathers of other people's ways and thoughts.

There would be a far larger number of real co-operators to-day if we could all meet and exchange thoughts and ideas with one another and the people who lead the great workers' movements.

We hope "Woman's Outlook" will be a friendly mediator between its readers and those who have information of value to impart. We dream of it as a friend of all, seeking always to help forward better things—a fuller life, more social opportunities, and a wider choice of spheres of civic usefulness for women.



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 Manager: Mr. F. Baulter. Secretary: Mr. H. H. Hawkins.

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**LADIES' AND GENTS'
 HOSIERY & UNDERWEAR.**

MADE BY CO-OPERATORS FOR CO-OPERATORS.
 BY TRADE UNIONISTS FOR TRADE UNIONISTS.
 And SOLD ONLY BY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

Figure 30 Husbands and Wives, *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2

A focus on the everyday reality of social, economic and domestic upheaval was key to *Woman's Outlook* throughout the interwar years (Figures 31, 32). Unlike the WCG, where social issues gradually became less important, as 'social problems with social solutions',⁷⁴⁷ *Woman's Outlook* addressed co-operative woman's position in

⁷⁴⁷ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 62.

marriage. As the 1920s progressed the ability of the WCG to attend to these issues deteriorated. The needs of co-operative women, prioritising the needs of the family, were subsumed beneath the movement's desire for parliamentary popularity. This approach foreclosed opportunities to critique 'women's position within marriage...the problem of economic dependence and the possibility of tyrannical and selfish husbands'.⁷⁴⁸ Importantly, *Woman's Outlook* continued to focus on these diverse needs of the co-operative woman. As we shall see, line drawings and photographs featured across articles, advertisements and fiction (see Figures 29, 31, 32, 35, 39, 40-42) and visually addressed the domestic and economic subjectivity of women, until the mid 1930s. This distinguishes the magazine from the purpose and function of the commercial weekly magazine, such as *Woman's Weekly*. In contrast to the WCG the editors of *Woman's Outlook* continued to establish a dialogue and a space in which to discuss issues and open up possibilities of a more equal fellowship in the home.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 201.



MRS. ANNIE BESANT : : : Sends Special Message to Our Readers.
Her Life and Work.

THE "Annie Besant" atmosphere is one of vital compelling enthusiasm, and the farther one enters into it, the more conscious one becomes of a complex insistent personality.

It is a strange, charming power with which Mrs. Besant is invested, which can only be explained by considering the wide range of her experience. She is emotional, but well-balanced, and whatever subject she takes up, whether by voice or by pen, instant interest is created.

She has passed through almost every emotion and situation possible in mental and physical living, and so has brought to her great work in life a knowledge almost unexampled.

All through the records of her life down to the present enterprise for India, the double consciousness of her nature finds a place; the mystical and the material blend without a clash—a well-nigh unparalleled combination.

A lover and a worker for mankind, one great beauty of her work has always been the absence of any sex antagonism, and if she has been active in her work for women, it has been because their need has been greatest at the moment. She is first of all a human being; then a woman.

In the early part of her autobiography, after a passionate protest against the "master-in-my-own-house" authority of her husband, his narrow outlook, and his lack of sympathy with her broader one, her dull life and her mental conflict, she says: "At last, I learned how to live and work in armour, that turned the edge of the

weapons that struck it, and left the flesh beneath un wounded." Yet, at this time, she was nursing the sick, and trying to brighten the lives of the poor of her husband's parish, and there learned much about the lot of the agricultural labourer, which knowledge she used afterwards in fighting for him.

It was after freedom from her marriage that she gave herself up to the cause of Liberty and Freedom, and being parted from her own little girl, went through a storm of fierce obloquy, because of her association with Mr. Charles Bradlaugh in the publication of a pamphlet dealing with the limitation of families.

Here, again, is shown the mixture of the idealist and the materialist, for at this time she said: "I had seen the misery of my sister women, with children crying for bread, broken in health with unresting maternity; wives of work



Thrown out into the world in young womanhood, I took as my motto "Be Strong." I pass it on to you to-day in my age. Be Strong.
ANNIE BESANT

Figure 31 Chats with Great Ones, *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 14

Photographs were integral to how *Woman's Outlook* visually constructed this dialogue. The inclusion of photographs in the magazine suggests a specific intent and purpose. For example, the photograph of Mrs Besant (see Chapter Four) presents her in the style of the nineteenth century photographic portrait (Figure 31). She

looks directly at the reader; the half body portrait speaks of authority.⁷⁴⁹ It is an image concerning power. Art historian John Tagg argues that the photographic portrait asserts authority in a similar way to the eighteenth-century portrait: 'The head-on stare...was a pose which would have been read in contrast to the cultivated asymmetries of aristocratic posture'.⁷⁵⁰ Often the subject looked directly at the reader. The candid gaze is inscribed with an assertive identity. Yet as Tagg argues, in his discussion of any potential intention in the making of the photograph, 'authorship does not determine meaning'.⁷⁵¹ The photograph is also a fragment of the context in which it is part.⁷⁵² The portrait can be manipulative; it portrays the individual and their social status.⁷⁵³ The photograph presents an image - object/person - to be viewed and understood, then and now (Chapter One).

As part of this dialogue the image and text of 'The Woman's Choice. Complete Story' (Figure 32) manifests ambiguity, concerning co-operative woman, her freedom and choice. Visually this dystopian image, embraced the darkness and reality of domestic life raised by Margaret Llewelyn Davies,⁷⁵⁴ contrasting with the utopian representations of 'The Woman and the Basket' and Peace (Figures 26, 29). The story title, presented in a bold capitalised Times Roman, confidently communicated the message of choice. This is in contrast to the dramatic and darkly shaded illustration accompanying the story. Positioned in the lower right third of the page, the gloomy

⁷⁴⁹ Tagg, *Burden*, pp. 35-37.

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁷⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷⁵⁴ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 62.

line drawing depicts the co-operative woman, who is placed in the foreground, collapsed on the floor unconscious. This fictional story portrays the home, domestic abuse and a woman's moral dilemma as her husband lay on his deathbed, 'All night she had been fighting the thought that his death meant her life, freedom to walk on the open roadway to the land of beauty'.⁷⁵⁵

The story graphically represented the woman, her sacrifices of happiness and fulfilment, to keep the harmony in the house. It described her husband's abuse for most of their 15 year married life, 'How he had laughed at her dreams, shattered her friendships'.⁷⁵⁶ This image appears at odds with the objective of a woman's progress and equal fellowship in the home, communicated in the editorial of the publication. Her choice is not revealed until toward the end of the story: the power of his life or death was in her hands. This story drew attention to domestic abuse and by doing so, acknowledged it. The last line of the story sums up the woman's response to her husband's recovery from his illness: 'A glass crashes to pieces as the woman's wild laughter rang through the room, before she sank unconscious to the ground'.⁷⁵⁷ Importantly, text and imagery, presenting 'a comfortable mix of "new" and "familiar"'⁷⁵⁸ offered multiple opportunities for the reader to engage their understandings of the topics of hope, freedom and equal fellowship in the everyday context of the home in 1919.

⁷⁵⁵ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 25.

⁷⁵⁶ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 25.

⁷⁵⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 26.

⁷⁵⁸ M. L., Bowallius, 'Advertising and the Use of Colour in *Woman's Home Companion*', in Aynsley and Forde, (eds.), *Design*, pp. 18-36, 32-33.

THE WOMAN'S CHOICE. COMPLETE STORY.

A LINE of light was breaking across the mass of grey, and as the tired woman's eyes rested on it, she clenched her hands so tightly that the nails drew blood and the knuckles showed white in the faint light.

Would the day that was dawning bring to her life or death?

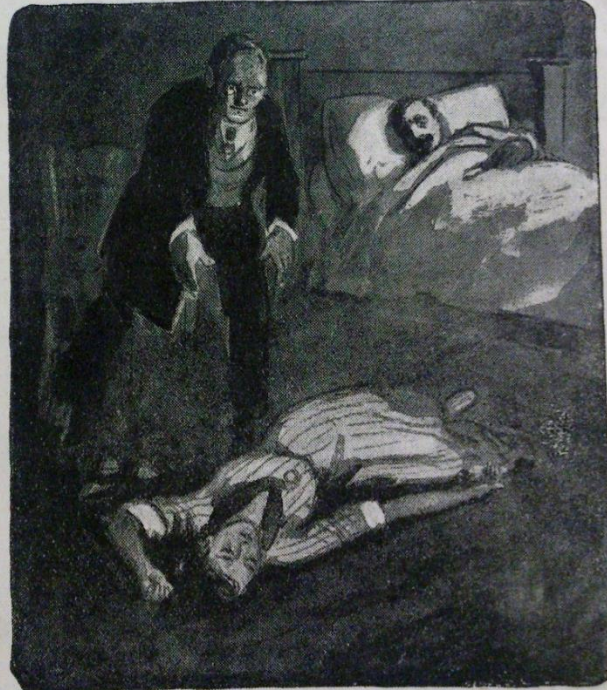
The flickering shadows from the firelight played upon the face of the man lying on the bed, and distorted his handsome features, until they were coarsened and ugly, like his soul. That was his wife's thought, as she looked at him, her husband; the man who, for fifteen years, had spoiled her life, and heaped subtle insult upon her whenever possible; who had starved her soul, crippled her ambitions, and crushed her heart; who had narrowed her life until it seemed to lie behind her, and stretch before her in a thin grey line.

Looking back, she could see how, one by one, he had stripped her refinements from her; how he had pulled the veil of imagination from her eyes, and shown her his own sordid world, sneering at her when she shudderingly withdrew from it. How he had laughed at her dreams, shattered her friendships, and slighted her greatest gift, and when others appreciated it, had robbed her of her joy because of his proprietary jealousy.

As she looked at his face in the growing light, she compared it with the face of the silver-voiced singer, whose voice used to blend so harmoniously with her own, and carry her soul upwards in a very ecstasy. There had been no thought of love between them until her husband had put his ban upon their intercourse. She had explained that theirs was a friendship of minds, and his reply had been: "All very well, my dear, but your bodies meet, when your minds, or souls, or whatever

you sing with, join; and until you can sing as disembodied souls, I won't allow my wife to see so much of another man." This, and a hundred other incidents of a like character insistently repeated themselves in the mind of the weary woman, and she allowed them possession in order to keep at bay the crawling insinuation that was trying to creep into her thoughts.

The doctor had told her that her husband's life hung on a thread, there was a chance of his recovery should he pass some hours in sleep, but that the slightest sound would awake him, and kill him. All night she had been fighting the thought that his death meant her life, freedom to walk on the open roadway to the land of beauty in the company and fellowship of the pure in mind. It seemed so easy to



SHE SANK UNCONSCIOUS TO THE GROUND.

Figure 32 The Woman's Choice. Complete Story. *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 25

This inaugural edition of *Woman's Outlook* was significant because it established a marker, by which we can see how its viewpoint developed over the next twenty years. To do this, the argument now focuses on the identity of the mother and her relationship with the home. The next section illustrates the different ways in which

this topic was portrayed in *Woman's Outlook*, in comparison to the *Wheatsheaf*, *Ourselves*, *Herald*, and with *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly*, over the interwar period.

Mothers and Maternity: 'A Call on "Mrs Happy"'⁷⁵⁹



Figure 33 Bed-Time/ Once Upon A Time, *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, pp. 6, 1

The role of the mother and her achievement of a healthy and happy home (Figures 27, 28), evolved over the interwar period. Depictions often idealised motherhood. For example, the strap line 'Once Upon A Time' (Figure 33) of the full page advertisement for Valor-Perfection Oil Heaters draws on the sentimental scenario of

⁷⁵⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 5th 1927, p. 3.

motherly happiness. Contented and stylish, the mother is pictured in a comfortable setting, adored by her two children. Efficiency, cleanliness and comfort through consumption, are emphasised. Contrasted with the past, the advertisement evokes memories of the 'horrid dirt-making fires' banished through her purchase of a Valor-Perfection Oil Heater, 'ready in an instant – No smoke or fumes – Damp and Chills chased away'.⁷⁶⁰ Opposite, on the left page, the feature 'Bed-Time', reinforces understanding of a caring and loving home. Although it was unusual to feature a non-co-operative product, an emphasis on progress was paramount. Efficiency, cleanliness and comfort so important to the movement is returned to later in the chapter, in the context of the housewife and housework.

The November 1927, *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 34) embodied an idealistic understanding of the co-operative woman as a happily married mother and member of the WCG. Featuring two line drawings positioned at the top and centre, 'A Call on "Mrs Happy"' depicts a young well-dressed and happy mother. Presented as an interview with the mother, the article suggests that co-operative woman has a voice. Tackling the issue of child and maternal mortality within the context of equal fellowship, word and picture reinforces an understanding of cleanliness and self-responsibility. The article opens with the complimentary observation of the interviewer "'What twelve days since" ...and here you are at three 'o'clock in the afternoon with a house like a new pin in spite of a baby'. The mother effuses how, with the encouragement of her husband she became a member of the WCG. She


⁷⁶⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 7.

describes how the 'Guild's contribution to the life of married women' helped her immeasurably to 'understand the importance of pre-natal care'.⁷⁶¹

November 5th, 1927. November, 1927.

A Call on "Mrs. Happy."

Who introduces us to Her Baby Daughter—Felicia.



THE kitchen was beautifully cosy and spotlessly clean when we made our first visit to Mrs. Happy. A little "treasure cot" was there too, but it was empty for the moment. "What, twelve days since," we managed to rasp, "and here you are at three o'clock in the afternoon, with a house like a new pin in spite of a baby, and the said babe out for an airing."


Mrs. Happy smiled quietly. "Do take a seat," she said. "It's like this. When we were married eighteen months ago, my husband absolutely insisted on my joining the Women's Guild, and the very first time I went, the President, seeing one or two new members had turned up, told us all about the first beginnings. So well I remember it! She dealt with the history of the guild to 1927, and told us all about the book and its 'Foreword,' which she said came straight from Miss L. Davies' heart.

"From that week," said Mrs. Happy, "I have attended the guild regularly. I knew motherhood was pressing close upon me, and, fired with the guild's contribution to the life of married women, I realised that all my need of inexperience could be met at the Guild."

"And was it?" we interrupted. "A hundredfold," smiled Mrs. Happy. "One of the guild subjects last year was 'The Care of the Mother.' Through the teaching given in the guildroom, I learnt to understand the importance of pre-natal care. I discovered the best help and advice to get before and when baby arrived. Last, but not least, I learnt how to make the best use of the arrangements made in my own city for the services of a home help. That is why you see me in this serenity and this perfect order. Here comes the baby, so you can just tell me your opinion of her."

Admiration poured from our lips, of course. "Her name?" we asked. Mrs. Happy paused a moment. "Baby was born in the same month as 'Woman's Outlook,'" she replied. "That little paper has given me no end of help. It has shown me how to cook so attractively that my husband has got into a regular stay-at-home, wondering what's coming next. In short, the guild, and 'Woman's Outlook' have given me happiness, and so the baby's name . . . well, it's Felicia in honour of our little paper, whose birthday coincides with that of my baby in November."

With a lump in our throat we left Mrs. Happy.



* * *

FRAGMENT.

How sweet it is to sit and read the tales
Of mighty poets and to hear the while
Sweet music, which when the attention fails
Fills the dim pause.

—SHELLEY.

* * *

(Continued from previous page.)

means loses attraction, because it contains so many.

* * *

RATHER is its power enhanced. English readers, true to the teaching of co-operation, are extending their experience in home life through these recipes in the hope that by such interchange of knowledge great help may be obtained.

* * *

CAN it be that English readers are better cooks than their Scottish sisters? Or is it that they are using co-operation more to brighten their home lives? Once we can solve our household troubles, we can drop such mundane things as recipes; meanwhile to be of assistance to others is surely worth while.

* * *

JUDGING the pathetic budgets we get from time to time our recipes have proved an untold blessing. Surely the need is the same in Scotland. All we would say is: "Come and help us." Increase our sales, and help us to push on to that day when home life will be less crushing and oppressive.

* * *

MEANWHILE, all we can say is that will home looms so largely on the horizon of women's interests, homely things will count.

Figure 34 A Call on "Mrs Happy", *Woman's Outlook* November 5th 1927, p. 3

⁷⁶¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 5th 1927, p. 3.

The text and image combine to present an aspirational depiction of how the co-operative woman as the new mother, aided by a supportive husband, and an active member of the WCG, draw on the co-operative ideology of self-help to develop her understandings of health, hygiene and nutrition. Mother and child depicted in conventional notions of motherhood, embrace the progressive ideals of the co-operative ethos expressed in the Party leaflet (Figures 27, 28). In doing so the article promotes a pedagogy of political and social consciousness, understanding of the importance of child and maternal health issues and the value of time for the mother.

The welfare and health of mothers, married or unmarried was important to *Woman's Outlook*.⁷⁶² For example, the simple line drawing and photograph in 'Sorrowful Page of Human History, The Illegitimate Child and the Problem of the Unmarried Mother' in November 1929 (Figure 35) portrays idealised and intimate images of loving caring mothers. The pictures are contextualised in a discussion regarding British legislation and responsibilities:

maternal and child protection are closely interwoven, that the child needs the mother, and that all help should tend to the economic independence of the mother in order to make her self-supporting and able to contribute to the maintenance of her child.⁷⁶³

This focus contrasts with the emphasis on married working-class women in the WCG. As such, *Woman's Outlook* appealing to a broader audience connected with the enfranchisement of all women over 21 in 1928.

⁷⁶² *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, pp. 20-21 'The Illegitimate Child and the Problem of the Unmarried Mother'; *Woman's Outlook* May 2nd 1931, pp. 430-431 'Helping the Unmarried Mother Starting Life Afresh with Renewed Hope'.

⁷⁶³ *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, p. 21.

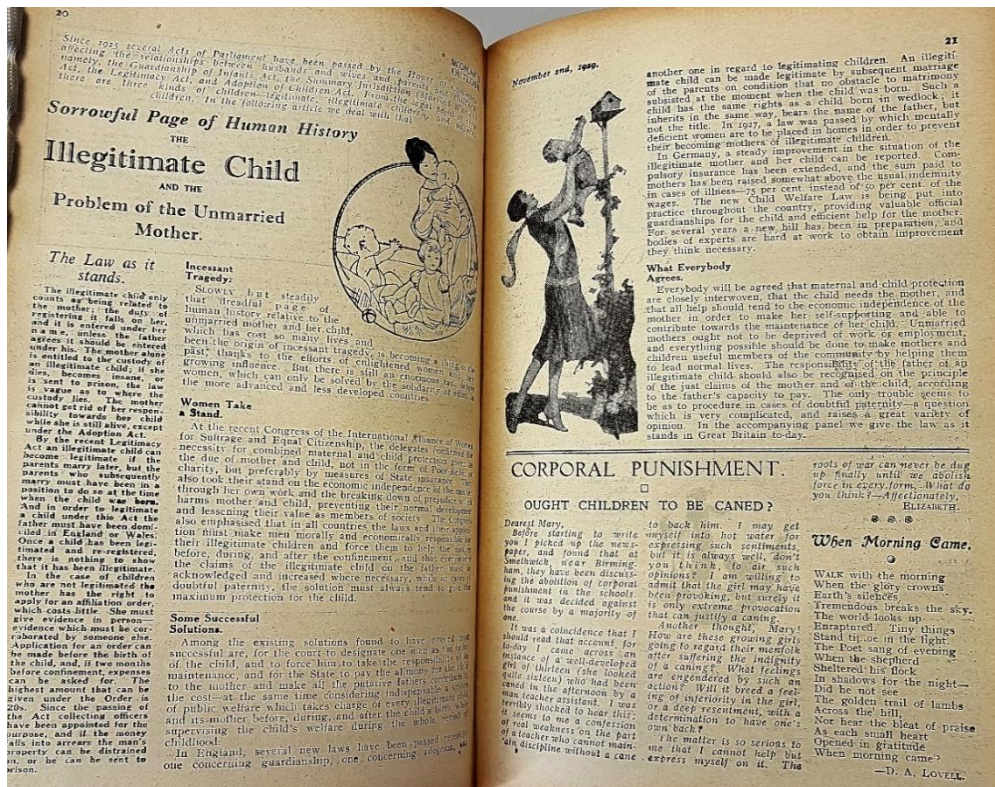


Figure 35 Sorrowful Page of Human History, *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, pp. 20-21

Unlike in *Woman's Outlook*, the family rarely featured in articles in *Woman's Weekly*. Aside from the regular mother's advice column, 'Questions Mothers Ask Me' (Figure 36) which appeared in 1923, the portrayal of women in the familial role of the mother with children, predominantly appeared in advertisements. In the later 1920s this advice column was re-established under the new title, 'What They Ask The Matron' in which a simple line drawing depicts the mother and child.⁷⁶⁴ The articles portray the Matron as the expert, responding to the practical matters of childcare.

⁷⁶⁴ *Woman's Weekly* May 2 1925, p. 775.

MAY 5, 1923



Questions Mothers Ask Me

By FLORENCE STACPOOLE, Lecturer to the National Health Society

CHAFING OF BABY'S SKIN
 B. X.—You will find that slightly greasing the baby's skin with white vaseline will prove a much better protection from chafing than powdering.

VERY BAD ADVICE
 My little boy of two years old is not exactly delicate, but he needs care, and I feel that is very important. I have been told to let him eat anything, but to me it seems a very unwise thing to do. Am I right?—B. H.

VERY BAD ADVICE
 I am perfectly right. Whoever gave you that advice had not much experience of children. Diet is of first importance where young children are concerned. The stomach of a baby of two is not capable of digesting most of the things that grown people eat. Do try and make the women who give you this disastrous advice understand that it is disastrous.

OLIVE OIL
 Could you please tell me if olive oil is a good thing for constipation, and how much should be taken?—M. D.

OLIVE OIL
 It is excellent. You can take as much as you like of it so long as it does not cause indigestion or indigestion, which it sometimes does. If you can digest a dessertspoonful taken half an hour after breakfast, you will find it has very efficacious. The pleasantest way to take it is with food—salad, for instance, tomatoes, cucumber, etc. Another very good way is to put some dessert spoons in a dish. First prick them with, then cover with best salad oil. Leave to soak for some hours, and not one or more of bedtimes. Try and get genuine olive oil, as there are many imitations sold.

SMACKING
 H. L.—I have carefully considered your letter, and I can best answer you by an illustration. Some time ago I suggested to a mother to punish her child without smacking him. I should like to tell you that for several months punishment in any way on my little son, and he is not like the same child. I haven't had the trouble we had in. You, when he is disobedient, I devise some sort of punishment which causes mental suffering, not physical, such as depriving him of a favorite toy or his bedtime each night. He cries bitterly at these punishments, but they usually have a more lasting impression than hits or scoldings. And they do not make him get smacking does not make good children—but just the reverse.

BARE KNEES
 My little boy has just started school, and I should like to know if it best for his knees to be secured or uncovered? I have been told that it is for healthier to have them bare. Is this so? He is rather delicate, and catches cold very easily.—ANNIE.

BARE KNEES
 YOU have been told what is quite wrong. It does no child good to go about in autumn and winter with bare knees—especially a child who easily catches cold. It is the cause of many chest, stomach, and bowel troubles. Let him wear long wool stockings over his knees if you wish to keep him well.

MEASLES
 HENRIETTA V.—Read these words written by an experienced doctor; they are most important for parents and nurses to understand. He says:
 There is no real reason why any child should die of measles. The disease is not deadly in itself, but only in that, when neglected, it is apt to lead to irritation of the air passages and lungs by other germs, and then the poor child is in mortal danger, especially from what we call broncho-pneumonia. Only in the very rarest and most exceptional cases, if ever, do these complications occur in all in children who are properly looked after from the first, or, in other words, when the disease is taken as seriously as it should be, on account not only of itself, but of the risks of really dangerous complications which may follow neglect.

CRIB-CLIMBING
 My boy of two years old is very strong and sturdy. He has taken lately to climbing out of his crib, and I am in terror that he may overturn and tumble out on his head. I have tried to tie him in, but it is impossible to make him secure in this way without hurting him. Can you suggest anything? I dread leaving him alone a minute while he is awake, and the worry of it is becoming a great strain.—M. M.

CRIB-CLIMBING
 YOU can make him quite secure by fastening a crib net over the crib. With this on, he can play about in his crib. His free movements are not interfered with, but he cannot climb over the edge. You can get the crib net at any large furnishing store. You might be able to make one of fine string if you can do netting, and can fix the net firmly, but these sold for the purpose are the most satisfactory.

SWEATING HEAD
 B. A.—Make a pillow for the child filled with scraps of paper, torn very small. This is less heating for the head than feathers. Change the paper frequently.

BEANS
 Mrs. B.—You should on no account give either kidney beans or cabbage to a child of two years and three months. Grapes, in moderation are good for him if they are ripe and sweet. Before giving them you should carefully remove skins and stones, as he is too young to be trusted to do this for himself.

Figure 36 Questions Mothers Ask Me, *Woman's Weekly* May 5 1923, p. 563

By the 1930s the illustration of the mother and child (Figure 37) was becoming more sophisticated, potentially appealing to a fashionably refined audience. It firmly located the mother with her children, in a modern contemporary style, happy and together. Both *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 33) and *Woman's Weekly* promoted the ideal of family happiness through consumption. The design styles of the advertisements in *Woman's Weekly* typically include photographs and

uncomplicated hand drawn line illustrations and frequently depict the comfortable nurturing mother and child, and sometimes father,⁷⁶⁵ through the purchase and consumption of a product.⁷⁶⁶

MAY 4, 1935 843

WHAT THEY ASK THE MATRON

We have persuaded the Matron of a big Welfare Centre, whose homely advice brings solace to dozens of mothers every week, to let us publish some of the queries just as they were brought to her, and the advice she gave the anxious mothers. That those who have little ones of their own will find the information invaluable we are confident.—THE EDITRESS.

WHEN TO SUN-BATHE
When would it be safe to start sun-bathing for my baby? How long should the baths last?

YOU can begin in May, but not on a cold May day. Ten minutes is quite enough for the first day, exposing the whole of the front of the body, and ten minutes on the whole of the back next day. You could gradually add a few minutes every day. You will, of course, watch very carefully that your baby's skin does not get irritated and red, as this may happen with a fair or red-headed baby. Then the plan should be modified, and partial shade chosen as a beginning.

"NEVER CAST A CLOUT"
Would it be rash to change my baby into thinner clothes before the really warm weather comes? He always seems such a hot little fellow.

IT is far wiser to vary baby's clothes from day to day, or even several times a day if necessary, according to the weather. "Cast not a clout till May is out" is too rigid a rule to keep. As a matter of fact, opinions are divided as to whether the month of May or the may tree is meant! The safest way is to judge each day as it comes and dress baby accordingly. Put on another little garment at about four o'clock or at the hour of sunset.



When baby is a year old, a splash in tepid water is a very good thing, followed by a brisk rub with the towel.

BABY'S BATH
What is the proper temperature for baby's bath? He is just three months old, and I wondered whether I could make it less hot.

DURING the first six months the temperature should be about 98° F., gradually lowering this to about 90° F. by the end of the year.

BABY'S FIRST EGG
I have been advised to give my baby eggs. Can you give me a recipe for making an egg dish easy to digest? I have heard of coddled eggs. How are these prepared?

HALF fill a saucepan with water and bring it to the boil. Put the egg carefully into the boiling water so that the shell does not break; then take the saucepan off the fire and cover it. Do not let it come to the boil. In about eight minutes the egg is sufficiently cooked.



BASKETFUL OF DAISIES!
A Prim Little Flower Design.

SUCH a useful little frock for days in the garden. The little sketches show two ways of working the embroidery. In the top illustration the basket is struck of silk couched down in a darker shade. The flowers are satin-stitch, and the leaves tiny running stitches. In the second the basket is stem-stitch, the flowers lay-daisy loops, and the leaves satin-stitch. The flowers have centres of French knots. To make the frock (Pattern No. 55,779, 2-6 years), you will require from 11 to 11 yards of 96-inch material.

Pattern No. 55,779.

A PAPER PATTERN can be obtained, price 7d. post free, from WOMAN'S WEEKLY Pattern Department, 231a, Oxford Street, London, W.1. The transfer, No. G.N.734, price 3d., can be obtained from WOMAN'S WEEKLY Transfer Dept., at the same address. Transfers are not stocked overseas.

AUSTRALIAN READERS can obtain the pattern, price 1s. post free, from Madams Empert, 187, George Street (opposite Strand), Sydney, Australia.

SOUTH AFRICAN READERS can obtain the pattern for 1s. from South African WOMAN'S WEEKLY, P.O. Box 950, Durban.

A ROOM OF HER OWN
Do you think five years of age too young for my little girl to sleep in a room by herself? I should not like her to be nervous, but I have to rearrange the rooms, as I am expecting a new baby.

NO, your little girl is not too young to sleep alone. Let her help to arrange her room with you, and she will look upon it as a great treat to be allowed to have one by herself.

SPOON FEEDING
Is my baby of just over six months too young to learn to take her milk from a spoon? SHE is just about the right age for you to start her with a spoon, or even to take her milk direct from her own cup. You may have a little trouble at first, but if you try it for the mid-day feed she will gradually grow accustomed to the new way. The secret is to keep the milk mixture thoroughly warm to the last drop. Soon she will try to help herself.

The Transfer No. G.N.734, price 3d., shows 24 motifs.

Figure 37 What They Ask The Matron, *Woman's Weekly* May 4 1935, p. 843

⁷⁶⁵ For example, *Woman's Weekly* November 5 1927, p. 852; May 4 1929, Back cover; May 4 1935, p. 803.

⁷⁶⁶ For example, *Woman's Weekly* May 7 1921, p. 470; November 5 1921, p. ii; May 5 1923, pp. 561, iii; November 5 1927, p. 851; November 6 1937, p. 948.

Few articles in the sample of *Labour Woman*, visually embodied the mother and child. An exception is 'Our Mothercraft Page by Beatrice Green' (Figure 38) in the May 1st 1927 issue. The mother and child depicted in a realist style, sit huddled, on the side of a hill. Comparable to the Muirhead Bone illustration on the inaugural front cover of *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 26) it draws on similar motifs, to convey a message of hope. The mother's partially turned figure invites the reader into the setting. Elevated, she surveys the smoke-filled chimneys of the industrial landscape. Dressed in the full length dress of the late nineteenth century this drawing suggests aspiration and hope for the children. Below, her child is turned away from this setting, signifying that it is not to be the child's destiny.

MAY 1ST, 1927

THE LABOUR WOMAN

KEEP THE POT BOILING



HINTS TO THE HOUSEWIFE

It is the intention of this column to instruct housewives in the manner that involves all principles of modernity. Clean the various articles, however, not necessary with those that should be used with any article in use. Let us take the most common method of boiling meat, fish, vegetables or puddings—

(1) All fresh things should be put into enough boiling water to cover the meat and allowed to boil rapidly for five minutes. Then cover the pot and let it simmer for the remainder of the time. The water should be changed at least once during the cooking.

(2) Meat should be boiled for five minutes, the fat should be kept for the water boiling gently and steadily at all times. Remove any bones that are in the fat, as it is a nuisance. Remove any fat that is on the meat, and wash the meat with the lid on, so that all the grease and fat is washed away.

(3) Fresh meat requires 15 minutes for each pound and 20 minutes more. A small piece of meat of 1 lb to 2 lbs requires 2 hours to become tender. As the time of the meat, take the same time for beef or a larger piece.

(4) Meat is to be eaten cold, it should be allowed to cool in the boiling liquid, when it will absorb some of the goodness from the liquid and be more juicy. When removed from water it should be placed between two plates and pressed into position with a weight of some kind on top. The liquid should always be kept for soups or gravy, as it contains some nutriment and flavor. Indeed, the liquid left should be placed in cold water and brought to boil shortly before use some of the salt.

B. ARNOLD

Our Housewife's Picnic Basket Competition

The new competition has proved to be a popular one. We had many participants give a picnic for their children for a day, and it was very difficult to choose which was the best, both from the point of view of enjoyment and convenience, among many good ones. The prize of £100 is now, therefore, to be awarded to the best picnic basket. The prize is to be given to the winner, to be chosen by the public. The prize is to be given to the winner, to be chosen by the public. The prize is to be given to the winner, to be chosen by the public.

BEET ROOTS

Beet roots are again after a year, of the best way of obtaining a crop. They are now in the market, and are of a fine quality. They are now in the market, and are of a fine quality. They are now in the market, and are of a fine quality.

Imperial Chair—Has anyone a second-hand chair which they can give or sell at a low price for the use of a sister's wife in South Wales? Please communicate with the Editor of the LABOUR WOMAN.

MAY 1ST, 1927

THE LABOUR WOMAN

OUR MOTHERCRAFT PAGE

By BEATRICE GREEN

Naughty Children

Some people say there are none. They argue that all misbehaviors are caused by gross ignorance, and that if the child is left to itself it will develop naturally. Many mothers will not agree with this reasoning. They say that even in the best regulated households fits of mischievousness sometimes occur. Still, it is true to say that much of the trouble with the youngsters is caused by mothers looking at their children's misdeeds from a wrong-point of view, entirely ignoring that of the child. This is precisely another. Mothers having been children once themselves can imagine what the child's outlook is, but it is impossible for the child who has never been growing up to think in grown-up terms. Boys and girls are men and women in the making, but they are not "little men" and "little women" any more than toddlers are little boys.



Boys and Girls. By BEATRICE GREEN.

They make up in cunning defiance. Mothers who want to avoid disagreeable battles with naughty children will take some little trouble to understand their children. They will endeavor to think rationally with the mind of a child. Many children are called naughty and undisciplined because they have acted in a way in which a grown-up person would not have acted in similar circumstances. The toddler is a happy creature as long as he is still during a long and to him being meeting. His mother overlooks the fact that his conduct is only intended to attract attention for activity and movement. His love of bright colors and pretty things leads him to imitate what mother indicates to touch and place sticky fingers on it. That only a baby has a bad time who follows his mother's lead. The mother who is fair to the child, when judging his anything at all about its value. All these things are reasonable, children, must remember that the child is entirely ignorant of many of the ordinary things which we take for granted.

Buy Children

A busy child is a good child. Give him something to do, something to keep him interested, and he will be happy. The children who suffer most from the "naughtiness" which comes from lack of suitable occupation are the toddlers. During their early pre-school years much valuable work can be done in training the senses of the children. Dr. Montessori lays great stress on the need of this. She believes that if this training is neglected between the ages of three and six the children will suffer seriously later on in the development of their mental powers. Time, over-occupied working-class mothers cannot give the necessary thought and time to train their little ones properly; and

Children should not be punished for mischief. Teach them to love the ideal of conduct you wish them to follow and be careful that your own conduct also follows that ideal. The parent's example plays a big part in the development of the child's nature. It is foolish to suppose it is best to give the child everything he wants. This is the spoken way of making him a "naughty child." Give him everything he asks for, do everything he wishes, and praise everything he does and soon he will be a thoroughly spoiled child. Reasonably strict discipline or control does not interfere with the happiness or sense of freedom. It helps him to find out what is right and what is wrong, what is allowed and what is forbidden, and this is the only way he can grow along right lines.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the mother's treatment of "naughty children." It lays the foundations of future relationships between mother and child. Happy is the mother who has been so wise in her choice that her naughty child is far more concerned about what mother will think of him for doing wrong than about what she will do to him. There are definite ideas in that child's mind which he will endeavor to live up to and which will do much to keep him "straight" in later life. The child who is always the object of his mother's bad temper will grow away from her. Constant repression has no effect on the child's knowledge, and when he is old enough to think for himself will go his own way definitely.

Mothers need not worry unduly about their "naughty children." As one doctor has said, "Chronic good behaviour is the chiefest of children's diseases." Often the "naughtiness" is merely the outcome of honest healthiness which mother who cooperates with them, tries to understand their nature and their needs, will grow into strong, self-disciplined happy men and women.

Figure 38 Keep The Pot Boiling/ Our Mothercraft Page, *Labour Woman* May 1st 1927, pp. 68-69

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Placed below the article title, the header 'Naughty Children' attempts to advise the 'wise mother'. The tone contrasts with *Woman's Weekly* where the magazine is the 'expert'. Conveying themes of 'Discipline and Happiness' it hopes to aid the mother in nurturing 'strong, self-disciplined, happy men and women'.⁷⁶⁷ Opposite, 'Hints to the Housewife' addresses the practicalities of Spinach Soup, Mayonnaise Sauce and Russian Salad firmly locates the Labour woman in her roles as housewife and mother. Yet, this is destabilised. On the same page an insert promotes the campaign for the Trade Union Bill. The advertisement below for co-operative produced 'Nutrix' demonstrates shared aspects of Labour and co-operative associations whilst it alerts the Labour mother to the issue of child health, so central at this time.

Maternity Services

Maternal mortality rates were equally a matter of importance in interwar Britain and this was reflected in *Woman's Outlook* which sought to open up access to quality maternity services for the working-class woman. The 1929 article 'The Old Order Changes. The Rich Mother and the Poor Mother' (Figure 39) attempts to raise awareness of how economic wealth determined who obtained safe maternal health care and the injustice of unequal access between the rich and the poor. With bold capitals, the line drawing entitled, 'CHILD WELFARE', contrasts the 'rich' mother dressed in stylish knee length coat with fur collar accompanied by her young neatly dressed daughter, with the 'poor' mother. Her head is covered with a ragged shawl

⁷⁶⁷ *Labour Woman* May 1927, p. 69.

which also shields her babe in arms, she wears the full length dress of the late nineteenth century and this resonates with the inaugural front cover image (Figure 26). Both are shown 'judged' by the child, playing on feelings of guilt of the mother. The article discusses the duty of the State to financially support part of the costs of provision of maternal care services. The Maternity and Infant Welfare Act of 1918 only empowered, but did not force, local authorities to provide maternal and welfare services, such as 'maternity homes and home-help services'.⁷⁶⁸ In its appeal to extend maternity provision, *Woman's Outlook* drew partly on the Guild's strategy, of the traditional 'values' of the co-operative woman as primarily wife and mother.⁷⁶⁹

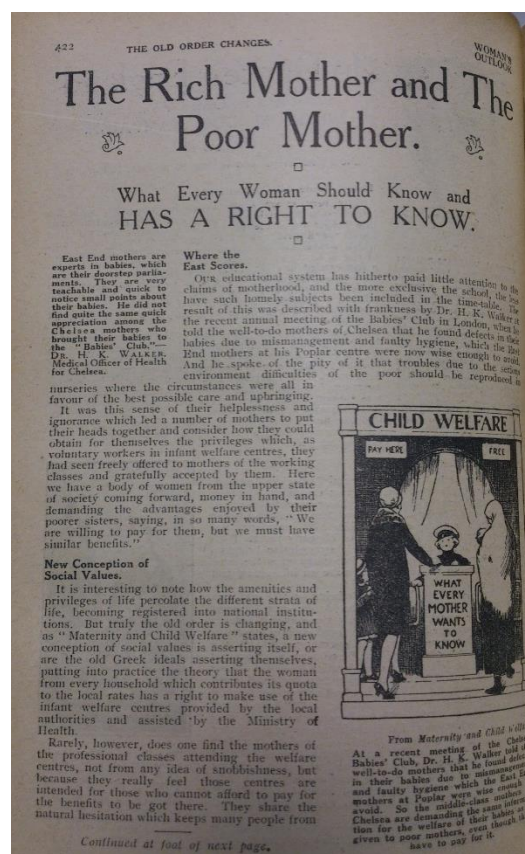


Figure 39 The Old Order Changes. The Rich Mother and The Poor Mother, *Woman's Outlook* May 4th 1929, p. 422

⁷⁶⁸ Scott, *Feminism*, pp. 85-91.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

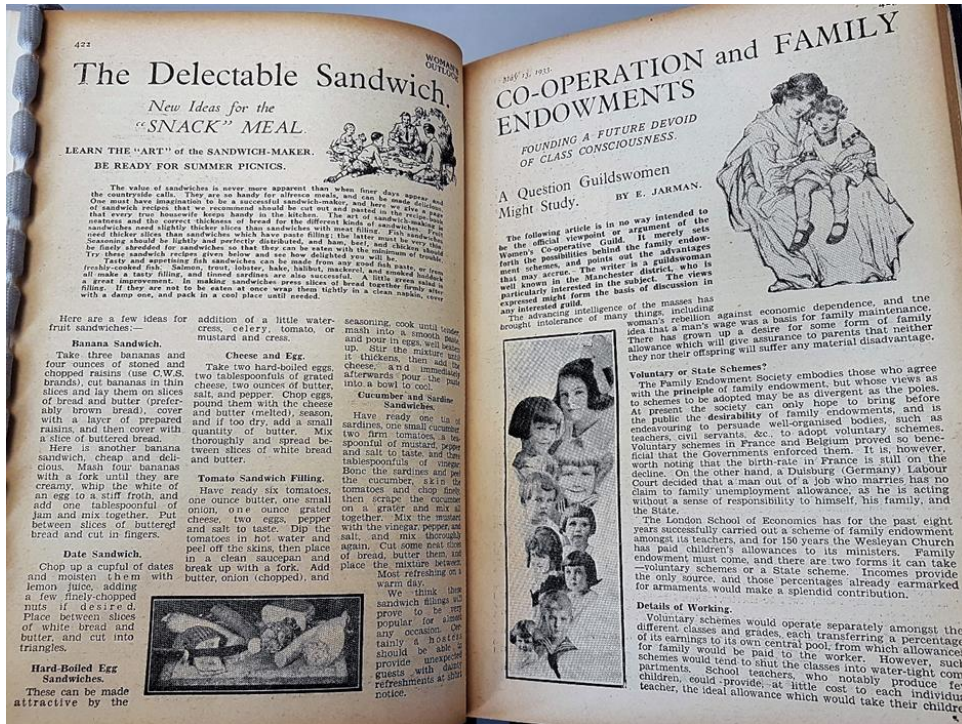


Figure 40 The Delectable Sandwich/ Co-operation and Family Endowments, *Woman's Outlook* May 13 1933, pp. 422-423

By the 1930s *Woman's Outlook* was turning the focus to family depictions which include the father, mother and child and address the topic of 'Co-operation and Family Endowments Founding A Future Devoid of Class Consciousness' (Figures 40, 41). Placed at the top right of the article, the line drawing of a caring, tender yet perplexed mother and child, looks at the reader. Juxtaposed, the photograph of a cascade of children's neatly smiling faces aims to evoke an emotional response in support of the message of the article. This image of a mother is strategically inflected by the use of Walter Crane's 'ideal woman of Pre-Raphaelite imagery'.⁷⁷⁰ Her domestic function is reinforced on the adjacent page 'New ideas for the "Snack" Meal', where the line drawing of the family includes the father figure (Figure 40).

⁷⁷⁰ Tickner, *Spectacle*, pp. 31-32.

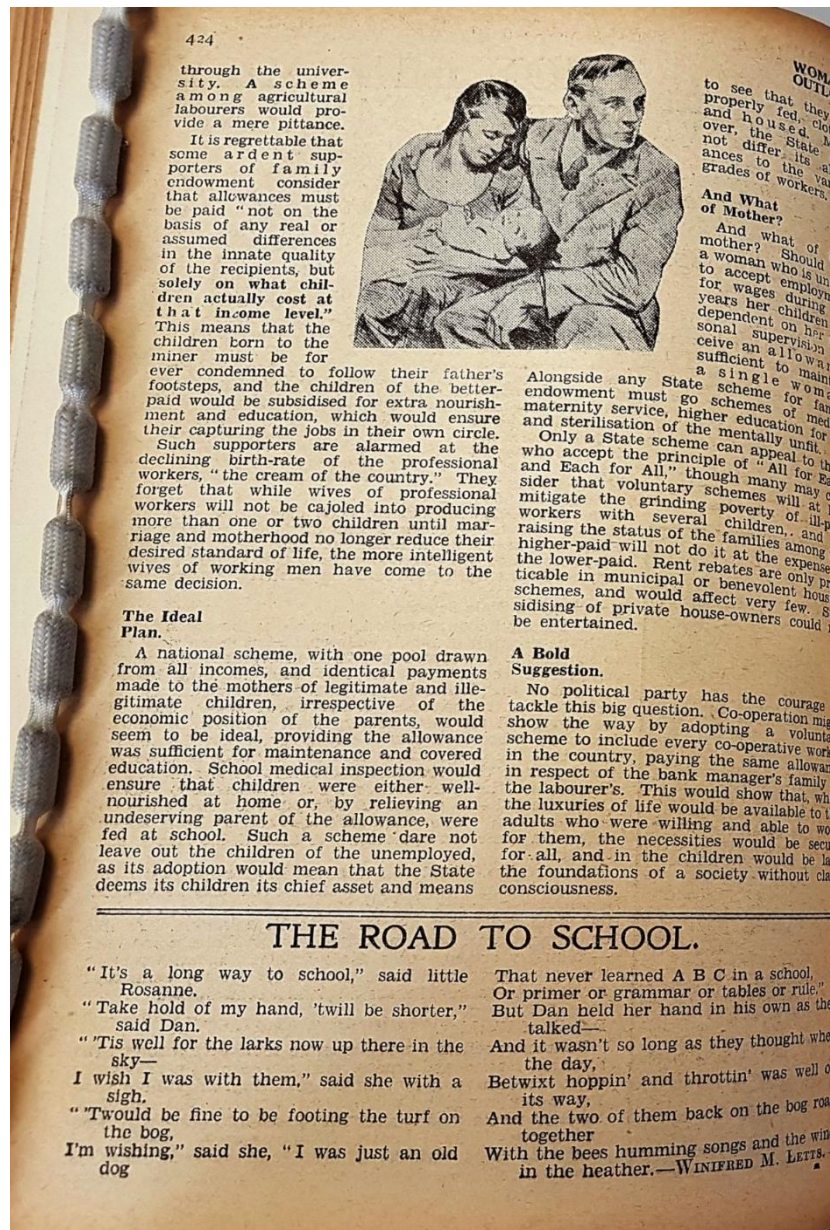


Figure 41 Co-operation and Family Endowments, *Woman's Outlook* May 13 1933, p. 424

Significantly, overleaf (Figure 41) the large close up line drawing sustains the notion of the family, incorporating for a second time the image of the father, mother and infant figures. The woman's portrayal of the maternal is uninterrupted, her loving attention focused only to her child, as she looks inward to the familial. Whilst the father's arm is placed supportively across the mother's shoulders, he looks away

from the mother and child; his gaze is outward as if to the bigger public landscape of the world.

This article appears to corroborate Gillian Scott, who drawing on a 1929 Co-operative Party leaflet, asserts that by 1929 the Guild, sidestepping the political issues of maternity, subsumed matters for the married woman into those of working-class family welfare.⁷⁷¹ Scott argues that the Guild's commitment to extend maternity services included a mandate for cash payments to be paid to the wife, in response to the 'social value of her work'.⁷⁷² Paradoxically, the beginning of the article declared the independent viewpoint of the magazine in relation to the WCG 'The following article is in no way intended to be the official viewpoint or argument of the Women's Co-operative Guild'.⁷⁷³ *Woman's Outlook's* 'Ideal Plan', like the WCG recommends 'A national scheme, with one pool drawn from all incomes, and identical payments made to the mothers'. However, the plan contrasts with the WCG's position because the payment is to be made to 'the mothers of legitimate and illegitimate children' where the WCG's emphasis is on payments made to the married mother. *Woman's Outlook*, similar to the Guild, mobilised the traditional concepts of womanhood and domesticity to highlight the harsh conditions and circumstances of the co-operative woman⁷⁷⁴ whilst it emphasised her 'rebellion to economic dependence, and the idea that a man's wage was a basis for family maintenance'.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷¹ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 137, citing E. Barton, *Woman – in the Home, the Store and the State*, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., for the Co-operative Party, ? 1929), pp. 6-7.

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁷⁷³ *Woman's Outlook* May 13 1933, p. 423.

⁷⁷⁴ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 65.

⁷⁷⁵ *Woman's Outlook* May 13 1933, p. 423.

In May 1935 the article 'Dame Janet Campbell and the Maternity Services', was published as part of a series entitled '*Save The Mothers – XIV*' (Figure 42), to continue the political and social campaign to inform and protect mothers and their children. It promoted the recent publication, *Maternity Services*, authored by Dame Janet Campbell, (1877–1954) the Senior Medical Officer for Maternity and Child Welfare to the Ministry of Health, which emphasised the little progress made with the 'rising puerperal mortality rate'.⁷⁷⁶ The article argued that despite legislative provision and the efforts of the WCG and the publication of *Maternity Letters from Working Women*⁷⁷⁷ twenty years earlier, in 1915, little progress had been made, as maternal mortality was still rising in 1935. With the inscription 'Motherhood', the large illustration signed by G.B. Foyster, the woman artist identified in many of the line drawings, portrays a mother who is young and childlike and this works with the text. It suggests innocence and unworldliness in relation to the mother's understanding of maternal services. The article, identifying the availability of ante- and post-natal services to mothers, makes it clear that the cost of this should be the responsibility of the community not the mother.

⁷⁷⁶ *Woman's Outlook* May 11th 1935, pp. 425-426.

⁷⁷⁷ Davies, (ed.), *Maternity*.



Figure 42 Dame Janet Campbell on the Maternity Services, *Woman's Outlook* May 11 1935, p. 425

Visual analysis of co-operative woman in her maternal role offers a nuanced insight into the topic of family size in interwar Britain. *Woman's Outlook* makes more reference to the issue of birth control than Clare Debenham suggests: 'after initial enthusiasm...*Woman's Outlook* stopped covering the issue', and contrasts with

Labour Woman's ambiguity over the topic.⁷⁷⁸ Pictured with children, she was assigned the role of primary carer. Typically, the male figure, represented as the husband and father, was less frequently shown. He was occasionally illustrated with the children, in ways which sometimes included advertisements, for non-co-operative products.⁷⁷⁹ Illustrations suggest the possibility of smaller families and giving birth to fewer children throughout the period. Characteristically, there are one or two children, and intermittently three children. Family size decreased from 1900 when 'it was common for working-class mothers to have four or more children'.⁷⁸⁰ By 1940 and across the classes this had dropped to an average of two children.⁷⁸¹ Looking at the visual contributes a markedly more complex picture. Editorial messages can be drawn from the pictorial representation of relatively small sized family units and citizenship which suggests that there was a greater interest and awareness of birth control than perhaps Debenham recognised.

Woman's Outlook established a space for dialogue to open up the possibilities of a more equal fellowship and a happy home. The promotion and definition of the co-operative home would provide the 'political, economic and intellectual' enabler for the emancipation of the co-operative woman.⁷⁸² The representation of motherhood, whereby co-operative woman is depicted in the home with her children, certainly

⁷⁷⁸ C. Debenham, *Birth Control and the Rights of Women: Post-suffrage Feminism in the Early Twentieth Century*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), p. 14.

⁷⁷⁹ For example, *Woman's Outlook* November 5th 1927, pp. 11, 21; *Woman's Outlook* May 2nd 1931, p. 426; *Woman's Outlook* November 14th 1931, p. 6.

⁷⁸⁰ Giles, *Identity*, p. 36.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸² *Woman's Outlook* May 19th 1928, pp. 476-477.

features a great deal. It was part of the political rhetoric of the magazine. Predominantly, these signifiers demonstrated conformity to traditional role expectations as expressed in the Co-operative Party leaflet (1919) (Figures 27, 28). Yet, politicised representations produced different dialogues which explored traditional roles in the home and how these identities transitioned into the political and public spaces.

Woman's Outlook addressed maternal and infant health, an important matter for the women of the movement. However, after 1933 fewer features depicted the mother with children, although articles still engaged with pressing issues of, for example, Maternity services. From 1935 a more regular format and placement of articles, features more with the consistent structure of *Woman's Weekly*. These changes may have coincided with the death of the editor Annie Bamford Tomlinson in 1933 and reflect the new editorial control of Mary Stott.

Woman's Outlook, compared with the *Herald*, *Ourselves*, and the *Wheatsheaf*, was the main source of maternal representations. In contrast to *Woman's Outlook*, *Ourselves*, *Herald*, *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman* rarely depicted maternal and infant health. The visual representation of motherhood was not part of their editorial remit. This may have been for financial reasons or because these publications each had alternative purposes, addressing other topics. *Woman's Outlook* was the main source of articles which drew visually on photographs and line drawings, depicting mother and child in a loving scenario. Typically, in this motif, she

was illustrated as young and stylish; youth was employed to convey innocence which was used to politicise the need for protection in the advancement of maternal rights.

We do not know if the home is the 'primary occupation' of the mother and the housewife, and this definition does not exclude her from paid work outside the home.⁷⁸³ Few married women were members of Trade Unions, and their domestic issues were not a priority.⁷⁸⁴ Women's employment and potential Trade Union membership is complicated. Despite the inconsistent application of the marriage bar it could be suggested that women workers, whether married or not would prioritise issues of working conditions rather than domestic matters. During the interwar period women's fluctuating Trade Union membership indicates that the unions did not address women's needs. Peaking in 1920 at 1.3 million, falling to 0.7 million in 1933, then rising to 1 million by 1939 women's membership compared to men's membership which peaked at 7 million in 1920 and, continually declining, dropped to 4.5 million in 1936 and then rose to 5.2 million by 1939.⁷⁸⁵ Typically dominated by a patriarchal ideology, most unions overlooked women, lacking any real commitment to engage with them.⁷⁸⁶ How *Woman's Outlook* advanced Trade Union membership is considered in Chapter Six.

⁷⁸³ Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 23.

⁷⁸⁴ Scott, *Feminism*, p. 18.

⁷⁸⁵ Pugh, *Women*, p. 80.

⁷⁸⁶ G. Holloway, *Women and Work in Britain since 1840*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 159-161.

Woman's Weekly, mobilised youth and inexperience in its construction of the 'anxious' mother's identity.⁷⁸⁷ Although *Labour Woman*, contained articles concerning motherhood, there was no great emphasis on illustration. Matters relating to motherhood mostly appeared in the Housewife column, closely aligning the two roles as examined in this chapter's next discussion of the Housewife. It is to this topic that the focus of the chapter now turns, by comparing the representation of the co-operative housewife and her relationship with housework with her role as the consumer and a market for household gadgets.

The Housewife and Housework: 'Taking the irk out of work' ⁷⁸⁸

There was considerable diversity in how these different magazines and the co-operative movement depicted the housewife and housework in the interwar years. For example, the Co-operative Party leaflet (1919) portrayed the co-operative woman as engaged 'in the endless toil of house-cleaning' to support its proposals 'To help her as a Woman and a Citizen'.⁷⁸⁹ *Woman's Outlook* contained the most articles and advertisements on the housewife and housework. *Woman's Weekly* by contrast, featured some articles on the housewife and housework, but the subject was more likely to appear in advertisements.

⁷⁸⁷ *Woman's Weekly* November 4, 1933.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ourselves* November 1937, pp. 494-495.

⁷⁸⁹ Co-operative Party, *To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs*, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919), verso.

Comparing the differences between the co-operative magazines *Woman's Outlook*, the *Wheatsheaf*, *Ourselves* and *Herald*, with Labour women's magazine *Labour Woman* and commercial weekly *Woman's Weekly*, reveals how these different magazines approached the issue of new technology and housework. For example, *Woman's Outlook* and *Ourselves* were more responsive to how women's work could be changed by the new technology of electricity. These magazines were progressive and addressed the nervousness of women towards electricity and their emancipation from the drudgery of housework (Figures 57, 58, 60). In contrast this topic scarcely featured in *Woman's Weekly* (Figure 59) and *Labour Woman*.⁷⁹⁰

Woman's Outlook promised that electricity would revolutionise 'household drudgery'⁷⁹¹ in order to construct a co-operative approach to 'full-time housewifery', which has been described by Judy Giles as 'a far more attractive option to women than in the past'.⁷⁹² The opportunity for smaller families and home-ownership, meant that women's relationship to the home was no longer as homogeneous as it had been.⁷⁹³ Despite the completion of the National Grid in 1933,⁷⁹⁴ and availability of labour-saving gadgets, the uptake of electricity was 'slow and patchy'⁷⁹⁵ with appliances not really becoming household items until the 1950s.⁷⁹⁶ By 1939 two out of three households were connected to the National Grid,⁷⁹⁷ but, practically,

⁷⁹⁰ *Labour Woman* November 1 1923, p. 175.

⁷⁹¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, pp. 8-9.

⁷⁹² Giles, *Parlour*, p. 60.

⁷⁹³ Giles, *Women*, p. 173.

⁷⁹⁴ J. Gardiner, *The Thirties: An Intimate History of Britain*, (London: Harper Press, 2011) p. 27.

⁷⁹⁵ Pugh, *Women*, p. 181.

⁷⁹⁶ I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Housewifery', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska, (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain*, (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), pp. 149-164, 159.

⁷⁹⁷ Gardiner, *Thirties*, p. 447.

electricity did not transform the everyday lives of most housewives in interwar Britain.⁷⁹⁸

This final section addresses the topic of the housewife, and to do so it is structured in two parts. The first examines how the housewife was depicted in *Woman's Outlook*. The next focuses on women's engagement in house-cleaning, comparing and contrasting how the new technology of electricity was discussed in *Woman's Outlook*, *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*.

The Housewife: 'For Herself: Relief from the endless toil of house-cleaning and home-keeping'.⁷⁹⁹

In the Edwardian period, the notion of the housewife developed as 'a totemic figure' in the matter of free trade and tariff reform.⁸⁰⁰ By the interwar years illustrations in magazines were showing a much more complex representation of the housewife; depictions in the magazines examined here, juxtapose the diverse roles, functions and demographics of who might be 'Our Housewives' as is illustrated in Figure 43. This diversity was particularly notable in *Woman's Outlook* where she was urged by the capitalised title of the page, to be 'Be ready for all emergencies'. Housewives were occasionally represented in co-operative magazines, but *Woman's Outlook* focussed especially on her role, as illustrated by the introduction of a new feature

⁷⁹⁸ Pugh, *Women*, p. 182.

⁷⁹⁹ Co-operative Party, *To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs*, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919), recto.

⁸⁰⁰ D. Thackeray, 'From Prudent Housewife to Empire Shopper: Party Appeals to the Female Voter 1918-1928', in Gottlieb and Toye, *Aftermath*, pp. 37-53, 44.

called 'Our Housewives Page' in 1921. The image in the illustrated header (below), a modest line drawing, suggests an idealistic historicised setting for 'Our Housewives'. Co-operative woman positioned at the left of the illustration epitomises a more traditional view in an appeal to the reader, but depicted beneath there is much greater diversity about how her role might be perceived. Together, the picture and text, in a shared dialogue placed the housewife at the centre of the co-operative community.



Figure 43 Our Housewives Page, *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 7

Following the pattern established on the front cover of the inaugural edition of *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 26) the woman's mode of dress is historicised. The feature's masthead exemplifies the use of contrasting styles of illustration, which continued to draw on understandings associated with women's traditional working dress while supporting the broad appeal to different ages, demographic range and preferences of readers. The artist's use of an assortment of busy patterns, on the fabrics in the feature's masthead, suggests a cosy environment. The setting which does not seem to be the kitchen but a comfortable space in the house, nonetheless portrays the woman as industrious and she is shown occupied with sewing.

The insertion of a smaller line drawing in the centre of the page, in Figure 43, with the caption 'Every Picture Tells A Story' demonstrates the editors' awareness of the image's potential to communicate directly with the reader. Co-operative woman is elevated by being placed at the top of the insert. Breaking the boundary of the decorative border, she is depicted smiling, paused for thought as she cleans the floor with a mop; in contrast, the woman below is on her hands and knees, scrubbing the floor. Addressing her as 'This Wise Housewife' the full page article through word and image encourages women to use labour saving strategies and products, such as a floor-soap, mop and bucket, all readily available from the CWS.

The title 'Be ready for all emergencies' (Figure 43) emphasises a distinct approach to 'Labour Saving', by selling household products with claims to be efficient, hygienic and inexpensive. The article utilises a clear before and after advertising technique of

the commercial weekly, commonly seen in *Woman's Weekly*.⁸⁰¹ The drawing depicts the smiling co-operative woman and her satisfaction with the mop. It conveys the transition of the co-operative woman from scrubbing the floor to gaining time 'to think for herself', a key message of the movement and the 1919 Co-operative Party leaflet (Figures 27, 28).

The tidy neat figure of the smiling woman at the top of the line drawing, rupturing the boundaries of the illustration indicates breaking away from habit, as she demonstrates how much easier it is to use a long handled mop, rather than cleaning the floor on bended knees depicted underneath by the dishevelled woman. This was a key theme in *Woman's Outlook*, encouraging the co-operative woman to keep thinking, even in her work, 'She knows there's no truth in the statement that you can't work and think at the same time'.⁸⁰² In contrast, as we shall see, *Woman's Weekly* placed its emphasis on the task in hand.

In 1923 notions of what understandings of work might be to the co-operative woman were addressed in the illustration 'The New Coatee' (Figure 44). The page's illustrated masthead, previously associated with the topic of housework in the 1921 article entitled 'Our Housewives' Page' (Figure 43), is re-used and re-titled, 'The New Coatee', in a way which blurs the boundaries of work and leisure.⁸⁰³ This practical re-

⁸⁰¹ For example, see: *Woman's Weekly* May 2 1925, p. 795; November 7 1925, p. 849; May 7 1927, p. 903; November 4 1933, p. 812; November 4 1933, p. iii; May 4 1935, p. 857; May 4 1935, p. 858; November 2 1935, p. 829; May 1 1937, p. 933.

⁸⁰² *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 7.

⁸⁰³ C. Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England, 1920-1960*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 22, 29-46.

use of the line block by the printer connects with Nicholas Mirzoeff, Peter Burke and Peter Mason who have drawn attention to 'the lives of images' and the potential for multiple interpretations and dimensions.⁸⁰⁴

32 WOMAN'S OUTLOOK.



THE NEW COATEE.

FOR WEAR EVERYWHERE THIS WINTER.

MATERIALS.—7 ozs. shade 84 (Oyster), 2 ozs. shade 418 (Jade), and 1 oz. shade 420 (Tomato), all in "Beehive" Shetland Floss, were used for the original. Two No. 8 celluloid knitting needles and a No. 8 crochet hook.

Work at a tension to produce about 7 stitches over the plain knitting.

Commencing the knitted portion of the jacket with the shade 84 (Oyster), cast on 120 stitches for the lower edge of the back.

Work in plain knitting for 5 inches.

Then cast on 9 stitches at the end of each row until 264 stitches are on the needle—the cast-on stitches being for the sleeves.

Work 6½ inches on all these stitches without shaping, measuring from the first cast-on stitches of the armhole. This brings the work to the division of the neck, and the collar is now worked as follows:—K. 117 and leave them for the first sleeve and shoulder; on the next 30 stitches work backwards and forwards, increasing once at the beginning of every row, until 80 stitches are on the needle. Cast off these 80 stitches.

Now, commencing again where the stitches were left at the first shoulder, join up the wool and knit up 25 stitches along the side edge of the collar.

Continue on these 142 stitches for another 7 inches.

Cast off 9 stitches in every alternate row at the sleeve edge until altogether 72 stitches have been cast off.

Continue on the remaining stitches, without shaping, for 5 inches. Cast off.

Commence again at the second point of the collar, in the next (i.e., one space), work another space, 1 tr. in each of the next 12 stitches, 2 spaces, 1 tr. in each of the last 3 stitches, 3 ch., turn.

2nd row.—3 tr., 2 spaces, 2 ch., take the shade 420 (Tomato), and work 7 tr. over the 7 centre tr. of the long block in the previous row, join up the Jade wool, 2 ch., 1 tr. in the next tr., 2 more spaces, 3 tr., 3 ch., turn.

3rd row.—Like the 2nd row. (Thread in the loose ends very neatly and securely).

4th and 5th rows.—Like the 1st row.

Repeat the last 4 rows for 42 inches.

Then with the Jade wool work a row of spaces along one edge through which to thread the cord for the waist.

THE CUFFS.—Using the Jade wool, and with the right side of the work facing you, knit up 74 stitches along the edge of the sleeve.

Knit one row plain, decreasing the stitches to 62.

2nd row.—K. 2, *P. 1, K. 1, repeat from * to the end of the row.

Repeat the last row for 2½ inches. Cast off.

With the wool, sew up very neatly the cuff, sleeve, and side seams. Sew the crochet band to the waist of the jacket.

Using the Jade and Tomato shades, make a twisted cord to thread through the holes at the waist, finishing each end (when threaded) with a small tassel made of both shades.

With the Jade wool work an edging of D.C. round the 2 fronts and collar.



THE "ENA" COATEE,
and instructions for turning the "Ena Jumper" into an "Ena Coatee."

knitting up 25 stitches along the shaped edge—continue with the same needle and knit the stitches that were left for the second shoulder and sleeve.

Work this front to correspond with the first.

THE BAND.—Using the shade 418 (Jade) commence with 30 ch. and another 3 ch. to stand for the 1st tr. of the following row.

1st row.—Counting the 3 ch. as the 1st tr., work 1 tr. in each of the 3 following ch., 2 ch., miss 2 stitches, 1 tr.

Figure 44 The New Coatee, *Woman's Outlook* November 1923, p. 32

⁸⁰⁴ Mirzoeff, *Visual*; Burke, 'Interrogating', p. 439; Burke, *Eyewitnessing*; Mason, *Lives*.

The everyday taken-for-granted, overlooked identity, of the housewife, as ‘solidly middle-class, southern and suburban’,⁸⁰⁵ is significant, because it was actually more complex. Unpicking that complexity plays an important part in understanding how the co-operative woman was represented. In contrast to *Woman’s Outlook*, there are fewer images about housework in the *Wheatsheaf* and *Herald*. In *Ourselves*, images regarding cleaning and household management mainly appear from 1933 which suggest a change in focus and purpose in the magazine’s thinking about the role of the housewife.⁸⁰⁶

In January 1920, *Labour Woman* featured ‘The Housewife’ column,⁸⁰⁷ using the term ‘housewife’ which previously had been rarely used.⁸⁰⁸ This use in *Labour Woman*, predated its inclusion in the *Woman’s Outlook* column of 1921. All magazines used similar strategies in appealing to their audiences but *Woman’s Outlook* had a broader view of what the housewife represented. Although housework did not comprise an overwhelming proportion of magazine content in the 1920s *Labour Woman*, it increased in the 1930s. Karen Hunt, who has offered the only analysis of ‘The Housewife’ column, observes that its introduction offered a particular identity which was broadly familiar for some of the readership, for example, from middle England.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁵ Hunt, *Labour*, p. 239.

⁸⁰⁶ Steedman, *Dust*, pp. 112-141.

⁸⁰⁷ *Labour Woman*, January 1920, p. 14.

⁸⁰⁸ Hunt, *Labour*, p. 242.

⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

The illustrated header of the May 1921 issue of *Labour Woman* (Figure 45) resonates with the co-operative movement's dynamic understanding of the co-operative woman as active in multiple and different spaces.⁸¹⁰ The two line drawings offer aspirational images of home life. A bold and double lined border, frame the housewife in two distinct domains, outside in the public space of a street and inside, in the home. The image on the left side of the page positions her away from the home and depicts her duties as mother and shopper. She holds the hand of her young child, who is dressed neatly in school uniform as they return from a shopping trip. The items are carried in a wicker basket over her arm. In the second illustration the housewife is shown alone. She is portrayed confidently engaged in the role of preparing food. She stirs a mixture in a bowl. A pair of scissors and sewing items, positioned between the two illustrations further represent the many aspects of her roles and function as mother and housewife. The text addresses a mixture of topics, including economic hardship, feeding the children of 'necessitous families' on a budget and recipes for Salt Beef Hash.

⁸¹⁰ For example, *Herald* November 1919, p. 169.

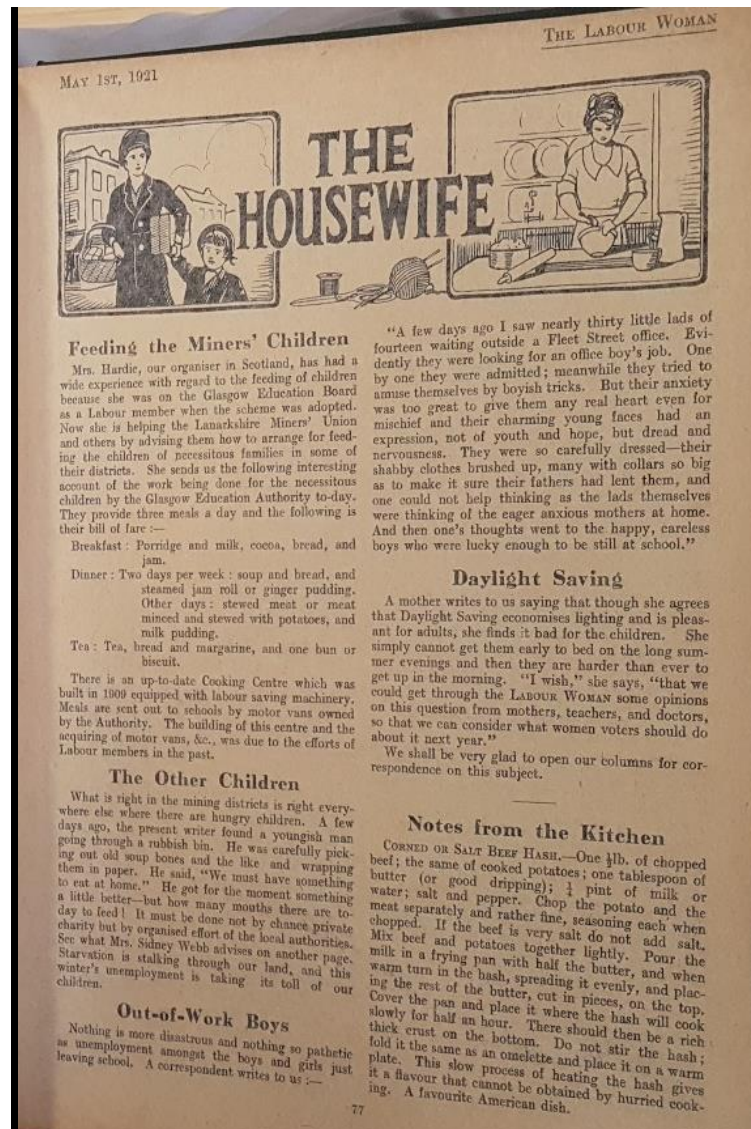


Figure 45 The Housewife, *Labour Woman* May 1st 1921, p. 77

The illustrated headers of *Labour Woman* present a graphic style of simple line drawing similar to those used in *Woman's Outlook*. Pictorially, they employ a conventional illustrational style; textually the editors want to appeal to a readership of similar thinking and outlook. For Karen Hunt, 'The Housewife' column in the interwar years offered a space where the Labour Party could similarly engage with

the housewife as an 'inactive member' of the Labour movement.⁸¹¹ The early 'conception of the housewife and her interests' offered a way to connect with the 'everyday lives of ordinary women'.⁸¹²

Ten years later, in 1931, the masthead of 'The Housewife' (Figure 46), portrayed only the displaced headshot of the housewife juxtaposed against the bold capitalised strap line 'This Month's Recipes'. Washing is blowing on the line, a long handled brush is similarly propped, as on the front cover of the inaugural issue of *Woman's Outlook*, as if the woman is taking a brief respite from her work in the home. Her other domestic duties are suggested by large tins of flour and sugar prepared for baking, whilst her knitting needles are readied for those 'quieter' moments. The insert 'The Working Class Nightmare' which features the topic of rheumatism, caused by cold, damp and insanitary living conditions, recognises the socio-economic status of the Labour housewife. *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Outlook* in documenting the distinct, multifaceted and overlapping nature of women's everyday lives were trying to reach out to them. For example, both journals employed the term 'working women', to blur the housewives' social identity and 'her relationship to the labour market'.⁸¹³ For Hunt, *Labour Woman* communicated 'some uncertainty about who she was' as over time the column's content changed from a political to a more specifically domestic focus.⁸¹⁴ The housewives' columns in *Labour Woman* and

⁸¹¹ Hunt, *Labour*, p. 250.

⁸¹² *Ibid.*

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 245-248.

Woman's Outlook were aware of, and attempted to appeal to, the two different types of readerships of the Co-operative and Labour movements.

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THE LABOUR WOMAN

NOVEMBER, 1931

THE HOUSEWIFE



THE WORKING CLASS NIGHTMARE

It is not until we are getting on in years that we quite realise the nightmare that Rheumatism can be to the everyday life of the individual. Then it is too late to do much more than relieve it by baths. But as mothers, we can do something to save our children. It has been found that the disease is widespread among young children, and causes not only injury in the joints but nervous disorders such as St. Vitus's Dance (Chorea) and worst of all badly injures the heart. We all realise now that what we called "growing pains" when we were young were really the pains of rheumatism.

CAUSES

Doctors are fairly well agreed now that rheumatism is a disease got by infection. As with other diseases got this way, the state of the blood decides whether we are able to resist it or not, and it is to be noted that the disease is largely confined to the working classes. This can be explained by the conditions which lead to people getting rheumatism. Bad Housing is often the first cause. Damp, cold and sunless rooms with insanitary conditions are sure homes for rheumatism. Overcrowding spreads the infection. Poor clothing and the wrong food add further causes.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

Much is being done to alleviate rheumatism in the various clinics for the disease which are springing up all over the country. They treat largely by different types of baths. It has been found that children can be almost cured by lengthy rest in bed with the accompanying good food. This relieves the heart whilst ridding the body of the infection. Doctors have decided by careful research that the particular diet does not affect the disease at all as long as it is a well-balanced one, so this disposes of the myth that meat should or should not be taken. It has also been agreed that rheumatism is not due to acidity as so many of the advertisements tell us. Most doctors think that it is best to remove the tonsils of a child with the disease as much of the infection starts and spreads from there, but this is advisable only if they are already diseased.

EVEN OUR VOTE CAN HELP

If we consider the actual causes of rheumatism, we can see that tinkering with it after it has got a hold is of little use. We must concentrate on good living conditions for all, and we can see that the Labour Party's vigorous Housing Policy must have had good effects in fighting this curse of rheumatism.

Its efforts to provide boots for necessitous children and adequate unemployment benefits should make us realise we can use our vote to protect our children.

W. L. N.

The November Issue of
THE LABOUR MAGAZINE
will be
devoted to the General Election
The price is 6d. per copy, post free.
Annual subscription 7s., post free.
Get a copy from the—
LABOUR PARTY PRESS & PUBLICITY DEPT.,
Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.4

THIS MONTH'S RECIPES

Rhubarb and Date Chutney

Ingredients.—2 lbs. rhubarb peeled and cut up small, 1 lb. date stoned and cut up small, 2 lbs. onions cut up small, 1 lb. brown sugar, 1 oz. mustard seeds, 1/2 oz. each of capsaicums and muscades, 1 teaspoonful salt.

Method.—Put Marrow Chutney, in muslin bag. Place all ingredients in a pan with 1 pint of vinegar and boil for 1 hour, stirring frequently and when cold.

Tried and found very good.
(Mrs. ROBINSON, Wellington, Durham)

Marrow Chutney

Ingredients.—2 lbs. marrow, 2 lbs. apples (chopped small), quart and 1/2 pint of vinegar, 12 oz. chilies, 1 oz. ground ginger, 2 tablespoonfuls, 1 1/2 lbs. brown sugar.

Method.—Mix all except sugar and boil for 1/2 hour, then add sugar and boil again gently for 1 1/2 hours.
(Mrs. HOPKINSON, Newburn)

Marrow Chutney

Ingredients.—4 lbs. marrow, 2 ozs. mustard, 1/2 lb. ginger, 1 lb. lumpy sugar, 1/2 oz. turmeric, 1/2 oz. chilies, 2 doz. shallots, a few cloves, 2 pint vinegar.

Method.—Cut the marrow into small pieces, sprinkle with salt and stand till morning, then strain, put chilies, cloves and ginger into a muslin bag and boil with other ingredients for 10 minutes in the vinegar, then add marrow and boil till clear. When cold it is ready for use.
(Mrs. TYSON, Seven Kings, Essex)

Cornish Pudding

Take 3 apples, pare, core and slice them, 1/2 lb. raisins, 1/2 lb. currants, 1/2 lb. sultanas, 1/2 lb. grated nutmeg. Mix these and put in a well buttered pie-dish. Pour over them enough boiling milk to nearly fill the dish. Put a little butter on top, and bake in a moderate oven for 1 1/2 hours.

Cranberry Pudding

2 breakfastcupfuls of dry flour, 2 teaspoonfuls of baking powder, pinch of salt. Mix to a paste with 1 pint of milk, and lastly sprinkle in 2 cupfuls of cranberries. Turn into a buttered basin, and bake 1 hour, dish up and serve with castor sugar and cream.

Snow Eggs

For this boil a pint of milk, and when boiling drop into it by spoonfuls the whites of two eggs whisked to a stiff froth and slightly sweetened. Poach these until they are done, then lift them out to drain, and thicken the milk with the yolks of the eggs, flavoured as desired. Pour the boiled cream into a round dish, place the snow eggs on the top, and decorate with crystallised cherries.

DECEMBER COMPETITION

Christmas Fare

You are asked to send in, for the next competition, any recipes which you have found useful at Christmas-time. This leaves you a wide choice. It may be one for the Christmas pudding or something suitable for the children's party. On the other hand, a special pudding recipe for Boxing Day would be useful to come after the cold meat left from the day before. Address your entry by November 20 to "The Editor," THE LABOUR WOMAN, Labour Party, Transport House, Smith Square, London.

The Chutney recipe competition was so popular that it made judging difficult, and the recipe finally chosen had no name or address with it, but if the writer sends to the Labour Woman Office we will forward the prize. An extra prize is awarded to the second recipe from Mrs. Clarke, 6 Midland Street, Sheffield.

Do not forget, if you make Marrow Chutney, that the elderly marrows are better for your purpose than the young ones. Also, do not be tempted by a quantity of rhubarb in the garden to make a great quantity of that chutney because jams and chutnies made with rhubarb keep well for a month or two, but are liable to ferment if kept too long. Every housewife should make Chutney, it is so appetising and helps cold fish and meat and goes well with cheese. You will not be able to keep your Chutney-making a secret, as all your neighbours will know whether you tell them or not.

Chutney

Ingredients.—2 lbs. apples, 2 lbs. green tomatoes, 2 lbs. Dem. sugar, 1/2 lb. shallots (or English onions), 2 ozs. ground ginger, 1/2 lb. sultanas, 2 pts. vinegar, 12 red chillies, 1/2 oz. mustard seeds, 2 tablespoonfuls salt.

Method.—Cut the apples, tomatoes, shallots, and (if liked this may be sieved), add sugar, chillies, salt, sultanas and mustard seeds and boil until thick. Bottle and tie down when cool.

Apple Chutney

Ingredients.—1 lb. apples, 1 lb. onions, 1 lb. raisins, 1 lb. brown sugar, 1/2 oz. ground ginger, 1/2 teaspoon salt, 1/2 pint vinegar.

Method.—Chop up all the ingredients, boil in the vinegar for half hour, then bottle.
(Mrs. CLARKE, Sheffield)

Apple and Tomato Chutney

Ingredients.—1 lb. apples, 1 lb. onions, 1 lb. tomatoes, 1/2 lb. sultanas or raisins.

Put the above through mincing machine, then add the following dry ingredients, and mix well: 1/2 lb. brown sugar, 2 ozs. salt, 1/2 oz. ground ginger, 1 oz. cayenne pepper, 1 pint vinegar.

Place in pan and bring to a slow boil, and simmer gently for twenty minutes. Cool, then bottle.
(Mrs. STICKLEY, Leeds)

Rhubarb Chutney

Ingredients.—4 lbs. of rhubarb, 1 lb. brown sugar, 1 lb. raisins, 6 onions, 2 ozs. curry powder, 1/2 oz. cayenne pepper, 1 pint of spiced vinegar, 4 tablespoonfuls of salt.

Method.—Prepare and cut the rhubarb into 1/2 lengths and boil with the sugar until tender, then add the stoned and minced raisins, the finely-chopped onions, the curry powder, pepper, salt and vinegar. Mix well and simmer gently for fifteen minutes, then pour into jars and cover in the usual way.
(Mrs. CORNELL, Theford)

Ripe Tomato Chutney

Ingredients.—1 1/2 lbs. ripe tomatoes, 1 1/2 lbs. marrow, 1 lb. apples, 1/2 lb. onions, 1 lb. Dem. sugar, 1 lb. sultanas, 1 1/2 pints malt vinegar, 1/2 oz. mustard seed, 6 chillies, 12 peppercorns, 6 cloves.

Method.—Cut marrow in neat pieces. Well salt and leave in pan 24 hours. Drain well and put in stewpan with tomatoes skinned and cut up, apples and onions cut up, sugar, whole sultanas, and other ingredients. Let all come gently to the boil and simmer 1 1/2 hours.
(Mrs. TAYLOR, Buckhurst Hill)

Figure 46 The Housewife, Labour Woman November 1931, p. 166

NOVEMBER 7, 1952

25

The Housewife's Idea Page

Suggestions which will help you if you are not TOO experienced in housekeeping

A PRACTICE THAT MAKES FOR WASTE

It needs a clever woman to run a home thriftily and well. These are hints other housewives have tried

Throwing Away the Useful Scraps

THE BREAD-PAN
BREAD goes mouldy sooner in a tin than in an earthenware pan, while half an apple put with the bread will help to keep it sweet. New bread is indigestible and, as an old Scotch proverb says: "The difference between eating new bread and stale is one loaf in five."
Those who suffer from indigestion should either eat crusts or make themselves rusk or pulled bread.

PULLED BREAD
PULLED bread can be made when the loaf is new, and should be kept in a tin like biscuits. The crumb of a loaf is pulled apart through pieces and dried through and lightly browned in a slow oven.

AU GRATIN
DISHES served au gratin are a great boon to the careful cook. They look well, serve in a fire-proof dish with brown breadcrumbs to cover and tasty white sauce to dispense whatever the ingenious housewife likes to put in. It may be some cold rice and cheese, or cold fish and vegetables, sausage, cold meat, hard-boiled eggs, or part of a tin of spaghetti and tomatoes, or some cold bacon or ham. There is no end to the kind of dishes that can be invented. This way of cooking is splendid for using up bits, and it makes the food go twice as far.

BROWN-BREAD CRUMBS
BROWN-BREAD crumbs for covering au-gratin dishes are made from any crusts or bits of bread well dried in the oven and crushed with a rolling-pin. Put in a large jar, they will keep for weeks and always be handy.

OTHER FOODS THAT ARE OFTEN WASTED
SWEET milk is generally thrown away, but it is better than fresh for making light scones and Yorkshire puddings.

VEGETABLE STOCK
THE water from cooking vegetables contains all the nourishing vitamins and the salts which are so good for the blood. But most people throw it down the sink.
Boil water and the water in which potatoes, carrots, turnips, peas, sprouts, etc. have been cooked, all make excellent stock, and can be seasoned with meat extract, and boiled up with two table-spoons of sugar to make quite a high-class soup.



BRIGHT WINDOW PANES

I should be much obliged if you could tell me what will clean a window which has a greyish appearance when the sun shines on it, and marks show as if someone had put their fingers or hands on it?—A. W.

THE secret of the grey tinge to your window is probably that someone has used paraffin to clean it. Such a practice gives brilliant results temporarily, but bad effects follow. I should wash the windows thoroughly with warm water in which borax has been dissolved. If this does not entirely remove the paraffin, repeat the washing with soda and water, warm. To clean, any of the preparations advertised for the purpose will serve, or you can use old newspapers soaked in water containing a trace of ammonia and a still smaller trace of laundry blue. Squeeze the paper well. To polish, use newspapers which are thoroughly dry.

STAINS ON AN OAK TABLE

Could you kindly inform me, which is the best way to remove stains from a polished oak table?—V. E. WHITE.

I THINK any of the popular polishes for woodwork should abundantly serve your needs. An old-fashioned recipe is to wash with beer slightly warmed up, and then, when dry, to beeswax and polish well. This is a remedy that dates from the days when makers did not produce the really very efficient woodwork polishes they do to-day, and I should recommend you to rely on the shop-sold article.

THE WASTE PREVENTER

The waste preventer in our lavatory has become very sluggish in refilling, and takes nearly half an hour to do so. Is this a case for the plumber, please, or can you suggest any way of rectifying the fault?

PROBABLY the ball-valve inside the waste preventer sticks a little, and so prevents a free flow of the water. Remove the lid of the preventer (if it has one) and look inside. You will see a copper ball attached to a brass rod, which again works a kind of valve or tap. Take hold of the brass rod and move the ball briskly up and down a few times, which will free the valve mechanism. The water now will probably flow in at the proper rate.

Saved from the Dustbin

WHAT happens to the oddments of fat, stale bread, bits of cold vegetables and ends of cheese?

The clever cook will make a dainty meal of them, while in the badly managed house, where there are no proper hot meals, and where the children are allowed to go to the cupboard and take what they want, no doubt all these bits go into the dustbin. The dustman must be quite a reader of character, for he is the one who sees the lumps of fat, stale mouldy loaves, burnt joints and cakes and charred bacon that are being constantly wasted.

The careful housewife might change the old proverb, and say: "Take care of the scraps and the meals will take care of themselves."

Bits of fat, both cooked and uncooked, can be melted down and strained into a jar, while there is a use even for the browned scraps of fat that remain. In Sweden these are mixed with mashed potato, and make quite a nourishing, tasty dish.

Figure 47 The Housewife's Idea Page, *Woman's Weekly* November 7 1925, p. 825⁸¹⁵

By November 1925 the theme of the housewife in articles and features made an intermittent if short-lived appearance in *Woman's Weekly*. 'The Housewife's Idea Page' (Figure 47) illustrates the youthful and contemporary housewife with a simple line drawing. In contrast, to *Woman's Outlook* and *Labour Woman*, the housewife in

⁸¹⁵ Typographical error reads 1952.

Woman's Weekly is depicted as a novice in the kitchen and is offered 'Suggestions which will help you if you are not **too** experienced at housekeeping'.⁸¹⁶ The aspirational theme of *Woman's Outlook* and *Labour Woman* continues in *Woman's Weekly* but in another way, with a different emphasis on material wealth. In contrast to *Labour Woman*, the kitchen cupboard is drawn so its contents can be seen: it is full. The table is laden with food. Yet, pictorially and textually, the article insert entitled 'Saved from the Dustbin' conveys the message of thrift, recognising the reader's potential socio-economic position.

By 1927 the page space allocated to housewife features in *Woman's Weekly* was much less. For example, an article entitled 'What Housewives Want to Know: Advice from our Expert' occupied one third of the page space and continued to position the magazine as the expert. The image accompanying the article depicts a young professional woman, stylish and aspirational, sitting at a desk looking away from the reader towards the letters on her desk. She wears a knee length dress with short bobbed hair. Her facial details are obscured.⁸¹⁷ The image suggests how the representation of the expert was gradually becoming more sophisticated, perhaps reflecting a desire to appeal to a more stylish reader. By 1935, *Woman's Weekly* in a full page feature called 'Write to the Beauty Expert' (Figure 48), suggests how the figure of the housewife had shifted. She was now located in relation to notions of

⁸¹⁶ *Woman's Weekly* November 7 1925, p. 825.

⁸¹⁷ *Woman's Weekly* March 26 1927, p. 583.

feminine appearance, beauty tips and how to 'Avoid "Housewife's Hands"', a theme maintained throughout the interwar period.⁸¹⁸

NOVEMBER 2, 1935 865

AVOID "HOUSEWIFE'S HANDS"

Proper Care Will Prevent Them
From Becoming Grimy And
Rough, No Matter What House-
hold Task You Do



BINKIE

ARE you ashamed of your hands?
If you are a housewife, perhaps you have regretfully given up the idea of having nice-looking hands. If your hands are not beautiful, at least they are useful and quite indispensable to your family, you say!
The busy woman who uses her hands constantly may not be able to keep them smooth and white, but she can prevent them from becoming rough and grimy with brittle nails.
Here are a few simple hints for protecting hands from the ill-effects of work about the house and garden.

**Write To The
Beauty Expert**

c/o "Woman's Weekly," The
Fleetway House, Farringdon
Street, London, E.C.4, enclosing
a stamped, self-addressed
envelope for a personal reply.

then, without drying them, rub with lemon juice. Now wash the hands with soap and water, rinse, dry and apply your hand cream or glycerine jelly.

THE BUSINESS GIRL
THIS simple treatment is also good for the business girl whose hands become grimy at the office or shop.
Use hand lotion freely during the day. Use it always after having had your hands in water. Avoid extremes of temperature for the hands

painting, loose cotton ones at night to keep the hand cream or glycerine jelly on.

AFTER PAINTING
IF you can keep your hands clean while painting furniture you are exceptional.
Here is a way to remove the paint spots and make your skin smooth and clean again.
Begin by wiping off the paint with butter muslin soaked in turpentine. Wipe it thoroughly and rub in a generous amount of hand lotion.
Wipe off the lotion and cleanse your hands a second time with fresh lotion, wipe and then scrub well with soap and water and a hand brush. Rinse and dry.
Now massage your hands with a cleansing cream, or let them soak in olive oil for five minutes. Wipe the hands, wash again with soap and water, rinse, dry and rub in more hand lotion.

AFTER GARDENING
WHEN your hands are soiled from gardening or other grimy tasks, rinse them in cold water and



Paint stains should be removed with
turpentine.

WHEN COOKING
WHEN peeling raw vegetables, place a strip of adhesive tape on the ball of your thumb and also along the side of the index finger of your right hand to protect from stains and cuts.
You can avoid stains, too, by steaming your carrots and potatoes in their skins, which come off easily after cooking.
Rubber glove fingers are also helpful for protecting thumb and fingers.

WHEN IRONING
WHEN ironing, secure a soft pad of folded cloth on the palm of your hand with an elastic band holding it in place across the back.
Wear gloves whenever possible—rubber ones for wet tasks, heavy canvas or leather ones for sweeping, gardening and



Always wear gloves when gardening.



Perhaps you have regretfully given up the idea of having nice hands!

THE FINGER-NAILS
WORK that is hard on the hands is also harmful to the finger-nails. They become brittle, dry, and they split. Ragged cuticle, hangnails and hard corners all contribute to the unkempt appearance of the hands.
There is nothing better than daily warm oil treatments. The finger-tips should be soaked in cuticle oil for five minutes a day, and a cuticle cream left on overnight.
A good make of cream nail polish may be used. This type is ideal for brittle nails.
Another point is that probably you are not taking sufficient lime in your diet. Eat more cheese and drink more milk.

Figure 48 Avoid "Housewife's Hands", *Woman's Weekly* November 2 1935, p. 865

⁸¹⁸ *Woman's Weekly* November 3 1923, p. 639; November 2 1929, p. 810; May 1 1937, p. 929.

Woman's Weekly, advanced the ideal of the housewife and the comfortable home. Unlike *Woman's Outlook*, however, the visual promotion of the healthy and happy family, through the role of the housewife, mostly appeared in the context of consumption, in advertisements. Throughout the period, the scattering of articles on the housewife, which appeared in *Woman's Weekly*, overwhelmingly placed the magazine as the expert in the practical attainment of the comfortable home. In contrast, *Labour Woman* and even more so, *Woman's Outlook*, offered different understandings, politicising the co-operative woman as the housewife. The next section develops this theme, examining how *Woman's Outlook* subtly fused contemporary notions of efficiency and cleanliness in housework to connect the housewife with the co-operative ethos and topics of peace (Figure 49), internationalism (Figure 57) and democracy which would eventually contribute to her emancipation.

Housework: 'Every Woman Knows That her Children...To be Healthy, need a Clean and Comfortable House'⁸¹⁹

The promotion of the co-operative healthy and happy home was guided by the necessity for 'a clean and comfortable house' and was driven by the desire to improve the everyday lives of the co-operative woman and her children as healthy citizens who would ultimately achieve a fair and democratic society in the form of the Co-operative Commonwealth. This section first examines how this was attempted

⁸¹⁹ Co-operative Party, *To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs*, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919), recto.

through house-cleaning, focussing primarily on advertisements in the co-operative publications specifically, *Woman's Outlook*, and *Woman's Weekly*, comparing and contrasting the design and content of advertisements which promoted similar house-cleaning products. It then assesses the role of electricity. The National Grid, completed in 1933, opened up greater opportunities to use electricity. This was swiftly embraced by *Woman's Outlook*, which understood how industrialisation of the home could emancipate the co-operative housewife.

House-cleaning

Advertisements for co-operative products drew on commercial advertisement styling and content. For example, the Scottish CWS produced a scouring powder called 'Rubitof' (Figure 49), which was advertised on the inside front cover of *Woman's Outlook* in November 1927. This offers a parallel to the advertisement for 'Zog' (Figure 50), a similar cleaning product which was promoted on the back cover of *Woman's Weekly* on May 2nd 1925.

These advertisements, placed in the prime positions of the inside front cover, facing the editorial, and back covers, promoted the effective, swift and kind to hands qualities of their respective cleaning products. Stylistically comparable, line drawings present the young happy housewife who has a contemporary bob hairstyle. The co-operative housewife is entreated to purchase 'Rubitof' from 'the Co-operative store near you' and is promised the co-operative values of efficiency and cleanliness as 'A

Little Shake of Rubitof and Everything is Bright'. The advertisement indicates the magazine's geographical reach proclaiming that 'Rubitof' is available 'At all co-operative stores in Scotland'.⁸²⁰ The advertisement for 'Zog', similarly, assures that 'everything it touches is bright, cleaned and polished in an instant' and can be purchased 'from all grocers and oilmen'.⁸²¹ The advertisement for 'Zog' focuses on the immediate task in hand, which is the domestic duty of cleaning. In contrast the 'Rubitof' advertisement, as part of a double page spread, offers more complex meanings, whereby the mother and housewife are represented as the personification of the home and peace, ready for when the men return from war or work.

In Figure 49 the image of the co-operative woman as a cheery contemporary housewife contrasts with the editors' construction on the opposite page, of the hardworking mother, 'The plainly-dressed figure of the woman, the serious look on her face, the marks of toil...all bespeak self-sacrifice'.⁸²² The role of the mother, shown in a photograph of a sculpture, becomes politicised in its position within an editorial which honours 'Armistice Celebrations' as a platform to discuss militarism and voices for peace. Like the photograph of the maternal sculpture 'Mother and Child' in Figure 25, from 1921, it is suggestive of the timelessness, idealised beauty and sacrifice of the mother who, 'In looking forward or looking back, remember always the best is yet to be'.⁸²³ The perspectives portrayed are singular, while the

⁸²⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 5th 1927, p. 1.

⁸²¹ *Woman's Weekly* May 2 1925, Back cover.

⁸²² *Woman's Outlook* November 5 1927, p. 1.

⁸²³ *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 13.

implication of the text and photograph are at odds and sit amongst a range of manifestations of the co-operative mother and housewife, even on a single page.

WOMAN'S OUTLOOK.

AN EVER WELCOME VISITOR IN EVERY HOUSE



IN THE HOME where cleansing is an everyday affair, "Rubitof" is an ever welcome visitor. It cleans and scours everything, *except clothes*. Dishes, Pots and Pans, and all Household Utensils, Marble, Tiles, Windows, Baths, China, and Earthenware, Linoleum, Floors, and all Wood Work, Copper, Brass, Steel, &c., are all treated in a like effective manner. Simply pour a little "Rubitof" out of the perforated tin, rub a wee, and brightness shines around. "Rubitof" is also good for the hands—it makes them soft and velvety—try it.

AT ALL CO-OPERATIVE STORES IN SCOTLAND.

A Little Shake of—

Rubitof

and Everything is Bright again!

Manufactured by the
Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited,
at their Soap Works, Grangemouth.

NOVEMBER 5, 1927.

WOMAN'S OUTLOOK.

Vol. IX., No. 141.

Armistice Celebrations.

A People's Peace Pageant.

Lesz Millgate, Manchester, October 22nd.

EDITORIAL CHAT.

As November approaches thought turns naturally to that occasion, nine years ago now, when loud-voiced heralds announced to a sweating world that an Armistice had been declared, and that fighting was finished for the present.

Yes, that was as for as things went on that historic November 11th. A truce was declared, but with it there was a reservation, and nobody was quite certain whether the truce would be broken.

FIGHTING ceased! Not war, mind you! There is a great difference between the two; but the heat of mind was so great that the best possible was read into the position, and nations took it upon themselves to rejoice. Since that time November 11th has been set marked in the calendar as an occasion for recalling the magnificence and the tragedy of war.

It is interesting to notice how these celebrations have been kept largely in the hands of the military authorities. The Churches have certainly used the opportunity for a general condemnation of war. Speaking generally, however, the military machine has used this occasion for its own glorification and publicity.

There is not the slightest suggestion of the naive and affected prettiness seen in the piece of sculpture which is so common in many other artists. The plainly-dropped figure of the woman, the serious look on her face, the marks of toil in the roughened hand upon which the child's head rests, all bespeak self-sacrifice. Then the child's face! Clapped its wide-open eyes look out into an cognisance. The plump face and chubby hands are a comfortable contrast to the child as though breathing a prayer of "Goddesswomen," said Mrs. Bedhall (the national president) recently, "should never need urging to protect the young, and they must come to understand the causes of war so that they will say, 'Never again.'"

There is a change coming, however. Peace people are beginning to realise that it is a chance for their point of view to be heard, and amongst the bodies to note, is our own Women's Co-operative Guild, which has come forward with its particular peace contribution. The idea is fine, and if every guild will take a part, it will prove a splendid bit of anti-military peace propaganda work.

It may not be convenient to arrange it just on Armistice Day. This does not matter. Any day during that week will do, and if that is quite impossible, use the programme on some other occasion—but "DO IT!"

THE programme for this unique celebration has been thoughtfully drawn up. It is a real specimen of co-operative effort, for everyone present can take a part, even though it be only joining in a song.

THE meeting is to open with a song followed by a simple declaration from the chairman which reads: "We are holding this meeting to-day in memory of those who fell and suffered in order that there should be NO MORE WAR, and to renew our

Figure 49 An Ever Welcome Visitor In Every House/ Armistice Celebrations Woman's Outlook November 5 1927, pp. ii, 1

**Use Zog
for cleaning pots and pans**

Watch the dirt and grease vanish from them under the gentle and swift action of Zog; note how it frees them from food odours, and leaves them sanitary clean and sweet.

You will like using Zog in the kitchen. You will appreciate the simple Zog way of cleaning and polishing everything; of saving time, money and labour. And you will delight in cooking utensils that are Zog cleaned.

Upstairs, as well as downstairs, Zog will do the hardest part of your work. With Zog no hard rubbing is required; yet everything it touches is cleaned, brightened and polished in an instant—preserved as well, for things stay clean longer.

Zog does not scratch

It does not redden or chap the hands; it is good for them.

You want Zog everywhere in the house. Buy it in the giant container 6½ in. deep—7½ d.

From all grocers and oilmen

In the giant container
7½ d

Zog comes back with 100 new uses. There is nothing else like it. Nothing else can do what Zog does: cleans glass and white paint-work without scratching; polishes aluminium as well as cleans it.

**LEVER BROTHERS LIMITED
PORT SUNLIGHT**

ZOG
POLISHES
TIN and
ALUMINIUM

cleaning and polishing
tin, and other
in a damp cloth
with a little ZOG, rub
off food polishes
ZOG soft cloth
cleans and polishes
without scratching.

There is nothing like Zog for cleaning and polishing
PAINT-WORK
ALUMINIUM & TIN
LINOLEUM AND
OILCLOTH
WINDOWS
GLASS & MIRRORS
CHINA, PORCELAIN
ENAMEL
BRASS & COPPER
SILVER & PLATE
TURNERY, CUTLERY
BATHS, WASH-BASINS
TILES & SINKS


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Figure 50 Use Zog for cleaning pots and pans, *Woman's Weekly* May 2 1925, Back cover

Cleanliness and efficiency were important matters to *Woman's Outlook*. In contrast, 'Our Dry Cleaning Corner' (Figure 51) in *Woman's Weekly*, at less than half the page,

addressed the cleaning questions of 'puzzled readers'. A tiny insert of fourteen lines about 'Scratches on a Window' (Figure 52) answers a reader's question, yet also suggests the irrelevance to the magazine and reader of this type of topic.

MAY 7, 1927 895



Our Dry-Cleaning Corner

Our Cleaning Expert is Always Pleased to Answer Puzzled Readers. Address Her c/o "Woman's Weekly," The Fleetway House, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4, enclosing a stamped self-addressed envelope for a personal reply

I should now try warm water and ammonia—one teaspoonful to one pint. Dip a rag in this and rub gently across the grain of the material. Afterwards freshen up the colour by rubbing with vinegar and water.

WHEN VELVET IS SPOTTED
I have a black chiffon velvet coat which has been out in a heavy downpour and has, unfortunately, become spotted. I have tried getting the spots out by steaming, brushing and passing a hot iron over the inside of the coat, but it does not seem to have made much impression. I should be glad if you could assist me in the matter.
 —C. W.

STEAMING is the best way to remove spots from velvet, but when you do it only steam the surface and do not soak the velvet. Put the coat on a hanger and pass it in front of a steaming kettle. Afterwards dry it quickly and when dry brush lightly. Sometimes, two or three light steamings and dryings are better than one thorough one.

If your coat needs something more, first brush any spots with one part water and two parts methylated spirits, then lay the coat on a tray and brush it well with petrol. Afterwards let it get dry and then steam again and the coat ought to look as good as new.

CLEANING DOESKIN GLOVES
I have a pair of expensive doeskin gloves which are very dirty now. They are a light fawn in colour and the gauntlets are lined with white fur. I want to clean them, but as they are good ones I am afraid of spoiling them. Can you tell me the best method?—Mrs. G.

CLEANING your gloves with petrol will be best, especially as the gauntlets are lined with white fur. Soak them in a basin of petrol for three minutes. Then lay them on a tray and scrub with a soft nailbrush dipped in petrol. When they are nearly clean rinse in fresh petrol and scrub again if necessary. Finish them off by wiping with a clean cloth. Remember that petrol is most inflammable.

A CHOCOLATE STAIN
Please could you tell me what would remove chocolate stains from a bois-de-rose repp dress? I have sponged it with warm soap-and-water, but it still leaves a brown stain. Would petrol be of any use?
 ANXIOUS M. L.

IT would have been better to use warm water alone for the chocolate stain on your repp dress, as soap is inclined to harden the stain.

THE CRIMSON RAMBLERS (Continued from page 892)

chief target of his jealousy and rage. He was for ever bringing up his former rival's name, lashing himself into a fury, accusing Eileen of making assignations with him, and refusing to believe her statements to the contrary.

Matters daily grew worse and worse. They quarrelled every moment they were together, because Eileen, who had at first been frightened and cowed, suddenly changed front and defied her insanely jealous husband.

"I'm going back to the stage, Virgie. I can't stand it," she declared one day. "You must tell Mr. Virgot I'm coming, and ask him to forgive me for running away and make room for me again. He wasn't very angry when I left, and I know he'll do anything you ask him. No girl in the world could go on living a life like this with Lionel. We'll take a flat again, and pack up our things and have them moved gradually to save a flare-up, and creep away one day when Lionel's not about, and leave him to find out we've gone! Of course, he'll come after us, but he can sleep on the doorstep if he likes. I won't let him in, and if he's troublesome the police will lock him up. You've got to help me, Virgie, because if I stay here much longer I shall go out of my mind as well as Lionel, and then there will be two lunatics instead of one! You don't blame me, do you? I couldn't humour him any more than I have, could I?"

"I don't think you could, only I should wait, if I were you, until Lord Honerton comes home, and ask his advice," Virginia counselled.

"What would be the use? Besides, I can't stand another week of it," Eileen argued. "Do you think I wouldn't if I could? Directly I'm away from Lionel I shall feel calmer and safer, and perhaps he'll quieten down himself if he's away from me. It isn't as if I

were cloping with another man! I mean to be ever so circumspect. We won't go anywhere, except perhaps to Rhys Cumberland's studio to tea. He's finished our portrait, and we must go to the private view to hear what everyone is saying about it. It's sure to create a sensation when it's hung! Now, Virgie, lock the door and help me pack, there's a darling. We'll have to smuggle out our clothes in little parcels every time we go out. Boxes would make Lionel suspicious, and he'd guess we were planning something at once."

She was so insistent that in the end Virginia fell in with her wishes. A service flat was taken, and the move made without detection, and on the day it was accomplished Eileen returned to the stage. "The Crimson Ramblers" were billed together once again.

On the evening of her departure, at the theatre, and especially afterwards, Eileen was in a state of nervous apprehension. She had half expected her husband might create a scene in the theatre itself, outside the stage-door, or follow and waylay them as they entered the flat: but nothing untoward happened. He was nowhere to be seen, and she slept peacefully in her bed that night and for the many nights that followed, gaining confidence as time went on and no disturbance was made.

"I don't think anything's likely to happen now," she observed one morning, a fortnight later, when she was dressing to go out. "Lionel seems to have faded quite peacefully away. I suppose he found someone to console him, and doesn't mean to worry me again. It's funny he never even wrote after we left, or tried to see me, isn't it? Of course, if he ever undertakes to behave really sensibly in the future, and asks me to return, I shall consider it seriously, because, after all, I married him for his position, and I still think

Figure 51 Our Dry-Cleaning Corner, *Woman's Weekly* May 7 1927, p. 895

THE STORY OF A CHORUS GIRL'S GREAT DECEPTION

believe what I'm seeing. Heaven knows you're as good-looking a girl as Zogbaum ever picked, but I never thought you'd be the kind to have fur coats for presents. But here you were—again he held up a protesting hand, as though to fend off further denial from her—and I'd have bet a thousand that you recognised me. Well, I tackled you—mind, I was still thinking it was you, and I was sore at the way you turned me down. Too good for your old friends, I thought. Then a big swell comes up to you and calls you Eleanor, and in a minute the waiter tells me you're Mrs. Dean Carey. I'm telling you that you and Mrs. Carey don't look alike—you're the same person. It's enough to make a man light-headed!"

He drew a long breath, lighted another cigarette, and inhaled deeply. The smoke seemed to soothe his excitability. Cynthia made no comment; she knew that exactly the right degree of cool amusement showed in her eyes.

"Well," Bennie continued, "I began to wonder, and the more I wonder the more it looks to me that there's something funny about it all. If this Carey woman just looked like you, it wouldn't be anything to bother your head about. But she's you! Your voice, the way you smile, the way you move your hands. And I say to myself that it's kind of funny the way Brown dropped out of the show. Then I come here, and, in spite of the clothes you've got on, it ain't Cynthia Brown I'm looking at; it's Mrs. Dean Carey. How much would Mrs. Dean Carey give Bennie Thompson to keep it to himself that she's Cynthia Brown? You can bet it would be plenty, or else why would she be so positive that she didn't know me? We don't need to argue that. It's too simple. And then, just as I'm figuring where to invest my winnings, it seems to me it won't come off, after all. For you aren't Mrs. Carey; you're simply a feeble chorus-girl from the road."

"Much obliged," smiled Cynthia.

"But how feeble? That's what I'm asking myself now," went on Bennie. "Pretty feeble, or you wouldn't be going back to the country. A gal like you can't go back to the country. Listen; there's cash in this resemblance. I can't see the plot this second, but I'm smart as the devil, and I'll get it soon enough. There are a dozen ways. Carey making love to you—his wife about to come in."

Cynthia rose languidly.

"Close the door softly on your way out," she said.

Girls such as Bennie Thompson was accustomed to know seldom met a situation with cool finality. Talk, oceans of words, must be spilled over every situation that arises. No one could have been more surprised than Bennie himself when he found himself, urged by a stranger will than any he was accustomed to encounter, on the threshold of the flat. Bewildered, enraged at the contempt which, because quiet, was all the more cutting, he turned at the door and glared at her. Even in his rage he sensed something of the triumph which Cynthia fought so hard to hide. Suspicion, and with it cunning, leaped into his mind.

"That Curwood fellow you spoke to—is he married?"

He was just a wee bit too deliberately casual. Bennie Thompson would always fall short of complete artistry in everything he attempted. Had he hurled the question at her, Cynthia, in the relaxation that always follows upon victory, might have answered him in a fashion that would have rendered futile all her denials. As it was, the slowness of his utterance warned her. She shook her head as though in pity.

"I think you need a long holiday," she told him. "There's a medical name for that disease where a person gets one idea in the head and can't get it out."

He gave her one last look, and then the door slammed behind him.

CYNTHIA seemed suddenly to have become very small; huddled in the chair, she was a most pathetic figure. The strain of the interview had been greater than she realised while it was going on. Sitting there, she would probably have comforted herself with what her grandmother would have termed a "good cry" had it not been for the ringing of the telephone.

It was the porter downstairs announcing that the taxi-man had arrived. She pushed the trunk open, took out the dress and coat she had just discarded, wriggled out of the flannel frock she was wearing, and had accomplished a complete change by the time the taxi-man knocked at the door. Five minutes later she had left the flat. No blessings were showered upon her, for she had not enough money with her even to pay the smallest tip. The little cash she had with her was barely sufficient to convey herself and her trunk to the station and pay the fee for her baggage.

Once she would have started on the long walk home, but familiarity with wealth breeds contempt for the obstacles that are insurmountable to those who have no money. So she entered a taxi, drove home and, on arriving there, ordered the butler to pay and tip the taxi-man.

An hour later Dean interrupted her attempt at a nap by knocking gently on her door.

"Come in," she called. This was the first time that he had crossed the threshold, and his diffident embarrassment made her feel a rush of pity. What a rotten time he was getting! And, badly as he thought himself treated, how much worse were the actual facts!

"Your father telephoned a little while ago," said Dean. "The old gentleman seemed upset over his talk with us last night. He told me that he felt that he had been unforgivably impertinent. I assured him that I was not angry, but the only way I could convince him was by promising to dine with him to-night. All right?"

Cynthia nodded. "There will be other people there, and you haven't seemed to care about meeting anyone," said Dean,



SCRATCHES ON A WINDOW

Somehow the glass in our dining-room window has been badly scratched. The pane is not broken, and I want if possible to avoid the expense of a new one. I should be so much obliged if you can suggest any remedy.—Mrs. Worry.

RUB the scratches with a bit of soft cloth or leather on which you have placed some jeweller's rouge and the bad effect will be diminished. The scratches must be rubbed lengthways—not across.

Figure 52 Scratches On A Window, *Woman's Weekly* November 5 1927, p. 826

Like *Woman's Weekly*, *Woman's Outlook* offered an aspirational depiction of the problems of everyday housework and matter-of-fact solutions but inflected in very different ways. *Woman's Weekly* focussed on consumption and the individual, whilst *Woman's Outlook* had a more visionary view of what was possible for the housewife

and the co-operative outlook. The double page spread, in Figure 53, presents a visual embodiment of the co-operative rhetoric. The left-hand page, entitled 'To Lighten Housework and Incidentally Save Time and Money' highlights a key co-operative value which was promoted across articles and advertisements in *Woman's Outlook*. This particular article is a middle-class portrayal, with its depiction of a full wardrobe and multiple pairs of shoes, which suggests the diverse ways in which co-operative woman was represented in *Woman's Outlook*. The depiction of the young stylish co-operative housewife in the image 'Solving and "shelving" the shoe problem' is juxtaposed with her contrasting figure and economic circumstances, in the feature entitled 'In Working Women's Homes' on the opposite page.

This article entitled 'One with vision tells her story' on the right-hand page, presents a dialogue with one who, through self-help has found her way out of poverty by acting upon advice to join the movement and to buy co-operative goods. The stylistic feature of an interview with a co-operative woman, found in earlier issues, employed by the author of the article, conveys the idea that co-operative woman needs to be 'Convinced and Enthusiastic'.⁸²⁴

Typically, in *Woman's Weekly*, practical solutions to the everyday problems of housework, apart from in a scattering of articles, were not a focus of regular features, but were more likely to be found in advertisements. This contrasts with *Woman's Outlook*, which continued to publish articles emphasising ways to reduce the

⁸²⁴ *Woman's Outlook* May 4th 1929, p. 447.

drudgery and time spent on cleaning. As we shall see, sometimes this was achievable through the consumption of co-operative goods, yet it fused together with the higher purpose of freeing up the co-operative woman to engage in productive and satisfying activities.



Figure 53 To Lighten Housework/ My Way NOT Their Way, *Woman's Outlook* May 4th 1929, p. 446

Part of co-operative woman's domestic role was to keep her home 'well-ordered', efficient and attractive, as was espoused in the inaugural edition of *Woman's Outlook*,⁸²⁵ and progressive, modern and 'up-to-date'.⁸²⁶ Yet, housework did not really feature visually in *Ourselves* until the early 1930s. In May 1933, for example,

⁸²⁵ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

⁸²⁶ *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, pp. 8-9; *Woman's Outlook* May 13 1933, pp. 436-437.

the CWS advertisement 'Keep Your Home Smart with C.W.S. Paints and Varnishes' (Figure 54), suggests co-operative woman as a target market for co-operative products. A simple line drawing presents a young pretty woman, whose positioning, partially turned away, invites the viewer to be incorporated into the picture. She is focused, painting the garden fence. The home and garden setting suggest a tranquil idealised lifestyle. The notion that all is neat and tidy, established in the inaugural issue of *Woman's Outlook*, endures.

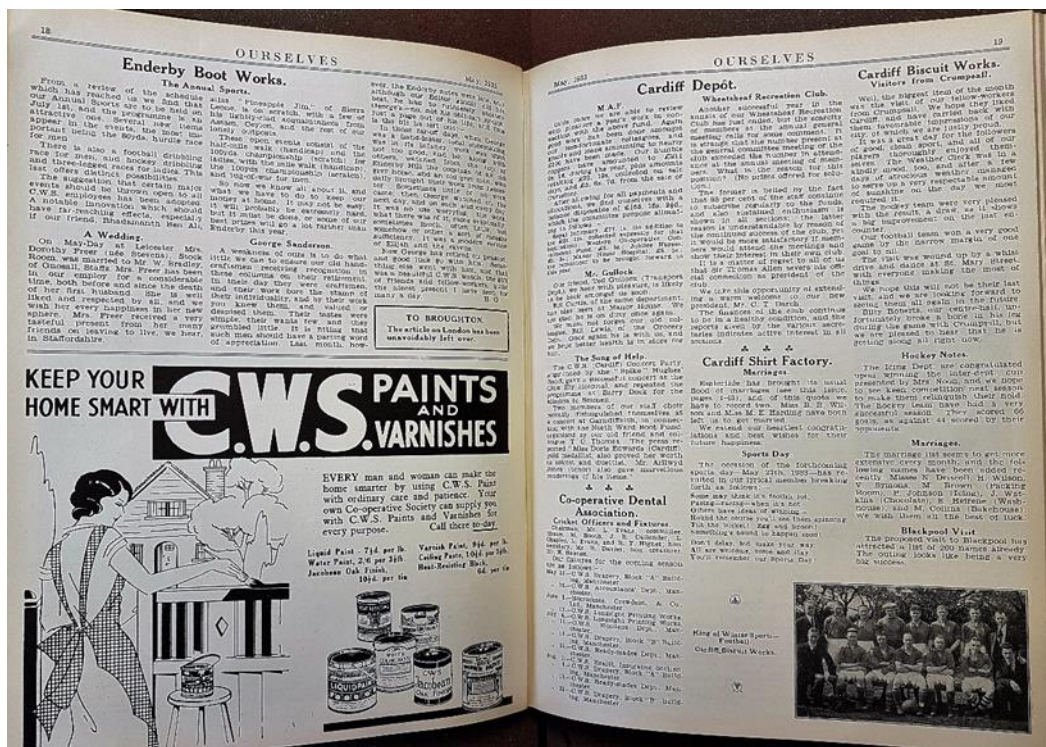


Figure 54 Keep Your Home Smart With C.W.S. Paints And Varnishes, *Ourselfs* May 1933, p. 18

In Figure 55, the double page spread of the 1939 *Woman's Outlook* continues to portray the notions of cleanliness, productivity and aspiration. On the left-hand page, the full page CWS advertisement for the soap product 'Paddy', with its promise of efficiency and 'no terrors' situates the cheery woman in the comfortable home,

where the fire burns brightly. Similar to a masthead illustration of 'The Housewife' column of *Labour Woman*, the clock on the wall indicates it is almost lunch time.⁸²⁷ It reads 5 minutes to twelve; all is well. Lunch is prepared, as she takes her well-earned short break.



Figure 55 "Paddy Washes Twice As Clean In Half The Time"/ The Perfect-Fitting BATHING SUIT, *Woman's Outlook* May 6 1939, pp. 28-29

The *Woman's Outlook* advertisement, like similar advertisements in *Woman's Weekly*, suggests that using this product will make time available to have a restful cup of tea. 'Paddy' offers the contemporary housewife relief from 'back breaking rubbing and scrubbing' and importantly, time for herself, as advocated in the Co-

⁸²⁷ *Labour Woman* April 1920, p. 53.

operative Party leaflet (1919). Opposite this page, a knitting pattern suggests recreation in fruitful leisure pursuits, such as knitting and swimming and also time for paid work. The photograph of an up-to-date bathing costume to knit in a woman's 'leisure time'⁸²⁸ suggests the themes of productive leisure, part of the co-operative values and paid work, which are addressed in Chapter Six. In contrast, the full page 'Rinso' advertisement in *Woman's Weekly* (Figure 56) whilst similarly extolling the alleviation of raw knuckles and the drudgery of a steamy scullery, sees this as giving the housewife time to go to the cinema at midday lunchtime - to watch the latest film!



Figure 56 Pleasure out of Washing Day, *Woman's Weekly* May 2 1931, p. ii

⁸²⁸ Langhamer, *Women's*, pp. 41-42.

Electricity: The Industrialisation of the Home

Time spent cleaning the house was an important topic in these magazines. *Woman's Outlook* and *Labour Woman* advocated how electricity in the home, offered the opportunity to make women's lives easier. *Woman's Outlook* and *Labour Woman*, in discussing the domestic role of electricity drew on political debate and understandings of housewives' lives. However, *Woman's Outlook*, more fully suggested how it might offer emancipation, time for thinking and enlightenment. In 1923 Herbert Morrison MP for the Labour Party produced the pamphlet 'Better times for the Housewife'. In November 1923, ten years before the completion of the National Grid in 1933, 'The Housewife' column in *Labour Woman* devoted a full page to a discussion of electricity, one of the chapter topics of Morrison's pamphlet. *Labour Woman*, drawing on the pamphlet's notion of the home as the 'mother's workshop' in which 'a capitalist State thought fit for her to live', enthused about the benefits of electricity whilst offering a critique of capitalism.⁸²⁹ *Labour Woman* suggested domestic electricity as a tool to free up time for the housewife to enable her to actively engage as a citizen and in party politics.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁹ *Labour Woman* November 1923, p. 175.

⁸³⁰ Cowman, 'From', pp. 376, 381.

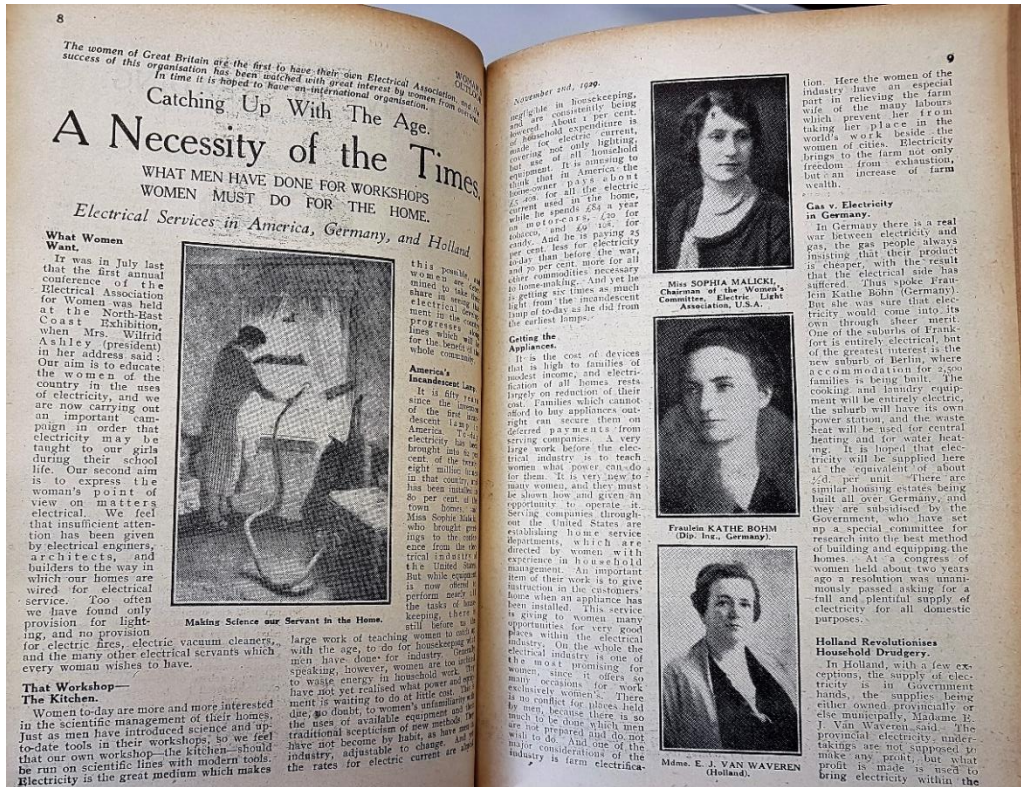


Figure 57 Catching Up With The Age, *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, pp. 8-9

In 1929, *Woman's Outlook* visually endorsed and politicised the use of electricity in the home in features such as 'Catching Up With The Age: A Necessity of the Times', (Figure 57) and in the 1933 article 'The All-Electric Home Is The Home of the Future' (Figure 58). The articles advocated the education of women in 'the uses of electricity' and the work of the Electrical Association for Women, formed in 1924, to address the nervousness of many women to this new source of power.⁸³¹

⁸³¹ Pugh, *Women*, p. 181.

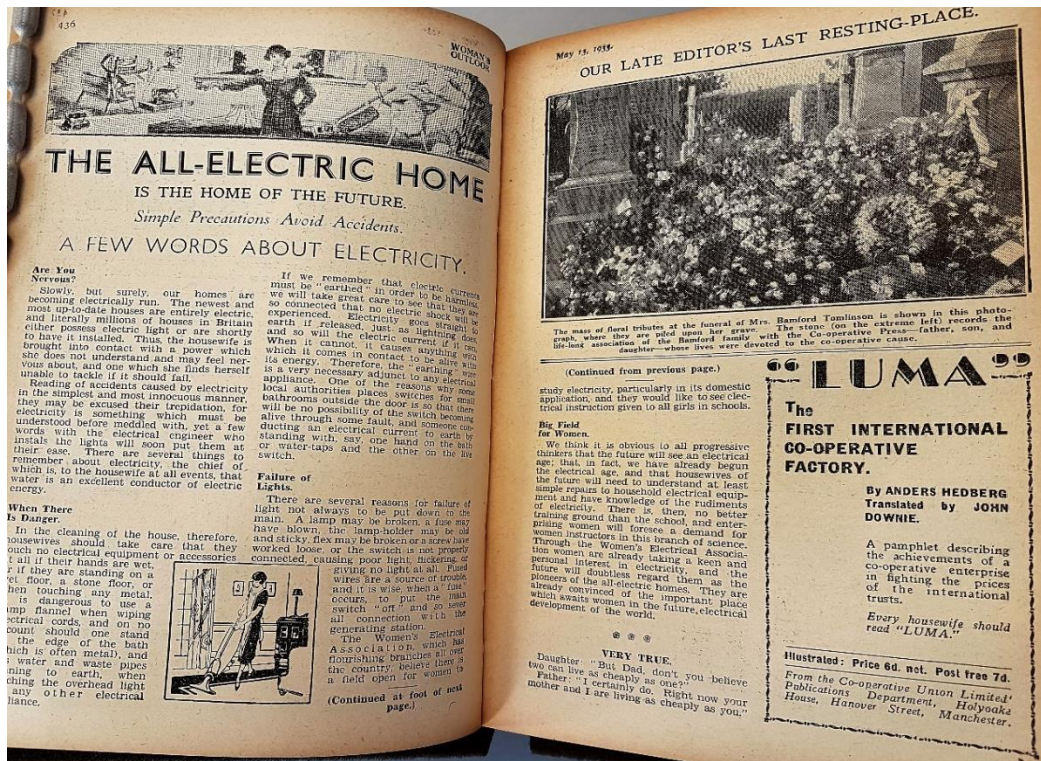


Figure 58 The All-Electric Home, *Woman's Outlook* May 13 1933, pp. 436-437

The double page spread and accompanying photographs in the 1929 article, 'Catching Up With The Age: A Necessity of the Times' (Figure 57), promoted the international scope of electrical services, progressively encouraging its use in the co-operative home by the housewife. The feature, performed several functions. The opening question 'Are You Nervous?' attempted to address anxieties about 'a power which she does not understand and may feel nervous about'.⁸³² Selling science to the co-operative woman through the industrialisation of the home, by its use in housework, compared the kitchen to the workshop: 'what men have done for workshops women must do for the home'. Scientifically informed, the testament and photographs of three women experts key to the electrical industry – Mrs Sophia

⁸³² *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, pp. 8-9.

Malicki (USA), Fraulein Kathe Bohm (Germany) and Mdme. E. J. Van Waveren (Holland), added gravitas and offered a 'declaration of modernity' in securing electricity's position in the changing landscape of the home.

Supporting the transition from 'traditional values'⁸³³ the article encouraged the housewife to buy and use co-operative products - electric fires and vacuum cleaners. Urging efficiency, it promoted the potential to have time for paid work in, for example, the electrical industry by demonstrating how to use new electrical appliances and by 'relieving the farm wife of the many labours which prevent her from taking her place in the world's work beside the women of cities'.⁸³⁴

The inclusion of photographs in the co-operative magazines (for example Figure 57) added to the development and pervasiveness of the concept of efficiency. The page layout, asymmetry of two columns, inclusion of more photographs and increase in the proportion of white space signalled the 'revision of the conventional book-like layout of magazines' which also took place in late 1920s fashion magazines 'to a more open, modernised, graphic layout'.⁸³⁵ These design features with their connotations of luxury⁸³⁶ contributed to an impression of progress, aspiration and good organisation. Page layout and typography firmly associated co-operative woman

⁸³³ Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, p. 120.

⁸³⁴ *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, pp. 8-9.

⁸³⁵ J. Aynsley, 'Fashioning Graphics in the 1920s: Typefaces, Magazines and Fashion', in Aynsley and Forde, (eds.), *Design*, pp. 37-55, 45-46.

⁸³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

with the advent of technologies and the future of electricity, with the co-operative values for the home, of cleanliness, efficiency and labour saving.⁸³⁷

Martin Pugh argues that the *Labour Woman* 'waxed' as eagerly 'about the advantages of electricity as any popular women's magazine'.⁸³⁸ Yet, in contrast to *Woman's Outlook*, visually the topic of electricity is not readily found in *Labour Woman*. The same was true of *Woman's Weekly*, which exceptionally in May 1939, featured a full page length advertisement promoting Electric hot water (Figure 59), paid for by the British Electrical Development Association, which was founded in 1919.

⁸³⁷ *Woman's Outlook* May 13 1933, p. 436.

⁸³⁸ Pugh, *Women*, p. 181.



Borrow our Bath?
Of course. Take the sink
too- we've got Electric
Hot Water there as well...

... Come round right away. I suppose
your old boiler's on strike again?

JOAN: "Yes. The wretched fire's gone
out—no hot water, and I'm going out
with Jack in an hour's time"

MARJORIE: "Don't think I mind you
sponging in our bathroom, darling, but
think how much more convenient for
you it would be if you could persuade
the parents to have electric hot water like
ours. It takes no time to install and it
never lets you down. If they say they
can't afford it, tell them from me that
it's cheaper in the long run because the
current gets cut off
automatically when
it's not needed"

JOAN: "My dear,
it sounds too
perfect—and if
I can't persuade
Daddy to take
the tip, I'm
not the girl I
thought I was"



**ELECTRIC
HOT WATER**

Ask your nearest showrooms

Issued by the British Electrical Development Association
2 Savoy Hill London WC2

Figure 59 Borrow Our Bath? *Woman's Weekly* May 6 1939, p. 929

MAKING HOUSEWORK EASY

A corner of the
Shavers at
National Works

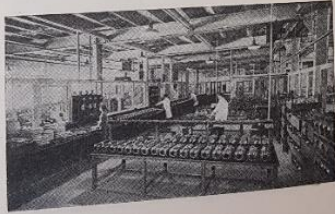


"TAKING the irk out of work" would be an appropriate slogan for the electrical section of the C.W.S. National Works at Dudley, for at these works is made a wide range of electrical equipment designed to help the housewife to reduce the tedium of many of her household duties.

The manufacture of these goods is indeed an interesting process. Parts for the electric irons and fires are cast in the works foundry, and sheet metal work is pressed out on large power presses, while silvered parts for the irons and vacuum cleaners are plated and polished by special automatic machines which are unique in this country. Indeed, all the machinery at the Dudley works is of the most modern types.

Electric fire bodies are enamelled with special cellulose finishes produced at the C.W.S. Derby Paints Works. They are dried in an automatic drying tank, being hooked on to a travelling chain which takes an hour to pass from one end of the tank to the other. When they come out they are finished, and ready for assembly.

The electric elements are made entirely at the works. A resistor wire of special alloys is wound



There is a well-equipped technical section at the works, including a draught office, which is one of the best in the Midlands. Every article is designed and a model made in the experimental room attached to the technical section before a great deal of production.

Tools for producing the various appliances are designed by the works engineers and used in the experimental department, where the

either in spiral form or on to the end, before for use in the electric fire, iron, and boiler.

When all the parts are completed they are assembled and passed into the electrical test room, where every heating appliance is tested at a special high voltage flash test, varying from 1,000 to 2,000 volts according to the class of appliance. This ensures no risk of earthing, and ensures a shock to the user.

Leaving the test room, the goods pass through an inspection department, where they are given a rigid examination for finishing defects, and then passed into the finished goods warehouse to be packed into cartons with guarantee tickets attached. The goods are then dispatched from here to the various retail outlets.

In addition to the tests mentioned the vacuum cleaners are tested also for noise and suction. Prior to the testing of vacuum cleaners the electric motors are assembled for testing, printing the motor and cartons, and these are assembled into a motor unit which is covered with leather duff.

Special care is taken in being vacuum cleaner accessories, particularly the hose and brushes, to ensure that all are interchangeable and expensive and used for its purpose.

NOVEMBER, 1937



The Works Foundry

most up-to-date tool-making machinery has been installed for this purpose.

The original Dudley Bucket and Pender Works were acquired by the C.W.S. in 1908, and made good progress under the new management, so much so that adjoining property soon had to be bought and turned into extensions of the factory. Altogether there were more than forty different workshops, connected by innumerable staircases, subways, and lifts.

Continued progress made still further extensions necessary, and in 1934 the C.W.S. bought the present National Works, which were used as a munitions factory during the Great War. Plant and machinery were removed from the old Charlotte Street premises to the new commodious building, and the C.W.S. Dudley National Works were officially opened in May, 1935. At the same time the electrical department was started, and the works commenced to produce electric irons, fires, vacuum cleaners, wash boilers, and washing machines.

Since that time the manufacture of electric light fittings and lamp shades has been undertaken, and the electrical department now occupies about one-third of the total floor space of the National Works, and finds employment for 200 workers.

Mr. Evans attended the opening of the electrical department, as they do every worthwhile project, and one of these was the scarcity of skilled labour. Labour had to be trained to perform the various intricate operations involved in the manufacture of electrical appliances, but the problem was tackled, and tackled successfully, as is evidenced by the following tribute from the "Electric Review":—

"In no other case have we seen produc-



One of the Press Days

tion which is so essentially laid down to serve the hardware man, responsibility for whose electrical education has been readily accepted by the C.W.S. Electrical Department. A lecture and demonstration room has been established for this purpose, and in a well-ventilated showroom we saw to advantage the many appliances already under production. Another point worthy of mention is that the whole of the junior labour employed was taught during a three-months' training course."

Electrical appliances are not the only goods manufactured at Dudley National Works. Other sections include the Galvanised Department, where a full range of domestic galvanised hollow-ware is produced, including dolly tubs, baths, and buckets. C.W.S. galvanised ware is known throughout the hardware trade for the exceptionally high quality finish, which is attained by a special process perfected by Dudley Works. A new production of the galvanised section, and one of particular interest to co-operative gardeners, is an excellent range of wheelbarrows.

The Hearth Furniture Department produces a complete range of the very latest designs in hearth furniture and smokers' sets, designs which cover a full range, from inexpensive curts to more elaborate and artistic suites.

An extension to the factory was recently purchased, and a new modern foundry laid down which produces, in addition to a comprehensive range of cast hollow-ware, including saucepans, frypans, kettles, and mincers, all the castings used in the various departments of the works. Head of the works is Mr. R. H. Lane, who joined the Wholesale in 1934, and subsequently became resident manager. He was appointed manager in August this year, when Mr. Thomas Grey relinquished the management on account of ill-health.

Figure 60 Making Housework Easy, *Ourselves* November 1937, pp. 494-495

In the November 1937 issue of *Ourselves*, (Figure 60) the double page feature 'Making Housework Easy' sustained this socially enlightened emphasis. Text and photographs organised in a two column page layout, continued to depict the industrialisation of housework and the complex identity of the co-operative woman as consumer, housewife, and employee in her relationship with the home, work and the movement, as proposed in the inaugural edition of *Woman's Outlook* and repeated throughout the period (for example Figure 57). Drawing on the notion of relieving 'the endless toil of house-cleaning and home-keeping'⁸³⁹ endorsed in 1919, the feature's slogan advanced 'Taking the irk out of work'.⁸⁴⁰ It promoted the wide

⁸³⁹ Co-operative Party, *To the Woman Voter: The Local Election and Your Affairs*, C.P. 23-319, Political Leaflet No. 13, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1919), recto.

⁸⁴⁰ *Ourselves* November 1937, pp. 494-495.

range of electrical goods ‘electric irons, fires, vacuum cleaners, wash boilers, and washing machines’, designed to alleviate the ‘tedium’ of the housewife and available to buy in the co-operative stores. Marketing the CWS Dudley National Works, opened in 1935, which employed 200 workers, the feature depicted the complex ecology of the co-operative movement. Photographs and text simultaneously portrayed the co-operative woman as worker in the co-operative factory, housewife and consumer.

The contemporaneous Hoover advertisement in the November 6th issue of *Woman’s Weekly* in 1937 (Figure 61), similarly offered ‘time and energy to enjoy a life apart from housekeeping’. The housewife, was depicted with the familiar long handled brush in her hand. She had not yet purchased her Hoover and the advertisement implied how her life would change once she had bought one. *Woman’s Outlook*, like *Woman’s Weekly*, in its advertisement for the co-operative produced Dudley vacuum cleaner, which was published in the November 1939 issue of *Woman’s Outlook* (Figure 62), identified the co-operative woman as a busy housewife who needed reliable tools. However, *Woman’s Outlook* unlike *Woman’s Weekly*, portrayed co-operative woman happily using her Dudley Vacuum.⁸⁴¹ The use of the drawing imposed on a photograph contributes to an impression of the progressiveness, adaptability and flexibility of the co-operative woman and the co-operative movement’s support for a modern lifestyle through the employment of modern technology.

⁸⁴¹ *Woman’s Outlook* November 4 1939, Inside back cover.

NOVEMBER 6, 1937 971

IT'S SO Silly TO
GO ON WEARING
MYSELF OUT...



WHEN I CAN HAVE A MAID AT 4^d A DAY

Yes, it is silly! To go on, year in year out, battling single handed with household drudgery... the never-ending turning out of rooms, shaking rugs, taking up carpets when, for just 10/- down and 4d. a day, you can have a tireless, dependable maid... It's the Hoover! A Hoover that glides along effortlessly, eating up dirt instead of sending it into the air. A Hoover that prolongs the life of your carpets and leaves you time and energy to enjoy a life apart from housekeeping. Send along the coupon and get details of this capable helper. There's a Hoover to suit every home and every purse. And remember... it beats... as it sweeps... as it cleans.

The HOOVER
THE CLEANER YOU CAN AFFORD

The Hoover Junior
Cash Price
£10. 15/-
Cleaning Tools
£2. 2. 6

COUPON To Hoover Limited, Dept. Q.6, Petvale, Greenford, Middx. Please send me without obligation your booklet giving full details of all Hoover Cleaners.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

YOUR OLD CLEANER TAKEN IN PART EXCHANGE

for
10/-
down



Figure 61 It's So Silly To Go On Wearing Myself Out, *Woman's Weekly* November 6 1937, p. 971

The "Sperope" Boot Manufacturers
Ladies
have the reason for having and expecting that their ELEGANT AND HIGHLY FINISHED "Sperope" Brand Boots will find a large demand in the Co-operative Movement.

LADIES', GIRLS', AND BOYS' BOOTS AND SHOES of Guaranteed Quality and Style.

SPEROPE BOOT WORKS, BARWELL
Near LEICESTER

The Co-operative Productive Review
THE BEST CO-OPERATIVE JOURNAL

Keep contact with your members by selling the Productive Review.

● Monthly 2d.
● 1 dozen copies monthly, 1/4
● Annually Subscription 16/-
● 2/6
Latest Review: Always up to date.

"OUR CIRCLE"
Keep your children in touch with the co-operative movement wherever they may be. In the new improved "Circle" there is something for children of all ages.
One Penny - Monthly

Printed and Published by The Co-operative Press Limited, 25, LAWSON, MANCHESTER.

War-time Study

Thousands of Co-operatives in the United Kingdom are now being re-organised to meet the needs of the war-time situation.

The Standard Co-operative Booklet, "Co-operative War-time Study" is now available for members of all Co-operatives.

Write to: Home Office, Co-operative and War-time Study, 10, Whitehall, London, W.C.1.

Apply to your local branch or to the War-time Study Office in the Education Department, HOLYOAKE HOUSE, MANCHESTER.

The Brand that gives entire Satisfaction

"Excellon,"
Co-operative Milk

Write to: THE BEECH OR CHERRY TREE, 10, WHITEHALL, LONDON, W.C.1.

WOMAN'S OUTLOOK

for
HOME SERVICE
You can depend on
"DUDLEY-ELECTRIC"



Standard Voltages are 200/250, 230/250, suitable for A.C. or D.C., 50 cycles.

"POPULAR" MODEL is a Frigidaire, electric refrigerator, 100 and 125 litre capacity. It is designed in an economical arrangement of interior. Guaranteed for 12 months.

"LAVIN" MODEL (Inlay) is a Frigidaire, electric refrigerator, 100 and 125 litre capacity. It is designed in an economical arrangement of interior. Guaranteed for 12 months.

"LAVIN" MODEL (Inlay) is a Frigidaire, electric refrigerator, 100 and 125 litre capacity. It is designed in an economical arrangement of interior. Guaranteed for 12 months.

VACUUM CLEANERS
PRODUCTS OF
C. W. S. LTD NATIONAL WORKS, DUDLEY, WORCS.

Figure 62 For Home Service You can depend on Dudley-Electric, *Woman's Outlook* November 4 1939, Inside back cover

Woman's Outlook and *Labour Woman*, in contrast with *Woman's Weekly*, typically depicted the housewife as experienced and knowledgeable. *Woman's Outlook*, the main source of housekeeping articles, visually depicted the co-operative woman cleaning to suggest how the movement sought to locate the identity of the co-operative woman in the home. The articles were embedded with messages of enlightenment and self-help, and communicated housework strategies which contributed to the dual aim of her emancipation and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Advertisements for housecleaning products in *Woman's Outlook* and *Woman's Weekly* are similar in content and design, indicating that *Woman's Outlook* was keeping up with contemporary and commercial weekly magazines for women. *Woman's Outlook* asserted its progressive outlook through line drawings and photographs as the only publication to illustrate the co-operative woman, as knowledgeable, experienced and readily engaged with the contemporary topic of electricity from the late 1920s.

Conclusion

The volume, diverse content and visuality of co-operative women in *Woman's Outlook* distinguished the magazine from the co-operative publications *Herald*, *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf*. *Woman's Outlook*, in addressing the domestic and economic subjectivity of co-operative woman presented opportunities for her to renegotiate her class, and the roles of mother and housewife, in the everyday life of

the home space. *Woman's Outlook's* focus on shared domestic and everyday familial gendered models suggests a distinctive co-operative identity, in how its editors used these representations pictorially, textually and politically. From 1925 the use of photographs in the *Herald*, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves* grew. Yet, *Woman's Outlook* continued to contain the largest proportion of photographs representing domestic life. In contrast, as we shall see in Chapter Six, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves*, were more focussed on the woman as worker than the woman as housewife, and adopted distinctive and different approaches which typically portrayed co-operative woman in this role.

Woman's Outlook engaged with the political dialogue of motherhood expressed in the Co-operative Party leaflet published in 1919 (Figures 27, 28), to reach beyond the identity of the married mother of the WCG. Motherhood was presented as an ideal (Figure 33). The home and children embodied the mother's identity which was manifested in sewing patterns,⁸⁴² recipes and dietary features,⁸⁴³ advertisements and occasionally fiction,⁸⁴⁴ although the magazine also considered sympathetically, the position of the unmarried mother, as was discussed earlier in the chapter (Figures 35, 40, 41).⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴² *Woman's Outlook* November 14th 1931, p. 32.

⁸⁴³ *Woman's Outlook* November 9th 1935, p. 11.

⁸⁴⁴ *Woman's Outlook* November 4 1939, pp. 6-7.

⁸⁴⁵ *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, pp. 20-21 'The Illegitimate Child and the Problem of the Unmarried Mother'; *Woman's Outlook* May 2nd 1931, pp. 430-431 'Helping the Unmarried Mother Starting Life Afresh with Renewed Hope'; 'Co-operation and Family Endowments', *Woman's Outlook* May 13 1933, p. 424.

Woman's Outlook employed diverse visual techniques, which included realist dystopian line drawing, photography and idealised simple line drawing in portraying topics such as, poverty (Figure 39) and family size, inadequate housing,⁸⁴⁶ and infant health.⁸⁴⁷ Attempting to address the needs of married and unmarried working-class mothers, *Woman's Outlook*, through word and image, used representations of the family, which briefly alluded to broader political campaigns about how to bring about state support for maternal care (Figures 40, 41). *Woman's Outlook* tackled maternal mortality rates (Figure 42), which remained high until 1935,⁸⁴⁸ but by 1935 these depictions of the family in *Woman's Outlook* had become infrequent. Topics concerning poverty, housing, infant health, and maternal care are all areas deserving further attention and more research needs to focus on how these issues were depicted in *Woman's Outlook*; however, it is not within the scope of the project to address all these matters here.

Woman's Outlook offered an alternative visual representation of women in the home which differed from how they were depicted in *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*.⁸⁴⁹ Unlike *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly*, *Woman's Outlook* mobilised the co-operative ethos and negotiated the dominant domestic ideology, by combining traditional and modern assumptions about the identity and roles of co-operative woman as home-maker. *Woman's Weekly* also portrayed women in a maternal role through its advertisements and advice column, yet *Woman's Outlook*

⁸⁴⁶ *Woman's Outlook* November 1923, pp. 20-21.

⁸⁴⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 5th 1927, p. 7.

⁸⁴⁸ Debenham, *Birth* p. 44.

⁸⁴⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 13.

offered a much more supportive approach very different from the matronly expert of *Woman's Weekly*.⁸⁵⁰ *Woman's Weekly* had fewer mothers' advice columns than *Woman's Outlook* and when they did appear, they were devoid of political objectives or perspectives. Although 'The Housewife' was a regular feature in *Labour Woman*, the magazine typically included only a scattering of visual depictions of the mother and the housewife.⁸⁵¹ This suggests that, although the domestic was an aspect of *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*, their editors with distinctive emphases, had different purposes for their publications.

Woman's Outlook actively connected with the changing social, economic and political landscape, marked by fluctuating employment and poverty in the 1920s, and then a rising standard of living for some working people in the late 1930s.⁸⁵² As part of the democratic ethos of the co-operative movement, it constructed a fluid manifestation of co-operative woman's gender identity in the home, as mother and the housewife. *Woman's Outlook* aimed to rationalise change through the notion of democracy exercised through the representation of motherhood and the power of the housewife. Unlike the individualistic, consumer-based representations of women in *Woman's Weekly*, *Woman's Outlook* stressed the importance of responsibility and self-help in building co-operative character. *Woman's Outlook* intended to inspire and motivate individuals to engage with and encourage equal fellowship. 'All for

⁸⁵⁰ *Woman's Weekly* May 2 1925, p. 775.

⁸⁵¹ For example, *Labour Woman* May 1927, p. 69; May 1929 p. 67; November 1931, p. 165.

⁸⁵² Pugh, *Women*, p. 180.

Each⁸⁵³ was paramount to improve the overall practicalities of life for the men and women of the co-operative movement.⁸⁵⁴

Co-operative rhetoric politicised the everyday lived experiences of the mother and housewife. By marshalling intellectual curiosity through informative features, the magazine acknowledged the drudgery of housework yet also offered a channel for women's emancipation from it by emphasising how self-help could help her to achieve this by using labour-saving services, products and devices,⁸⁵⁵ although inevitably, this depended on individual circumstances.

Whilst an ideological and idealised view of community was predominant in the co-operative movement, *Woman's Outlook*, endeavouring to understand the different needs and circumstances, constructed the co-operative woman as an individual. *Woman's Outlook* engaged her in the political, the everyday and international concerns of a diverse range of topics which included war, peace, efficiency and citizenship. The domestic was represented through image and text, which created a dialogic space between the domestic and the public space. The dialogues offered new, alternative spaces to the familiar, communicating the politics of everyday life, as co-operative rhetoric politicised everyday lived experiences,⁸⁵⁶ whereas *Woman's Weekly* offered practical solutions to everyday housework problems such as scratches on windows and dry cleaning. Rather than offering emancipatory solutions, articles

⁸⁵³ *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, p. 1; *Woman's Outlook* May 13 1933, p. 424.

⁸⁵⁴ Blaszak, *Matriarchs*, p. 3 .

⁸⁵⁵ Thomson, "Domestic", pp. 109-110.

⁸⁵⁶ Savage and Miles, *Remaking*, pp. 19-20.

identified housework as women's work. In contrast, co-operative woman's gender identity, whilst located in the home, was re-negotiated and politicised.

As we shall see in the following chapter, this re-working of her gender identity was also apparent in the topic of work. *Woman's Outlook* portrayed co-operative woman as a working woman in its inaugural front cover, which appealed to 'Women who work for us' (Figure 26), and, in contrast to *Woman's Weekly*,⁸⁵⁷ and *Labour Woman*, firmly advanced female employment opportunities. As such, interwar *Woman's Outlook* contrasted with Rachel Ritchie's analysis of *Woman's Outlook* of the later period 1954-67, when paid employment was not a significant feature of the magazine.⁸⁵⁸ How *Woman's Outlook*, *Herald*, *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf*, constructed work as a distinct part of co-operative woman's gender identity, in comparison with *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*, is the focus of the next chapter.

⁸⁵⁷ Hackney, "They", Chapter Five.

⁸⁵⁸ Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 229.

Chapter Six: The Visual Culture of Co-operative Woman and Work

By 1939 the co-operative movement had become one of interwar Britain's principal employers,⁸⁵⁹ and prided itself that co-operation was 'one of the best' organisations for employees.⁸⁶⁰ This chapter examines 'The women who work for us' (Figures 63, 64) as depicted in *Woman's Outlook*, the *Wheatsheaf*, *Ourselves* and *Herald*, and in comparison with *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly*. To do so, it draws on visual representations of a lived experience, of the co-operative woman worker as the co-operative movement would have liked to see her.⁸⁶¹ As the 'Editorial Gossip' declared in the November 1931 issue of *Ourselves*, 'Every month the lives of the C.W.S. employees are reflected through the pages of *Ourselves*'.⁸⁶²

The co-operative publications constructed a space for dialogue about the identity of the co-operative woman worker, in which the WCG rarely featured. For example, a photograph of 'this capable' co-operative woman worker, placed in the May 1935 *Wheatsheaf* article entitled 'Where "Unity" is Strength and Quality',⁸⁶³ was a particularly important message amidst the 'unstable' working lives of young single women.⁸⁶⁴ Fuelled by the movement's need for women workers to produce the goods, the co-operative ethos attempted to open up attitudes to women's work. As

⁸⁵⁹ Southern, *Co-operative*, p. 130.

⁸⁶⁰ Robertson, *Co-operative*, p. 186.

⁸⁶¹ These visual representations include typography, strap lines, advertisements, line drawings, illustration, allegory and photography; *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 22.

⁸⁶² *Ourselves* November 1931, p. 31.

⁸⁶³ *Wheatsheaf* May 1935, p. 13.

⁸⁶⁴ R. McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918-1951*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 134.

we have seen in Chapter Five, this outlook was one in which smaller family size, longer life expectancy and changing social attitudes for some contributed to loosen the boundaries on women's paid work more broadly.⁸⁶⁵

The chapter first offers a detailed focus on the inaugural issue of *Woman's Outlook* to examine how word and image drew on co-operativism to ascertain the relationship of co-operative woman and her identity with work in the shifting socio-economic and political landscape. The inaugural edition of *Woman's Outlook* was important because it offered a critical assessment of the consumer economy, which continued throughout the interwar period. The chapter chronologically addresses the themes of professions and careers, the ecology of the movement and advertising and propaganda, as depicted in the magazines, to explore similarities and differences across the representations of co-operative woman and work. Their distinct viewpoints demonstrate that these co-operative publications were discrete and differed significantly from *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly*. The analysis does not aim to produce a taxonomy of work in which co-operative women were commonly engaged, but rather contributes to and raises awareness of the complexity of their relationship with the movement as workers and how this changed over the period.

⁸⁶⁵ D. McCloskey, 'Paid Work', in Zweiniger-Bargielowska, (ed.), *Women*, pp. 165-179, 177.



WOMEN WHO WORK FOR US

WHAT THEY ARE DOING IN FACTORIES & WORKSHOPS.

FURS. FEATHERS. FLOWERS.

High Price. Starvation Wages.

It was hoped that the Bill fixing the national minimum rate of wages would bring all trades within the scope of its operations. It does little, however, to alleviate the position of thousands of women engaged in the fur, feather, and

The munificent sum of 6d. in the pound is quoted as being given as a war bonus, payable on condition that £1 is earned during the week.

A worker in the trade has told us that some of the processes involved in the making up of the millinery section require no small amount of skill and delicate manipulation. *Cutting* is partly done by hand with the mallet; but more often the velvet silk or satin petals are produced by machine stamps, and these are also worked by women. Slightly less skilled (at least in the cheaper lines) is the *shading* and *colouring*. Here, again, the making of dyes and the mixing of colours involves training and responsibility—*veining* and *shaping* with heated irons; covering the wire stalks; attaching the leaves; assembling the seed vessel, stamen, corolla, and calyx, the first and last of which are attached by a touch of paste—complete the evolution of the flower itself which is then ready for *mounting*.

No small amount of taste and skill is called for at this stage, and besides finding work in the factories mounters are sometimes employed in millinery retail businesses.

Although the percentage of men employed is not high, their wages are of a low standard owing to the competition of the cheap female labour. Many of the men take home less than £3 a week; a discussion which recently took place between representatives of various firms brought to light many cases of great hardship.

Many must live mainly on bread and tea. Even the humble herring which "wives and mothers maist despairin' have called 'the lives of men,'" are luxuries beyond the purse of some. As one delegate whimsically remarked, "Nobody is more fond of a kipper than I am, but I can't even get that for breakfast on my money."

The actual earnings of the average worker are a hideous blotch of an unfair wage payment, and call for instant action. There is still apparently room in industry for the "sweater" with his unscrupulous character.

artificial flower factories.

The following are a few examples of present wages in some firms in London working a forty-seven-hour week:—

Age. 16.	11s. 6d. per week.
" 17.	14s. "
" 19.	18s. "
" 21.	21s. "
" 29.	24s., after 14 years in trade.
" 31.	25s. per week.

During the first two years younger workers are comparatively better off than in pre-war times, having increased their starting wage from the sum of 3s. to that of 10s. This is the result of the scarcity of workers willing to enter the industry. The commencing scale varies from 10s. to 14s. for the first six months, and girls of fifteen may, in exceptional cases, earn 16s. weekly. It is the low rate of payment for adult labour which is much more noticeable, and which calls so earnestly for betterment.

The Garment Workers' Union have shown that, contrary to expectations, the trade need not be a seasonal one. With good organisation it is quite possible to keep the workers employed steadily throughout the year. From recent investigations it has been brought to light that many firms combine both flower and feather work, and some even have hat factories in conjunction.

With such wages it is not surprising that the workers eagerly accept home work to supplement their meagre pay.

Figure 63 Women Who Work For Us, *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 22

WOMAN'S OUTLOOK.
THE SWEATING EMPLOYER.



Little doles of wages,
 With little time for ease,
 Are what the sweating employer,
 Serves out to "hands" like these.

Treacherous smiles so oily,
 Words of fraud and guile,
 He puts forth to customers,
 In sleek, competitive style.

teristics:—"Consisting in a stony heart, a brazen forehead, a deceitful tongue, the power of exacting from the workpeople the utmost work of taking the utmost advantage of the weakness and ignorance of others, the art of ruining rivals most utterly and expeditiously, and of enticing the utmost possible number of victims to indulge in depraved consumption."

Meanwhile smart shops flaunt flowers which in beauty and natural appearance are almost indistinguishable from the blossoms of field and garden. Feather fans continue to fetch in some first-class shops as much as thirty guineas, or for one feather 10 guineas; whilst those who toil to produce these luxuries cannot earn enough to keep body and soul together. It is our bounden duty, as co-operators, to fight tooth and nail against these systems which contribute to perpetuate conditions in which large masses of people are kept on the borderland of starvation and want.

FLOWERS FOR THE WINTER.

IN the dark days of winter, it is very cheerful to have a few pots of bright flowers in the room. These can be cheaply and easily obtained by growing hyacinths in pots. If you want good spikes of bloom, buy good bulbs. Soak new pots in cold water overnight before planting. Any good soil will do for the bulbs, but the proper "compost" for them is equal parts of loam, leaf mould, and a little silver sand. Put a piece of broken china or pot over the drainage hole, then some of the soil—but *don't* ram it down—then the bulb, and fill up with the soil, pressing it rather closely round the bulb to make it firm. Put the pots away in a dark cupboard (this is to give the roots a chance to grow), till the green shoot just begins to show, then bring the pots gradually to the light, turning them every day so the plant may grow straight.

Figure 64 The Sweating Employer, *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 23

'Women Who Work For Us'⁸⁶⁶

The article, 'Women Who Work For Us' (Figures 63, 64), published in the November 1919 inaugural issue of *Woman's Outlook* presents a manifesto concerning the relationship of women and work.⁸⁶⁷ Word and image depict the non-co-operative woman worker to offer a co-operative critique of the individualist approach to a consumer economy and 'the dominant capitalist mode of production'.⁸⁶⁸ The focus on her vulnerability as an employee in the non-co-operative factory continues on the adjacent page, to fuse the identities of the worker and the consumer in the individualist capitalist economy (Figure 64).⁸⁶⁹

The co-operative publications, pivotal to the growth of the movement, offer a fresh perspective to the topic of employment, which emphasised the beneficial position of the co-operative worker, consumer and co-operative member, who were also depicted engaged in sports and leisure pursuits (for example see Figures 63, 64, 66, 67, 70, 77, 82, 85). Word and picture promoted the complex and intertwined relationships of the co-operative woman, her employment, co-operative production and consumption, as employees, consumers and members. Work and the production and consumption of goods were central to the everyday lives of many working-class co-operative women and the development of the movement.

⁸⁶⁶ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 22.

⁸⁶⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, pp. 22-23.

⁸⁶⁸ Linehan, *Modernism*, p. 80.

⁸⁶⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, pp. 22-23.

The selling of co-operative goods promoted the ethos of the movement, which was also used to sell the goods and embodied the marketing strategies rallied by advertisers and the government during the First World War.⁸⁷⁰ The movement's self-conscious employment of advertisement and publicity (Figure 85) had similarities with Lisa Tickner's visual analysis of the Suffrage Movement, where it was both the supplier of propaganda and 'one of its most important audiences'.⁸⁷¹ This examination of design, typeface and image, rarely addressed in magazine studies,⁸⁷² intertwined holistically,⁸⁷³ demonstrates the co-operative ethos and extends the studies of corporate magazines and the movement (see Chapter Two). Analysis of the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves* viewed as corporate magazines,⁸⁷⁴ contributes an underexplored and alternative visual analysis to studies of the co-operative woman worker,⁸⁷⁵ the movement,⁸⁷⁶ corporate magazines,⁸⁷⁷ *Woman's Weekly*⁸⁷⁸ and *Labour Woman*⁸⁷⁹ in the context of gender, work and the movement. The co-operative publications embraced both outward and internal outlooks. They were directed at members, employees *and* consumers; they visually promoted the co-operative ethos; they interconnected and politicised social and economic relationships.

⁸⁷⁰ Aulich, 'Advertising', p. 119; Kelley, 'Equitable', pp. 298, 304-305.

⁸⁷¹ Tickner, *Spectacle*, p. 151.

⁸⁷² Holstead, 'Magazine', pp. 392, 404.

⁸⁷³ Mitchell, *Picture*, pp. 3-5.

⁸⁷⁴ Heller and Rowlinson, 'Organizational', pp. 119.

⁸⁷⁵ Vorberg-Rugh, 'Employers'; Scott, *Feminism*, p. 175; Southern, Co-operative.

⁸⁷⁶ Wilson et al, *Building*; Robertson, *Co-operative*; Black and Robertson, (eds.), *Consumerism*.

⁸⁷⁷ Heller and Rowlinson, 'Organizational', p. 119; Heller, 'British', p.162.

⁸⁷⁸ Hackney, "They"; Reed, Domestic.

⁸⁷⁹ Hunt, *Labour*.

Organisational magazines, typically associated with corporate organisations and thus mostly analysed by business researchers, are produced by a range of institutions. Although the co-operative movement might not identify itself as ‘corporate’, its visual identity is suggestive of ‘corporate feelings’,⁸⁸⁰ and the publications constructed and disseminated a distinctive community identity through an ideology that was shared across the movement. The ecology of the co-operative movement, which interlinked discrete yet connected roles and identities (Figures 63, 64, 85) across production, consumption and membership is particularly manifest in the ‘Links in the Chain of Co-operative Supply’ (Figure 77). This ecology demonstrates the ‘*esprit de corps*’ that Lisa Tickner considers,⁸⁸¹ and the ‘corporate soul’ discussed by Roland Marchand in his analysis of the corporate identities of American companies.⁸⁸² Michael Heller, Michael Rowlinson,⁸⁸³ and Simon Phillips⁸⁸⁴ use these terms in their examinations of British corporate magazines considered in the third section of this chapter.

The inaugural and interwar issues of *Woman’s Outlook*, *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf*, employ, as we shall see, distinctive illustrations, such as photomontage, and text. Comparing and contrasting co-operative woman’s participation in an extensive range of work and associated social activities, reveals her ‘relationship between work, leisure and social well – being’.⁸⁸⁵ Portrayals of capitalist and co-

⁸⁸⁰ Woodin, ‘Co-operative’, pp. 81-83.

⁸⁸¹ Tickner, *Spectacle*, p. 151, Tickner italics.

⁸⁸² Marchand, *Creating*, pp. 4, 7-8, 16, 86-87, 98, 107, 113, 129, 134-141, 162-163, 173-178.

⁸⁸³ Heller, ‘British’, pp. 144, 149-150; Heller and Rowlinson, ‘Imagined’, pp. 10-11, 13-14.

⁸⁸⁴ Phillips, ‘“Chemists”’, pp. 239-242, 252-253.

⁸⁸⁵ Waters, *British*, pp. 7-8.

operative employment in *Woman's Outlook*, *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf*, compared to similar depictions of the woman employee in *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly*, valorise the representation of the everyday life of the co-operative woman worker, who may or may not be a member of the co-operative movement (see Chapter Three). However, there were fewer exemplars of visual representation of women and work in *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly*, so, where appropriate, the analysis broadens beyond the core sample of these magazines. Additionally, pictorial, textual and ideological equivalents of the lived experience are investigated in examples of photomontage presented in *Russia To-Day* (Figures 79-81).⁸⁸⁶

The analysis largely focuses on women in employment as portrayed in editorials, advertisements, features and articles; an often politicised image of the co-operative woman worker which the co-operative publications were determined to capture. Considering what kinds of work co-operative woman was shown engaged in, the investigation acknowledges that it might not have been the only work she did. This focus is important because it expands beyond Rachel Ritchie's analysis of the 'centrality of the housewife' in *Woman's Outlook* to emphasise the significance of representations of work.⁸⁸⁷ How editorial polemic recognised 'the lived experience of ordinary individuals within history' extends Jayne Southern's analysis, one of the few to investigate the breadth and sophistication of images of the co-operative

⁸⁸⁶ *Russia To-Day*, was established in 1930. It was a Russian publication produced by the Friends of the Soviet Union (FSU) in English. One of the 'fourteen national sections of the F.S.U.' it aimed 'to make known to the widest sections of the British public the truth regarding the U.S.S.R., to refute the lies', *Russia To-Day* February 1935, p. 3.

⁸⁸⁷ Ritchie, *Housewife*, pp. 22-23.

woman, and the changing nature of her work role and relationships.⁸⁸⁸ The interconnectedness of co-operative woman's social and cultural activities, advertising and propaganda and women's professions adds to Southern's emphasis, who argues, that despite the overarching interpretation of co-operative woman as a member of the WCG, she was not 'homogenous', but had diverse identities that 'women may be classified as members or employees and as activists or rank and file co-operators and shoppers' (see Chapter Two).⁸⁸⁹

Typically, women's paid employment, produced by patriarchy and capitalism features low pay and lack of career opportunities.⁸⁹⁰ The well-being of women workers was important to the movement, as was demonstrated by the CWS's employment of welfare officers.⁸⁹¹ The publications addressed themes of CWS factory workers, professions, parity of pay and position (Figure 72) and trade unionism (Figure 74).⁸⁹² In comparison to the rhetoric of the period, the publications offered a progressive outlook to the paid employment of women. Fusing matters of trade and politics established a connection between the traditionally male sphere of productivity and paid employment and the feminine role of the consumer in the home.⁸⁹³ The publications embodied the ecology of the movement to significantly

⁸⁸⁸ Southern, Co-operative, p. 3.

⁸⁸⁹ Southern, Co-operative, pp. 97-8.

⁸⁹⁰ Holloway, *Women*, pp. 222-228.

⁸⁹¹ *Ourselves* November 1931, pp. 24-25.

⁸⁹² Southern, Co-operative, p. 140.

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

engage with the themes of 'independence, citizenship and equality', dominant in histories of women's employment.⁸⁹⁴

However, although the woman worker was visible, the representation was not constructed by her. Karen Hunt's discussion of the illustration, by Paul Nash, of the housewife on the front cover of a 1930 issue of *Labour Woman*, highlights that it was not constructed by the housewife.⁸⁹⁵ Similarly, these representations were not constructed by the woman worker but comprised the different voices of editors, illustrators, compositors, lay-out artists and type-setters. The publications augmented the identities of employee, consumer and member. Yet, as Roland Marchand acknowledges, American companies assembling the corporate 'soul' through 'Zerrspiegel', a type of fairground mirror, did not secure internalisation.⁸⁹⁶ As such, it is difficult to determine the effectiveness of the publications' embellishment⁸⁹⁷ of an idealised corporate consciousness,⁸⁹⁸ focused on the co-operative worker.

Editors, compositors, artists and typesetters portraying the co-operative woman who was engaged in a diverse range of employment, recognised the importance of her shifting identities. The emergence of the flapper and the modern woman of the

⁸⁹⁴ Holloway, *Women*, p. 227.

⁸⁹⁵ Hunt, *Labour*, p. 242.

⁸⁹⁶ Marchand, *Advertising*, pp. xvi-xvii.

⁸⁹⁷ *Ibid.*; Marchand, *Creating*, pp. 108-114.

⁸⁹⁸ Marchand, *Creating*, pp. 44-45, 130-163.

1920s,⁸⁹⁹ were some of the changes both men and women had to contend with. Melanie Tebbutt describes this as a ‘complex negotiation of memory and forgetting’ in her discussion of male identity and the experiences of everyday masculinities of the interwar years.⁹⁰⁰ For example, as we shall see, the monthly *Wheatsheaf* feature ‘Mainly For Women’, in 1935, addressing the topic of ‘Women in Industry To-day’ (Figure 76) connected with this changing landscape and reconstruction of work and gender identities.

The diverse combination of depictions in the inaugural edition of *Woman’s Outlook*, and in other co-operative publications, complicates the more consistent representations of women’s imagined identities communicated in commercial weeklies such as *Woman’s Weekly* (Figure 69).⁹⁰¹ For example, representations in the co-operative publications were not bound up with discussions of married and single working women, in contrast to popular culture’s ready supply of representations of ‘the young, fashionably dressed employee’, which offered ‘a symbol...real or imagined’ of women’s ‘supposed new freedoms’.⁹⁰² A declining birth rate, a surplus of women⁹⁰³ and the development of employment opportunities⁹⁰⁴ presented a context for the emergence of ‘Working-girl magazines’, which emphasised marriage

⁸⁹⁹ L. Doan, *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of a Modern English Lesbian Culture*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 102, 112-113.

⁹⁰⁰ M. Tebbutt, *Being Boys Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War Years* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 44-45, 102.

⁹⁰¹ Hackney, “They”, Chapter Five.

⁹⁰² *Ibid.*, Chapter One.

⁹⁰³ Bingham, *Gender*, pp. 96-97.

⁹⁰⁴ S. Todd, ‘Young Women, Work, and Leisure in Interwar England’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (2005), pp. 789-809, 789-790.

as a response to the threat which women's work was perceived as presenting to domesticity.⁹⁰⁵

In contrast, *Woman's Outlook* skilfully and crucially offered a wide array of serious career opportunities and identities to women. The popular press's decisive return to the 'cult of domesticity' and traditional representations of work, women and girls in interwar Britain is problematic.⁹⁰⁶ As Adrian Bingham demonstrates, evidence of employment opportunities for women from the popular press – *Daily News*, *Mail*, *Herald*, *News Chronicle* and *Daily Express* - reveals a complex picture in articles and columns on women and work.⁹⁰⁷ Bingham, drawing on a substantial series of employment profiles spotlighted in the *Mail* in 1927, demonstrates that the daily press, like *Woman's Outlook*, offered 'serious, detailed and diverse features on women's employment' which were 'an important innovation in this period'.⁹⁰⁸ Yet, in contrast to *Woman's Outlook*, it seems that this 'spectacular array of opportunities for middle-class women' in the daily press, were class specific,⁹⁰⁹ while the inherent message of the women's pages of the daily press centred on domesticity as the primary consideration for women.⁹¹⁰

⁹⁰⁵ Hackney, "'They'", Chapter One.

⁹⁰⁶ Bingham, *Gender*, pp. 60-65.

⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰⁸ Bingham, 'Modern', p. 233.

⁹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*; Bingham, *Gender*, p. 65.

⁹¹⁰ Bingham, 'Modern', p. 236-7; Bingham, *Gender*, p. 67.

The expansion of work opportunities for women in the interwar years was also accompanied by greater employment constraints.⁹¹¹ Greater application of the pre-war marriage bar increased the tendency to employ young women before marriage.⁹¹² Fiona Hackney, drawing on the 1931 census, demonstrates the low proportion of married women who worked, which stood at 10 per cent.⁹¹³ Although domestic service continued to be the main employer of women, the type of work available changed from textiles to retail, industrial and office work, where women comprised 42% of the workforce by 1931,⁹¹⁴ most of whom were 'young and single'.⁹¹⁵ Unlike the narrow representations of women in commercial publications, co-operative publications constructed a complex and fluid portrayal of the co-operative woman, an entangled relationship⁹¹⁶ which showed her as a worker (Figure 66), a consumer (Figures 77, 85) and activist (72).⁹¹⁷

The precise degree of control that editors exerted over the visual composition of publications is not known. Yet, the co-operative publications traversed a range of standpoints. As an international movement, co-operative magazines were self-consciously international⁹¹⁸ and visually signalled the shifting socio-economic and political landscape of interwar Britain. Their 'material, political and ideological'

⁹¹¹ Bingham, *Gender*, p. 66.

⁹¹² C. Briar, *Working for Women? Gendered Work and Welfare Policies in Twentieth Century Britain*, (London: UCL Press, 1997), pp. 39-40, 47.

⁹¹³ Hackney, "They", Chapter Five.

⁹¹⁴ S. Todd, 'Poverty and Aspiration: Young Women's Entry to Employment in Inter-war England', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 15, No. 2, (2004), pp. 119-142, 122.

⁹¹⁵ Hackney, "They", Chapter Five.

⁹¹⁶ Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 152, 224, 383-384, 389; Ingold, *Bringing*, p. 3.

⁹¹⁷ *Woman's Outlook* May 7th 1927, p. 441.

⁹¹⁸ For example - *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, pp. 2, 5; *Woman's Outlook* May 1923, p. 210; *Woman's Outlook* November 2nd 1929, pp. 8-9; *Woman's Outlook* May 13 1933, pp. 436-437.

nuances⁹¹⁹ engendered contrasting perspectives across different graphic features of realist line drawing, illustration, allegory and photography. For example, allegory, typified by Walter Crane in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, established the type of iconography associated with socialism, nostalgia and reflection on the past as a way to negotiate change and transition in the present and construct the future.⁹²⁰

***Woman's Outlook* 1919: 'High Price. Starvation Wage'**⁹²¹

The first edition of *Woman's Outlook* is important because it assessed the position of the non-co-operative woman worker. A line drawing of a woman worker is positioned at the top left of an article, entitled 'Women Who Work For Us: What They are Doing in Factories and Workshops Furs. Feathers. Flowers. High Price. Starvation Wages' (Figure 63). This straightforward illustration in a realist style was common in commercial and political publications; it offered a voice to the co-operative woman who did not have political representation. Easily read and favoured by editors and advertisers in Britain, the drawing emphasised communication, in contrast to publications in Europe which preferred a more artistic style.⁹²² The artist signature on the illustration reads 'G. Beuzeville'. The same woman artist signs 'W. Foyster' (Figures 29, 66) and 'G. Beuzeville Foyster' (Figure 70).⁹²³

⁹¹⁹ Tagg, *Burden*, p. 211.

⁹²⁰ Alexiou, *Design*, pp. 186-187.

⁹²¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 22.

⁹²² Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, pp. 107-108.

⁹²³ See Chapter Five.

The drawing, which depicts the non-co-operative woman factory worker, draws attention to her poor pay and conditions, listed beneath. It makes visible the woman worker in non-co-operative factories. Her shaded image looks out from the page directly toward the spectator. A slight tilt of her head indicates an editorial attempt to engage the reader. Her gender identity is ambiguous. She wears a knee length tunic over trousers and heavy work boots. Wearing trousers indicates the industrial work of the woman factory worker. Her garments are of a similar dress code to the woman munitions worker during the First World War.⁹²⁴ To politically provoke the *Woman's Outlook* reader, word and image constructed a representation of 'the social reality of working-class women' and 'the image of the oppressed and sweated worker'.⁹²⁵

The woman's young face reveals a hint of a soft girlishness but carries little expression. Her eyes are darkly hooded as she looks entreatingly to the reader. A wisp of hair, the only other indication of her femaleness, escapes from her voluminous work hat. The image indicates that she worked with machines. Her headgear is a type of wrap worn for safety; it is not for fashion but to prevent her hair getting in the machinery. The footwear is sturdy safety boots, clogs or boots with clog bottoms, not often depicted in photographs.⁹²⁶ Her right arm is bent to carry a saw, as she holds the handle in her right hand. Her left hand has a length of rope

⁹²⁴ Imperial War Museum: Women War Workers at the National Filling Factory, Banbury, Oxfordshire, England, UK (no date) Q70663
<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205087811> accessed 18102018.

⁹²⁵ Tickner, *Spectacle*, pp. ix, 181.

⁹²⁶ Imperial War Museum: The Employment of Women in Britain 1914-1918 (1918) Q 28200
<https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205213679> accessed 18102018.

wrapped around it and is tied to a cloth sack slung over her left shoulder. This image illustrates and communicates a practical matter-of-fact unvarnished editorial observation of the woman worker in the capitalist work place.

The text draws together the multiple vulnerabilities of non-co-operative women workers. Editorial capitalisation and large point size create a title which dominates the page. This design strategy conveys the significance of the message of the article. The title, positioned diametrically next to the image of the non-co-operative woman worker, suggests a direct connection between the meaning of the title and the earnest image. The text makes clear that she works for low wages to produce expensive consumer items.

Editorial use of multiple typefaces throughout the publications is significant. The title of the article (Figure 63) uses three different types. The typography of the publication title, *Woman's Outlook*, at the top of the page, is a modern *sans serif*. Underneath, an arts and crafts style is used for 'Women who work for us' and 'What they are doing...'. Placed below this, 'High Prices. Starvation Wages' reverts back to Times Roman style, internationally understood to be the most legible, which adds a serious tone and gravitas to the message the editor wishes to convey. The choice of typeface is important, indicating an editorial position. Each typeface has particular ideological and status associations.

The modern *sans serif* typeface chosen for the page banner *Woman's Outlook* is printed at the top of every page in this inaugural issue. In capital letters, the repeated visuality of the page banner reiterates the title of the magazine *Woman's Outlook* and makes a clear unequivocal bold statement of contemporaneity and social progress associated with *sans serif* (see Chapter Four). It is an acknowledgement of self-awareness and a strong self-identity.⁹²⁷ *Woman's Outlook* is energetically self-conscious. The arts and craft typographic style utilised for the titles in this particular article, 'Women who work for us' and 'What they are doing', indicate an affiliation with the arts and crafts movement and socialism, particularly in the context of suffrage and feminism. The considered use of typographical and visual design correlates with Lisa Tickner's analysis of the strategic use of visual imagery in the suffrage campaign.⁹²⁸ This choice of typeface is in keeping with the tradition of typography used by periodical publications in the late nineteenth century and Edwardian period by the women's movement.⁹²⁹

This article is significant for another reason. Engaging the reader in a dialogue this dynamic space, it resonates with W.J.T. Mitchell and his understanding of the intricate relationship between word and image.⁹³⁰ In order to manifest distinct visual identities for women, composition distinctively augments the particular design and visual associations chosen by the editor, artisan printer and compositor, whose roles

⁹²⁷ Alexiou, *Design*, pp. 71, 101-102.

⁹²⁸ Tickner, *Spectacle*, p. ix.

⁹²⁹ Alexiou, *Design*, pp. 179-180, 185-186.

⁹³⁰ Mitchell, *Image*, pp. 39-43.

must not be underestimated, (Chapter One, Three and Four) in the co-operative movement's appeal to a shared perspective.

'The Sweating Employer'⁹³¹

Depictions of both the consumer and worker, emphasising the holistic life of the co-operative movement, marked the individualist capitalist mode of production and consumption. Yet, this second image, 'The Sweating Employer' (Figure 64) is ambiguous. Like Figure 63, it reinforces the co-operative critique of the multiple vulnerabilities of the woman worker in capitalist employment. Produced by different artists, the drawings are in different styles. The first image is a realist line drawing. Even though the woman is floating, she has a shadow. Yet, she is not enclosed in a particular space and has no distinctive relationship to a place of work or other workers. The second image, 'The Sweating Employer', is an editorial cartoon. The signature, by the artist MEG, makes it authorial and representative of a particular view. Framed, it places the figures in a definitive relationship, one to another within this distinct space of the shop. Although, the form and type of this picture is different from Figure 63, the realist style and co-operative critique are similar.

Two disconnected women, proportionately smaller than the employer, are placed either side of him. This insincere Janus representation is embodied with dual aspects

⁹³¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 23.

of the authoritarian employer and the beguiling retailer. Claspings his hands, he reveals the large jewelled rings and pin he wears at his neck tie. Shown in the role of the stereotypical capitalist represented across Labour publications, the similar use of the image of the glib 'Fat Man' in the *Daily Herald*⁹³² suggests that *Woman's Outlook* was inflected with and represented ideologies of the Socialist Press such as the *Daily Herald* and the Labour women's press, *Labour Woman* (Figure 68). A side view of the woman on the left locates her in her place of employment. As the smallest of the three figures she is the weakest and most vulnerable in this trio of identities. Her slight frame and face, almost featureless, suggests an uncertain or lack of self-identity. A white collar is the only relief to her dark austere dress. Highlighting a simple detail, the white collar and her neat and tidy dress bear evidence to her status as a shop worker. Her face carries a look of anxiety as she stands and faces the large rotund employer. Her right hand remains close to her body, which she meekly holds out to receive her wages from the small bag labelled 'wages' held in the employer's left hand. Her left hand is placed across the trunk of her body, as if holding herself in place. The employer looks at her angrily with a ruddy face. The right arm and hand of the employer are held out firmly, whilst remonstrating with the employee. Their bodies are in opposition as the employee shrinks, in contrast to the sizeable physicality of the domineering employer.

⁹³² For example, see 'The Holiday Question', cartoon from the *Daily Herald*, 13 June 1913, p. 1 '(How many thousands of mere children must toil right through the summer in factory and mine and workshop in order to make a steady flow of profits for the Fat Man?) CHILD LABOUR EMPLOYER: "Great guns. Playing! What a wicked waste of human energy"', in Waters, *British*, pp. 96-97, Figure 8.

The other female figure on the right side of the drawing depicts the customer, to whom the retailer shows a different and deferential attitude. Noticeably, he takes a large bag of money from the customer, rubs his hands in anticipation and returns a much smaller one to the employee. The customer is a 'proper' looking woman, identified by the mode of dress commonly associated with the middle-class.⁹³³ She is depicted coming in from the outside, wearing her hat and carrying her basket over her left arm whilst holding her purse in her right hand, which is slightly larger than the wages bag. The basket defines her as the potential co-operative woman who is readily identifiable with the 'The Woman with the Basket' picture on the front cover of this inaugural edition.

Both women wear shoes, not clogs associated with the working-class of the front cover, indicating the illustrative appeal to a wide audience. The employer/retailer, in comparison to his demeanour to the worker, bows his head slightly forward to the customer in a courteous manner. She is slightly larger than the woman worker but much smaller than the employer/retailer. Her size indicates that in contrast to the protection offered by co-operation, she may have more significance than the woman worker but is still subjected to the capitalist retailer.

⁹³³ For example, see Beatrix Potter wearing this style of dress, including hat, 'Beatrix in the porch of the restored Hill Top, 1913'. Another photograph shows Beatrix with her husband-to-be, taken 14 October 1913, the day before the wedding, in M. Dennison, *Over the Hills and Far Away: The Life of Beatrix Potter*, (London: Head of Zeus Ltd, 2016), pp. 153, 181.



Figure 65 *Woman's Weekly* October 25 1919, Front cover

Unlike *Woman's Outlook*, examination of woman and work in *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly* suggests different portrayals. The tone of *Woman's Weekly* compared to representations in co-operative publications reveals distinct nuances, different approaches and responses. *Woman's Weekly* illustrated similarly diverse women's careers, for example, in 1919 we can see Figure 65 offers a comparative representation to the inaugural front cover of *Woman's Outlook*. Yet the frequency of depictions was intermittent, and materialised in response to social and economic

change, for example, immediately following the end of the First World War, and the depression of the 1920s and 1930s.⁹³⁴ Often the scope of employment was imaginary, to accommodate the many readers who were ‘untrained and desperately in need of work’.⁹³⁵ *Woman’s Outlook* in contrast consistently presented social and economic aspirational depictions with political agendas which constructed the co-operative woman as a citizen whilst advancing her autonomy and parity (for example Figures 66, 72).

Between March and November 1919, *Woman’s Weekly* ran a weekly series of work focused features entitled ‘Chats on Careers’.⁹³⁶ Illustrated with a small simple line drawing, the column rarely demonstrated the real lived experience of work, but carried a more suggestive tone of possible careers. For example, the November issues covers a range of careers, which include ‘Theatre Life for Women’,⁹³⁷ ‘The Girl Secretary’,⁹³⁸ ‘The Sewing Maid’,⁹³⁹ and ‘A Press Cutting Library Assistant’.⁹⁴⁰ The front cover of the October 1919 *Woman’s Weekly* (Figure 65) features a large cut out photomontage of a young girl, a common front cover motif of *Woman’s Weekly*. The image is adjacent to the strap line which employs large cursive typeface. A friendly informal tone invites the reader to engage with the feature ‘Don’t Miss Our “Chats on Careers”’. The text “Careers” suggests that this feature offered a range of

⁹³⁴ Hackney, “They”, Chapter Five.

⁹³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹³⁷ *Woman’s Weekly* November 1 1919, p. 364.

⁹³⁸ *Woman’s Weekly* November 8 1919, p. 374.

⁹³⁹ *Woman’s Weekly* November 15 1919, p. 401.

⁹⁴⁰ *Woman’s Weekly* November 22 1919, p. 423.

professions and occupations. However, this message is at odds with the text underneath. Presented in a much smaller font size, the front cover makes clear that the types of employment are not specialist. It is aimed at, 'the girl who has had no special training' and suggests new employment opportunities for the younger unskilled woman worker.

This image and text reaffirm the aspect of youth and possible 'careers'. She is smartly dressed with coiffed hair yet wears a distinctly indifferent and bored expression. The image conveys the girl's displeasure at this task.⁹⁴¹ She holds a loaf cake tin in her right hand, clasped in a cloth which suggests she has just removed the baking from the oven, and that a particularly gendered traditional career is on offer.⁹⁴² Fiona Hackney, referring to this image, argues that the girl's discontent represents the opinion of the readership and editors, to the magazine's conformity to 'governmental norms'.⁹⁴³

Like the non-co-operative worker depicted in Figure 63, the girl is pictorially dislocated from any setting to suggest her unstable place in the post First World War landscape of work; where there were large numbers of unemployed women in 1919.⁹⁴⁴ This type of photomontage occasionally featured in *Woman's Weekly*, and when it did was typically in advertisements.⁹⁴⁵ In contrast, the co-operative

⁹⁴¹ Hackney, "They", Chapter Five.

⁹⁴² *Ibid.*

⁹⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁵ *Woman's Weekly* May 7 1927, p. 905.

publication the *Wheatsheaf* exceeded production values in its use of montage compared to *Woman's Weekly*. The *Wheatsheaf* was progressive in its adoption of a modernist graphic design strategy which was deployed as a tool to expose, draw out, and influence,⁹⁴⁶ which is discussed later in the chapter, in the context of the ecology of the co-operative movement (Figure 85). In contrast to the co-operative publications, this employment series in *Woman's Weekly* was a short interlude of hope. By November 1919 this feature ended, and soon the notion that 'marriage was a girl's best career' dominated in the magazine's response to the changing post First World War socio-economic landscape.⁹⁴⁷ On the other hand, the co-operative publications embraced this shifting context and the opportunities for women workers offered by the co-operative movement.

'Crowning Labour with Co-operation'⁹⁴⁸

An alternative view of women's work was more common in the co-operative publications. The co-operative woman and her relationship with work featured regularly in *Woman's Outlook* and even more so in the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves*. Additionally, photographs, drawings and text were positioned to show that the co-operative movement offered better working conditions and worker dignity. For example, visual representations of the non-co-operative woman worker (Figure 63,

⁹⁴⁶ A. M. Zervigón, 'Persuading with the Unseen? Die Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung, Photography, and German Communism's Iconophobia', *Visual Resources*, Vol. 26, No. 2, (2010), pp. 147-164, 161.

⁹⁴⁷ Hackney, "They", Chapter Five.

⁹⁴⁸ *Woman's Outlook* May 1921, p. 173.

64) contrast significantly with the idealist utopian images of the co-operative woman worker as demonstrated in the editorial image of the May 1921 edition of *Woman's Outlook*, entitled 'Crowning Labour with Co-operation' (Figure 66).



Figure 66 May-Day, 1921, *Woman's Outlook* May 1921, p. 173

In this 1921 editorial, the decorative Art Nouveau design of a coastal cliff stream, trees and water, adjacent to the header 'May-Day 1921' (Figure 66) connects with

the outdoor, a recurrent motif throughout the publications which sustains the pedagogical and political imperative (Figure 70). The central drawing does not show woman *in* the workshop but shows *how* the editorial viewed co-operative woman and her relationship with work. She is presented in a type of cornucopia, sitting on a bed of blossoms strong enough to support the pick, the symbol of manual labour, and her basket of produce. At her feet lies the basket, the symbol of a conceptual realm filled with the fruit of the earth and a sign of the successful harvest. She is the May Queen.

The artist signature on the sketch in Figure 66, W. Foyster, marks it as authorial, sustaining a particular position. The illustration is utilised to demonstrate the beauty of labour once it wears the crown of co-operation. The personification of the beauty of co-operation represents the mission of the movement to develop alternate contrasting pathways and dialogues for existence within a consumer society. The Pioneers, aiming to support the consumer, engendered a dialogue around the shielding of its consumers.⁹⁴⁹ Similarly, 'Crowning Labour' manifests a co-operative idealist utopian image of the woman worker. The image represents the alternative to non-co-operative employment manifest in Figures 63 and 64, particularly the non-co-operative woman worker suspended in a void. A utopian image of the woman worker firmly rooted on the earth is a further contrast to the allegorical image floating above the ground, published in *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 70).

⁹⁴⁹ E. M., Christie, Co-operative Party, Representation and Taxation as they affect Women Co-operators, (Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1923), p. 1.

Editorial analysis of the drawing in Figure 66 invites the reader to engage in a critical dialogue with the picture 'Crowning Labour', which becomes the idea, the image. Referring to the illustration as the 'sketch', the editorial engages the reader in an exchange of ideas across the image and the text. The editorial imbues its conversation with multiple meanings as it engages with the reader. It introduces the representational and materiality of the illustration, 'the symbolic interest of the day which our artist has embodied in her little sketch'.⁹⁵⁰ As the editorial discusses the images, a channel of communication develops. Political dialogue is represented both pictorially and textually.

Work is viewed and discussed as 'LABOUR'. Labour is gendered and youthful. Co-operative woman is manifest as 'Labour'. She wears the uniform of 'LABOUR'. The word LABOUR is blazoned across her otherwise plain functional work apron. Her seated pose is strong and secure. Her feet are firmly planted on the ground. She is grounded with and substantiated by the earth. She represents the worker and her connection with the means of production. Here, clogs are worn, the traditional attire of the worker. The image is firmly rooted in an easily read allegorical realism. The banners signify words of work shared and related 'aspirations' embellish the May Pole banner. 'Equality, Living Wage, Industrial Peace, Work for All' augment the message. The composition of image and juxtaposition with text draw on and sustain a particular depiction and editorial connection with the style of Walter Crane, maintaining the pedagogical imperative.

⁹⁵⁰ *Woman's Outlook* May 1921, p. 173.

By employing Walter Crane inflected imagery, *Woman's Outlook* aimed to educate adult readers to develop visual literacy, to cultivate their ability to critically read pictures. In doing so, the magazine recognised and harnessed Crane's political intent. Crane recognised that to educate children to critically read and understand pictures was a powerful pedagogical tool. Affiliating 'with Crane's socialist politics' *Woman's Outlook* developed an understanding of the visual as 'potentially subversive, opening up the possibility of reading any image actively and critically to unpack, examine, and question its ideologies'.⁹⁵¹ In this way, image and text offered a dialogic space for negotiation and exchange of ideas.

Distinctively, *Woman's Outlook* portrayed diverse representations of co-operative woman which were politically and pedagogically motivated. This image 'Crowning Labour with Co-operation', offers an idealistic alternative. Through co-operation the position of the co-operative woman worker is magnificent. She sits on her throne surrounded by nature. She is complete with attributes associated with Work and Nature – the hammer, pick and Dove of peace are clearly visible. Together with the head garland to represent the crown and the sceptre, she is elevated to the position of "QUEEN". Without co-operation she is a 'slave'. With co-operation she is:

crowned with a glorious crown - CO-OPERATION -...Take away this crown and the worker represents the figure of the slave of the hammer and the pick...Add the crown and she becomes a QUEEN.⁹⁵²

⁹⁵¹ Korda, 'Learning', pp. 327-328.

⁹⁵² *Woman's Outlook* May 1921, p. 173.

Work under co-operation is afforded dignity. Without co-operation the tools of work become instruments of oppression and ignominy. The metaphor and propositions of co-operative woman worker as QUEEN and doyenne are also applied in later pages of this issue of *Woman's Outlook*.

In this May 1921 issue of the magazine, the fashion double page spread devotes two pages to a display of, 'Styles and suggestions for Sunny Days'. The image of fashionable contemporary young women, whilst visually in contrast with Figure 66, draws on similar aspirational metaphors of gentility and graciousness. Pencil drawings show elegant slender young women fashionably dressed in 'Summer frock, showing the latest fashion points'. The article, pictorially and textually, conveys ideas of softness and style as they place co-operative woman in 'Hat of soft satin, crown trimmed with lace, brim with rose buds, and a filmy eye-veil, and trailing lace ends'.⁹⁵³ Word and image offer representations associated with dignity proposed in the Crane inflected image 'Crowning Labour with Co-operation'. In this manner *Woman's Outlook* presented multiple and diverse representation of co-operative woman to engage with a wide range of readership whilst continuing the political intent.

Visual perspectives (Figures 63, 64 and 67), stylistically in contrast, interlink the co-operative interpretation of the woman worker, consumer and housewife's place in capitalism. The editorial cartoon, signed by 'SAMZ', in the Co-operative Party leaflet

⁹⁵³ *Woman's Outlook* May 1921, pp. 186-187.

published in 1923 (Figure 67) demonstrates how the Co-operative Party considered political representation and taxation and how it would affect women co-operators. The cartoon offers a gendered representation in the guise of the 'Fat Man'. The capitalist man has become 'Madam Bigprofit' and is represented with a visual articulation similar to that of the 'Fat Man'. She carries her bag of wealth labelled 'PROFITS' close to her body. She faces the co-operative woman who is identified in this political cartoon as the 'Housewife'. Here the housewife is unrooted, not in a specific place, floating, her stance conveys confidence confronting capitalism; her hands on her hips, she is the politicised co-operative woman. Like the image of the employer/retailer in the inaugural issue of *Woman's Outlook* (Figures 63, 64) the image and text sustain the links with Labour and the shared perception of capitalism (Figure 68).

The capitalist man, 'The Balance - Which Pays Best?', depicted on the March 1925 front cover of *Labour Woman* (Figure 68) reinforces the co-operative and Labour ideological positions. Signed with the initials E.G., the illustration, executed in the manner of a woodcut in the style of designer Eric Gill (1882-1940), carries a variety of arts and craft and medievalist references.⁹⁵⁴ Presenting a similar picture to the *Woman's Outlook* image of the capitalist man in Figure 64, the illustration of the man depicts capitalist exploitation. He wears the top hat with the word 'Capitalist' wrapped around like a banner. In both images his clothes embody the stereotypical

⁹⁵⁴ Eric Gill was an artist, wood engraver and designer of the typeface Gill Sans, J. Aynsley, 'Graphic Change: Design Change: Magazines for the Domestic Interior, 1890-1930', *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 18, No. 1, (2005), pp. 43-59, 44.

attire of top hat, striped trousers and bulging stomach. The capitalist manipulates the scales of justice. He sits on volumes of the 'Laws of England' justifying the position of the capitalist. Justice is blind, yet, he peeps over his blindfold, as he grows fat.



Figure 67 Co-operative Party, Election Leaflet on Protection, Leaflet No. 4, (London: Co-operative Party, 1923)

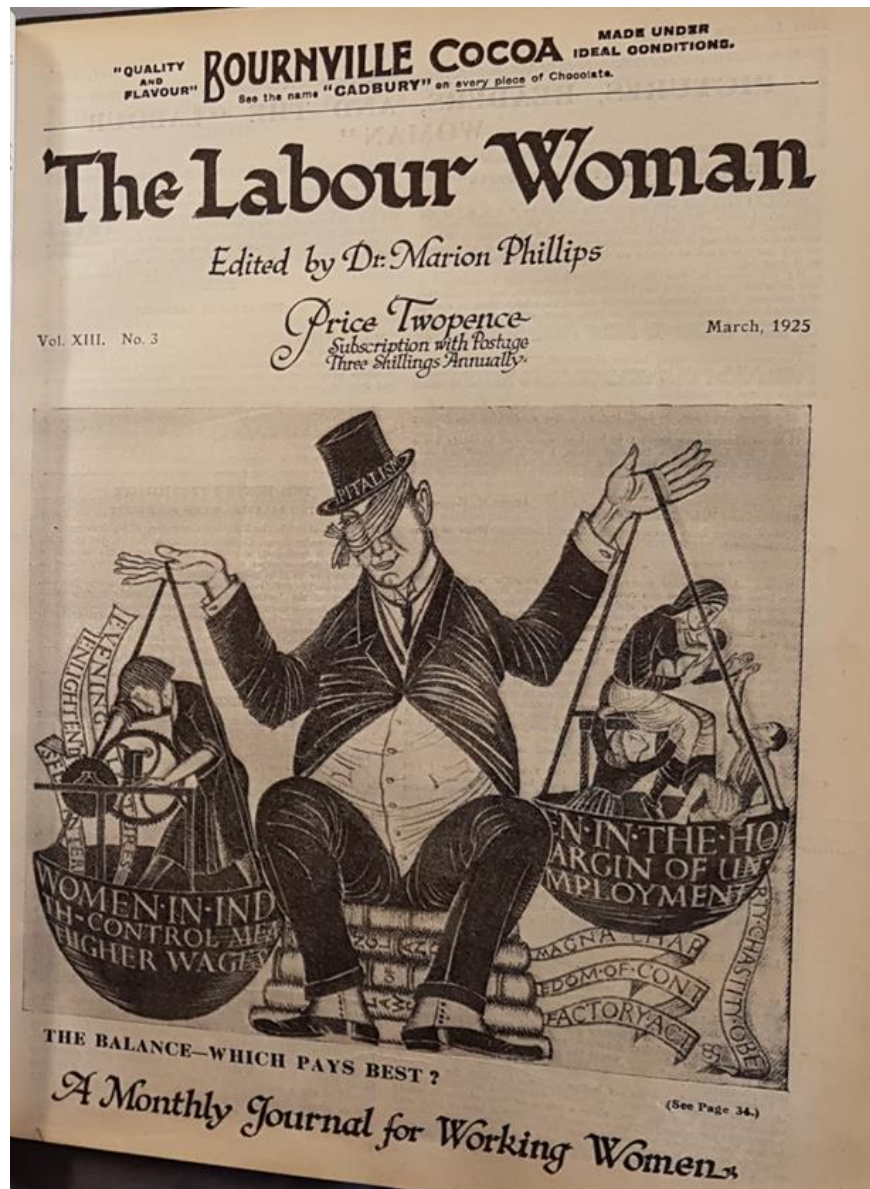


Figure 68 *Labour Woman* March 1925, Front cover

The slogans on the banners and scale pans are truncated indicating the reader would know what they were. The imbalance of the scales promotes the idea that the working woman, located in manufacturing by the illustration, weighs heavier in the capitalist system, expressed in her demand for 'Women in industry with control means higher wages'. This contrasts with how *Woman's Weekly* depicted the types

of employment and freedoms that work offered the young modern employee.⁹⁵⁵ For example, the simple line drawings and text of 'The ABC of Waiting at Table' (Figure 69) suggests the imagined identity of the young girl, who, with cowed stance, must be 'neat and clean, quick, yet quiet'.

MAY 2, 1925 771

The A B C of Waiting at Table



Puts down one in front of each guest

"Waiting at table." How simple it sounds, yet how few people realise the time that has been spent in acquiring that perfect service that is so much appreciated.

To begin—a girl must be neat and clean, quick, yet quiet in her movements.

Her uniform should be dainty, and hands clean.

She must have a good memory, capable hands, and—above all—she must be observant.

With such material much may be accomplished.

WHEN learning to wait, too much should not be attempted at one time, and dinner parties should not be given until the maid is thoroughly conversant with her work. It should be remembered that all is new and strange. Mistakes made through nervousness might cause a young maid to take a permanent dislike to parlour work.

One of the chief secrets of good waiting is adequate preparation. It is impossible to lay too much stress on this point. The parlourmaid must make it her business to know exactly what dishes are being served.

LAYING THE TABLE

THIS enables her to have ready on the sideboard all the necessary spoons, sauce ladles, etc., which may be required. The dessert and a dessert plate, with knife, fork, d'oyley and finger-bowl half filled with water, should be placed on the sideboard in readiness for each diner.

The table should be laid in good time, and dinner napkins folded in some pretty and simple way.

The necessary knives and forks should be placed in the order in which they will be used—the soup spoon, for instance, on the extreme right furthest away from the plate, a cheese knife nearest the plate on the right.

Some people prefer that the spoon and fork intended for the sweet should be above the place for the plate, the handle of the spoon to the right and that of the fork to the left.

All cutlery should be half an inch from the edge of the table.

Glasses are grouped in the order in which the wine will be served.

A small square of bread or a dinner roll will be placed on the left-hand side of each place, or handed round in a basket. Salt cellars, pepper pots, etc., are put at convenient places down the table.

Water will be provided on the sideboard for those who prefer it, also an extra supply of bread or rolls.

Needless to say, the linen, cutlery, glass, china and silver used will all be spotless. They should all be carried round the table on a tray—not in the hands.

WHEN THE GUESTS COME

THE parlourmaid then takes a final survey of her work, places a chair for each place laid, sees that all is ready on the sideboard, and she is then at liberty to answer

the door if guests are expected.

When the last guest has arrived, she informs the cook, and then her mistress by saying "Dinner is served, madam," or sounds the gong. She carries the first course to the dining-room, draws out the chair for the principal lady present, and, when she is seated, begins her work of waiting. She should stand at the left hand of the one who is serving.

It is manifestly impossible when there is only one maid that much carving or serving can be done at the sideboard, as is the case when there are two.

When there is only one, much time is saved if dishes are handed straight round, beginning with the principal lady present.

The mistress may serve the soup herself, in which case the maid stands at her left side and carries the plates to each guest, also from the left side.

The tureen is then removed (this being one of the courses where the guests are not asked to have more).

The maid then pours out whatever wine is being served—at the right side this time, as she could not possibly stretch across from the left. She must also know the correct glasses to use for each.

As each guest finishes, the plates are taken to the sideboard one at a time, or one in either hand, not piled up one on the top of the other.

The knives, forks, and spoons are placed in a lined basket, and the plates piled neatly and quietly at the sideboard.

THE FISH AND THE JOINT

THE fish is sometimes served by the mistress, the master carrying the joint and game. (Remember that when the meal dish is removed the carrying knife and fork are taken away first on a small tray.)

In this case the maid takes the plates, as they are ready, to the guests, carrying in her left hand the accompanying sauce or a vegetable. She then puts the sauce-boat or dish on the sideboard and hands the second vegetable.

When expert, a dish may be taken in either hand, but this is more difficult to accomplish nicely.

When everyone is supplied, the maid takes up her position at the sideboard.

Continued overleaf



From the Left and Right

ALL dishes that are offered by the maid should be served at the left side of the guest.

Wine only is served at the right.

Take away the plates one at a time, or one in either hand. They should be piled up at the sideboard, the knives, forks and spoons being placed in a lined basket.

Figure 69 The A B C of Waiting at Table, *Woman's Weekly* May 2 1925, p. 771

⁹⁵⁵ Hackney "They", Chapter Five.

By the way, an interesting intelligence is showing itself just now in the guild, demanding that Congress resolutions should not become a dead letter, but that their principles should be carried into effect either by officials or rank-and-file members. Such a development is encouraging, and shows that interest does not die when Congress closes. It proves also that the guild is willing and anxious to stand by principles which have been ratified at Congress, and in the end stand like this will result in hard thinking and a shyness to introduce subjects unless they are within practical possibility to carry out.

In Word and in Deed.

RESOLUTIONS in words are one thing; resolutions in deeds quite another. It is the latter we call for. In a recent interview with one of the leading public women in this country which appeared in "Woman's Outlook," it was pleasing to see how she pleaded for tolerance. This is a lesson all may take to heart and to Congress. Perfect unanimity of opinion will lead to a dull "Burslem." What is needed is a frank outspokenness of conviction with the safeguard of a fair hearing and a tolerant judgment.

LACK of toleration causes much trouble and sorrow. It breaks up homes, separates parents and children, and is often the foundation of the deepest human suffering. Enthusiasts find it difficult to be tolerant, but tolerance, like mercy, is thrice blessed—it "blesses him that gives and him that takes." And we all are more likely to reach reliable conclusions on every question before us if our decisions are seasoned by tolerance.

TURNING from our own affairs for a moment, and realising that the general election is not by any means a great way off, it is illuminating to read what Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the famous Suffragist, has to say about women in general. "The women's movement for equality—equal protection, equal terms, and equal pay for equal work—is still in its infancy, but now that women voters form the majority of the electors they can quickly bring the Government

and public authorities to book in regard to this matter. The plain fact is that, speaking generally, women have done very little clear thinking on this matter, which presents practical complexities and difficulties which only clear thinking will solve."

WOMAN'S OUTLOOK



The spring of co-operation replaces the dreary winter of capitalism, and the women go forth to do battle for the time when beauty shall blossom in this world of ours—the beauty of a real Co-operative Commonwealth.

SUCH a statement from so responsible a woman is worth thinking about and examining, and it may prove a help to the Guild. Clear thinking is a great asset to any individual. Indeed, it is the whole aim of education. The ability to crystallise thought so that the reason for an action stands clear without any of the fog of confused words is a great power. And it is specially needed now that the election campaign is in full swing, for it is undoubtedly the aim of some platform orators to so muddle-thought in a confusion of words that judgment is warped and interfered with.

AND now for higher affairs. No matter how busy we may be electioneering,

the thought of a new frock is always stimulating. Glad rags bring joy to every woman's heart, and none bring more than a glad summer frock made by one's own fingers. An opportunity to do this is provided by the gift pattern which appears in this issue of "Woman's Outlook," which all readers would be well advised either to use for personal needs or give to some friend who is in need of such.

Why? Because it is a jolly safe pattern. Because it is an opportunity to extend the sales of "Woman's Outlook" by announcing that your frock is from that paper.

Because it is a practical demonstration of what the co-operative movement can do for its women readers.

Because it is a reliable affair which, when made up, is equal to and surpasses anything that can be got elsewhere.

And in saying this we know what we are talking about.

ALSO COOLS THE WATER.

A HYGIENIC drinking glass formed of ice has been invented. It is said to last an hour in a room of an average temperature.

Figure 70 The spring of co-operation, *Woman's Outlook* May 4th 1929, p. 419

Throughout the interwar period *Woman's Outlook*, in contrast to *Woman's Weekly*, portrays multiple manifestations of the emancipation of the co-operative woman worker, achieved through the co-operative ethos. The illustration in Figure 70 is allegorical. She wears classical dress. Her feet are bare. She lingers above the earth.

Spirituality is represented. Allegorical figures can also be earthbound (Figure 66). Illustrated by the same artist, W. Beuzeville-Foyster, it depicts the seasons, the ordinary and often run of the mill. These images are used to appeal to the reader. Yet traditional understanding of the seasons is disrupted. Icicles adorn bare trees and leafless branches. Snow covered earth showing rare peaks of ground are pictured as blossom is distributed graciously from her hand. These metaphorical and artistic connections are employed to support reader understanding of the co-operative critique and admonishment of 'the dreary winter of capitalism' in order to evoke the 'spring of co-operation'.⁹⁵⁶

Abstract characteristics and gendered metaphors are appropriated and intertwined to disrupt gendered notions and unsettle reader assumptions to offer space to reconfigure ideas proposing beauty through co-operation, 'women go forth to do battle for the time when beauty shall blossom...the beauty of a real Co-operative Commonwealth'.⁹⁵⁷ Different angles and perspectives promote a co-operative ethos for the co-operative woman. The utilisation of allegory builds on the reader's ready familiarity with industrialisation and the tendency to 'mass-produce pictures'.⁹⁵⁸ *Woman's Outlook* acknowledges and builds upon the provenance associated with allegory employed in feminist, socialist and Suffrage publications of the nineteenth century which date back to antiquity.⁹⁵⁹

⁹⁵⁶ *Woman's Outlook* May 4th 1929, p. 418.

⁹⁵⁷ *Woman's Outlook* May 4th 1929, p. 418.

⁹⁵⁸ Korda, 'Learning', p. 327.

⁹⁵⁹ Alexiou, Design, p. 186.

Woman's Outlook's particular use of multiple pictures and typography, draws on a breadth of ideologies and aims. Suggesting flexibility and adaptability, the pictures smoothly shift between and across identities. The magazine used print blocks to print line drawing illustrations and text. These were rarely duplicated, and a repeated use of a print block is mostly seen in the *Woman's Outlook* masthead (Chapter Five). Separately, each strap line, line drawing, advertisement, illustration, allegory and photograph offer many meanings to the individual reader, who are likely to perceive it in different ways. When considered together by the reader, multiple images, engendered numerous representations to open up the broader range of opportunities available to the co-operative woman.

The depictions slide readily across and between identities of simple realism (Figure 63), to the idealised (Figure 66) and on to the allegorical, political and spiritual (Figure 70). Co-operative identity is mutable, extending and appealing to as wide a range of co-operative women and audiences as possible. Furthermore, it proposes that co-operative woman herself is not bounded by one particular notion embodied in a typical picture. The pictures offer many meanings and fluid images – of the possibilities for co-operative woman in her everyday experience of work, distinct from the relationship of the woman worker to the capitalist work place.

Co-operative publications offered a critique of the individualist approach to a consumer economy and woman's role within it which suggests a parallel between the co-operative movement and Thomas Linehan's analysis of the response of

Fabian, Sidney Webb, to the post First World War landscape of social and economic development. The Fabians aimed 'to accommodate their agenda to the dominant "grand narrative" of modernisation – modernity' rather than separate themselves from the transformative processes of modernisation.⁹⁶⁰ Similarly, the co-operative movement, as a democratic organisation, aimed to work *within* the post First World War economic framework.

However, these publications, unlike the Fabians, did not wish to advance a 'socialist or 'collectivist' direction'.⁹⁶¹ Rather, the co-operative movement aimed to foster a Co-operative Commonwealth founded on the democratic choice of enlightened self-help. For co-operative woman this ideal offered an unstable identity. An interpretation of the Co-operative Commonwealth by *Woman's Outlook* in 1921 argues that co-operation rewards those who play a part in the movement, to unshackle the workers. This editorial, however, built on the notion of the married co-operative woman as the consumer:

"Each for all, and all for each." Under co-operation woman's function as the buyer is of such supreme importance that she may be said to be the corner-stone of the Co-operative Commonwealth...her basket – brought to the store counter in every European country and many other countries of the world – that the married woman takes her part in forwarding the emancipation of the workers and the peace of the world...every piece of soap bought in a co-operative store is helping to break down capitalism and build up co-operation.⁹⁶²

⁹⁶⁰ Linehan, *Modernism*, pp. 122-123.

⁹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124.

⁹⁶² *Woman's Outlook* November 1921, p. 2.

The Second World War broke out in September 1939 and in November 1939 the *Wheatsheaf* responded to the threat of oppression faced by Britain. A half page message published in bold font entitled 'Our Service to You' from the Directors of the CWS emphasised the egalitarian ethos, commitment to democracy and position of co-operation, which had been promoted throughout the interwar period, 'The menace of war and of tyranny demands the maintenance of the co-operative principles of individual freedom and mutual help'.⁹⁶³ Within this co-operative framework of 'individual freedom and mutual help' text and image of the everyday co-operative woman worker communicated the economic, social and political ecology of the co-operative movement.⁹⁶⁴ This contrasts to the marginalised role that the individual occupied in the post Second World War co-operative movement, when the co-operative movement, would again feel that its economic position and co-operative principles were threatened (Chapter Four). As Rachel Ritchie, argues, drawing on Peter Gurney and Matthew Hilton's analyses of co-operation in 1950s and 1960s Britain, 'The Co-operative movement focused on the collective and struggled to adapt its ideology to accommodate increased emphasis on the individual'.⁹⁶⁵

The co-operative publications, through the visual, questioned the distinctly separate and discrete relationships and identities of owner, worker, member and consumer

⁹⁶³ *Wheatsheaf* November 1939, p. 3.

⁹⁶⁴ *Wheatsheaf* November 1939, p. 3.

⁹⁶⁵ Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 58 referencing P. Gurney, 'The Battle of the Consumer in Postwar Britain', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 77, No. 4, (2005), pp. 956-987, 959, 982, 984, 987, and M. Hilton, *Consumerism in Twentieth-Century Britain: The Search for a Historical Movement*, (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 18, 176-177.

within the consumer economy. It is to women's professions and careers and the ecology of the movement the chapter now turns, by comparing how the woman worker was depicted in the co-operative publications, *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly*.

'Women's Professions' and 'Careers'⁹⁶⁶

Not all workers were co-operative movement members.⁹⁶⁷ Yet by November 1939 the movement had 6 ½ million members.⁹⁶⁸ Established in 1863, as a group to which other societies chose to affiliate, the CWS, publisher of *Ourselves*, was a significant co-operative employer. The CWS, now known as The Co-operative Group (2001) currently employs over 100, 000 people and comprises over 7 million individual members.⁹⁶⁹ However, until the 2013 publication of Wilson, Webster and Vorberg-Rugh's comprehensive 150 year business history, there were few studies of the CWS as a business organisation, with the exception of in-house publications aimed at internal audiences.⁹⁷⁰ As Wilson et al point out, it is likely that only a few members of the public are aware of the differences between the Co-operative with other retailers.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶⁶ *Woman's Outlook* May 7th 1927, p. 441; *Woman's Outlook* November 11 1933, p. 13.

⁹⁶⁷ Southern, Co-operative, pp. 131-132.

⁹⁶⁸ *Wheatsheaf* November 1939, p. 3.

⁹⁶⁹ Wilson et al, *Building*, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

⁹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Compared with national productivity, co-operative production and employment grew in the interwar years. By 1935, for example, there were 130 CWS factories in Britain.⁹⁷² Yet the movement encountered multiple challenges. Commercially, it faced opposition from capitalist producers. Politically, it was confronted by the government (Chapter Four). In addition, an unfavourable post First World War economy contrived to challenge the co-operative movement.⁹⁷³ Nevertheless, production, although 'geographically uneven', flourished, particularly 'in the South and Midlands'.⁹⁷⁴

In 1935 women and girls numbered over 29,000 or 42% of the CWS's production workforce compared to the number of CWS employees totalling 69,017.⁹⁷⁵ On the one hand, this statistic is useful as an idea of the size of the CWS 'productive' workforce and gender composition, although it indicates only one aspect of employment within the CWS and the movement.⁹⁷⁶ On the other hand, how the co-operative woman worker was visually represented in this period contributes a nuanced exploration of employment practices in the interwar period – for example, the type of work available as the movement would like the reader to see it.

⁹⁷² Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Back cover.

⁹⁷³ Wilson et al, *Building*, pp. 201-202.

⁹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

⁹⁷⁵ The CWS produced a wide range of commodities. A list of the 'Productive Enterprises' includes for example, 'Printing, Bookbinding &c' carried out at six factories/workshops. See G. Darling, *The CWS of Today: An Illustrated Survey of Achievements*, (Manchester: Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited Publicity Department, 1932 reprint 1936), pp. 27, 31-32.

⁹⁷⁶ Southern, Co-operative, p. 138.

Nationally, in the interwar period, whilst domestic service continued to employ significant numbers of women, opportunities to work in retail, clerical and industrial jobs increased. The development of light manufacturing factories, where working conditions in these jobs improved in the 1930s,⁹⁷⁷ is a staple of *Ourselves*. Domestic service is not typically represented in the co-operative publications perhaps being of little relevance to the members, producer and consumer needs of the co-operative movement, seen as outmoded, low paid work with little appeal to the modern worker. Clerical and office work is foremost in the November 1925 *Wheatsheaf* (Figure 71). The half page photograph includes a forensic photographic insert, a common feature of factory photographs, which presents greater detail to the reader. To highlight the status of this type of work, the photograph attempts to display a pseudo-scientific first-hand observation, whilst the text explains it illustrates 'the work at the Balloon Street headquarter of the CWS'. Significantly, word and picture offer an overview of the ecology of the movement which incorporates the modern clerical employee and the important role of the consumer, by describing 'The work of counting the points scored by competitors in the CWS soap competition'.⁹⁷⁸

The drive toward the professionalisation of women workers is emphasised in the co-operative publications throughout the period, particularly in *Woman's Outlook*. In May 1927, 'What it means to be a Health Visitor' (Figure 72), featured as part of a series entitled 'Women's Professions'. The line drawing and text mark 'what the work

⁹⁷⁷ McKibbin, *Classes*, pp. 109, 134-5.

⁹⁷⁸ *Wheatsheaf* November 1925, p. 164.

of a Health Visitor is' and politicise the profession by advocating the organisation of Health Visitors and the potential gains this would contribute to health service delivery.



Figure 71 Nearing The End, *Wheetshaeaf* November 1925, p. 164

The drawing in Figure 72, illustrates an orderly demonstration of women marching for the standardisation of the system of awarding the Health Visitor qualifications. By demonstrating in front of the Ministry of Health building, the women take their cause to the government. The lead banner identifies the march as the 'Health Visitors

Pilgrimage' suggesting the worthy nature of the petition. In the foreground, nine women dressed in contemporaneous style signal the respectability and professional skills of the activists. They carry large placards with messages and demand regulation through a 'Register', 'Pensions' and 'Travel Expenses'. *Woman's Outlook* supported the petition for better working conditions for the Health Visitor profession and those using it.⁹⁷⁹ This focus on the professionalisation and activism of co-operative women workers contrasts with the infrequency with which this type of career featured in *Woman's Weekly* which was usually directed at, 'the girl who has had no special training' (Figure 65).

⁹⁷⁹ *Woman's Outlook* May 7th 1927, p. 441.

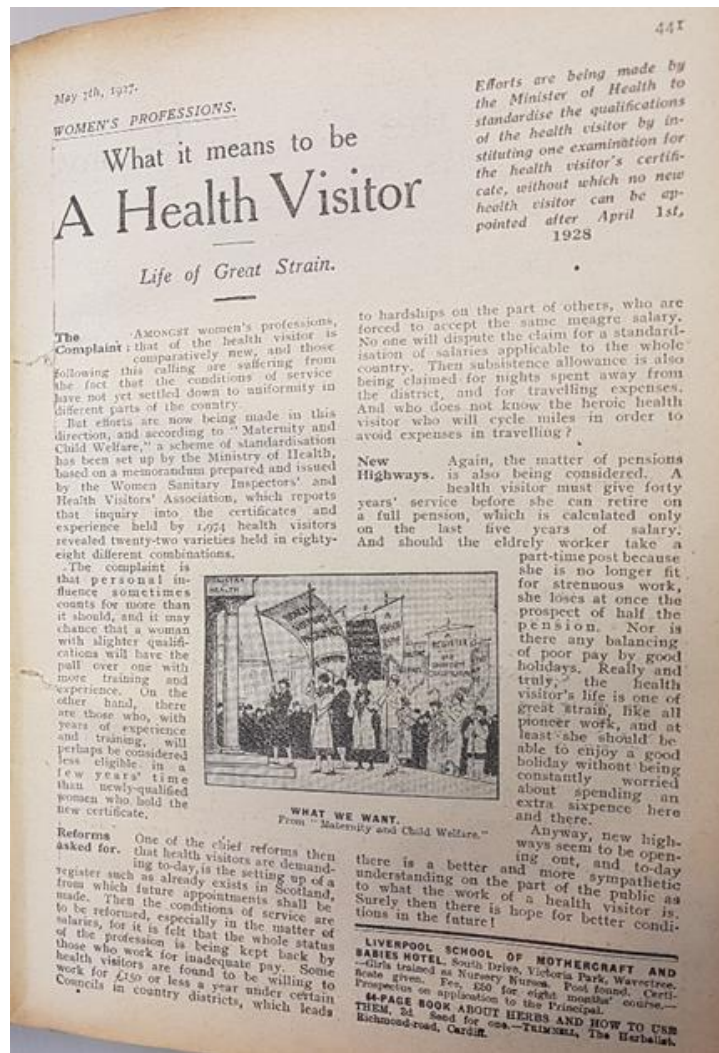


Figure 72 Women's Professions, *Woman's Outlook* May 7th 1927, p. 441

In 1927, the May 7th issue of *Woman's Weekly*, launched a new six week series 'Next Week: A New "Office Life" Series'.⁹⁸⁰ Like the May issue of *Woman's Outlook* in 1927, pictorially it appeared to herald a fresh perspective to women's employment, with a focus on the young contemporary female office worker. However, in contrast to *Woman's Outlook*, this *Woman's Weekly* column, during May and June 1927, featured a different fictionalised aspect of office work to emphasise the supposed

⁹⁸⁰ *Woman's Weekly* May 7 1927, p. 866.

freedoms of the modern life. For example, 'No.1 Poppy the Office Vamp' (Figure 73) covered almost two pages. Overleaf, a large capitalised heading placed at the top of the page alerted the reader to the perils of office life 'YOU WILL MEET THESE TYPES IN EVERY OFFICE', whilst a central insert advertised the following week's equally cautionary instalment,⁹⁸¹ 'Miss Smith the Office Gossip'.⁹⁸² This disapproving tone was to dominate the series.

Each week the feature took an advisory and reproving approach to the newly modern young office worker to feature 'Miss Lipstick',⁹⁸³ 'Miss Gray the Borrower',⁹⁸⁴ 'The Office Late-Bird'⁹⁸⁵ and 'Miss Know-All'.⁹⁸⁶ In November this fictional series briefly reappeared to introduce 'Flora The Flirt'⁹⁸⁷ and, 'Gertrude Who Groused'.⁹⁸⁸ Paradoxically, these caricatures portraying different aspects of office personalities and office life seemed to respond to the apparent shifts in the landscape of the 1920s yet unlike *Woman's Outlook*, the series offered textual parodies at odds with the pictorial, attempting to contain the young female and her hopes for fresh employment opportunities and life style.

⁹⁸¹ *Woman's Weekly* May 14 1927, p. 923-924.

⁹⁸² *Woman's Weekly* May 21 1927, p. 981.

⁹⁸³ *Woman's Weekly* May 28 1927, p. 1028.

⁹⁸⁴ *Woman's Weekly* June 4 1927, p. 1076.

⁹⁸⁵ *Woman's Weekly* June 11 1927, p. 1115.

⁹⁸⁶ *Woman's Weekly* June 18 1927, p. 1171.

⁹⁸⁷ *Woman's Weekly* November 5 1927, p. 849.

⁹⁸⁸ *Woman's Weekly* November 27 1927, p. 904.

OUR NEW OFFICE SERIES—No. 1

POPPY, THE OFFICE VAMP

The Girls Always Said Poppy's Manner Changed When a Man Entered The Room. They Teased Her About It, But All She Said Was: "Of Course It Does. I Like Men And They Like Me. I Can't Be Bothered With Girls. They're Usually Spiteful."

POPPY McBRIDE was the chief shorthand-typist at the offices of Harwood, Malone & Co. This was not in virtue of length of service. It was because it was inevitable that Poppy McBride should become the chief stenographer in any office in which she happened to work.

For Poppy had discovered the secret of getting her own way. If she objected to a railway-carriage window being open she had it closed. If she wanted it open it was let down immediately by a delighted fellow-passenger, needless to say a member of the opposite sex. Poppy would appear sublimely oblivious to any frowns of objection on the brows of other travellers, and would engross herself in her book. She never minded the pages of her newspaper brushing the cheeks of her neighbours. She rather liked it. "They haven't bought the carriage," she would say.

She was especially effective in a restaurant. "It's just dreadful going out to lunch with Miss McBride," complained Miss Lisle, another of the girls in the office, one day. "I've got plenty of cheek, but she beats me. She didn't like the steak she had to-day. She ate some of it and then suddenly insisted on seeing the manager. She turned it over and pointed out all the burnt bits. I felt so ashamed. It was as bad as attending an inquest."

"Did he change it?" enquired Miss Gray.

"Did he change it? Don't you understand, it was Poppy with me? My dear, he brought her back a gorgeous wing of chicken, bread sauce, and new potatoes, and never charged a halfpenny more. Only leant over her tenderly and said that the one desire of the establishment was to satisfy its customers."

"I wish they'd treat me the same," cried Miss Gray. "When I complained the other day because there was a long hair in my coffee the manager said it must be one of my own, as all the ladies serving coffee had short hair."

ALWAYS IN THE LIMELIGHT
POPPY always got the best of an argument she always had an answer ready. If the girls were not convinced—some of them, at least, would pretend to be, the others would retire into their shells, and make up their mind to ignore her. But they didn't; no one ignored Poppy. She wouldn't let them.

If she had her hair cut at a fresh hairdresser's all the girls would gather round her and examine and admire it. If she wore a new frock the occupants of nearly every room in the office discussed the colour and the shape, the width of the skirt, and whether it revealed too much of her shapely legs.

Poppy adored a scrap, and would come up to the office in the best of good tempers if one had occurred on the journey.

"I had a row with my bus conductor last night," she would say. "He said he wouldn't let me stand inside when it was raining as the rush hour was over. I told him it wasn't. He said it was. I had to go on the top, but luckily we stopped in front of a post-office, and it was only three minutes to seven after all. So I came down again and went inside. I pointed to the clock when he objected, and two nice young men inside took my part and said they'd have his number if he turned me out. He was thoroughly squashed."

But this adventure was rather an unusual one, for as a rule the bus conductors always wished Poppy "Good-night." The police always held up the traffic a moment longer for her to cross. Her stockings never got splashed on wet days, as even taxis slowed down when



their drivers saw her standing on the kerb looking apprehensively at a puddle.

WHEN POPPY COMPLAINED

IT was the same with the shops. When Poppy's new mackintosh "ran" and dyed her stockings pink she had the whole department grovelling while a fresh one of better quality was being wrapped up, and when Miss Lisle's new knitted jumper unravelled at the collar, and laddered down the back, she herself stood trembling on the pavement while Poppy interviewed the buyer, and emerged smiling and triumphant, having changed it without much trouble.

"The buyer said at first it had been worn, and so he couldn't change it. But when I said to him, 'What's the use of buying jumpers if they're not to be worn?' he changed his tune, and when I hinted at the amount of things I purchased from them during the year he positively grovelled. As a matter of fact I've never been inside the shop before, and certainly won't go again after what's happened to you."

THE NICEST JOBS

IT was only when Poppy had ingratiated herself with every man in the office, and had insidiously manoeuvred herself into getting the cream of the work, even from each girl's own particular chief, that her colleagues began to realise her power and the danger they were in of never making any headway or gaining a position for themselves.

"Miss Lisle's busy. I can take it, Mr. Spencer," Poppy would say, with a flashing smile. She did not suggest that she would do the copying on which Miss Lisle was engaged and so free her to take Mr. Spencer's letter.

Or in the morning, when she had taken letters from the Managing Director, she would look in at the room next door and enquire whether the second in command



Poppy ingratiated herself with every man in the office

Figure 73 Our New Office Series - No. 1, Woman's Weekly May 14 1927, p. 923

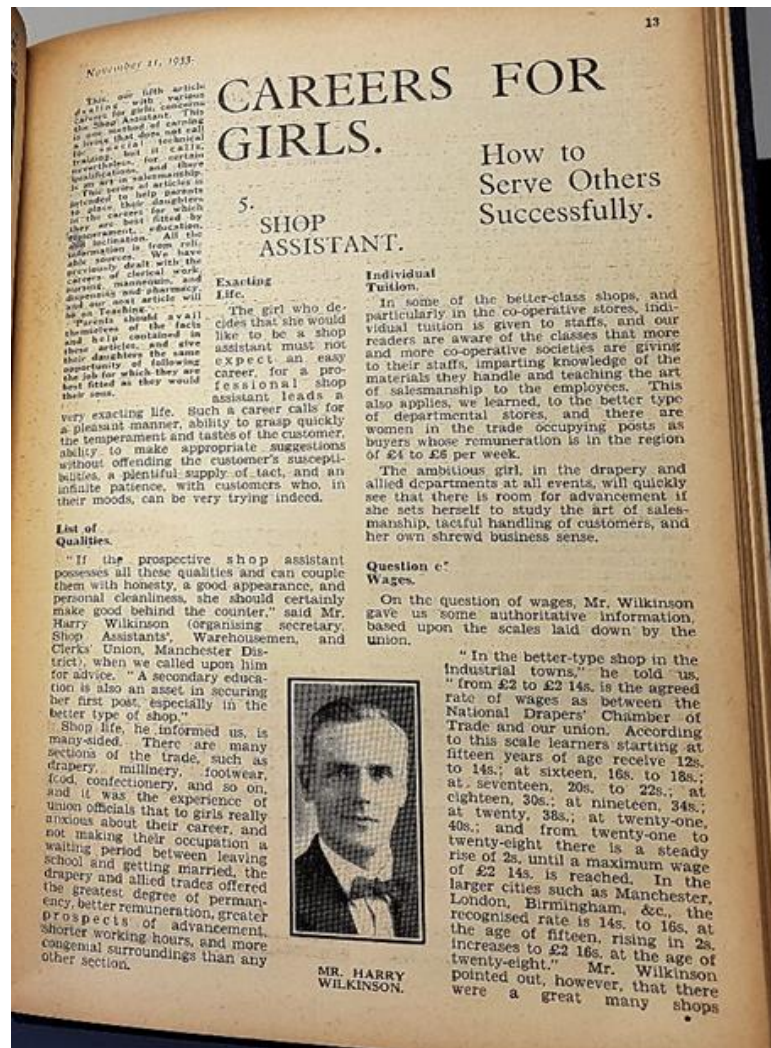


Figure 74 Careers For Girls, *Woman's Outlook* November 11 1933, p. 13

In contrast to *Woman's Weekly*, the 1933 *Woman's Outlook* series, 'Careers for Girls', illustrates how the co-operative magazine continued to promote a thoughtful range of opportunities and professions. The series portrayed the possibility of 'clerical work, nursing, mannequin and dispensing and pharmacy' and 'teaching' to the prospective co-operative woman worker. Although 'No.5 Shop Assistant' (Figure 74) offered a gendered perspective it aimed to 'help parents to place their daughters in the careers for which they are best fitted by temperament, education and inclination'. Advocating shop work as a career which was 'many sided', the series

offered interesting employment for the girl who did not want to make 'their occupation a waiting period between leaving school and getting married'. *Woman's Outlook's* approach to women's employment contrasted with the infrequent career features and dominant rhetoric of domesticity and imaginary identities depicted in *Woman's Weekly*. For example, *Woman's Outlook* addressed the political aspect of shop work in its encouragement of union membership for the co-operative woman worker. The photograph of Mr Harry Wilkinson 'organising secretary, Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks Union, Manchester District' pictorially supports the 'authoritative information' about unionisation and this type of employment.⁹⁸⁹ Importantly, this November 1933 issue featured two discussions of the organisation of labour. The article 'Organising Domestic Labour' under the 'Salford Scheme', addressed the establishment of Unions of those employed in domestic service, a type of work that otherwise rarely featured.⁹⁹⁰

The organisation of labour into Trade Unions was established as an important feature in the inaugural issue of *Woman's Outlook*. The 1919 article 'For More Roses Plant Trees: What We Know We Sow', in which the arts and craft style illustrative rose banner is suggestive of growth, commended the benefits of becoming a member of a Trade Union.⁹⁹¹ Published in *Woman's Outlook* in 1919, it directly followed the article 'Women Who Work For Us' (Figures 63, 64). In May 1937 the article 'Pensions: Why Should Women's Needs be Less? An Unfair Discrimination Between Salaried

⁹⁸⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 11 1933, p. 13.

⁹⁹⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 11 1933, pp. 7-8.

⁹⁹¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 24.

Workers', (Figure 75) highlighted the employment and pension rights of typists and telephone operators. Depicted in large photographs, this article offers a rare glimpse into the co-operative woman worker as the office worker. In November 1937 an article entitled 'Should Nurses Be Trade Unionists?...A Senior Nurse Speaks Against Unions'⁹⁹² was part of a series on Trade Unions. The large full page-length photograph depicted the uniformed figure of a female nurse and indicated a progressive outlook to health and employment. These articles demonstrate that although these types of work might not fit neatly into the co-operative cycle and ecology of consumption and production, the issues of workers' rights were nonetheless significant and embraced by *Woman's Outlook*.

The gendering of traditional careers in *Woman's Outlook* demonstrates some parallels with *Woman's Weekly*. However, unlike *Woman's Weekly*, the co-operative publications connected work to everyday issues. Work became politicised around the protection of women workers' rights. The magazines recognised the shifting landscape of women's work, and used word and image to raise awareness and protect the women workers as members of the movement, which would contribute to their eventual emancipation.

⁹⁹² *Woman's Outlook* November 6th 1937, p. 13.



Figure 75 Pensions, *Woman's Outlook* May 1 1937, p. 13

The co-operative publications responded to the changing categories of work that women were typically engaged in. For example, the November 1935 *Wheatsheaf* pictorially and textually addressed the shift that had taken place in women's employment, in the article 'The World of Women' featured in the 'Mainly for Women' column (Figure 76). The photograph and caption of 'Miss Monica Maurice an expert in the lighting of coal mines' demonstrates a progressive attitude to women's work. The *Wheatsheaf* article recognised the rapid transitions of the 1930s, and embraced the new types of employment becoming available to women:

The words “women in industry” only two short years ago conjured a picture to one’s mind of women machining in the large rooms of factories, women packing all kinds of goods, shop assistants, clerks, typists and the many comparatively insignificant jobs that our sex had allotted to them in the world of work.⁹⁹³

These dominant images of the interwar period, particularly portrayed in the pages of *Ourselves* and the *Wheatshaf*, promoted the ecology of the co-operative movement and this is the focus of the next section.



Figure 76 Mainly for Women, *Wheatshaf* November 1935, p. 174

⁹⁹³ *Wheatshaf* November 1935, p. 174.

Ecology of the Co-operative Movement: 'Every Woman's Coat and Costume. Links in the Chain of Co-operative Supply. Store, Warehouse, Factory, Mill, and Farm'⁹⁹⁴



Figure 77 Every Woman's Coat and Costume, *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, p. 71

Depictions of the co-operative woman as both the consumer and worker (Figures 77, 78)⁹⁹⁵ accentuated the holistic nature of life in the co-operative movement compared

⁹⁹⁴ *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, p. 71.

⁹⁹⁵ *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, pp. 72-3.

to how the individualist capitalist mode of consumption and production was portrayed (Figures 63, 64). For example, the three page *Wheatsheaf* article in November 1919, places the subject of 'Buying A Winter Coat' in the contemporary context of consumption and poor quality goods. This topic of inferior production and rising prices, which had also recently featured in the left oriented newspaper *Daily Chronicle*, emphasised aspects of the shared ideological critique of capitalist production. The *Wheatsheaf* article, sub-titled 'Every Woman's Coat and Costume', discusses the production of items that were affordable for co-operative workers. In doing so it emphasised the economic, social and political ecology of the movement and addressed the encounter with capitalism and the consumer in ways that the Labour Movement did not.

The large photograph in Figure 77 is the lead image for this lengthy article. Dominating the layout, it presents an easily read realism and utilises the indexical character of the photograph to present a documentary record.⁹⁹⁶ Contrasting with drawings and illustrations, the indexicality of photographs offers a vision of the materiality of the everyday lived experiences in the workplace,⁹⁹⁷ mobilised in a similar way to how art and political ideology collided in suffrage imagery to become propaganda.⁹⁹⁸ The photograph is used as a space of conflict and engagement, 'The

⁹⁹⁶ Zervigón, 'Persuading', p. 152.

⁹⁹⁷ Photography as a photomechanical process, was viewed as scientific and objective. Through indexicality it presents an objective view, in direct relationship to something else. As a technological process it is scientifically supported. See Tagg, *Burden*, pp. 1-8, 187.

⁹⁹⁸ Tickner, *Spectacle*, pp. x-xi.

photographs are not just a *stake in* but also a *site of* that struggle; the point where powers converge but are also produced'.⁹⁹⁹

Yet, the materiality of the image is disrupted. Executed in a considered way, it represents an intentional interference. The upper bodies of the co-operative women are cut out in a photomontage style. This cutting reveals and embodies the physical individuality of the co-operative woman yet remains firmly rooted together in the base and body of a homogeneous image. The *Wheatsheaf* sustained the message of co-operation and labour, and demonstrated a consciousness of ideologies and associations with technologically progressive techniques of photomontage¹⁰⁰⁰ (Figure 77), unlike the contemporaneous floating front cover image of *Woman's Weekly* (Figure 65).

The photomontage (Figure 77) physically links co-operative woman as both consumer and retailer. This image emphasises connectedness, implying the mutual ethos of the co-operative movement. The co-operative woman retailer assists the co-operative consumer to try on the coat. The wording in the article sub-heading 'Every Woman's Coat and Costume. Links in the Chain of Co-operative Supply. Store, Warehouse, Factory, Mill, and Farm', textually affirms and supports the pictorially interrelated associations of producer and consumer.¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹⁹ Tagg, *Burden*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁰⁰ M. Gough, 'Back in the USSR: John Heartfield, Gustavs Klucis, and the Medium of Soviet Propaganda', *New German Critique*, 107, Vol. 36, No. 2, (2009), pp. 133-183, 135.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, p. 71.

The visual as represented, proposed a continuum in women's political consciousness. Pictorially, through the large photograph and textually, the article informed the reader how this interconnected process worked, offering a fluid relationship between worker and consumer, as co-operation attempted to overcome the alienation of the worker from the means of production and product.¹⁰⁰²

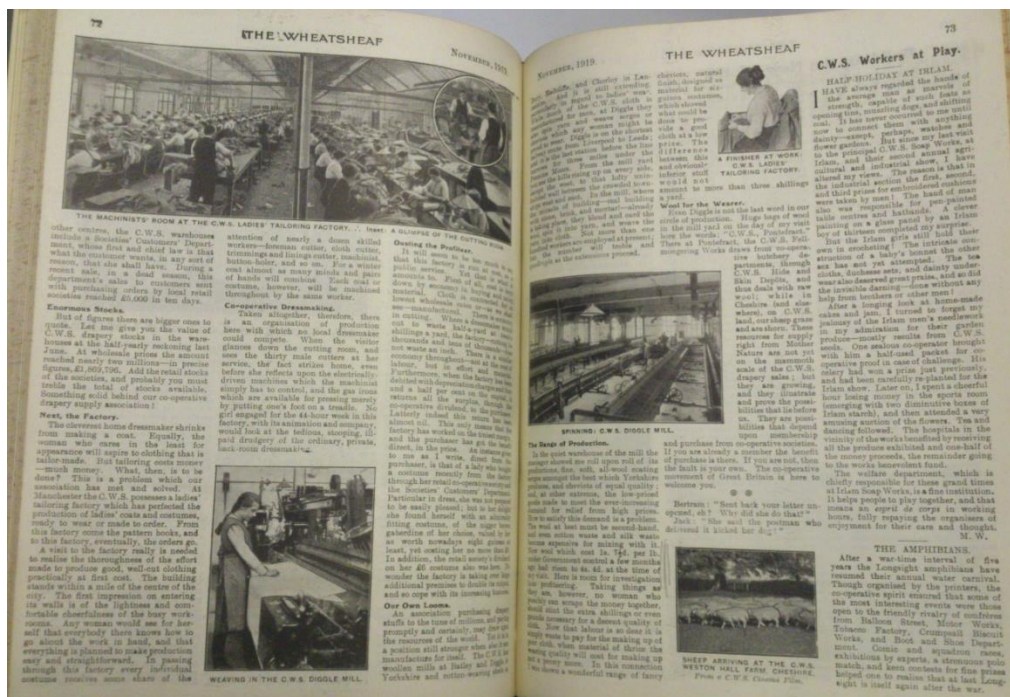


Figure 78 Every Woman's Coat and Costume, *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, pp. 72-73

Picture and text, drawing on the ideology of co-operation, the arts and craft movement and the libertarian socialist movement, embodied a space to encourage connections and dialogue between the reader, co-operative women and the co-operative movement. Ideologically and visually progressive, the image (Figure 77) is

¹⁰⁰² Darling, CWS, pp. 26-27, 31.

inflected with the iconography of Soviet Man and Woman. Pictorial, textual and ideological parallels of strength and the lived experience can be drawn between Figures 77, 78 and examples of photomontage displayed in *Russia To-Day* (Figures 79-81).



Figure 79 A Real, Living Democracy, *Russia Today* July 1936, p. 5

However, importantly the co-operative movement did not offer a revolution but a more humane version of capitalism. Creating a particular kind of image of co-operative woman, through a range of aspects, it was not a campaign for state ownership. Aware of the readership, the visual message is less strong, more subtle, and consequently about sustaining a more humane version of capitalism for all.

The style of the image (Figure 77) draws on the progressive modern photomontage techniques of John Heartfield, who was a prime user of photomontage as a key 'agitational weapon' of early 1930s Soviet publicity.¹⁰⁰³ Co-operative editors did not seek to destabilise images in the same way. The photomontage technique serves to enhance and embellish the function of the image to communicate its particular message. Methodologically Heartfield questioned 'the truth claims of documentary photography'.¹⁰⁰⁴ He aimed to disrupt and change the implication altering 'the meaning of his source photographs by embedding them in new and disjunctive relationships with other photographs, chiefly through manipulating scalar relations and adding crucial punch lines'.¹⁰⁰⁵

By using photomontage, the *Wheatsheaf* incorporated progressive modernist design philosophy. The employment of photomontage in this 1919 issue aligns with its use in commercial and Communist political publications. The particular application of photomontage is demonstrated in the magazine *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* (AIZ)

¹⁰⁰³ Gough, 'Back', p. 136.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

the Worker's Illustrated Magazine, which Andrés Mario Zervigón introduces as a 'photo-besotted' German Communist magazine. Highlighting AIZ's pioneering use of photomontage since 1924-5¹⁰⁰⁶ demonstrates how progressive the use of photography was in this 1919 edition of the *Wheatsheaf*.

Naming, Space and Place

Representations of co-operative woman sliding across identities and roles demonstrate the 'corporate soul' counteracting the 'soullessness' of large business organisations.¹⁰⁰⁷ As we can see, Figures 77 and 78 embody in picture and text a documentation of the co-operative woman worker's lived reality, her identity as the shop assistant, skilled worker and shopper. Image and text, used in numerous ways, combined as the movement's internal propaganda.

The production processes having been made visible, (Figure 78) were ascribed meaning. The article simultaneously affirmed the product's convenience to the consumer while promoting neighbourhood and community, unsettled by industrialised advances, as a corporate family.¹⁰⁰⁸ Picture and text, in articles and the by-line of work place photographs, often identified the co-operative manufacturer and the geographical location of production. Naming the factory gave personal meaning to that space, identification was an antithesis to the utilitarian capitalist

¹⁰⁰⁶ Zervigón, 'Persuading', p. 147.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Marchand, *Creating*, pp. 7-10.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74, 139-41; Phillips, "'Chemists'", pp. 239-242.

space to become a particular place,¹⁰⁰⁹ which the reader/employee/consumer recognised.

The large banner photograph, placed at the top of the page, depicts 'The Machinists room at the C.W.S Ladies Tailoring Factory'. Text identifies the location of the factory as in Manchester. The caption underneath the photograph, at the bottom of the page, places the co-operative woman worker as 'Weaving in the C.W.S Diggle Mill'. Five photographs assert her skills and esteem: she is industrious and hardworking, like the woman war worker.¹⁰¹⁰ She may not have political representation,¹⁰¹¹ but as the worker, in dialogue with her machine and preserving her femininity¹⁰¹² this portrayal demonstrates the interrelatedness and fluidity of the co-operative movement. The photographs show the production processes, from farm to finishing the product, and identify the different aspects and roles of the co-operative woman worker as machinist, weaver, spinner and finisher. The reader's attention is drawn to the geographical availability and locations of particular types of co-operative stores. The article's text informs of the locale and proximity of co-operative stores to the readers' home, 'Wherever she lives there is a co-operative store not far distant'.¹⁰¹³

¹⁰⁰⁹ T. Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction*, 2nd Ed., (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), p. 15; Linehan, *Modernism*, p. 92.

¹⁰¹⁰ Aulich, 'Advertising', p. 124.

¹⁰¹¹ Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, p. 119.

¹⁰¹² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁰¹³ *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, p. 71.

Picture and text, communicating the extent and strength of the co-operative movement, locate the reader in named geographical places in ways which ascribe meaning and importance to the worker, counteracting any sense of impersonality within the movement:¹⁰¹⁴ 'In a town like Bolton, or Bradford or a city like Birmingham, there is a range of very highly equipped drapery departments'.¹⁰¹⁵ This was a specific strategy to highlight the geographical breadth of co-operative production and give meaning to the co-operative community.

The visual presentation of the sequence of the production process, demonstrating ecology and efficiency, advanced the pseudo-scientific confidence of the movement's corporate integrity and trustworthiness.¹⁰¹⁶ The photographs in Figure 78, emphasise individual and collective activity; working towards the goal of a shared co-operative ethos. Positioned at the top of the second page, the page wide photograph of co-operative women working collectively slides readily across to photographs of the individual co-operative woman at work. She is busily engaged collectively and individually in the factory. This holistic relationship between the co-operative woman consumer and co-operative woman worker, manifest in the subsections, 'Co-operative Dressmaking' and 'Ousting the Profiteer', continued across the period and the publications (Figures 71, 77, 78, 85, 89-94). The text, embodying the fluid relationships of consumer, worker and member, emphasised and persuaded of the 'possibilities that depend upon membership and purchase from

¹⁰¹⁴ Phillips, "Chemists", pp. 239-242.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, p. 71.

¹⁰¹⁶ Marchand, *Creating*, pp. 174-178; Phillips, "Chemists", p. 249.

co-operative societies'.¹⁰¹⁷ Importantly, as we shall see next, depictions in co-operative publications extended beyond the singular roles of consumer, worker and member to complicate her identity as the worker.

Social and Cultural Aspects of Work

'Irlam Girls at Play'¹⁰¹⁸

Multiple images of co-operative woman on a double page of the *Wheatsheaf* published in May 1923, (Figure 82) exhibit what workers did during their leisure. Images of sports and fashion demonstrated the adaptable and heterogeneous identity of the co-operative woman worker. By promoting her fluid work identity, the publication demonstrated the dynamism of co-operativism, in which the manifold aspects of the movement drew on the pedagogical notions of education and dignity in the everyday life of the Co-operative Commonwealth. The magazines published swathes of representations which reinforced notions of the co-operative woman worker engaged in 'rational recreation', as opposed to non-constructive recreation.¹⁰¹⁹ The fusion of co-operative and British values extended ethical ideals of fairness and fellowship and in applying the ideals of the sports ground to the workplace, imbued the co-operative workshop and worker with dignity and social responsibility.¹⁰²⁰ For example, the 1923 *Wheatsheaf* advertorial story, 'George

¹⁰¹⁷ *Wheatsheaf* November 1919, pp. 72-73.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Wheatsheaf* May 1923, pp. 72-73.

¹⁰¹⁹ Waters, *British*, p. 22.

¹⁰²⁰ Phillips, "'Chemists'", pp. 244, 252.

Makes a Call - and Delivers an Arm-chair Lecture'¹⁰²¹ readily incorporates co-operative woman as the worker and sports player. This light-hearted and entertaining piece promoted a co-operative product that was embedded within the narrative. The co-operative advertorial often featured a detailed hand drawn picture. Here the image combined with the tone of the title to suggest that the item was a cheery article or 'story', in contrast with photographs which were typically used in non-fiction articles. The advertorial, constructed to draw the attention of the reader, also appeared in nineteenth century feminist weekly periodicals and often contained numerous illustrations. These advertorial illustrations frequently had greater effect over the reader than regular individual advertisements.¹⁰²²

The feature continued overleaf, (Figure 82) to include four photographs conveying 'factual' details. The upper photograph shows a factory girl 'An Irlam girl at work. Packing C.W.S Microl Soap'. The advertorial connects the diverse identities of the co-operative woman worker and supports Artemis Alexiou's findings on the gendering of advertorials in the late nineteenth century period.¹⁰²³ The additional three lower photographs broaden her multiple identities, by showing Irlam factory girls as sports players in the Irlam Hockey team. The photographs, embodying a political perspective, celebrate the win of the CWS Irlam Ladies League Hockey team over the 'private team', 7 goals to 0.¹⁰²⁴ Opposite, drawings of the contemporaneous 'flapper', placed at the top of the page in the article 'Early Summer Fashions by Mary May',

¹⁰²¹ *Wheatsheaf* May 1923, pp. 71-72.

¹⁰²² Alexiou, *Design*, p. 252.

¹⁰²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173, 251-253.

¹⁰²⁴ *Wheatsheaf* May 1923, p. 72.

feature in conjunction with the promotion of 'C.W.S. "Undies"...From the Manchester factory', which is positioned beneath.¹⁰²⁵



Figure 82 Irlam Girls at Play/ Early Summer Fashions, *Wheatsheaf* May 1923, pp. 72-73

Co-operative employers such as the CWS and local societies created leisure spaces which invited employees and members to play a part. The transformative effect of recreational pleasures on individual awareness, depicted in these photographs, connects the representation of co-operative woman with the relevance of late nineteenth century Socialism to the ordinary and mundane daily routine, much as Chris Waters has argued. For example, co-operative publications, visually fostering hope for future co-operative transformation, used photographs to present an alternative co-operative 'politics of everyday life'.¹⁰²⁶

¹⁰²⁵ *Wheatsheaf* May 1923, p. 73.

¹⁰²⁶ Waters, *British*, pp. 11-14.

Woman's Outlook, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves*, reveal a democratised community fused with esprit de corps, in which the notion of family was important. The publication's photographs, as democratic journalism, offered a form of 'democratic polity'¹⁰²⁷ which presented co-operative workers and members as participating citizens.¹⁰²⁸ Yet, these co-operative publications, in contrast with Heller and Rowlinson's analysis of corporate publications, do not appear to have acted as a forum for voicing concerns between the movement and employees and members.

Woman's Outlook, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves*, unlike Heller and Rowlinson's consideration of corporate publications, were commercially driven and this aspect is demonstrated in the advertisement of co-operative products.¹⁰²⁹ Spaces of consumption and leisure, depicted in 'dynamic simultaneity'¹⁰³⁰ with the work sphere offered multiple, 'heterogeneous' trajectories¹⁰³¹ to the co-operative woman worker which were an alternative to the homogeneity of *Woman's Weekly* and corporate magazines.¹⁰³² These distinct spaces embodied an 'effort to carve out new types of space beyond the mainstream of capitalist space'.¹⁰³³

¹⁰²⁷ Heller and Rowlinson, 'Imagined', p. 2.

¹⁰²⁸ Waters, *British*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁰²⁹ Heller and Rowlinson, 'Imagined', pp. 12-14.

¹⁰³⁰ Massey, *For*, pp. 120-121, 297-314.

¹⁰³¹ Massey, *Space*, p. 3.

¹⁰³² Linehan, *Modernism*, p. 82, 85-86, drawing on Massey, *For*.

¹⁰³³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

'The Ladies' Exhibition. Gymnastic Sections'¹⁰³⁴

Ourselves visually presented the variety of spaces for participation in co-operative social activities which were on offer to the co-operative woman employed at the CWS. An abundance of photographs showcased the opportunities for professional development in management and organisation, and also personal pursuits *beyond* work expertise which cultivated wider skills, such as drama and gymnastics.

For example, in May 1929, the *Ourselves* report, 'Log and Logic' featured 'The Ladies' Exhibition. Gymnastic Sections' (Figure 83). This described how the social event of 'The third annual display of the Ladies Gymnasium Classes fully maintained their reputation, and afforded a good crowd with an interesting evening'. The article, in pictorially and textually showcasing individual employees' wider talents and skills, exemplifies the link between labour, recreation and happiness. There is a photograph of Miss Ida Franklin, CWS worker, sporting her gymnastic medals. Leading the gymnastics, her image is captioned 'This young lady was responsible for introducing gymnastic classes to Lemman Street. She has worked hard for them, and is also joint secretary'. The article draws attention to Mrs W. M. Pooley, and her educational role at the CWS, who discovered 'a jovial, homely and "comradial" atmosphere' at the event. Observations such as these provided an opportunity for *Ourselves* to illustrate the welfare programme for the co-operative woman worker. Mrs Pooley, for example, was described as rendering 'both to the C.W.S. and to the girls good service

¹⁰³⁴ *Ourselves* May 1929, p. 23.

by encouragement and tuition'.¹⁰³⁵ In this way, *Ourselves* demonstrates how the CWS created opportunities to achieve new ways of connecting with the woman worker.

'First Mannequin parade'¹⁰³⁶

Holistically and socially the CWS, sought different ways to contribute and improve the quality of life of the co-operative woman worker and the co-operative community. As we have seen, *Ourselves*, used photographs and text to evoke this corporate soul, which placed the co-operative woman worker in a wide range of activities, many with a strong family focus, which cherished the camaraderie of shared working and social relationships. For example, this May 1929 issue of *Ourselves* featured the first mannequin parade at the CWS Cardiff Depot (Figure 84). The article emphasised both the active participation of employees and their families and demonstrated the high rate of enthusiasm for this type of event, with the 'employees or children of employees' largely responsible for producing the mannequin show. These social events offered a sense of belonging within the movement and a break from everyday responsibilities and by offering the co-operative woman employee opportunities which extended beyond her role as a worker, encouraged her fluid identity within the CWS and the movement.

¹⁰³⁵ *Ourselves* May 1929, p. 23.

¹⁰³⁶ *Ourselves* May 1929, p. 29.

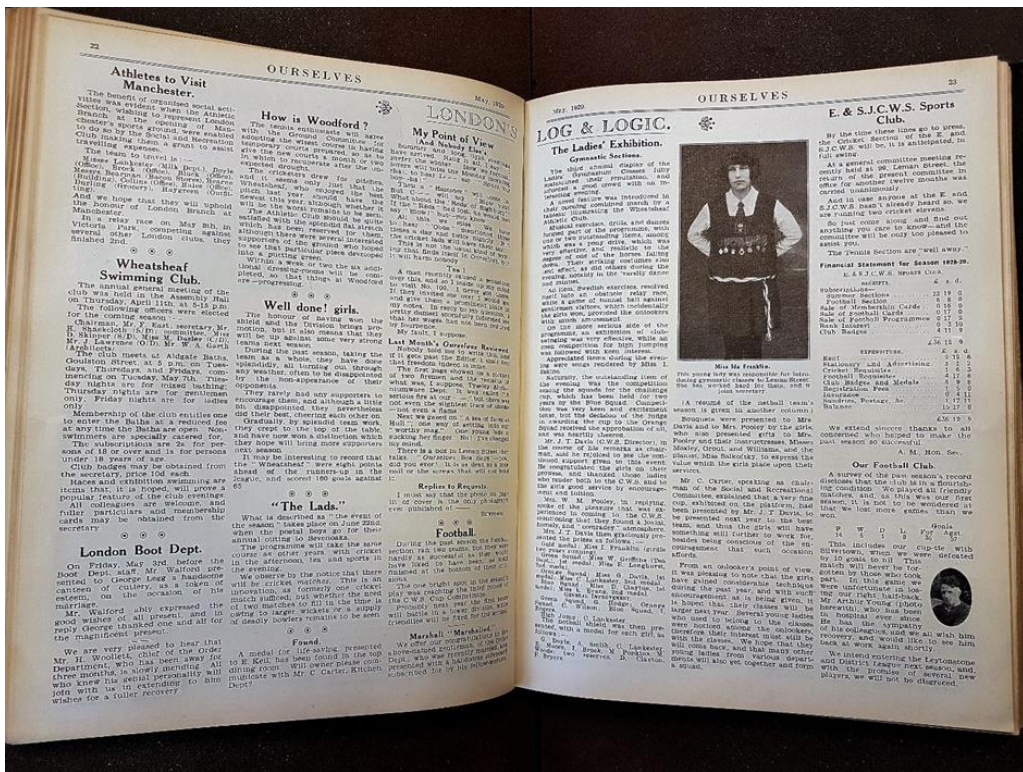


Figure 83 Log and Logic: The Ladies' Exhibition Gymnastic Sections, *Ourselves* May 1929, p. 23

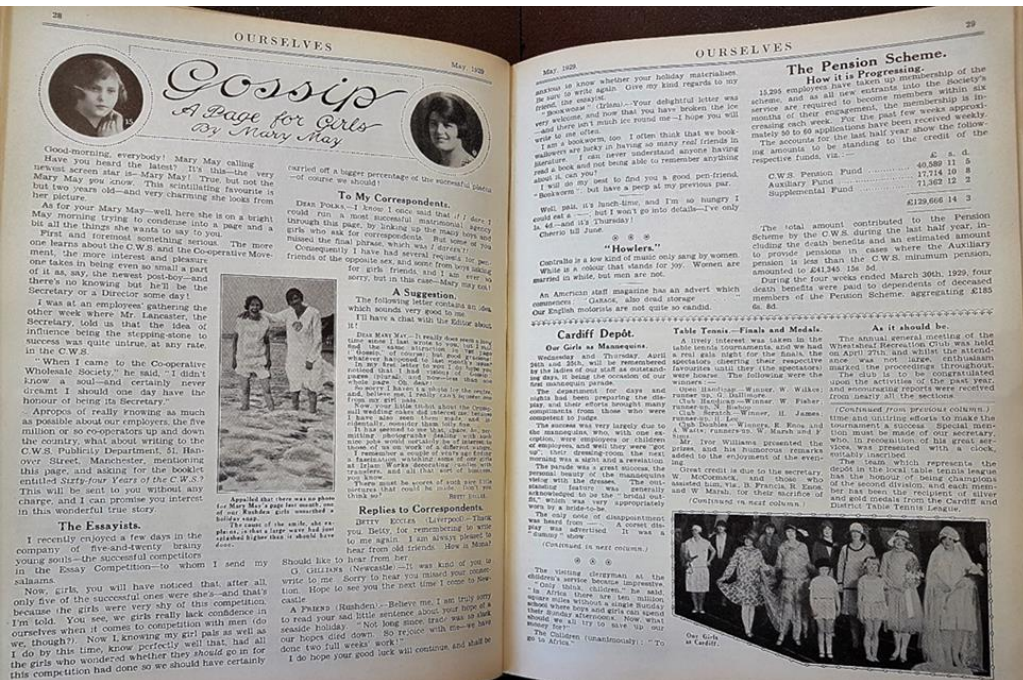


Figure 84 Gossip A Page for Girls by Mary May, *Ourselves* May 1929, pp. 28-29

'The services of 130 C.W.S workshops, factories, and kitchens are at your call...'¹⁰³⁷

The progressive design and the complex nature of the gender identity of co-operative woman as housewife, worker and consumer is exemplified in the four page supplement entitled, 'Woman's Supplement to the *Wheatsheaf*', included in the April 1935 issue of the *Wheatsheaf* (Figure 85). This supplement is significant. It was introduced in Chapter Four (Figures 23, 24), it is returned to for a number of reasons. The photograph, on the lower bottom half of the back page of the supplement is noteworthy because it showcases women employees in 130 CWS factories in the types of work in which they were typically employed in at the CWS, and also gives a central position to the consumer. The image places the co-operative woman, as consumer, at the heart of the co-operative movement, serviced by the co-operative woman producer. The photograph is also important because of the design process employed in its construction. It offers a visual juxtaposition which epitomises the movement's progressive internal and external design outlook. It extends beyond the persistent domestic and professionalised depiction of the housewife and her roles, as portrayed on the front cover of the contemporaneous *The Housewife's Book* published by the *Daily Express* c.1935.¹⁰³⁸

¹⁰³⁷ Woman's Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Back cover.

¹⁰³⁸ Sugg Ryan, *Ideal*, pp. 93-94.



Figure 85 Woman's Supplement, *Wheat sheaf* April 1935, Back cover

The images' composition utilises a modernist graphic design. The photomontage of the earlier period (Figure 77), published in the November 1919 *Wheat sheaf*, has been progressively deconstructed and adapted to form a highly sophisticated design strategy akin to the international modernism discussed in Chapter Four. This suggests the socially and technologically progressive art and design approach of the co-operative publications. The image and by-line emphasise the chain and structure of co-operative service to 'the housewife'. The power of the 'housewife' is at the heart of the design and is the largest depiction in the composition, creating an image that

suggests the co-operative woman as consumer is central to co-operative production. The image is graphic and clear – the co-operative movement can satisfy all of your needs; it is an all-encompassing ‘service’. Mutual benefit and assistance are implied to demonstrate the economic ecology of the co-operative movement. This photograph, through graphic design, focuses the viewer on the unique situation of the co-operative woman worker as both employee and consumer, proclaiming how:

The services of 130 C.W.S. workshops, factories, and kitchens are at your call over the co-operative counter. Here we see C.W.S. women workers engraving cutlery, making silk stockings, designing Belmont gowns, filling cold cream tins...¹⁰³⁹

Graphically, the image constructs the separate photographs in a design background of pathways which mirror a contemporary sunburst design of the period. The design use of the sunburst demonstrates the interconnectedness of the worker and the consumer. The co-operative woman worker is shown with her body extending beyond the boundaries of the rays. Photographed figures of co-operative woman workers are utilised, but are predominantly in isolation from each other. Although the images mostly do not physically intersect, they connect along the rays. The pathways radiate a glow which visibly emanates around and from the consumer. The whole image forms a dynamic photomontage. This image exemplifies how images and representations of co-operative woman worker are entangled *between* and *along* the pathways and in line with Tim Ingold’s notion of entanglement, the

¹⁰³⁹ Woman’s Supplement, *Wheatsheaf* April 1935, Back cover.

identities of consumer and employee are not in isolation but connected, *between* and *along* depictions of co-operative woman.¹⁰⁴⁰

The sunburst design promoted fluidity and growth in pursuit of the co-operative ethos as a way of living and was synonymous with interwar American advertising approaches used to convey inspiration, invoking messages 'of broad social power and public service' which 'often exuded an aura of perspiring, conscientious zeal'.¹⁰⁴¹ The *Wheatsheaf* image aimed to inform the reader, in contrast to the image of the Campbells Tomato Soup advertisement published in the *American Magazine*, October 1929 discussed by Roland Marchand, which offered 'miraculous transformation'.¹⁰⁴²

Likewise, the sunburst design, incorporated in the advertisement for co-operative brand *Pelaw Polish*, published in *Labour Woman* in November 1919 (Figure 86), signalled links between co-operation and Labour emphasising similar ideological connections and values. The text 'Pelaw Polish is the best for Boots' proposes an understanding of quality and worth suggested in the *Wheatsheaf* Woman's Supplement (Figure 85).

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ingold, *Bringing*, pp. 3, 12; T. Ingold, 'Bindings Against Boundaries: Entanglements of Life in an Open World', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, Vol. 40, (2008), pp. 1796-1810.

¹⁰⁴¹ Marchand, *Advertising*, pp. 320-324.

¹⁰⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 340, citing *American Magazine*, October 1929, p. 75.

THE LABOUR WOMAN. 135

HOUSING.

Wooden Houses: Women's Councils:
Luxury Buildings.

By the time this issue of *The Labour Woman* is in the hands of its readers, it is to be hoped that the war-and more particularly the women-of the Labour Movement will have secured that the Housing of the People is left in the hands of the only Party which understands the needs of the workers. A large number of these who have not yet accepted the Ministry of Health as a result of the delay, if it is proposed to deal with the problem of overcrowding and shortage by inserting wooden houses from overseas. It appears very doubtful if the experiment will command itself to English people. Conditions in this country are far different to those which obtain in Canada.

The Advisory Council of the Ministry of Health has agreed that Local Authorities should be urged to appoint Women's Advisory Councils in connection with all Housing Committees. It is for Labour women to see to it that such Councils are set up all over the country. Even where building operations have already begun it is important that these Councils should be formed, for it is always possible to modify and improve plans, and it can be pointed out to Local Authorities that those who have a very definite point of view in the matter of their homes, it is wise to obtain criticism while there is still time to remedy defects.

The Council has also been considering the alarming amount of what is known as "luxury" building going on all over the country. One of the objects for the labour is the building of houses in the slum areas of our large cities and suburban restaurants and clubs, while some private individuals are repossessing their own houses in a manner which hardly suggests that "luxury" which is meant for the homes of working men. A house is at the moment in course of erection in a fashionable part of London, the cost to obtain sufficient labour to construct an ordinary working class house at a cost of £2,000! It is obtained direct from the Labour Women who desire me to discover any such cases and report them to me with these and other particulars if I could induce, as grateful as any help from my friends in the Labour Movement.

A new member who should receive a warm welcome into the Labour Party is Mr. R. L. Jones, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the London Co-op and every Housing Council of the Ministry of Health. When in the Ministry of Reconstruction, Mr. Jones probably did more than anyone else to assist the construction of his houses, and he has never failed to be considered for the best housing conditions which it should receive a warm welcome from the women in the Labour Party.

ANNE D. HENDERSON PRESS

Votes for Indian Women.

PUBLIC MEETING

Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.
(Sole Lessees: CHAPPELL & Co. Ltd.)

Friday, November 14th, at 8 p.m.

Speakers—
Mrs. ANNIE BESANT
Mr. B. P. WADIA
Miss M. A. TATA


Chair: **Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald.**

BALCONY and ORCHESTRA SEATS FREE
NO TICKETS REQUIRED.

Reserved Seats 2/6 and 1/-
from the Organiser.

Tel. Holb. 558.
Women's International League, 14, Bedford Row,
W.C.1.

**PELAW POLISH IS
THE BEST
FOR BOOTS.**



Sold by all Co-operative Stores
in 14, 14 1/2, 30, & 74, Tins.

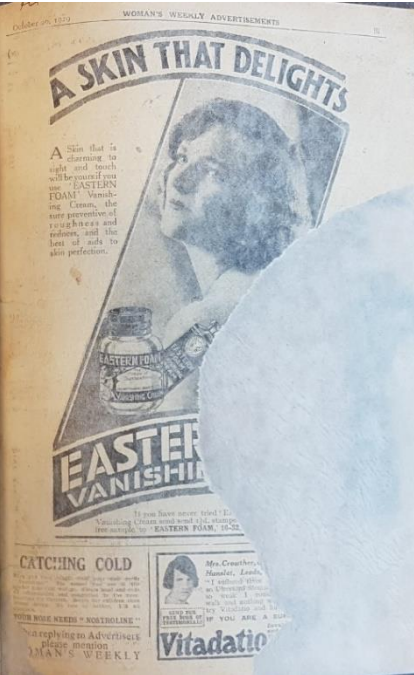
Ask for it and see that you get it.

Figure 86 *Labour Woman* November 1919, p. 135

WOMAN'S WEEKLY ADVERTISEMENTS

October 26, 1929

A SKIN THAT DELIGHTS



A skin that is charming to sight and touch will be found on one of **EASTERN FOAM** Vanishing Cream. Cream, the sure preventive of roughness and redness, and the best of all in skin perfection.

If you have never tried it, Vanishing Cream will send you a sample free on request. **EASTERN FOAM** 16-22

CATCHING COLD

YOUR BOSS NEEDS "ROSTROLINE"

For replies to Advertisements please mention **WOMAN'S WEEKLY**

Vitadatio

Mrs. Greenham, **Headmistress, London**
"I suffered from a chronic cough which was cured by Vitadatio and I can recommend it to you if you are a sufferer from cough."

Figure 87 *A Skin That Delights*, *Woman's Weekly* October 26 1929, p. iii

Photomontage was also used as a design strategy in *Woman's Weekly* (Figure 65).

However, in comparison to the co-operative publications and particularly Figure 85,

the images in *Woman's Weekly*, although cut out, were mostly still bounded in columns and separated. A more progressive graphic style of photographic design can be seen in the October 1929 issue (Figure 87).

By November 1930 this graphic style had become more emphasised and deliberate (Figure 88). However, no examples were found in the sample of *Woman's Weekly* comparable to the complexity of the photomontage found in Figure 85. Visually progressive, co-operative publications, in contrast with *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*, propogandised the co-operative ideology which became enmeshed as a social objective and, as we shall see, a marketing strategy.



Figure 88 Your Sponge Sandwich will be a triumph if you make it with McDougall's Self-Raising Flour, *Woman's Weekly* November 1 1930, p. 769

Advertising and Propaganda

'Companions of Our Travels'¹⁰⁴³

Transformation was a common motif associated with the worker/consumer identities of co-operative woman. For example, the 1925 *Wheatsheaf* article, 'Companions of Our Travels: AN ARTICLE ON MAKING FRIENDS' (Figure 89) is an example of an advertorial story which profiles the CWS Bag factory at Newcastle and evokes the post First World War period of movement and transition.¹⁰⁴⁴ The 'story' considers changes in the post-war manufacture of luggage, from bags to leather suitcase production, and understandings of progress. It is important because it exemplifies the editor's strategic use of separate images, line drawing and illustration to convey the co-operative woman as consumer (Figure 89), and the use of a photograph to depict her as worker (Figure 90).

A large half-page line drawing placed in the upper part of the page at the beginning of the 'story' dominates, but it also appears to embody a photographic quality, which offers a 'modern' contemporary look to demonstrate to the reader that the CWS kept up with the changes and advances in technology. The image presents a dialogue about the co-operative woman's changing identity in the post First World War period. The woman is situated outside her home as a consumer and a traveller, in the bustling setting of a train station.

¹⁰⁴³ *Wheatsheaf* May 1925, p. 71.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Wheatsheaf* May 1925, pp. 71-73.



Figure 89 Companions of Our Travels, *Wheatsheaf* May 1925, p. 71

A couple, a man and a woman, are positioned in the forefront linking arms. Both are smiling. The man is placed in the foreground, the woman is positioned next to him but slightly in front. She links the man with her left arm under his right arm, and leaning forward appears to lead them both. He has her full attention. She looks at him smiling and appears to be looking for reassurance. He partially looks at her whilst looking forward, smiling. He carries a large case in his left hand and a large coat over his right arm. The woman carries a small case in her right hand. The image suggests

how the co-operative woman, dressed in fashionable clothing, confidently keeps up with the change and transitions of the post First World War landscape. This image depicts gendered roles. Nonetheless, the woman is assertive, and central in this representation of hope and progress of the future.

Behind the couple, the busy station scene portrays traditional gender roles. On the left side of the image, to the rear right shoulder of the woman, a man faces downwards and concentrates. He pushes a baggage trolley with two suitcases on it. Placed on the right side of the drawing, behind the man, a woman is occupied with a young girl who may be her daughter; as she opens her purse, the young girl jumps up eagerly. This advertorial story seems to concur with Artemis Alexiou's findings on the gendering of advertorials in the late nineteenth century period.¹⁰⁴⁵ However, overleaf, (Figure 90) the second page of the advertorial story evokes additional identities of the co-operative woman.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Alexiou, *Design*, pp. 251-253.



Figure 90 Companions of Our Travels, *Wheatsheaf* May 1925, p. 72

As the page is turned, the identity of co-operative woman also shifts. Together the drawing (Figure 89) and photograph positioned on the bottom of the page (Figure 90) integrate co-operative consumer identities with representations of the co-operative woman as a worker. The photograph draws attention to an individual working woman, who is possibly located in a larger room. Shown working with the large machinery, she is focussed on her task of riveting fibre cases. The position of the photograph displays the large production machinery. The work setting is a

modern clean environment that has embraced technological advances. She shares the space of the workshop with men.¹⁰⁴⁶ An adjacent photograph shows a male co-operative worker (Figure 90). The close-up perspective emphasises the individual skill of the co-operative man, with less focus on the machinery. These representations convey co-operation as a dignified alternative to the 'vulgarity in...commercial capitalism...that the beauty and grace of the earlier time would return to inform and shape the spatial milieu of the socialist Golden Age to come'.¹⁰⁴⁷ Gender, machinery and space are employed to promote an understanding of work dignity, interconnected with consumption and social and cultural identities to propagandise co-operative values.

'Smart Cases for Chic Ladies'¹⁰⁴⁸

Like the advertorial in Figures 89, 90, the advertisement 'Smart Cases for Chic Ladies made by C.W.S.' in *Ourselves* May 1931 (Figure 91) marketed co-operative values. The advertisement is important because it demonstrates how *Ourselves* explicitly represents the co-operative woman consumer/worker expressed in an entangled and fluid identity.¹⁰⁴⁹ Placed in the bottom left quartile of the page, the advertisement illustrates a particular manifestation of co-operative woman to

¹⁰⁴⁶ Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, p. 121.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Linehan, *Modernism*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Ourselves* May 1931, p. 14.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Ingold, *Bringing*, pp. 3, 12; Ingold, 'Bindings', pp. 1806-1809.

promote the CWS Leather Goods, produced at the same Newcastle-on-Tyne factory featured earlier in the period in the *Wheatsheaf* (Figures 89, 90).

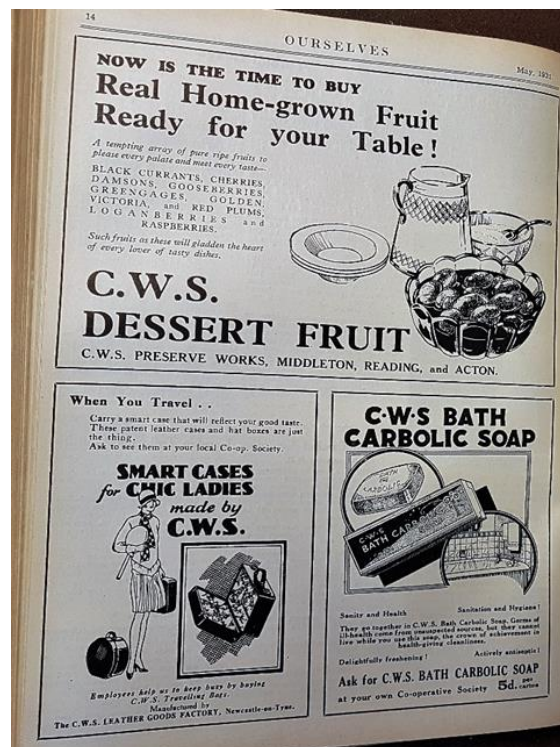


Figure 91 When You Travel..., *Ourselfs* May 1931, p. 14

Co-operative woman is contemporary, attractive and young. Wearing a flattering cloche hat, haircut and fashionably styled, she is modern and active. Represented alone she is independent, an attribute which had advanced during the First World War.¹⁰⁵⁰ Aspirational, she has time for leisure pursuits as she carries a tennis racket along with two additional 'C.W.S. travelling bags'; she is on her way to her destination. The advertisement compliments her 'good taste'. She is 'Chic'. The illustration and text assert, 'Smart cases for Chic Ladies made by C.W.S.'. The co-

¹⁰⁵⁰ Aulich, 'Advertising', pp. 114-115.

operative woman as consumer is central to the advertisement's emphasis. Yet, the strap line beneath the image, 'Employees help us to keep busy by buying C.W.S travelling bags' portrays the entangled relationship of the different yet connected consumer and worker identities which 'unfold in counterpoint'.¹⁰⁵¹

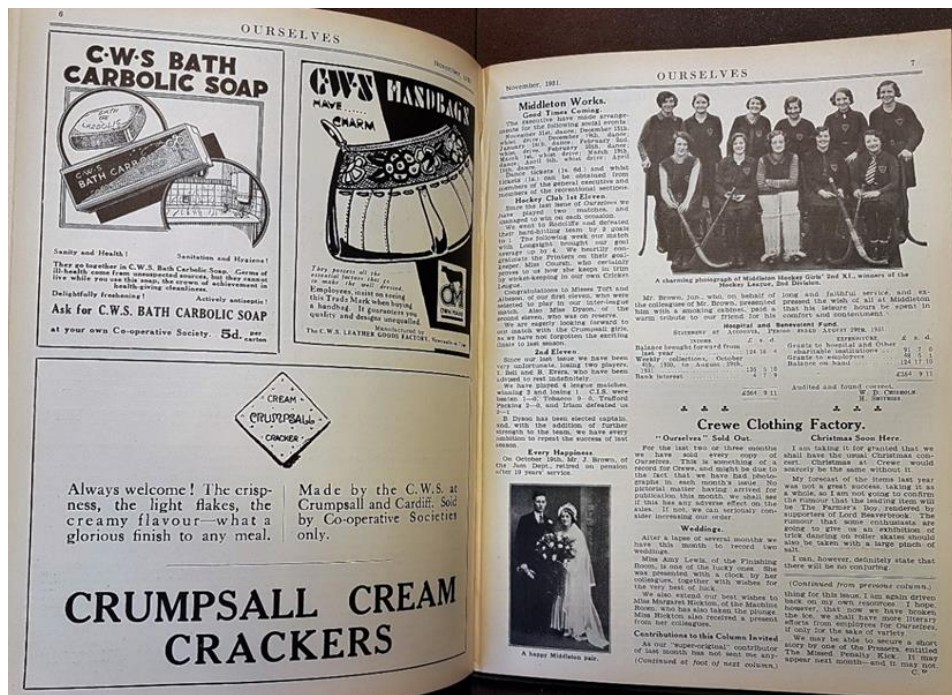


Figure 92 C.W.S. Handbags Have...Charm/ Middleton Works, *Ourselves* November 1931, pp. 6-7

Ourselves featured co-operative woman in a number of the CWS Leather Goods factory advertisements (Figures 91-94) which offered readily accessible portrayals, and entangled her identity. For example, the co-operative woman, in the advertisement 'C.W.S Handbags have...charm', published in *Ourselves* in November 1931 (Figure 92) and May 1933, (Figure 93), is not figuratively visible but implied by the advertisement's positioning within the wider pictorial and textual context of the double page spread.

¹⁰⁵¹ *Ourselves* May 1931, p. 14; Ingold, Bringing, p. 12.

The 'C.W.S. Handbags' advertisement, in Figure 92, entwines the identities of the consumer and worker by first addressing the consumer as 'well dressed'. The advertisement then appeals to the employee who 'insists on seeing' the co-operative trademark of quality. Two photographs opposite, on the right hand page of the double page spread, depict marriage and sporting identities to further complicate this representation of consumer/worker expressed in the advertisement. The photograph captioned 'A Happy Middleton Pair', on the lower left side of the page, shows one of the many wedding photographs featured in *Ourselves* and which contributed to the familial approach promoted throughout the co-operative magazines.

Positioned in the upper right hand corner of this page, 'A charming photograph of Middleton Hockey Girls' present a group of Middleton co-operative women workers. They comprise a range of ages and cheerfully smile for the camera as the winners of the Hockey League, 2nd Division. This type of photograph regularly featured in the *Wheatsheaf* (Figure 82), and *Ourselves* (Figures 83, 834, 91-96) and connected images of co-operative women workers, sport and leisure across these magazines. The same advertisement features in the May 1933 issue of *Ourselves* (Figure 93), and again suggests the co-operative woman as youthful and active. On the adjacent page to this CWS Handbags advertisement, the sports feature, 'C.W.S. Sports Chatter' accompanied by two photographs of a young co-operative woman, suggests that this advertisement was aimed at her.

These CWS advertisements (Figures 91-94) exemplify how *Ourselves* repeatedly conferred co-operative woman with fluid identities. There was the astute employee, who insisted ‘on seeing this Trade Mark when buying a handbag’, while she was also addressed as the consumer, by appealing to her desire for unparalleled quality and design (Figure 94). Like *Woman’s Weekly*, *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf*, were commercially driven but, in contrast to the commercial weekly, the co-operative magazines advertised co-operative products in which work, consumption and leisure, depicted in ‘dynamic simultaneity’,¹⁰⁵² offered multiple trajectories¹⁰⁵³ for the co-operative woman worker.

‘More like a family’¹⁰⁵⁴

As we have seen, the co-operative publications are distinct from *Woman’s Weekly* and *Labour Woman* because they promoted the ecology of the movement fused with esprit de corps which emphasised the idea of the family (Figures 77, 78, 82, 84). The double page article ‘A New Girl At Silvertown’ (Figure 95), in the November 1931 edition of *Ourselves*, explicitly demonstrated the metaphor of the family in the context of the factory. In this article, *Ourselves* commissioned a reporter ‘to mix with the soap girls, to work with them’. Featuring a spotlight report on the Silvertown factory the author aimed:

¹⁰⁵² Massey, *For*, pp. 120-121, 297-314.

¹⁰⁵³ Massey, *Space*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Ourselves* November 1931, pp. 24-25.

to get an idea of their lives so that I might let others know of them, and so make the C.W.S. workers feel more and more like a family...I was to portray their every-day normal life.¹⁰⁵⁵

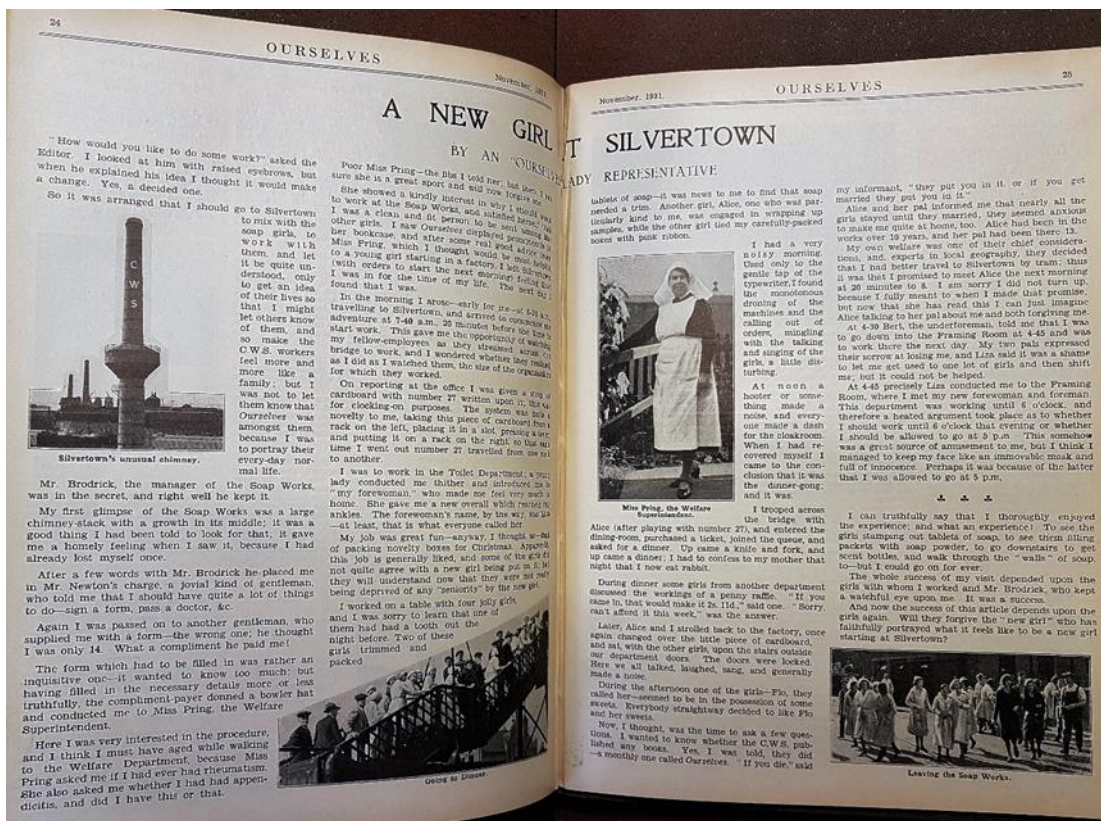


Figure 95 A New Girl At Silvertown, *Ourselves* November 1931, pp. 24-25

Importantly, it is difficult to know how closely or not the representations embody the actuality of people's lives. Only the co-operative aspects to their lives are shown. The non-co-operative aspects, for example, going to church or to the pub are not shown. Yet, each picture is a visual equivalent of a piece of writing. It is as calculated and framed as a piece of journalism would be.¹⁰⁵⁶

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Ourselves* November 1931, pp. 24-25.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Tagg, *Burden*, pp. 1-8.

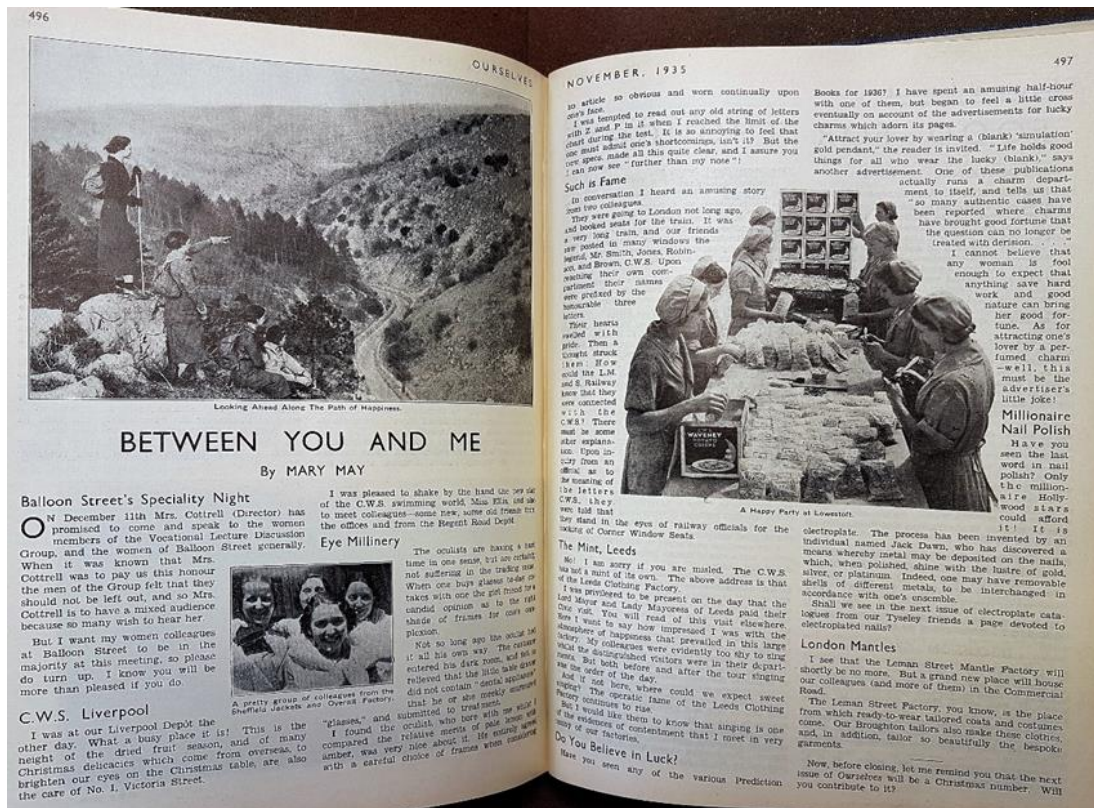


Figure 96 Between You and Me By Mary May, *Ourselves* November 1935, pp. 496-497

Photographs of different content, when presented together in assorted features, on a single and double page, entwined the co-operative esprit de corps and deepened understandings of the social and work identities of the co-operative woman. This is particularly exemplified when the photographs are published in the same article, and this is illustrated in *Ourselves* in November 1935 (Figure 96). A page wide photograph is positioned at the top of the first page of this double page spread. The outlook of the image reflects the front cover pose of the inaugural edition of *Woman's Outlook* (1919) (Figure 26) and continues the gendered representation of hope and freedom discussed in Melanie Tebbutt's work on masculinity and landscape (see Chapter

Five).¹⁰⁵⁷ The photograph placed below the lead photograph, similar to photographs in *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf*, captioned 'A pretty group of colleagues from the Sheffield Jackets and Overall Factory', emphasises the gendered happiness of the workplace. The photograph captioned 'Happy Party', placed centrally on the opposite page, presents co-operative woman as a worker in a parallel visual perception of space. Again, progressive design strategy is utilised and is suggestively photomontage. The figures at the back of the photograph appear too small to be not pieced in; in this way the whole montage depicts the unity of the full packaging process as a 'A Happy Party'.

Conclusion

Line drawings and photographs in *Woman's Outlook*, *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf*, constructed distinct representations of co-operative woman to advance a co-operative alternative to capitalism, which slid effortlessly beyond the identity of the married member of the WCG. Word and picture manifested the co-operative 'corporate soul' which countered the 'soullessness' of large business organisations.¹⁰⁵⁸ Compared with *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*, the co-operative publications presented diverse visual portrayals of the co-operative woman worker which promoted the fluid gender identity of a lived reality, as the movement would have liked to see it. *Woman's Outlook*, *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf* offered an alternative representation to the intermittent, capitalist and

¹⁰⁵⁷ Tebbutt, 'Rambling', pp. 1125-1153.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Marchand, *Creating*, pp. 7-10.

mostly illusory, illustrated depictions of the female worker in *Woman's Weekly* (Figure 73).

Throughout the interwar period, *Woman's Outlook* embodied 'The women who work for us', as expressed in its inaugural edition, (Figures 63, 64) and portrayed the economic subjectivity of the co-operative woman. *Woman's Outlook*, in comparison to *Woman's Weekly*, frequently and thoughtfully illustrated the co-operative woman in a broad range of work settings, often politicising matters of work with a readily accessible mixture of simple realist line drawings (Figure 63), allegory (Figures 66, 70), and photographs (Figure 75). The world of work offered a fluid gender identity which connected with citizenship and addressed matters of professionalisation, (Figure 72) trade union membership (Figure 74) and equality (Figure 75). These examples suggest how 'liberal attitudes' to women in paid work can be dated to the late 1920s, earlier than the 1930s which Jayne Southern highlights in commenting that *Woman's Outlook* 'featured serious articles about the female workers of the CWS factories and generally encouraged careers for women, active trade unionism and equality of pay and status'.¹⁰⁵⁹

Ourselves and the *Wheatsheaf*, in contrast to *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*, particularly promoted an understanding of the movement's esprit de corps depicted in the breadth and manufacturing capacity of CWS production. Picture and word operated together to foster co-operative woman's connected relationships as

¹⁰⁵⁹ Southern, Co-operative, p. 140.

employee/consumer, interlinked with social and cultural activities. Complimentary viewpoints of the co-operative woman and worker dignity manifest gender, machinery and space in a wide range of advertisements, articles and features. The *Wheatsheaf* with some exceptions (Figures 71, 76, 77) predominantly portrayed work that took place on the factory floor (Figures 78, 82, 85, 90). Images published in the *Wheatsheaf* in May 1923 (Figures 82, 90) occasionally entwined spaces of work with social aspects offered by the movement. The composition, character and subject matter of the pictures, often in the form of photographs and illustrated advertorials (Figures 89, 90) were in juxtaposition with *Ourselves* which primarily focused on the co-operative woman worker and her work/social identity (Figures 83, 84). For example, the advertisement 'C.W.S. Handbags Have...Charm' published in *Ourselves* in November 1931 and May 1933, exemplified the interrelation of the co-operative woman as consumer and worker and how this became entangled with her work/social identity (Figures 92, 93). The visual nature of the articles and advertisements in *Woman's Outlook*, *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf*, presented various aspects of the co-operative woman as worker and in so-doing, championed the ecology of the movement and supported the co-operative ethos as a whole.

On the other hand, the *Herald*, magazine of the Manchester and Salford Equitable Co-operative Society (MSECS), did not readily portray the co-operative woman at work as a visual feature. As a local society, it probably did not have the financial capacity to include illustrated articles, although, the frequency of drawings and photographs did increase over the period. Alternatively, the visual promotion of the

female workforce may not have been the editorial purpose of the publication. The MSECS, as a member society, had strong trade links with the CWS as a 'high proportion of the *Equitable's* goods were sourced from co-operative manufacturers, predominantly the CWS'.¹⁰⁶⁰ The editors possibly agreed that *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf* would address matters of employment, whilst the focus of the *Herald* centred on administrative and society matters, such as the management, organisation and finance.

Graphic modernist page layouts and pictorial design, for example photomontage in the *Wheatsheaf* (Figures 77, 85), demonstrated in both commercial (Figure 73) and Left publications (Figures 79-81), address and slide across the idealist (Figure 66) and realist view of being a co-operative worker offered in *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 63). In contrast, visually, *Labour Woman* infrequently depicted the woman member of the Labour Party and her relationship with work. However, the co-operative publications did not cover every aspect of the co-operative woman's life, so did not represent the totality of her everyday life. The co-operative ideals of self-help for individual and mutual benefit reflected in the co-operative publications represented co-operative realities in an ideological context by using real people who were presented in the terms of their own ethos.

This examination of the visual representation of co-operative woman and her gender identity challenges the dominant mode of engagement with the NCA. The

¹⁰⁶⁰ Kelley, 'Equitable', p. 300.

exploration of her relationship with the home and work has opened up a new way in which to consider the NCA and the archival collections. To open up the NCA further, the following chapter considers a different engagement with new audiences by investigating what knowledge can be produced when researchers, new to the co-operative movement and the NCA, use collage as an arts-based approach to explore the same material from the inaugural edition of *Woman's Outlook* 1919 which Chapters Four, Five and Six have examined.

Chapter 7: Collage: Archival Improvisations

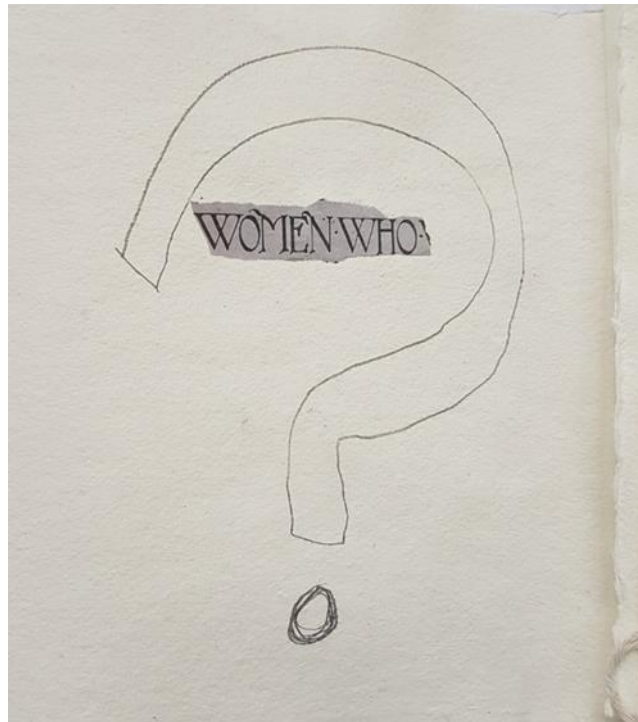


Figure 97 Participant collage, Workshop One March 2016

'to a true collector the acquisition of an old book is its rebirth'¹⁰⁶¹

The project places dissimilar materials and methodologies in conjunction with each other¹⁰⁶² in order to investigate how different approaches, formed by the circumstances of investigation, produce different kinds of knowledges.¹⁰⁶³ Whilst Chapter Four, Five and Six revealed the possibilities for images as a historical device for opening up the archive, this chapter explores what might the future use of images, in collaboration with what the archivists and new audiences uncover, to contribute a different approach to the archive. To do so, the chapter considers the

¹⁰⁶¹ Benjamin, 'Unpacking', p. 487.

¹⁰⁶² Giles, *Women*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁶³ Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 19-20.

one-off participatory collage-making workshop *Woman's Outlook*, Past Present Future: Rip, Mark, Stick, Create, Multi-Vocal Image Making,¹⁰⁶⁴ which set out to engage with new audiences by disseminating knowledge about the project, the NCA and the co-operative movement (see Introduction and Chapter Two). The chapter reflects on the participant collage-making and charts how this workshop approach unfolded, to engender a series of workshops and develop an emergent 'Conference Workshop Methodology'.¹⁰⁶⁵ The participants' intuitive responses and analyses, many of which can be seen in the written comments interwoven through the chapter, amplified with conversation, contributed to the group dynamics in the context of the workshop.¹⁰⁶⁶

The workshops, which took place at academic conferences across Europe, invited conference delegates to construct an individual two-sided collage, using single photocopied pages from the complete inaugural November 1919 edition of *Woman's Outlook* drawn from the archive along with a selection of contemporary NCA leaflet guides to the collections and crafting materials. In the course of collage-making all of the participants responded to image and text.¹⁰⁶⁷ Because the participants had little

¹⁰⁶⁴ Workshop One, Practicing Communities: Transformative Societal Strategies of Artistic Research: How Does Artistic Research Transform Society? Nordic Summer University, (NSU), Winter Symposium, Circle 7, 18-20 March 2016, Riga, Latvia.

¹⁰⁶⁵ J. Vergunst, E. Curtis, O. Davis, R. Johnston, H. Graham and C. Shepherd, 'Material Legacies: Shaping Things and Places Through Heritage', in Facer and Pahl, (eds.), *Valuing*, pp. 153-171, 168-169.

¹⁰⁶⁶ C. A. Taylor, 'Telling Transitions: Space, Materiality, and Ethical Practices in a Collaborative Writing Workshop', *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, Vol. 14, No. 4, (2014), pp. 396-406, 397, 399, 401-404.

¹⁰⁶⁷ I. Grosvenor, I. Dussel, I. Kestere, K. Priem, L. Rasmussen and A. Van Gorp, "'We Seek Revelation with Our Eyes": Engaging with School Cultures Through Montage', *Encounters in Theory and History of Education*, Vol. 17 2016, pp. 2-26, 5.

previous knowledge the approach demanded active and in-the-moment interpretations to the pictures of co-operative woman, in this case taken from *Woman's Outlook*. The workshop provided a close and subjective engagement with this material to produce a wealth of collages which offered myriad lines of enquiry with the archive. As we shall see participants were invited to make connections, drawing on their own situated knowledges of subjective-academic-biographical understandings.¹⁰⁶⁸

Selected encounters, exemplified themes of dialogue and movement to reveal how embodied engagement produced new understandings,¹⁰⁶⁹ born of explicit and implicit knowledges, identities and subjectivities, through the manipulation of the material. The bodily knowing of what happens in-the-moment, the participant deconstruction and reconstruction manifest in the collage, offered an improvised in-the-moment encounter of 'thinking in movement' in the act of making.¹⁰⁷⁰ As an emergent process, artefacts and outcomes are viewed as an archival improvisation.¹⁰⁷¹

Collage offers a disruptive way of knowing the archive which 'ultimately requires the thorough rethinking of what counts as archival knowledge and method'.¹⁰⁷² This

¹⁰⁶⁸ Haraway, 'Situated', pp. 590, 592, 595-596.

¹⁰⁶⁹ A. Ravetz, A. Kettle and H. Felcey, 'Introduction: Collaboration Through Craft', in A. Ravetz, A. Kettle and H. Felcey, (eds.), *Collaboration through Craft*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 1-15, 3, 7.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Sheets-Johnstone, 'Thinking', pp. 399-407; Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, pp. xvii, xxxi, 419-449.

¹⁰⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷² A. Arondekar, A. Cvetkovich, C. B. Hanhardt, R. Kunzel, T. Nyong'o, J. M. Rodríguez, S. Stryker, D. Marshall, K. P. Murphy and Z. Tortorici, 'Queering Archives: A Roundtable Discussion', *Radical History Review*, Vol. 2015, No. 122, (2015), pp. 211-231, 228.

contention interweaves with Dónal O'Donoghue's question 'What is the nature of knowledge that is produced in and by art?'.¹⁰⁷³ Shaped through an arts-based approach the collages contribute the:

unruly, a kind of leap, a sudden flash, imaginative insight, an intervention, a dislocation, a dynamic challenge to what is already known. It is not about knowing more, but knowing differently.¹⁰⁷⁴

Participant collage-making is an atypical approach which unsettled traditional ways of knowledge production (Introduction, Chapter Two). For example, the collage in Figure 97, dominated by a large pencil drawn question mark encloses a torn textual segment. With uneven ripping and sticking the word fragment positioned centrally to the page demands the question, 'Women who?'. The physical encounter of movement disrupts the traditional archival protocol of sitting at the desk in an orderly environment, rarely engaging with others. Here, participants kneel and bend in a physical encounter with the dislodged and relocated photocopied pages of *Woman's Outlook* (Figure 98). Collage-making augments understandings derived from otherwise standalone gender approaches of historical analysis (Chapter Four, Five and Six),¹⁰⁷⁵ itself scarcely used to probe the archive (Introduction and Chapter Two).

¹⁰⁷³ D. O' Donoghue, 'On the Education of Art-Based Researchers: What We Might Learn from Charles Garoian', *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol. 21, No. 6, (2015), pp. 520–528, 526.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Grimshaw and Ravetz, 'Ethnographic', p. 429.

¹⁰⁷⁵ As Mika Hannula argues 'The aim is to relate to and reflect on and about them side by side, bringing different ways of producing knowledge into a fruitful clash and collision, analyzing what happens to them, and what, in the end, can be achieved in and through this interaction', in M. Hannula, 'Catch Me If You Can: Chances and Challenges of Artistic Research', *ART & RESEARCH: A Journal of Ideas, Contexts and Methods*, Vol. 2, No. 2., (2009), pp. 1-30, p. 1 <http://www.artandresearch.org.uk/v2n2/hannula1.html> accessed 03/04/2017.



Figure 98 Participants glue, cut, draw, fold and turn the photocopied pages, Workshop One March 2016

These snapshots taken during the workshops by myself and collaborator Gemma Meek, captured the ambience of the participant dynamics and the ‘bodily movement...how we are motivated...emotions and thoughts’.¹⁰⁷⁶ Often taken fleetingly, the photographs documented spontaneous and sudden glimpses in an attempt to illustrate and frame the bodily and perceptual disposition of individual and collective participants. The sometimes blurred quality of the photographs embody the improvisatory setting to convey the experimental and experiential nature together with the ‘emic’¹⁰⁷⁷ perspective of the workshop, which can be at times intangible in the textual, difficult to express in written observation.¹⁰⁷⁸

¹⁰⁷⁶ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, p. 478.

¹⁰⁷⁷ S. Weber, ‘Visual Image in Research’, in Knowles and Cole, (eds.), *Handbook*, pp. 42-54, 49-50.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Every collage and workshop was unique. In order to illustrate the emergent nature of the methodology the chapter samples seven of the ten workshops which exemplify how this knowledge production continued to manifest in multiple ways.¹⁰⁷⁹ Documented in the chronological order in which the conferences took place: workshop one, two, three, five, six, seven and eight, each explores a distinct aspect of participant dialogue and movement in their engagement with the materials. As the workshops progressed it became clear that understandings which emerged in a particular workshop had relevance to other workshops. Critically, the collages sampled exemplify the distinctive characteristics and singularities produced by the iterative and ongoing relationship of bodily actions between participants, collage-making and different workshop spaces. This dynamic process of materiality, space and time is viewed as 'agential intra-action' as Karen Barad would have it, which might otherwise be lost in a thematic approach.¹⁰⁸⁰ Examination of these different spaces draw out the similarities and differences that seven of the workshops offered. Viewed as a whole the chapter establishes how each workshop was a gathering of disparate people and places, each with a specific spatio-temporality that Doreen Massey would term 'throwntogetherness'.¹⁰⁸¹

This emergent 'Conference Workshop Methodology' was experimental and precarious because it relied on the application and acceptance of the workshop proposals by conference organisers. Yet, ten successive workshops and their

¹⁰⁷⁹ Due to space constraints within the project, I have focussed on seven of the workshops which enabled me to sample in detail examples of the myriad, enthusiastic participant responses.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Barad, *Meeting*, pp. x, 33, 37, 58, 74, 90-91, 94, 140; Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy* p. 421.

¹⁰⁸¹ Massey, *For*, pp. 283-285, 296, 300, 319, 347, 356.

favourable reception, in terms of the acceptance of the workshop proposal by conference organisers and the positive responses of 108 participants, demonstrates the relevance of the project to the contemporary research environment. The singular workshop, developed into a series, to emerge as a living methodology (Introduction) that was intentionally open, co-operative and spontaneous. This living methodology offers a valuable springboard to other future new ways of knowing.¹⁰⁸²

This mode of 'face-value' encounter is important because it significantly contrasts with the traditional academic and typically archival time-rich, reflective deliberations. Linear and systematic representation through written text offer the voice of the lone researcher. Collage-making offers an alternative approach which is multiple voiced, subjective, nonlinear and embodied¹⁰⁸³ to make 'present what has not yet existed'.¹⁰⁸⁴ One participant in the first workshop observed of the NCA '*It has gotten me interested in it and wanting to know more about it*'.¹⁰⁸⁵ Another participant's comment '*I didn't know of its existence. Now I do*' was a response that echoed throughout the workshops.¹⁰⁸⁶

The introduction to all of the conference workshops set out the intention to gather the responses of participants to the gender identity of co-operative woman as they saw it - to investigate their experiences, of accessing and using the NCA material at

¹⁰⁸² K. Facer and K. Pahl, 'Future Directions', in Facer and Pahl, (eds.), *Valuing*, pp. 233-244, 237.

¹⁰⁸³ Butler-Kisber, 'Collage', p. 265.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Grimshaw and Ravetz, 'Ethnographic', p. 429; A. Douglas, A., Ravetz, K. Genever and J. Siebers, 'Why Drawing, Now?', *Journal of Arts and Communities*, Vol. 6, No. 2-3, (2014), pp. 119-131, 129.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop One.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop One.

the workshop, to explore their views of the workshop. Written reflections were encouraged in the workshops in the form of questionnaires, booklets and reflective journals to offer a valuable counterpart to the collage artefact.¹⁰⁸⁷ As the facilitator of the workshop this experimental hands-on approach was informed by the academic knowledge set out in Chapters One to Six. This information contributed to the introduction to the session, which outlined a concise summary of the archive and the co-operative movement.¹⁰⁸⁸

As we shall see, the participants, invited to formulate their own responses, with little previous knowledge, which David Gauntlett perceives as problematic, produced thoughtful responses.¹⁰⁸⁹ The potential possibilities this approach offers were identified by a participant in the first workshop. They commented on the physicality of working with archive material but being outside the archive, for them it was *'Interesting to engage with archive material not in the archive itself. Also how reproductions enable re-formatting it'*.¹⁰⁹⁰ One participant responding to the question 'Your thoughts about gender identity past/present/future' commented *'I feel the same things are still important to people'*.¹⁰⁹¹ Another commented *'Has it changed how we must still try'*.¹⁰⁹² It is at this point the new knowledges are engendered. Fresh contemplation of the representation and identity of co-operative

¹⁰⁸⁷ D. Gauntlett, *Creative Explorations: New Approaches to Identities and Audiences*, (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 182-183.

¹⁰⁸⁸ See Appendix Five - Introduction to the National Co-operative Archive and the Co-operative Movement.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Gauntlett, *Creative*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop One.

¹⁰⁹¹ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop One.

¹⁰⁹² Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop One.

women, reflects back on the participant/user to ask questions about their own identity to revivify the archive¹⁰⁹³ and its relevance for today. Evolving as an experimental part of the project, collage-making involved engaging *with* rather than *on* participants' and working *with* rather than *on* archival matter for both researcher and workshop participants.¹⁰⁹⁴

The first strand of the project analyses the visuality of *Woman's Outlook* in relation to the notion of the identity of co-operative woman. Her identity is problematised because it is viewed as fluid (Chapter Five, Six). The workshop template set out that the workshops are there to investigate the persistence and relevance of co-operative values in relation to gender then and now. Presented in the workshop, it is indeterminable whether those images necessarily convey some relationship to understandings of co-operative woman and the ethos of the co-operative movement. Importantly, they are an example of a woman's identity articulated in visual ways to participants who are asked to engage with that material. Essentially, gender is used as a tool, in the context of the archive, which in doing so opens up the NCA. That said, the introduction to the workshops presents a brief overview, a pivot through which to engage. Significantly, by choosing a particular focus, the workshop methodology demonstrates how the archive can be opened up. This methodology is transferable. It could be utilised with a different archive with different material and with a different focus.

¹⁰⁹³ Beetham, 'Body', p. 148

¹⁰⁹⁴ J. Prosser, 'Visual Methodology: Toward A More Seeing Research', in Y. S. Lincoln and N. K. Denzin, (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th Ed., (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd., 2011), pp. 479-496, 490.

This kind of collaboration in the ‘here-and-now’¹⁰⁹⁵ embedded in the collage-making workshop illustrates renewed understandings of and encounters with archives.¹⁰⁹⁶ The collage is ‘The process of making a representational object or image encourages a considered *holistic*, response, compared with language-based research methods’ (Figures 97, 98).¹⁰⁹⁷ That said, as W.J.T. Mitchell has convincingly argued the approach is necessarily nuanced by the consideration of the inextricable relationship of word and image, which is as important for the analysis of the collages as it is for the primary material in the archive because pictures want ‘to be seen as complex individuals occupying multiple subject positions and identities’.¹⁰⁹⁸

Whilst written reflections also elicit unexpected participant consideration on their own identity and their ‘ongoing sense of self’ (Figures 129-132)¹⁰⁹⁹ it became clear throughout the workshops that this approach often produced a strongly subjective response to the material. In Workshop Seven, the participants were invited to additionally reflect upon their collage outcome, why it was important to them and how it was embodied in the collage. The degree to which some of the participants employed a personal subjective analysis, based on their lives alongside employing their academic perspectives, was quite surprising and heartening.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Massey, *For*, pp. 266, 283, 400-401.

¹⁰⁹⁶ The processes of cutting out, the use of ‘decals’ aligns with Walter Benjamin and his consideration of the acquisition and consequent rebirth of an old book as renewal (see Chapter One). As ‘interpreters of fate’ the participants elicit from the body, different engagements of muscle tension and physicality in which the contextual environments are continuously at play. Benjamin, ‘Unpacking’, p. 487.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Gauntlett, *Creative*, p. 183 Gauntlett italics.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Mitchell, *What*, pp. 47-8.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Gauntlett, *Creative*, p. 17.

The workshop, often taking place in a short space of 'time', is structured to offer 'attention', 'making' and 'reflecting' to the participants.¹¹⁰⁰ The duration of the workshops, dependent on the conference schedule, was typically between 30-60 minutes, with one generous exception at 90 minutes. The timetabling of the workshop, fostered collaboration and co-operation as it was segued into the typical conference programme of the 20 minute paper, followed by 10 minute discussion format. The photocopies of *Woman's Outlook*, physically freed from the material constraints of the bound volume in the archive are disembodied¹¹⁰¹ beyond the threshold of the NCA to become archival fragments¹¹⁰² and *Woman's Outlook*, like the participants are dislocated to the floor of the workshop space. Like the periodical itself, the investigation is freed from the material constraints of the archive,¹¹⁰³ the mode of collage no longer controlled by the archival protocol offers a different process of enquiry.

In the course of the workshops it became increasingly clear that the whole process of the physical engagement with the materials became more important. The physical acts of the participant are traced and embodied in the construction of the collage. The varied discrete ways in which participants handle and select collage materials, peruse and arrange material, hold the page and use scissors is manifest as an original

¹¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3, Gauntlett italics.

¹¹⁰¹ M. Bashforth and P. Bashforth, 'Diverse Evill Persons: Echoes in the Landscape, Echoes in the Archives', *Public History Review*, Vol. 18, (2011), pp. 83-107, 102.

¹¹⁰² Steedman, *Dust*, pp. 45, 68, 146; Moore et al, 'Prologue', pp. 1-30; Stanley, 'Archival', pp. 33-67, Tamboukou, 'Archival Rhythms', p. 86; Moore et al, 'Beginning', pp. 155-169, 168; Tamboukou, 'Archival Research', pp. 619, 624, 626, 631.

¹¹⁰³ Beetham, *Open*, pp. 97-99.

trace. In the making processes the bodily acts of ripping, sticking, cutting, kneeling, turning, reaching builds on the important observations made by Maxine Sheets-Johnstone's research into the phenomena of movement (Figure 98). Her observations about movement and embodiment, that the experience of the improvisational dancer 'is a nonseparation of thinking and doing' which engenders 'thinking in movement' adds valuable insight to this approach.¹¹⁰⁴

This physicality aligns with the intricacies, sensitivities and nuanced dynamics of the improvisational movement of the dancer:

the dynamics their movements explore and articulate...a particular...qualitative world...gay and buoyant...playful in its energies, zany in its interactions...or it may be intense and brooding...portentous and ominous, where relationships appear on edge and threatened; or it may be erratic in its swings from one dynamic contour to another, the whole united by a kinetic logic having its own unspoken integrity...playfulness, wariness, fitfulness...kinetic possibilities. They are the foundational kinetic units, the cardinal structures of movement and of thinking in movement...thoughtfully attuned to the variable qualia...forceful, swift, slow, straight, swerving, flaccid, tense, sudden, up, down, and much more.¹¹⁰⁵

Within the collage-making, in-the-moment improvisational slicing, positioning and gluing enacted 'thinking through making'.¹¹⁰⁶ Tim Ingold offers a useful interpretation of knowing through making things in which he considers the development of understanding in the course of making things 'as a process of *growth*'.¹¹⁰⁷ He

¹¹⁰⁴ Sheets-Johnstone, 'Thinking', p. 400; Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, pp. xvii, xxxi, 419-449.

¹¹⁰⁵ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, pp. 447-448.

¹¹⁰⁶ Ravetz, "'Both'" pp. 159, 171.

¹¹⁰⁷ Ingold, *Making*, pp. xi, 1-15, 21, Ingold italics.

positions ‘the maker from the outset as a participant in amongst a world of active materials’ in which they interpose ‘worldly processes that are already going on’.¹¹⁰⁸

Impromptu dialogue with the visual material (Figure 98) makes explicit the little remarked notion that this kind of embodied encounter on material and visual levels is significant for the different kinds of knowledge that the archive is capable of producing. The visual material at the heart of the project both as ‘thought fragments’ and physically by ‘tearing fragments’ break with the original contexts of the archive and the magazine.¹¹⁰⁹ Participant creation of potentially new archival material, in the mode of collage, challenged the boundaries of the archive to open up and transform the archive, interweaving past/ present/ future, the ‘known and unknown’.¹¹¹⁰

As we have seen in Chapter Five and Six, the visuality of *Woman’s Outlook*, distinguished it from the *Herald*, *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf*, *Woman’s Weekly* and *Labour Woman*. Likewise, the collage workshop revealed the capacity of the magazine as archival material to affect the humans that engage with them in the present-day.¹¹¹¹ The photocopied *Woman’s Outlook* as archival fragments¹¹¹² affect the participant and enact agency.¹¹¹³ The contemporary reader effects a dialogue

¹¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹¹⁰⁹ H., Arendt, ‘Introduction Walter Benjamin: 1892-1940’, in W., Benjamin, *Illuminations*, transl. H., Zorn, (London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 2015), pp. 7-58, 43-55.

¹¹¹⁰ Derrida, *Archive*, p. 36.

¹¹¹¹ Mitchell, *What*, pp. 47-8; Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 177, 132–185, 214; Bennett, *Vibrant*, pp. vii-x, xvi-xvii, 1-19; Carbone, ‘Artists’, pp. 102, 108, 112.

¹¹¹² Steedman, *Dust*, pp. 45, 68, 146; Moore et al, ‘Other’, pp. 1–30; Stanley, ‘Archival’, pp. 33-67, Tamboukou, ‘Archival Rhythms’, p. 86; Moore et al, ‘Beginning’, pp. 155-169, 168; Tamboukou, ‘Archival Research’, pp. 619, 624, 626, 631.

¹¹¹³ Mitchell, *What*, pp. 6, 34; Mitchell, *Image*, pp. 36-37; Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 177, 132–185, 214; Bennett, *Vibrant*, pp. 100-118, 102, 108, 112, 114 f/n 19.

with the publication in terms of their in-the-moment encounter, which materially becomes an apparatus to generate the vision embodied in the collage.

Through the workshop process the participant physically creates a 'fragment of the archive' in which the collages are also the archive in the making. The two strands of engagement, of historical research and participant engagement with the archival material, produced the visual analysis and collage. These processes enacted the agentic quality of the publications, and are viewed as the 'Participant and researcher's cut'. This agentic quality which enables the participant and researcher to have an effect on the collections, corresponds with Karen Barad and her concepts of 'agential realism' and the 'agential cut'.¹¹¹⁴ Maria Tamboukou, drawing on Karen Barad's concept argues that the researcher's engagement with the archival material, viewed as the 'researcher's cut' is an 'agentic intervention' of the researcher, which has an effect on the collections to produce an outcome such as a book, and in this project, collage (see Introduction).¹¹¹⁵

The participant collages are the primary focus of this strand, and their analysis considers agency within the co-production process and the agentic qualities of the photocopied archival materials, an important aspect of the project. Challenging hierarchical modes of engagement with the archive (Introduction, Chapter Two), the

¹¹¹⁴ Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 19, 26, 132-185.

¹¹¹⁵ Tamboukou, 'Archival Research', pp. 626, 631; J. Aulich and M. Ikoniadou, 'Ghost Stories for Grown-Ups: Pictorial Matters in Times of War and Conflict', *Humanities* Vol. 9 (2), No. 44, (2020) npn.; J. Aulich, 'Conclusion: Reflections on Protest and Political Transformation since 1789', in A. McGarry, I. Erhart, H. Eslén-Ziya, O. Jensen and U. Korkut (eds.) *The Aesthetics of Global Protest. Visual Culture and Communication*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), pp. 269–91.

approach of participatory collage-making adds to Tamboukou's consideration of the singular 'researcher's cut' to consider co-produced multivocal methodologies.¹¹¹⁶ As such, the workshops reached over into issues of co-production and co-research, (Introduction, Chapter One).

Within the terms of this project co-research is the process of exploring together. Co-production is defined as the process of constructing something collaboratively. It is recognised that the project does not address all aspects of co-production, which itself is not a taxonomy.¹¹¹⁷ For example, whilst 'control over the research process' was limited to the context of the conference, the workshop empowered participants by offering the possibility 'to learn and reflect from their experience'.¹¹¹⁸ The participant responses offer shared understandings with each other and beyond the workshop.¹¹¹⁹ The conference delegates as workshop participants contributed their participatory research; invited to construct a collage and interpret their experiences of the workshop process, they jointly contributed as collaborators and co-researchers to the project to open up the NCA.¹¹²⁰ The collaboration between academic and participant to produce alternative data is an example of co-

¹¹¹⁶ Durose, et al, *Towards Co-Production in Research with Communities*, (AHRC: Connected Communities), p. 2, https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/geography/reframing_state/CCDiscussionPaperDurose2etal.pdf accessed 02032019; Kelemen, et al, 'Performing', p. 107; Gearty, 'Learning', pp. 493-494.

¹¹¹⁷ Facer and Enright, *Creating*, pp. 24, 89-90.

¹¹¹⁸ Durose, et al, *Towards*, p. 2.

¹¹¹⁹ Gauntlett, *Creative*, p. 95.

¹¹²⁰ Boylorn, 'Participants', pp. 599-601.

production,¹¹²¹ in this context. Participant as co-researcher and co-producer, entailed 'people in the creation of different kinds of knowledge'.¹¹²²

As we shall see, the conference themes of Arts and Humanities, Design and Education, brought together diverse disciplinary, arts-based participant knowledges employing personal subjective artistic responses outside of their typical frames of reference.¹¹²³ In different locations and predominantly, with one exception, *outside* the archive the workshop methodology invokes Jacques Derrida's concept of the future of the archive.¹¹²⁴ Whereby the conditions of access to archival knowledge are significant for the future role of the archive and society.¹¹²⁵ As such, the chapter now turns to examine the conference workshops; how visual material was understood then and now, highlighted notions of co-operation, and the often overlooked dialogues around gender and visual culture are revealed through immediate and accessible participation.

¹¹²¹ Kelemen, et al, 'Performing', p. 107; Gearty, 'Learning', pp. 493-494.

¹¹²² L. King and G. Rivett, 'Engaging People in Making History: Impact, Public Engagement and the World Beyond the Campus', *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 80, (2015), pp. 218-233, 229.

¹¹²³ Weber, 'Visual', p. 47.

¹¹²⁴ Derrida, *Archive*, pp. 18, 29, 33-36, 68, 75.

¹¹²⁵ Schwartz and Cook, 'Archives', pp. 5-6, 13, 15.

Workshop One: Knowing Differently¹¹²⁶

Conference theme: How does artistic research transform society?

Practicing Communities: Transformative societal strategies of artistic research, Nordic Summer University, (NSU), Winter Symposium, Circle 7, Riga, Latvia, 18-20 March 2016

The first workshop '*Woman's Outlook*, Past Present Future: Rip, Mark, Stick, Create, Multi-Vocal Image Making' of 40 minutes duration, had 13 participants and was organised and delivered collaboratively with Gemma Meek. Reflection on this workshop is important because it demonstrates how the collage-making approach unfolded to offer a potential methodology and a source of data. Participant engagement revealed the importance of bodily knowing and what happens in-the-moment became materially evident in the outcomes of the collages.

The workshop sought to share the unique visual qualities of *Woman's Outlook*. The collage-based approach of ripping, marking and sticking in the workshop leant itself to the arts-based symposium which was focussed on 'How does artistic research transform society?'. The workshop drew on the idea that materials, in this case *Woman's Outlook* and the subsequent collages, have a special quality, which entices a consideration and response from us. The data, as Maggie MacLure suggests, 'starts to glimmer, gathering our attention...but also generate sensations resonating in the body as well as the brain – frissons of excitement, energy, laughter, silliness'.¹¹²⁷

¹¹²⁶ Grimshaw and Ravetz, 'Ethnographic', p. 429; Douglas, et al, 'Why', p. 129.

¹¹²⁷ M. MacLure, 'The Offence of Theory', *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (2010), pp. 277-286, 282; M. MacLure, 'Researching without representation? Language and Materiality in Post-Qualitative Methodology', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, Vol. 26, No. 6, (2013), pp. 658-667.

'Data' is more than formal/ised information but is also fluid informal knowledge and this understanding informed and transformed the consideration of what it comprised in this project. The 'entangled relation of data-and-researcher'¹¹²⁸ motivated the deliberation of how the data could contribute to opening up the archive. Theory/data/researcher/participants/place are dissolved in a process which mutually informed each other in co-operative transformation to produce an entangled space of dialogue and intra-action in which, 'Material conditions matter...through the iterative intra-activity of the world'.¹¹²⁹

The physical arrangement of the first workshop was unstructured. The photocopied archival material was placed on the floor alongside one wall in single sheets and this arrangement enabled the participants to fully view the complete issue of *Woman's Outlook*. Chairs with a small desk attached were situated along the edges of the room. With two exceptions participants spontaneously elected to sit on the floor and the dialogue and joviality which took place between participants was significant to archival knowledge production. Figure 98 illustrates participants' impromptu sitting, in a rough circular pattern, facing inward toward each other. The participants were not instructed to sit on the floor and this workshop is important because the publication, dislocated from the archive, disturbed the typical mode of engagement with archival material. As we shall now see, the collages disrupted *Woman's Outlook*, and established new associations between the selected fragments.

¹¹²⁸ M. MacLure, 'The Wonder of Data', *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, Vol. 13, No. 4, (2013), pp. 228-232, 228.

¹¹²⁹ Barad, *Meeting*, p. 152.



Figure 99 Participant collage, Workshop One March 2016

Figure 99 features illustrations and text predominantly from the front and back cover of the first issue, (see Chapter Four), and exemplifies the collage process. Figure 99 is important because it presents a number of representative features which demonstrates how segments of the publication, edited from a variety of the pages are cut up and divided to become snippets yet re-positioned with image and text connected to construct new associations and dynamics.

In the top half of the collage, 'A Popular Magazine Devoted To Woman's Interests In All Spheres And Phases Of Life' extracted from the front cover is deconstructed. The text crafted in Times Roman typography, which indicates authority¹¹³⁰ is dismantled. Cutting and sticking has re-arranged the relationship between word and picture placing the different connections central to the collage. The text 'Devoted To Woman's Interests' from the front cover is eliminated. The line drawing of co-operative woman is removed from its original context. Excerpts of the illustration and typeset 'C.W.S. brings together producer and consumer' are displaced from the back cover to become fragmented. The letters CWS (Co-operative Wholesale Society) are removed. The CWS is no longer central to the picture. Text from the front cover 'A Popular Magazine' is dislodged and re-merged with the text 'brings together producer and consumer' from the back cover disrupts the 'original' representation. Both are carefully dislocated to create a different emphasis.

The alternative considerations of the collage-maker remake representations of co-operative woman and her relationship with the movement. Whilst the magazine and considerations of class are the central topics, the re-configuration is significant. The focus on women is dislocated by excluding 'Woman's Interests' of the front cover strap line. Without co-operative woman as the central feature the publication takes on a new meaning. With the focus now on production and consumption it, becomes 'A Popular Magazine...Brings together producer and consumer...In all Spheres and Phases of Life' (Figure 99).

¹¹³⁰ Robertson, *Print*, pp. 23-24.

Placed centrally, near the top of the collage, the careful re-positioning of the line drawn heads of only the male figures from the back cover excludes co-operative woman pictorially and textually. Re-configured, the CWS advertisement on the back cover communicates something different and co-operative woman is now not visible and thus no longer part of the dialogue. Pictorially, only the back of their heads and shoulders are visible. Their gaze turns away to exclude the viewer. Re-use and re-interpretation incorporate the breadth of the imagery and text. Collage through dislocation revises the meaning of what *Woman's Outlook* is capable of representing to show a close yet unsettling reading of the publication. Importantly, the collage composition embodies precise slicing, piecing and sticking to re-combine a range of textual and pictorial features which emphasises the distinctive visuality of co-operative woman in the original copy of the inaugural front and back cover.

The two figures of co-operative woman placed at the bottom of the page, re-address and juxtapose the themes of home and work to render a similarly complex, yet different understanding to the upper half of the collage. In the bottom half the co-operative woman is re-positioned, depicted by two line drawings and partially enclosed in a $\frac{3}{4}$ frame extracted from the decorative daisy border of the CWS back cover advertisement. Located on the left of the composition she is in the recognisable role of the working woman, which in juxtaposition with text cut from within the magazine, 'Awaiting his Arrival', draws together associations of work and an indeterminate male who will presumably give her instruction. To the right, a

woman's head is superimposed onto a line drawing of a stork to associate her with the subordinate role of the mother.

Framed in the domestic context, co-operative woman appears to be separated from and placed below the producer and consumer, depicted in the upper half. Yet juxtaposed with the line drawing of the capitalist worker, cut from within the magazine, she is simultaneously depicted in the context of the home and work. Margaret Beetham's notion of the periodical genre as a disruptive text offering different readings¹¹³¹ adds invaluable insight. Her observation enables a consideration of the possibility of the collage artefact to further agitate interpretations of co-operative woman. Collage-making embodying the situated knowledges of participants¹¹³² and the historical interpretation contribute a provocation and deeper understanding of the significance of the NCA and the 'vitality' of the periodical.¹¹³³

Participant collages emphasise a myriad of unanticipated possibilities of exploration. As an illustration, Figure 100 and 101 compared with Figure 102 and 103, show two diverse responses to the same self-selected archival material. The first example, Figure 100, shows the carefully selected article 'Husbands and Wives' which invites readers to write in to 'Aunty' about their husband and wife relationships and is discussed in Chapter Five.

¹¹³¹ Beetham, 'Open' p. 98; Beetham, 'Towards', p. 31.

¹¹³² Haraway, 'Situated', pp. 590, 592, 595-596.

¹¹³³ Beetham, 'Open', p. 99.

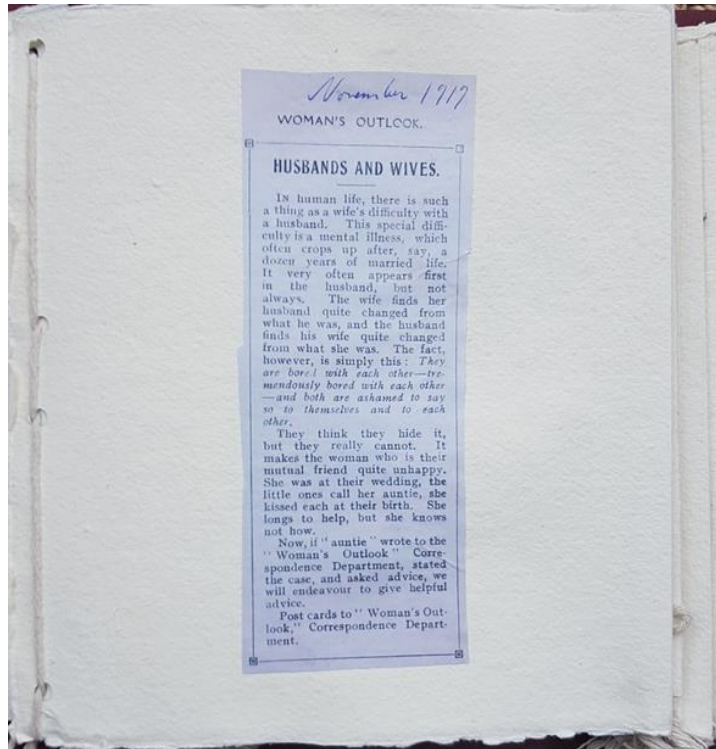


Figure 100 Participant collage, Workshop One March 2016

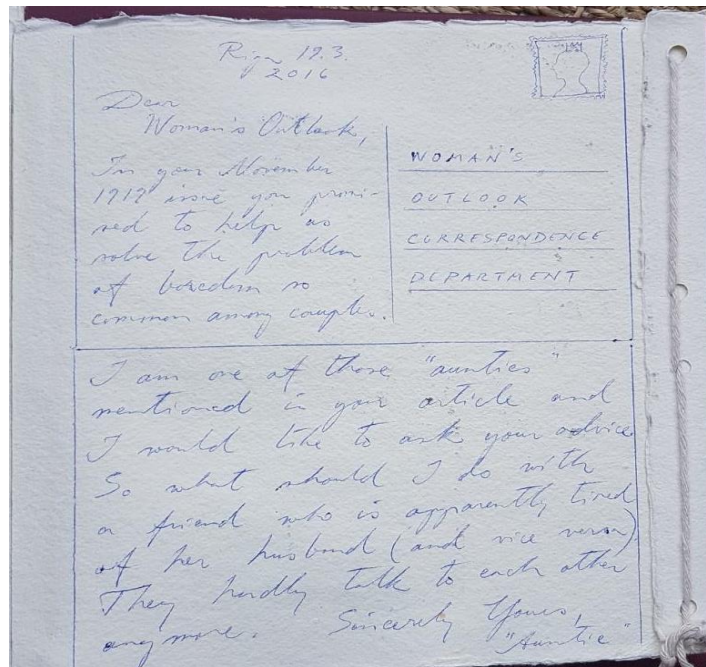


Figure 101 Participant collage, Workshop One March 2016

The article placed precisely, is neatly cut, central and dominates the page. Physical cutting out and the meticulously measured, spaced, drawing and writing show the participant embodied engagement with the copy of the archival material. Figure 101 shows the verso. Constructed as a postcard it is written in pen without any collage material. The elegantly handwritten postcard format, shows a close participant engagement with word and picture. In a later discussion the participant revealed that their research focus is letter writing. Through archival improvisation collages show a liberated participation which is immediate and close with the material, an open, uninhibited visual, material and physical engagement – a dialogue - with the archival material, manifest in the collage.

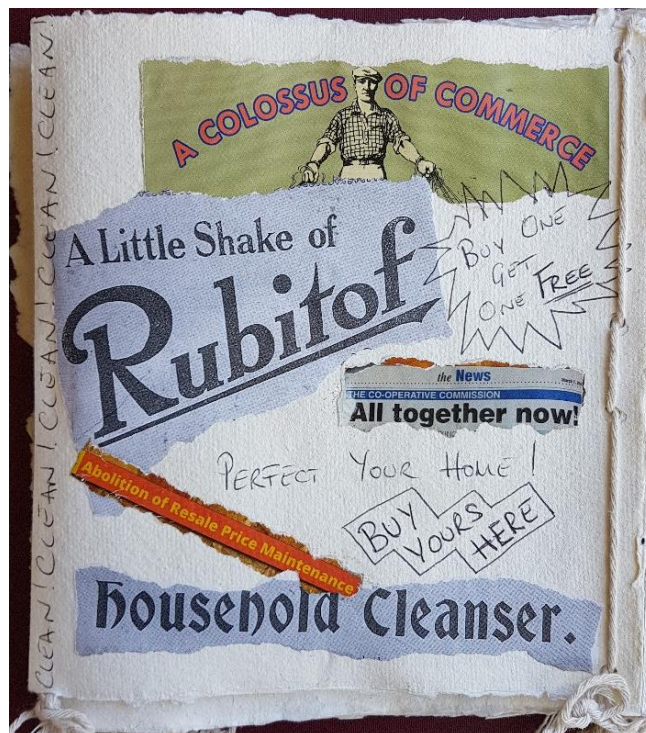


Figure 102 Participant collage, Workshop One March 2016

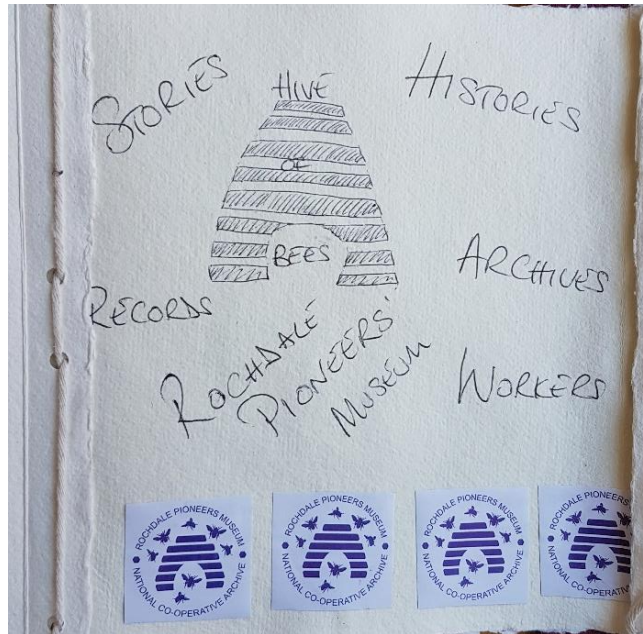


Figure 103 Participant collage, Workshop One March 2016

Alternatively, Figure 102 and 103 compared to Figure 99, 100 and 101, show a different engagement with the same copies of *Woman's Outlook* at the same conference. In Figure 102 a number of elements, including typographical and figurative, feature as scraps torn from the 'Rubitof' advertisement for 'household cleanser' (see Chapter Five), juxtaposed with contemporary co-operative leaflets. Placed at the top of the page, the frayed fragments ripped from contemporary NCA leaflet guide depict the muscular working man. The capitalised words of the leaflet entitled 'A Colossus of Commerce' arch over his figure forming the apex of the collage. Tearing effectively dislocates the text and image to disturb the original messages of cleanliness, consumption and work. The content of the collage is politicised by the printed words, 'All together now!', drawn from the contemporary NCA leaflet guide 'Politics for The People: Co-operators in Politics', and placed below,

the additional phrase 'Abolition of Resale Price Maintenance'. These torn fragments, boldly juxtapose with the capitalised words 'CLEAN! CLEAN! CLEAN!' hand written vertically down the left side of the collage reflect the participant reading. The collage, disrupting the gender boundaries of the home, work and shopping, highlights the potential for unsettling disciplinary knowing and the potential for diverse knowledge creation.

Overleaf, Figure 103 features images of the beehive, hand drawn in pen and neatly cut out from a contemporary NCA leaflet, entitled 'Co-operative Heritage Trust: National Co-operative Archive', they are a symbol of the co-operative community. Capitalised hand written words 'STORIES' 'RECORDS' 'ARCHIVES' 'WORKERS' together with mark-making cover the page, representing the industrious contribution of the hardworking worker bee. Image and text, placed horizontally and vertically, combine the political and subjective.

The process of collage with which the participants engage in some ways invites a parallel with the role of the correspondence page as a way of reading. It encourages the participants to consider the relevance of the magazine to their own lives and gender roles in the contemporary context. The exemplars (Figures 100-103) extend the notion of inviting reader and participant into manifold dialogues with co-operative publications. The physical manifestation of the making processes embodied in the precise construction of the collage shown in Figure 100 and 101, compare with the ripped colourful and hectic text, imagery, gender and zeal manifest

in Figure 102 and 103. Consideration of participant encounters with *Woman's Outlook*, extends Barbara Green's historical analysis of the role and function of correspondence columns in feminist magazines, where uncovering 'the traces of readers' interactions...invited them to try on new identities'.¹¹³⁴

The collage workshop enabled participants to follow their interests and foster knowing differently.¹¹³⁵ The collage, fashioned by the conditions of engagement parallels Lynne Warren's observation that readers of *Woman* 1890-1910 constructed identity in relation to letters pages.¹¹³⁶ The ways in which contemporary participants are drawn into a dialogue with *Woman's Outlook* which materialise in collage align with Margaret Beetham's argument that nineteenth century periodicals summoned the audience into a conversation. As Beetham argues, they 'implicitly or explicitly invite readers into dialogue, which can become materially evident in correspondence pages and advice columns'.¹¹³⁷

Figure 104, in contrast to Figures 97, 99-103, features an exception to the collages; not constrained or bound by the workshop focus of co-operative woman and her gender in a woman's magazine, it includes only men. We can see the rainbow flag, carefully selected and cut from the co-operative leaflet, 'Co-operative Heritage Trust: National Co-operative Archive', is incorporated into the composition of the collage. Placed centrally the flag is positioned high above the male figures which are neatly

¹¹³⁴ Green, 'Complaints', p. 462.

¹¹³⁵ Grimshaw and Ravetz, 'Ethnographic', p. 429.

¹¹³⁶ Warren, "'Women'", p. 129.

¹¹³⁷ Beetham, 'Body', p. 149.

cut from the back cover CWS advertisement of *Woman's Outlook*, also used in Figure 99. The darkly printed figures situated at the baseline of the page form a silhouette which contrasts with the bright colours of the flag. To the left of the figures in the background a pencil drawn placard reads 'Feminist Men of the Co-operative Society'.



Figure 104 Participant collage, Workshop One March 2016

A symbol of the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA) (1895) since the 1920s, the rainbow flag represents attempts to nurture a broader gathering of international co-operators.¹¹³⁸ As we can see in Figure 104, the collage and co-operative publications often containing pictures 'both concrete and abstract', offer multiple insights into

¹¹³⁸ M. Hilson, 'Co-operative History: Movements and Businesses', in Hilson et al, (eds.), *Global* pp. 17-48, 47.

the representation of gender and the movement. The inclusion of the rainbow flag fusing present understandings of the rainbow as a symbol of the LGBT community with notions of 'Feminist Men of the Co-operative Society' presents 'a comprehensive, global view of a situation'. Whilst also catching 'a snapshot at a specific moment',¹¹³⁹ the collages as artefact offer complexity in an assemblage, of the past, present and future. Collage-making effecting 'pictures less scrutable, less transparent' shifts investigation of pictures 'toward questions of process, affect, and to put in question the spectator position: what does the picture want from me or from "us" or from "them" or from whomever?'.¹¹⁴⁰

Archival improvisation captures embodied engagement with *Woman's Outlook* in the immediacy of the workshop encounter. Bringing the past into the present, Figure 104 making present,¹¹⁴¹ reveals the potentiality of future archival interactions. Fresh participant engagements fostering multiple entry points bring the past into the present and open up previously concealed pathways of new interdisciplinary dialogues with the NCA. Offering fresh meaning through making,¹¹⁴² the collages suggest a multifaceted view of pictures, to provoke us to consider process and the complexity of the relationships between past, present and future.¹¹⁴³ Participant involvement opens up an inclusive and liberatory approach which traverses the

¹¹³⁹ Mitchell, *What*, p. xvii.

¹¹⁴⁰ Mitchell, *What*, p. 49.

¹¹⁴¹ Douglas et al, 'Why', p. 129.

¹¹⁴² Ingold, *Making*, p. 13.

¹¹⁴³ Mitchell, *What*, pp.47-49 also f/n 39, 'This means the question is not just what did the picture mean (to its first historical holders) or what it means to us now, but what did (and does) the picture want from its beholders then and now'.

perimeter of the archive.¹¹⁴⁴ Collage-making fosters ambiguity as a 'desirable path for archives in the twenty-first century'.¹¹⁴⁵ In-the-moment fluidity entwines thinking and physical engagement whereby 'thinking and moving are not separate happenings'.¹¹⁴⁶

A new way to open up the archive participant collage-making, as 'a non-separation of thinking and doing' widens participation.¹¹⁴⁷ The first conference workshop establishes how embodied engagement, understood as 'thinking through making'¹¹⁴⁸ liberated photocopies of *Woman's Outlook*, in fragments, from the protocol of the archive. Large motor movement around the workshop space - walking, reaching, stooping, kneeling combines with gestural movement of - cutting, ripping and sticking. The dynamics of participant deconstruction and reconstruction, manifest in the collage, offer an improvised in-the-moment encounter as 'thinking in movement'.¹¹⁴⁹ Offering participants embodied encounters, collage provides an experimental space. 'Archival improvisation' invites the participant into a physical and thoughtful engagement (Figures 97-100) not in the archive. Whereby pictures mediate and transmit multifaceted images.¹¹⁵⁰

¹¹⁴⁴ K. Vaughan, 'Pieced Together: Collage as An Artist's Method for Interdisciplinary Research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (2005), pp. 27-52, 28; Duff and Harris, *Stories*, pp. 280, 284-5.

¹¹⁴⁵ Cook, 'Evidence', p. 97.

¹¹⁴⁶ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, pp. xxxi.

¹¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

¹¹⁴⁸ Ravetz, "'Both'", pp. 159, 171.

¹¹⁴⁹ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, pp. xvii, xxxi, 419-449.

¹¹⁵⁰ Mitchell, *What*, pp. 47-8.

Participants are released from historical and archival modes of research. The process emphasises the flattening out of pedagogical hierarchy to challenge and transgress conventional hierarchical ways of knowing and sharing.¹¹⁵¹ The photocopies of archival material promoted an informal attitude toward the materiality of *Woman's Outlook* such that it could be placed on the floor, cut up, ripped, glued and marked. This arrangement offered a comprehensive vantage point not possible in the archive where conservation and preservation are all important.

Photocopied archival material provoked new responses enmeshed with participant interpretation:¹¹⁵² 'Like people, pictures may not know what they want; they have to be helped to recollect it through a dialogue with others' to suggest that the archive has the potential to be opened up.¹¹⁵³ In this way *both* process and outcome are meaningful.

Collage as an embodied approach disrupts the power relationships existing in the construction and consumption of archives.¹¹⁵⁴ One participant noted the embodied qualities afforded by the collage-making workshop as an introduction to the NCA. They observed the infinite possibilities and ways to use the archive collections that the method raised, '*Great to engage so closely with one item...If you can do all this with one item then imagine the infinite permutations of re-formatting the whole*

¹¹⁵¹ King and Rivett, 'Engaging', p. 229.

¹¹⁵² Bashforth and Bashforth, 'Diverse', pp. 102.

¹¹⁵³ Mitchell, *What*, p. 46.

¹¹⁵⁴ Schwartz and Cook, 'Archives', p. 5.

archive'.¹¹⁵⁵ Similarly, Ted Kafala and Lisa Cary argue that collage overcomes the separation of the processes of the mind and body, to 'collapse the mind/body dualism upheld by Cartesian modernity' whilst exploding 'possibilities for multiple points of view in interpretation. "Collage-making" integrates physical and mental attributes, hand and mind, the noumenal and the phenomenal'.¹¹⁵⁶

The physicality of collage is an embodied response to the archive and the archival fragment *Woman's Outlook*. The concept of archival improvisation¹¹⁵⁷ dislocates traditional knowing with archival matter as Walter Benjamin remarks: 'There is no living library that does not harbor a number of booklike creations from fringe areas'¹¹⁵⁸ (Figure 105).



Figure 105 Book of participant collages, Workshop One March 2016

¹¹⁵⁵ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop One.

¹¹⁵⁶ T. Kafala and L. Cary, 'Postmodern Moments in Curriculum Theory: The Logic and Paradox of Dissensus', *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (2006), pp. 25-44, 36.

¹¹⁵⁷ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, pp. xvii, xxxi, 419-449.

¹¹⁵⁸ Benjamin, 'Unpacking', p. 491.

The collage is an artefact of visual culture, as Elena Vacchelli points out in her examination of embodiment in collage making.¹¹⁵⁹ Equally, as a process of a participatory arts-based approach, it is a tool for physical ‘elicitation’ to develop understanding of participant experiential reflections displayed in the bodily encounter of collage-making,¹¹⁶⁰ for example, of piecing and slicing.¹¹⁶¹

After the workshop, the collages were collated as pages into a concertina form of book (Figure 105) exhibited during the plenary of the conference and drew great attention from conference participants. Displaying the collage book realised the potential scope it offered in its visuality and portability for future users, in engagement and exhibition. Initially the first workshop offered a one-off means of involving and circulating awareness of the project and the movement. Yet, collage-making at the first conference in March 2016, contrasting with the typical approaches to the NCA (see Introduction), demonstrates a different process and outcome of enquiry with the archive. The multiple voices of the participants offer an alternative viewpoint to the perception of the singular researcher.¹¹⁶²

The collage workshop proposed an alternative way to engage with archival material which considered the embodied and enthusiastic way in which the participants engaged with the proposition and the materials (Figure 98). The rich diversity and

¹¹⁵⁹ E. Vacchelli, ‘Embodiment in Qualitative Research: Collage Making with Migrant, Refugee and Asylum Seeking Women’, *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 18, No. 2, (2018), pp. 171-190, 174, 186.

¹¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-174, 176.

¹¹⁶¹ R. Chadwick, ‘Embodied Methodologies: Challenges, Reflections and Strategies’, *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 17, No. 1, (2017), pp. 54-74, 58.

¹¹⁶² Boylorn, ‘Participants’, pp. 599-600.

pertinent quality of the collage artefacts (Figures 97, 99-105) demonstrate the generous nature of participant outcomes. The questionnaires, incorporated as a method of self-reflection, were invigorating. Their animated responses prompted consideration of the potentiality of the workshop as an integral and complementary aspect to the visual analysis (Chapter Four, Five, Six). Realising the workshops were not just dissemination, but actually methodological, generating new knowledge within the study.

Methodologically the questionnaires encouraged the participants to consider the process of engagement rather than predominantly focussing on the explanation of their collage. As such the project is not predetermined, 'research-led engagement is open-ended with an outcome that is not prescribed' with an emphasis on process.¹¹⁶³ Through the physicality of the collage workshop the participant taking the visual culture 'off the page' metamorphoses it visually and materially.¹¹⁶⁴ Deconstructed and reconstructed through dislocation, cutting, sticking, marking and ripping, the audience is in an alternative dialogue with *Woman's Outlook*.¹¹⁶⁵

This collage-making workshop gathered participants from across Europe who, in dialogue, consulting, exchanging ideas, and laughing with each other, assembled a range of geographical, disciplinary, institutional and practice-based positions. The process provoked novel archival practices of collage as artefact (Figures 97-105)

¹¹⁶³ King and Rivett, 'Engaging', p. 229.

¹¹⁶⁴ Bashforth and Bashforth, 'Diverse', p. 102.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

alongside ephemeral conversations around contemporary perceptions of gender identity. In knowing the archive differently¹¹⁶⁶ the workshop demonstrates the aim of the conference to facilitate a space for ‘experimentation’ and encourage ‘cross-disciplinary collaboration from within and outside universities and art institutions’. It mobilised the conference objective of ‘interweaving practices and strategies from other geographical, contextual, societal, institutional and non-institutional spaces’.¹¹⁶⁷

The experimental outlook of the conference affected the reception of this workshop and participant response, and influenced the decision to actuate the collage-making workshop as a methodological approach. Greater investigation of the workshop, as a mode for producing ‘qualitative and embodied data’, Elena Vacchelli argues, ‘would be highly beneficial for the field of qualitative research’.¹¹⁶⁸ As such, establishing participant embodiment with collage in the following workshops, contributes to Rachelle Chadwick’s call for ‘new conversations and debates about how best to think about and develop embodied modes of qualitative analysis’.¹¹⁶⁹

¹¹⁶⁶ Grimshaw and Ravetz, ‘Ethnographic’, p. 429; Douglas, et al, ‘Why’, p. 129.

¹¹⁶⁷ Nordic Summer University: Study Circle 7 <http://nordic.university/study-circles/7-artistic-research-performing-heterotopia/707-2/> accessed 06032018.

¹¹⁶⁸ Vacchelli, ‘Embodiment’, pp. 186-187.

¹¹⁶⁹ Chadwick, ‘Embodied’, pp. 71-72.

Workshop Two: Inviting readers into dialogue

Conference theme: Feminist Readings 2: Theory, Practice and Politics of Reading Today University of Leeds, 15-16 April 2016

The second collage-making workshop at the next, differently themed conference, '*Feminist Readings 2: Theory, Practice and Politics of Reading Today*', is important because it demonstrated how *Woman's Outlook* invited three participants of the workshop, and conference delegates who didn't take part in the workshop, into a dialogue.¹¹⁷⁰ In collaboration with Gemma Meek, this workshop of 50 minutes duration was uniquely interesting because the three participants, were not 'official' conference delegates but undergraduates assisting with the running of the conference. In the workshop the participants expressed excitement about the political nature and content of *Woman's Outlook*, '*Very good! Considering I didn't know it existed, it was completely different to what I thought a magazine from 1919 would be*'.¹¹⁷¹ For example, the collage shown in Figures 106, 107 exemplify the strong visuality of *Woman's Outlook* and how this was conveyed by the participant, with meticulous observation, cutting and placing. The large core image of Mrs Annie Besant, (see Chapter Four and Five), in Figure 106, precise and central carries the unambiguous message of her reputation. Careful and symmetrical positioning places the strong stances of the surrounding women contiguously to the central image. This collage delivers a clear message of respect, co-operation and strength. The verso (Figure 107) shows an alternative version of the collage which empowers the position of the co-operative woman. The carefully pieced flap functions to obscure the co-

¹¹⁷⁰ Beetham, 'Body', p. 149.

¹¹⁷¹ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop Two.

operative men, making them invisible. Only through physical engagement with the collage flap can the co-operative man, surrounded by co-operative women, be made visible.



Figure 106 Participant collage, Workshop Two April 2016



Figure 107 Participant collage: centre flap of Mrs Annie Besant, lifted to reveal co-operative men, Workshop Two, April 2016

Figure 108 illustrates the participant surprise about the content of the magazine, which is illustrated in the composition of their collage. It *'Was really interesting to see about women's magazines at this time in history focused on – didn't expect it to talk about working (and also didn't expect it to target working class women) but also how it showed women could be interested in serious issues and more light topics like fashion'*.¹¹⁷² For example, we can see in Figure 108 how selected themes of fashion, beauty and appearance positioned on the left of the page, open up unanticipated

¹¹⁷² Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop Two.

spaces for engagement with *Woman's Outlook*. These topics represented in text, cut out and positioned on one side of the collage, demonstrate the types of content that the participant expected to find in *Woman's Outlook*. Juxtaposed on the other side are the themes of choice, work and wages, the content that they actually found in the magazine.

Participant collages and observations provoked different knowledges and contributed to emergent archival and participant knowing. The significance of the embodied engagement and dialogue with this material through collage was highlighted by one participant as, '*Very important to do*'.¹¹⁷³ As Tim Ingold observes, the encounter gives 'a voice and allows it to tell its own story; it is up to us, then, to listen, and from the clues it offers, to discover what is speaking'.¹¹⁷⁴ The making process 'without really knowing *at that point* how they were going to come together...but then meanings would soon emerge when the building began',¹¹⁷⁵ forms a valuable counterpart to the collage artefact.

¹¹⁷³ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop Two.

¹¹⁷⁴ Ingold, *Making*, p. 31.

¹¹⁷⁵ Gauntlett, *Creative*, p. 184, Gauntlett italics.

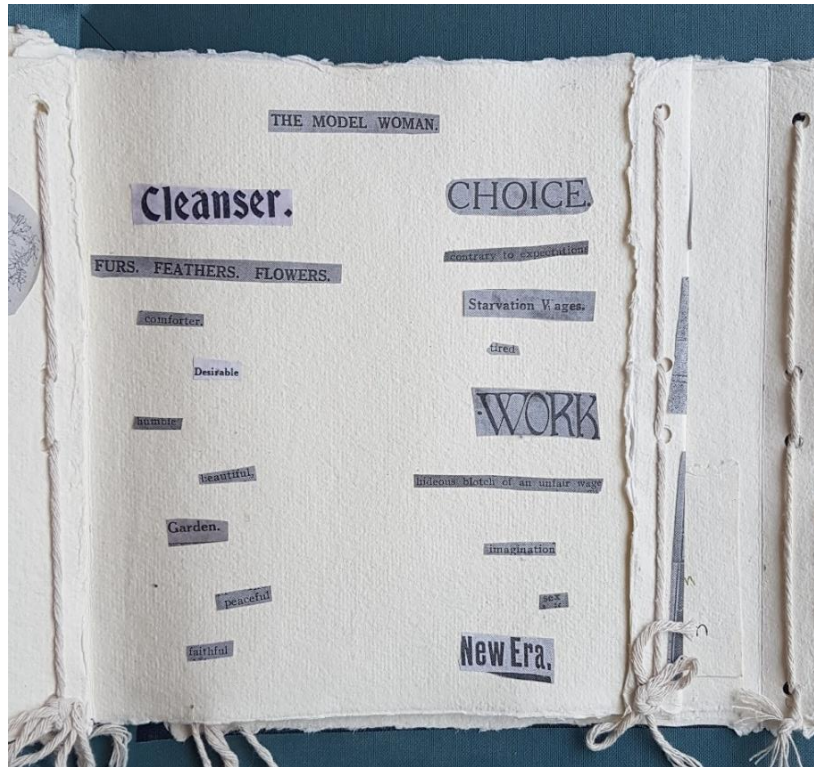


Figure 108 Participant collage, Workshop Two April 2016

Like the first workshop, participant collage pages were constructed into a book as a mode for display. The smaller group size of three participants meant that the collages could be immediately constructed into the book, and exhibited during the lunch break. Here, unanticipated spaces for engagement with the *delegates* occurred *after* the workshop, where the participants and wider conference delegates had an opportunity to view the collective outcome. Displaying the book offered the opportunity to reflect on the smaller number of participants and demonstrated ‘reflection – in –action’, it offered ‘intuitive knowing in the midst of action’ as Donald Schon might have it.¹¹⁷⁶

¹¹⁷⁶ D. A. Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*, (Oxon: Routledge), (1983, 1991, 2016), pp. viii-ix.

The book of collage pages displayed next to the buffet table, quickly and noticeably became a focal point. This was evidenced in audible vocalised thoughtful and animated discussion amongst the conference delegates. Bodily engaging with the book, they stooped to look at the pages. Facial expressions also showed collages were examined intently. Delegates, none of whom had participated in the workshop, asked questions about the source of the images and the location of *Woman's Outlook*. This prompted the retrieval of photocopies of *Woman's Outlook* (packed away at the end of the workshop) for the delegates to engage with. The magazine, was examined with enthusiasm which provoked further questions and observation about the NCA and the co-operative movement. The delegate engagement *after* the workshop prompted a consideration of this 'unique, uncertain and conflicted situations of practice'.¹¹⁷⁷

A collective dialogue through sharing of material provokes different questions that might be asked. Indeed, one participant, from a later workshop, commented '*if we always do what we always do how do we ever learn to do anything new or different?*'.¹¹⁷⁸ This workshop revealed underlying complexities which fostered 'internal commotions and conflicts' emphasised the importance of the process and allowing it 'a chance to evolve and to give the participants a long-term perspective on a continuing context'.¹¹⁷⁹

¹¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. ix.

¹¹⁷⁸ Conversation with participant, Workshop Nine.

¹¹⁷⁹ Hannula, 'Catch', p. 10.

This second workshop, as part of an emerging 'Conference Workshop Methodology', was exciting and significant, because *Woman's Outlook* continued to invite participants into a dialogue as established in the first workshop. In their encounter with *Woman's Outlook* participants, once again, through collage, engaged in different dialogues with the same material. Furthermore, the attention of conference attendees was 'invited' by the collages. Enthusiasm from the workshop participants and conference delegates, who had not participated in the workshop, demonstrated the value and significance of this arts-based collage approach. The collages, as artefacts, continued to engender dialogue beyond the construction process in the workshop and 'invite readers into dialogue' to open up the archive.¹¹⁸⁰

Workshop Three: The 'moving flow of its creation'¹¹⁸¹

Conference theme: *21st Century Feminist Praxes, Ontologies and Materialities*,

Central European University – Budapest, 13th-14th May 2016

The feminist theme continued at this next conference, *21st Century Feminist Praxes, Ontologies and Materialities* in Budapest. In collaboration with Gemma Meek, this was the lengthiest workshop at 90 minutes and engaged with 9 participants. As with many of the collages constructed, this workshop continued to push the boundaries of the traditionally received approach to the production of archival knowledge but it

¹¹⁸⁰ Beetham, 'Body', p. 149.

¹¹⁸¹ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, p. 421.

particularly demonstrated the emergent and flowing nature of ideas and understanding of the co-operative movement through the making of collage. Unlike previous workshops, at the end of this workshop the participants assembled the pages into the book rather than myself and Gemma. We can see in Figure 109 participants arms physically interweave as they reach, select, position and stitch their pages together by threading wool through hole-punched pages. By stitching, the participants collated the collage pages forming a concertina book. Carried out during the workshop session this brought yet a different relationship focus.

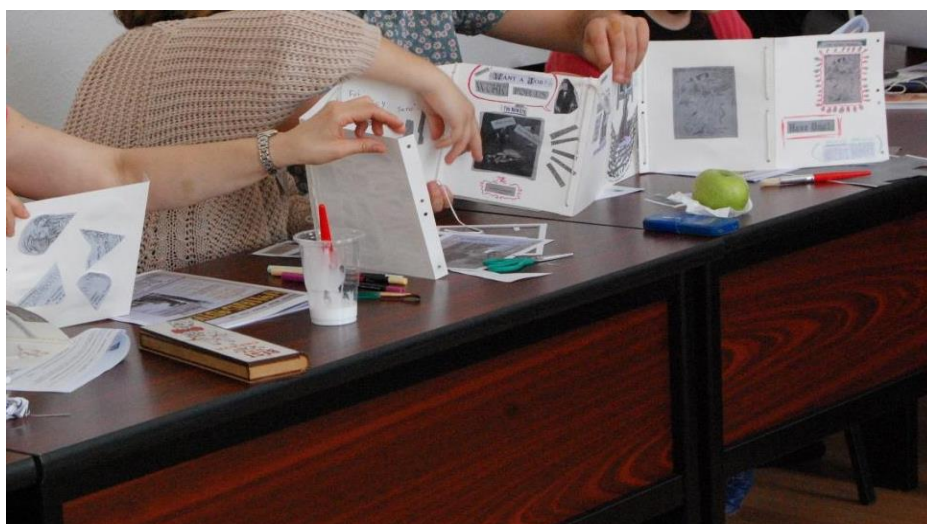


Figure 109 Participants engage with each other to construct the book of collages, Workshop Three May 2016. Photo credit Gemma Meek

Figures 109-111 illustrate how the collages continued to express a diverse sense of freedom to explore and improvise with the concepts of the magazine. Improvisation as ‘the process of creating’¹¹⁸² with photocopied archival materials facilitates instant, direct physical and material responses in the process of collage-making and book

¹¹⁸² Sheets-Johnstone, ‘Thinking’, pp. 399, 402-403.

construction. We can see, for example in Figure 109, how in constructing the book, movement, becomes what Maxine Sheets-Johnstone, might describe as, 'a form which lives and breathes in the moving flow of its creation. A flow experienced as an ongoing present'.¹¹⁸³

Figure 110 highlights understanding of the relationship between the movement and the fluidity and complexity of co-operative woman gender identity explored in Chapters Five and Six. The collage is dominated by the central position and large size of the basket construction. The basket is distinct and demonstrates a precise embodied engagement with the archival fragment. Repetitive hand cutting of photocopied *Woman's Outlook* magazine produces almost replicated strips of practically similar length and width. Initial viewing reveals a uniformity of the strips. The strips, composed of text only, evokes a perspective of ongoing dialogue in the co-operative movement potentially around the complex relationship of co-operative woman, the basket and work. Indeed, one participant commenting on gender identity noted the conflicting representations, '*I think gender representation in Woman's Outlook is very contradictory. Especially from the point of view of labour vs. household. Gender representation is not coherent*'.¹¹⁸⁴ Multiple, almost uniform strips, woven together, shape a strong hull suggestive of the collective identity which forms the strength of the movement.

¹¹⁸³ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, p. 421.

¹¹⁸⁴ Participant questionnaire comment Workshop Three.

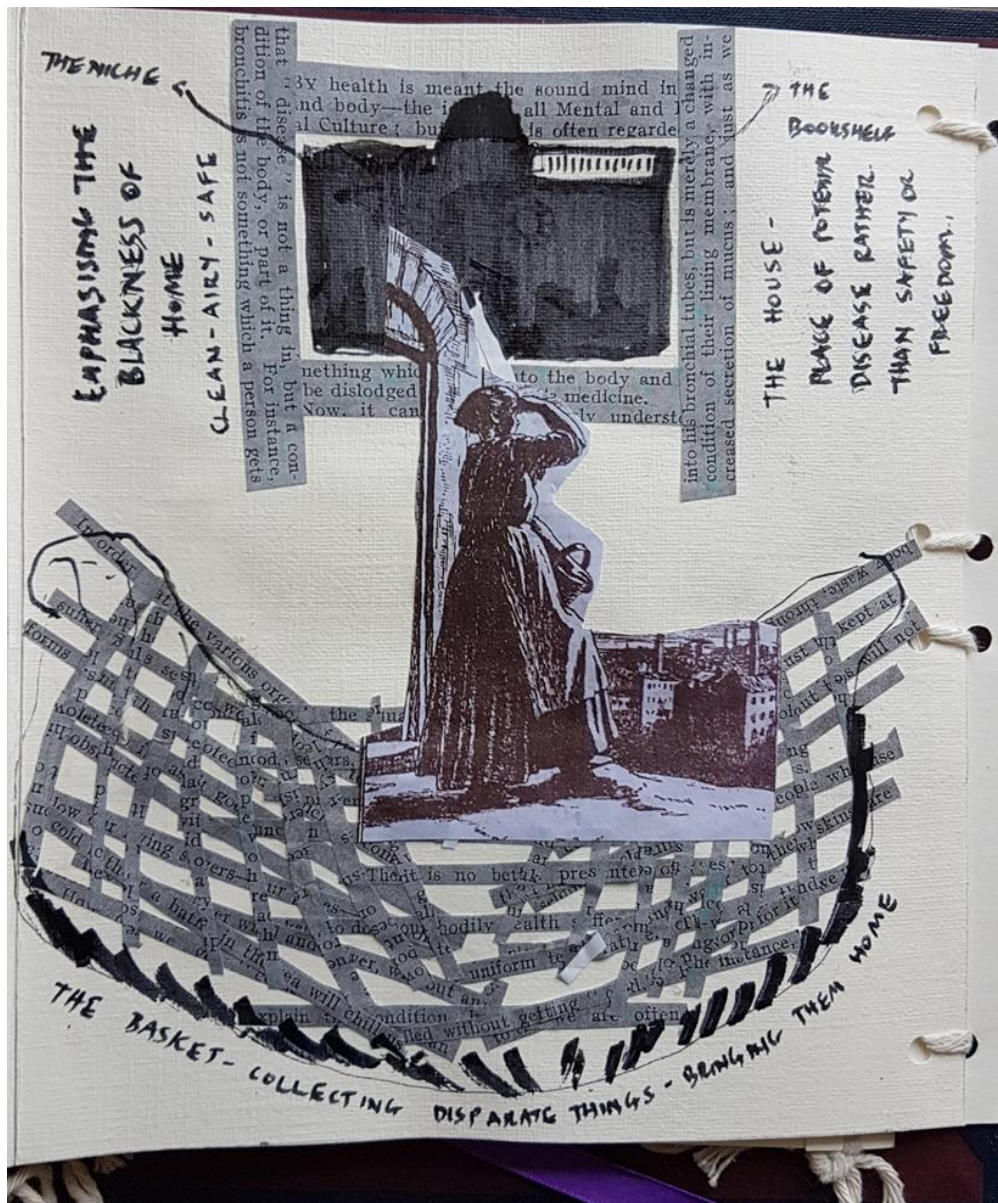


Figure 110 Participant collage, Workshop Three May 2016

Further looking reveals that the strips are meticulously shaped into an arc form. The construction of this basket reveals the participant's considerable attention to the content of the magazine, relocated into the collage. Thought and focused manipulation of collage materials are evident despite the relatively short space of time. The construction of the page as a whole demonstrates 'a non-separation of

thinking and doing'.¹¹⁸⁵ Archival fragments show movement in the process of cutting and shaping of, 'forward, backward, digressively, quickly, slowly, narrowly, suddenly'.¹¹⁸⁶ The in-the-moment flowing pen strokes detailed on the verso of the participant collage page (Figure 111) embody 'the immediacy of the evolving situation itself'.¹¹⁸⁷ The process of participant collage-making demonstrates a fluidity of 'thinking in movement' which 'is not an assemblage of discrete gestures...but an enfolding of all movement into a perpetually moving present' (Figures 109-111).¹¹⁸⁸

The collage pushes and investigates the possibilities, resisting archival restrictions, the idea of the home is abstracted, and materially developed. One participant commenting on their engagement with *Woman's Outlook* observed the representation of space and cleaning, '*Interested to see a link between space and cleaning/ cleaning with the modernist/industrialised/capitalised society of the time*'.¹¹⁸⁹ The participant, the researcher and the future archive change from the participant experience of collage-making and outcome.¹¹⁹⁰ Indeed, one participant reflecting upon their engagement with *Woman's Outlook* commented on their own understandings of the uses of media:

*It made me think about remediation – reworking 'old' media into new, and showing the continuities b/w old and new (as well as challenging these categories). It really made me think about women's engagement with media in new ways). It was very interesting! And fun!*¹¹⁹¹

¹¹⁸⁵ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, p. 421.

¹¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

¹¹⁸⁹ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop Three.

¹¹⁹⁰ Butler-Kisber and Poldma, 'Power', p. 14.

¹¹⁹¹ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop Three.

The participant-researcher as collage-maker, gaining knowledge builds on Lynn Butler-Kisber and Tiiu Poldma's observation that the collage enables 'the researcher to construct the meanings in the data'.¹¹⁹² The description of creating dance improvisation by Sheets-Johnstone in relation to 'the actual here-now creating of this gesture or movement' can be applied to the construction of collage, 'as itself an opening out' of the archive and archival material.¹¹⁹³ Collage could potentially facilitate new research questions and dialogue concerning the co-operative home.

With the limited knowledge that was supplied in the introduction, the collage in Figure 110, 111 echoes the strong outward facing stance of co-operative woman, 'propelled outward',¹¹⁹⁴ on the front page of *Woman's Outlook*. Confident bold, strong mark-making embodies participant movement:¹¹⁹⁵ distinct thick felt pen strokes mark the contour of the basket to suggest and underscore the shape of the basket, whilst simultaneously transforming it into a boat. Participant understanding of the complex representation of co-operative woman is engendered in the basket/boat collage. Mobilised and activated, capitalisation of text suggests an earnestness 'The basket - collecting disparate things - bringing them home' (Figure 110).

¹¹⁹² Butler-Kisber and Poldma, 'Power', p. 14.

¹¹⁹³ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, p. 425.

¹¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

¹¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 131, 422, 448.

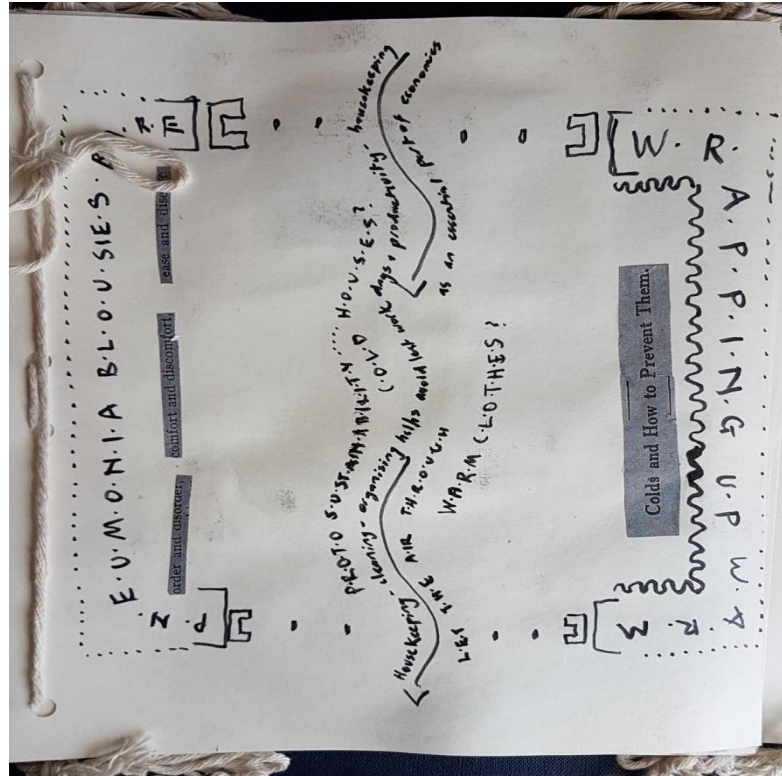


Figure 111 Participant collage verso of the basket/boat collage, Workshop Three May 2016

The participant in this workshop, offered a direct experience, engages with their own knowledges, in a different way, to expand the discussion of who gains new understandings in research from the position of the individual researcher¹¹⁹⁶ to the participant-researcher. Across the workshops, collage-making asserts investigation of ‘the meanings in the data’ where *Woman’s Outlook* is the primary source material from which data might be derived. Participants, by generating connections ‘push the analysis further...through these visual processes. Collage hones research through an intuitive-rational process...contributes to new insights and understandings of research data...merit further attention, development, and use’.¹¹⁹⁷

¹¹⁹⁶ Butler-Kisber and Poldma, ‘Power’, p. 14.

¹¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

One participant, describing their engagement with *Woman's Outlook* through collage as '*creative and stimulating*',¹¹⁹⁸ asserts Nicholas Mirzoeff's call for multiple voices in research. As the methodology unfolded it became apparent that the next workshop addressed Mirzoeff's premise that, 'Projects will have to be approached and considered collaboratively and collectively in ways that should be a closer fit with the politics we espouse...More fun, dare we say it'.¹¹⁹⁹

Workshop Five: Participant and Researcher's cut¹²⁰⁰

Symposium theme: 'Artists Open Up The Archive'

A collaborative satellite Nordic Summer University (NSU) symposium Circle 7 with the National Co-operative Archive, Manchester 19 July 2016

The seminar day *Artists Open Up The Archive* took place in the NCA, on the 19 July 2016, in response to the interest of Dr Lucy Lyons, the UK organiser of the Winter Symposium of the NSU in Riga, March 2016,¹²⁰¹ and her enthusiasm for the first collaborative workshop delivered there. Dr Lucy Lyons, as co-organiser of the seminar contacted previous participants of the NSU in the UK.

¹¹⁹⁸ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop Three.

¹¹⁹⁹ Mirzoeff, 'Introduction', p. xxxviii.

¹²⁰⁰ Tamboukou, 'Archival Research', pp. 626, 628, 631.

¹²⁰¹ Nordic Summer University <http://nordic.university/study-circles/archive-study-circles/practicing-communities-transformative-societal-strategies-artistic-research-2018-2020/> accessed 06032018.

The seminar day, planned and delivered by myself engaged with 14 participants. The seminar day continued the co-production and arts-based approach which aimed to open up the NCA from the researchers' own multidisciplinary perspectives, who do not specifically research the movement as their focus. However, it differed in a number of ways to the previous workshops. It was the only workshop to take place in the NCA and participants chose their own enquiry. To support this, prior to the symposium participants engaged in dialogues with the archivists, Gillian Lonergan and Sophie McCulloch who utilised their expertise and knowledge of the NCA to determine the co-selection of mutually agreed archival materials ready on arrival, 19th July 2016. In these ways, the symposium departed from the previous workshops which had responded to broader conference themes pre-set by conference organisers. To extend the approach, participants, rather than approaching the NCA collections through the pre-directed sample of *Woman's Outlook*, were invited to choose their own research focus and co-selected material.

This workshop invited participants into an encounter with the archive and particularly epitomises how a new methodology permits us to re-inscribe the archive with different meanings. Derrida's observations set out in *Archive Fever* enable this project as a whole, to question the 'archontic principle' and 'the concept of the archive' that is, the notion of the archive as the texts collected on behalf of official organisations.¹²⁰² Re-negotiating the archive, fresh encounters produce new knowledge it is then how we use that rationale to enhance the archive.

¹²⁰² Derrida, *Archive*, pp. 1-5, 22, 29, 80-81.

Participants were invited because of their previous connections with the NSU to provoke different insights into the NCA and the movement. Some had participated in the first workshop in Riga in 2016 and/or participated in previous NSU symposia. So, the day established different networks of communities across the NCA and NSU. With the archival support of Gillian Lonergan and Sophie McCulloch, 14 participants from across the UK took over the Neale Room and the archive for the day. This seminar offered a great opportunity to generate data and form connections between the NSU and the NCA.

Gillian Lonergan, welcomed the seminar delegates to the NCA with an introduction to the co-operative movement. In the first session the participants explored their requested archival materials with a view to select image and text, which was then photocopied ready to be used in collage-making in the afternoon session. As an aid, participants were invited to construct a reflective journal as a tool for the participant to draw upon during the process of collage-making in the afternoon (Figures 118, 119). In the second part of the day the participants were invited to create a collage based on their enquiry, which was then collectively constructed into a book (see for example Figures 120-124). Following this each participant created a folded booklet¹²⁰³ (for example Figures 112-115) in which they were invited to write/draw to capture their responses to the seminar day and archival experiences.

¹²⁰³ The participants folded a single sheet of A3 sized paper to form a six page mini-booklet.

The morning session offered an extended period in which to follow individual and collaborative research intentions. The afternoon, structured in two shorter parts, offered the opportunity to do something different with their research. For example, Figure 112 shows an example of a participant folded booklet and their careful reflection upon this investigative process with the archive. The wide cut positioned at the top of the page physically manifests the researcher's cut into the archive. Restitched with red cotton the cut shows the paper underneath. The accompanying words indicate the process and restricted aperture of access '*Opening Up The Archive allows glimpses of another time*'.

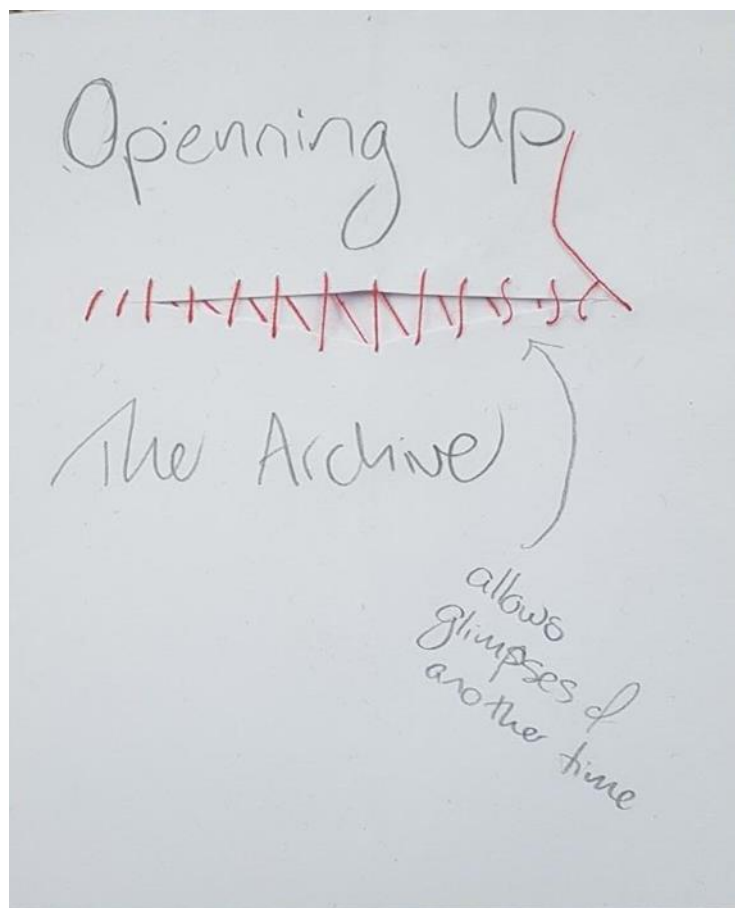


Figure 112 Participant folded booklet, Front cover, Workshop Five July 2016

'Opening Up The Archive allows glimpses of another time'

The front cover opening up to a double page can be seen in Figure 113. At the top of the first page, pins placed together with hand written text in pencil, *'but equally never reveals everything – some of the past is always lost'* suggest partial openings. This is juxtaposed with further cutting and sewing at the bottom of the second page. The physical construction of a second cut which is again partially sealed with the sewing on of a button and a paper clip, is aided by the hand written text *'It is up to you to open up the unexpected'*. This double page demonstrates and problematises the question of what to select from the archive or not include in archival research and the responsibility of its ramifications.¹²⁰⁴

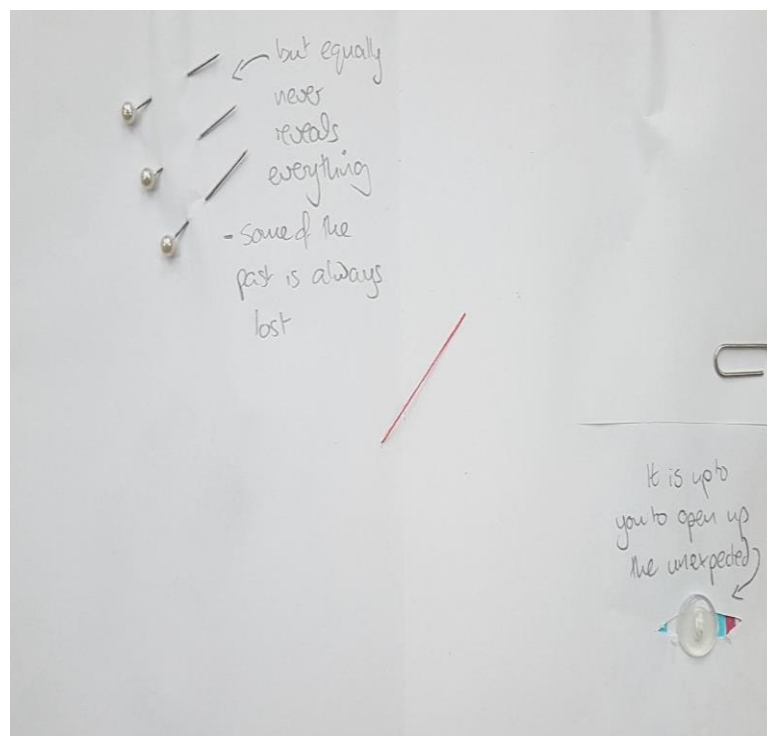


Figure 113 Participant folded booklet (overleaf), Workshop Five July 2016

'but equally never reveals everything – some of the past is always lost.

It is up to you to open up the unexpected'

¹²⁰⁴ Latham and Scholes, 'Rise', pp. 528-530.

Embodying a fresh approach to engagement with the archive the folded booklet displays the material and the visual. As we can see on the following page in Figure 114 a mini pair of scissors and safety pin continue the theme of cutting, opening and closing. The pencil written text *'It is up to you cut through time and bind elements together and make a way through to the future'* affirms the responsibility of the investigator for the future. The physicality of cutting, sewing and attachment of safety pins with text re-inscribes the importance of the choices we make *'+ choose whether and how to keep the pieces For those in the future'*. This charge continues on the last page of the booklet (Figure 115). Importantly, this workshop approach engenders participant subjectivities in the reconfiguring and contribution to different knowledge creation which play out, as Karen Barad, argues an 'agential realist understanding of matter as a dynamic and shifting entanglement of relations' (Figures 112-115).¹²⁰⁵

¹²⁰⁵ Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 224, 383, 389.

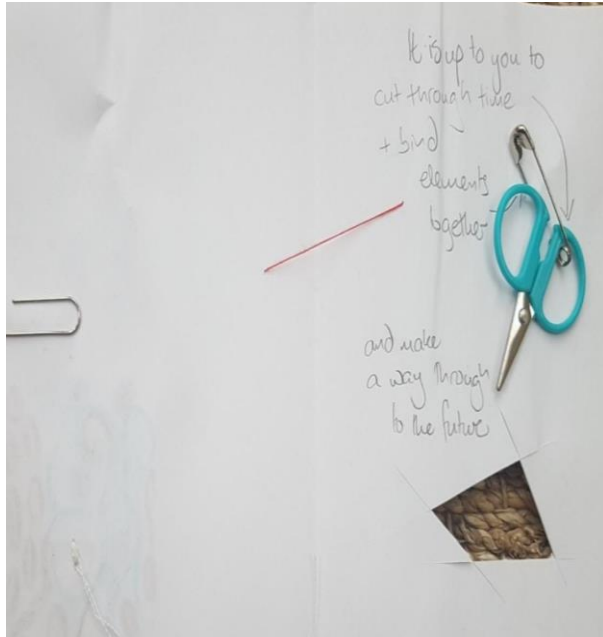


Figure 114 Participant folded booklet (overleaf), Workshop Five July 2016

*'It is up to you cut through time and bind elements together
and make a way through to the future'*

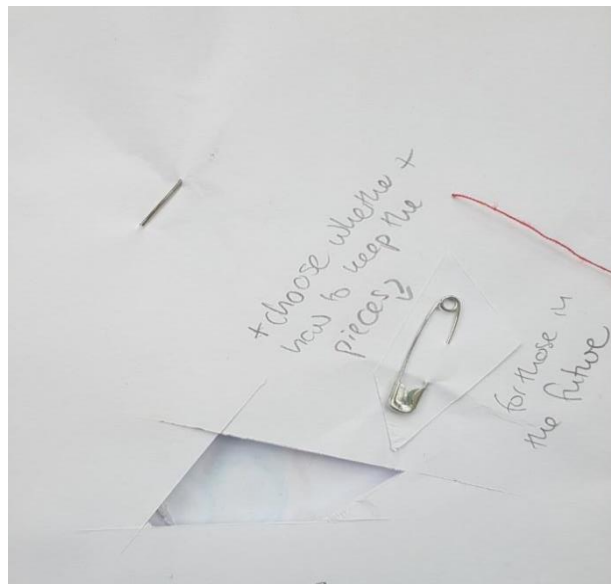


Figure 115 Participant folded booklet, Back cover, Workshop Five July 2016

*'+ choose whether and how to keep the pieces
For those in the future'*

The folded booklets show a trace of the making, the embodied experience. For example, Figures 116, 117 illustrate the folded booklet which documents how the participant, following archival photographs, reflected upon where it led in the context of their practice. On exploration of a box of photographs from the collection the participant discovered on a particular photograph of 'a group of co-op managers?' that 'The central seated figure's head had been collaged onto the body in the second image'. The participant, by looking at the reverse of the photograph detected a segment, an 'embossed 'trace' of the 'stuck on' head' (Figure 116).

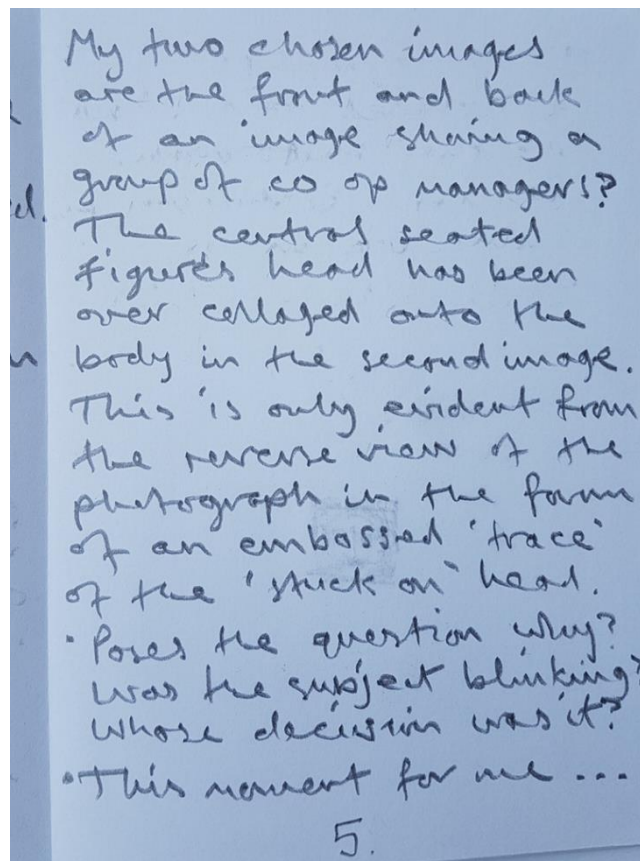


Figure 116 Participant folded booklet, Workshop Five July 2016

Engendering a 'sense of prising an opening and following where it leads'¹²⁰⁶ the embodied encounter with actual archival material prompted participant reflection on the nature of their own research processes: *This moment for me...promoted the notion of handling and 1st hand engaging with archive material*'. The participant concluded:

I came not being quite sure of what I was 'looking for'. My box file of photographs provided me with an opportunity to look a fresh. I was able to engage with a theme and relate that back to my own practice. It has been a very enjoyable and useful day that will allow me to re boot an aspect of my work. (Figures 116, 117)

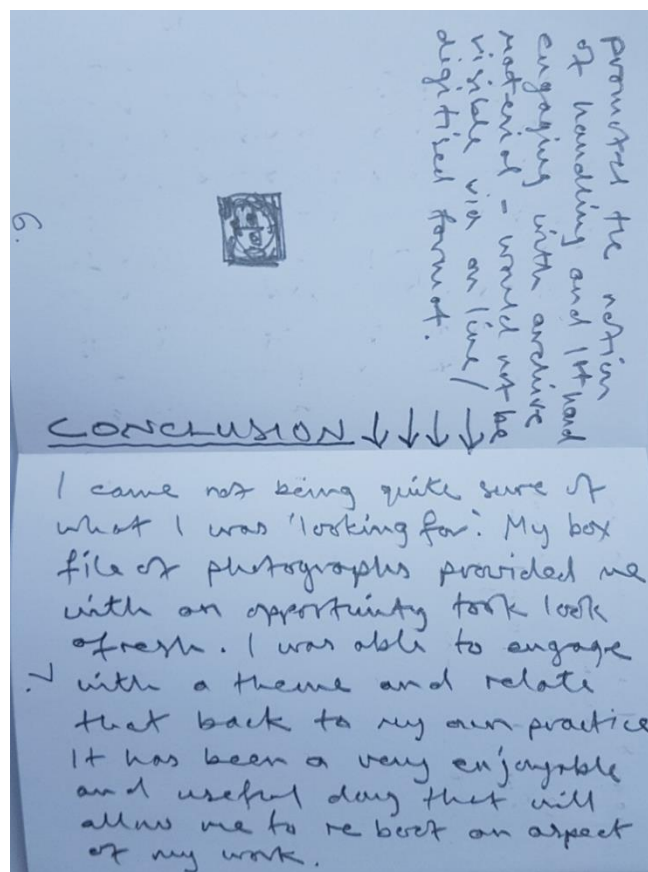


Figure 117 Participant folded booklet (overleaf), Workshop Five July 2016

¹²⁰⁶ Ingold, *Making*, pp. 6-7

The participant draws attention to the power of first-hand touching of archival material (Figure 117). This sense of empowerment is highlighted by another participant, *'There is an interesting sense of ownership'* (Figure 118). The physical engagement with the collage-making is illustrated as they draw attention to the effect of a creative approach, *'It's interesting to note how engaged you become with the material when you start to create with it'* (Figure 118). The process of owning their exploration demonstrates *'that individual agency, the ability to navigate your own path through a body of material, opens up the potential for a more profound level of engagement'*.¹²⁰⁷

Multiple participant interpretations and reflections juxtaposed with the singular 'academic' voice of the researcher offer a dialogue. The reflective journal (Figure 118), with hand-written snippets of in-the-moment thoughts jotted in different directions across the pages echo this point, as *'Some working alone. Some working together'* (Figure 118). The participant further noticed a vibrancy in the seminar and workshop space, *'There's an intensity to the day – everyone co-operatively and intensely working'*. Another participant journal highlights the new dynamics of archival research facilitated by the collaborative mode of the workshop, *'We are here together, kind of. Usually the lone researcher is here. The communality of it makes all the difference'* (Figure 119). Participant subjectivities and experiences, embodying diverse disciplinary fields expands interdisciplinary engagements with the NCA.

¹²⁰⁷ Blakey and Mitchell, 'Question', p. 181.

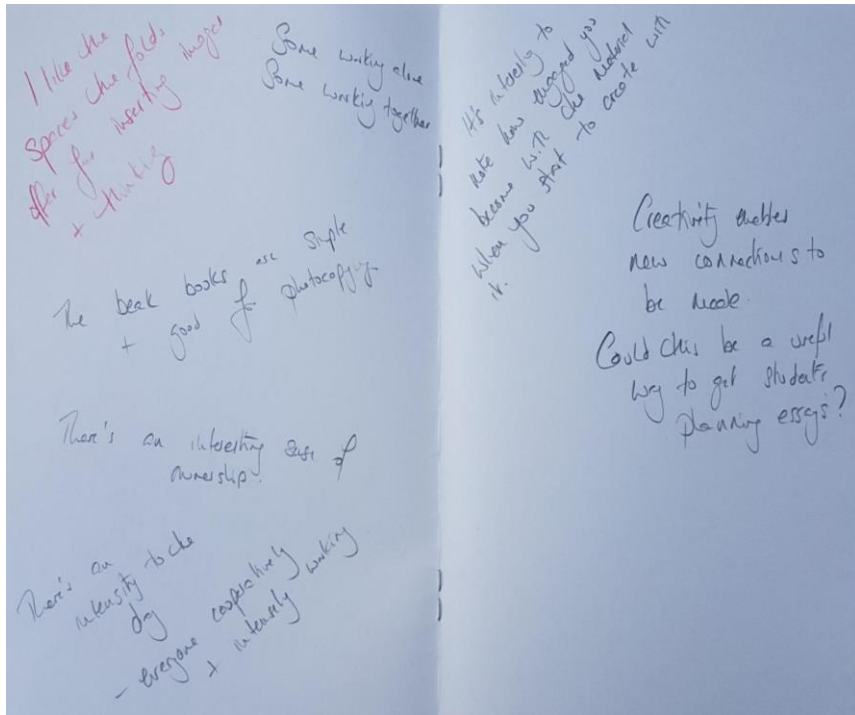


Figure 118 Participant reflective journal, Workshop Five July 2016

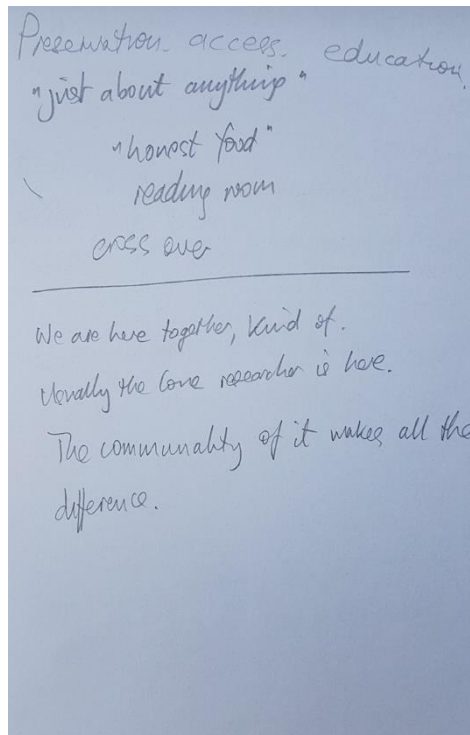


Figure 119 Participant reflective journal, Workshop Five, July 2016

The participant collages were constructed into a book by Gemma Meek. As we can see in Figure 120, the different form to the concertina style of the previous workshops, was used to demonstrate alternative juxtapositions of each participant production of a different outcome (for example Figures 120-124).¹²⁰⁸ The collage-making, extending the principal and traditional mode of historical research, ‘rather than simply its interest in art’, offers ‘something new to the academy in terms of its methods and outcomes...The ‘something new’ that it might offer is a change to the dominant knowledge model’.¹²⁰⁹



Figure 120 Participant collage, Workshop Five July 2016

¹²⁰⁸ Figures 121, 122 are redacted for confidentiality and anonymity.

¹²⁰⁹ M. Biggs and H. Karlsson, ‘Foundations’, in Biggs, M., and Karlsson, H., (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Research in the Arts*, in collaboration with Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, Stockholm, (Oxon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-2, 2.

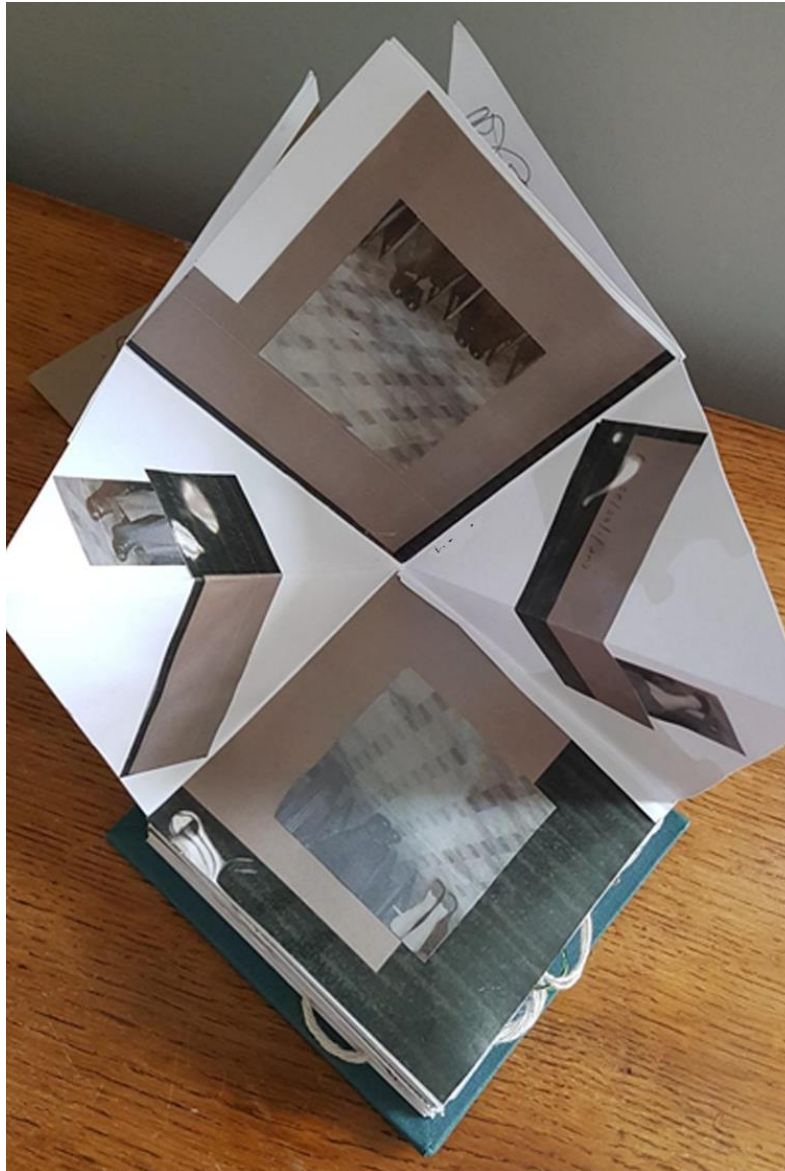


Figure 121 Participant collage, Workshop Five July 2016



Figure 122 Participant collage, Workshop Five July 2016



Figure 123 Participant collage, Workshop Five July 2016

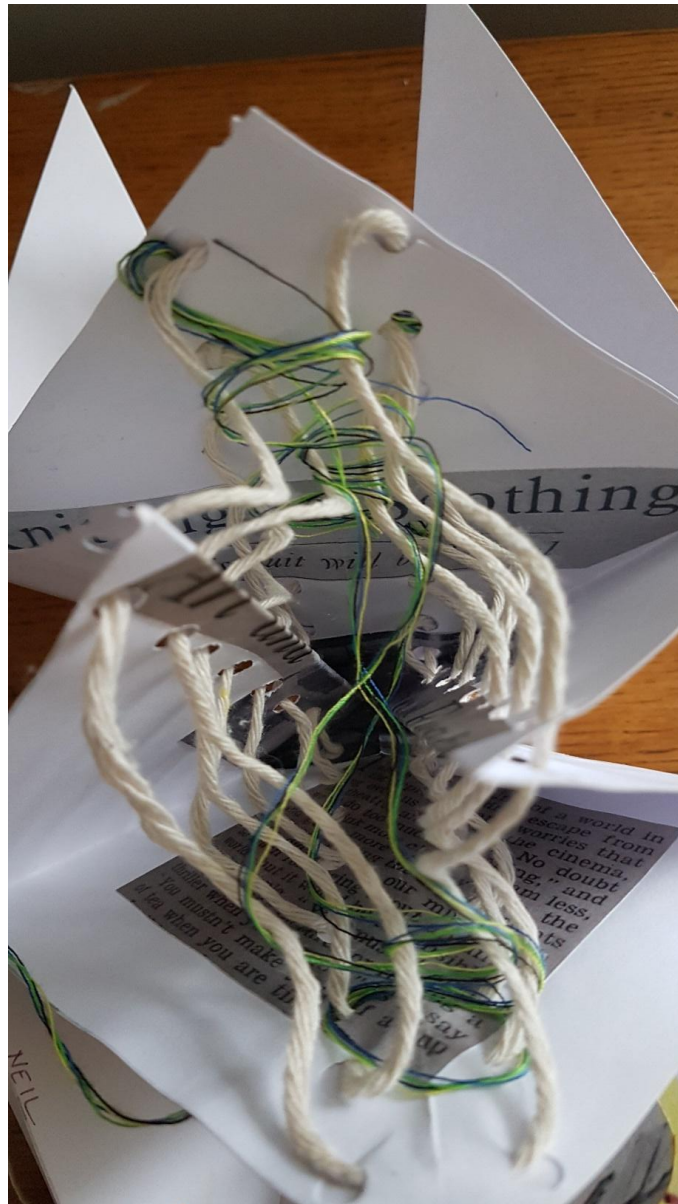


Figure 124 Participant collage, Workshop Five July 2016

Enmeshed and intertwined the interdisciplinary perspectives of the researchers reveal 'thinking and moving are not separate happenings'.¹²¹⁰

¹²¹⁰ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, p. xxxi.

Collaged magazines and photographs, juxtapose picture and text as ‘exposures’ fusing participant response with the researcher analysis, the project becomes more than the sum of its parts (Figures 112-30).¹²¹¹ Each collage, booklet, reflective journal and questionnaire fashioned, are unique dialogues. As Barbara Green argues ‘A periodical makes meaning through its heterogeneity and offers its reader a number of avenues for engagement’.¹²¹² These unique heterogeneous responses matter. The participant dialogues reveal a pedagogical strategy to open up the archive, and new spaces for inquiry, in the course of their engagement with physical copies of archival material.¹²¹³ The collage-making matter as both process and as outcomes. Each represent different ways of participant subjectively knowing making and showing their engagement with broader archival material, and the relationships between knowing, making and showing archival research differently.

Workshop Six: Making Present in a Different Way

Conference Theme: *Arts and Creativity: Working on Identity and Difference*

9th Midterm Conference of the European Sociological Association (ESA) Research Network 02 - Sociology of the Arts, University of Porto, Portugal 8-10 September 2016

This collage workshop entitled ‘*Woman’s Outlook*’ Past, Present, Future - Rip, Mark, Stick, Create, Multi-Vocal Image Making, took place within the conference theme of

¹²¹¹ Participant reflective journal, Figure 119; T. Holbrook and N. M. Pourchier, ‘Collage as Analysis: Remixing in the Crisis of Doubt’, *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol. 20, No. 6, (2014), pp. 754–763, 761.

¹²¹² Green, ‘Complaints’, p. 462.

¹²¹³ Ingold, *Making*, p. 4.

Arts and Creativity: Working on Identity and Difference. In collaboration with Gemma Meek, the workshop engaged with 9 participants for a duration of 45 minutes. It revisited the theme of bringing the past into the present discussed in the artistic research context of workshop one in Riga, March 2016. Yet in contrast to the first workshop, the theme arises within the different perspective of the field of identity, in the sociology of arts context. In this workshop, similar to previous workshops and collages that we have seen, participant engagement with archival material drew on their subjectivities and situated knowledges to produce their own biographical research findings: creating a 'people's story'.

Figure 125¹²¹⁴ is exemplary because it tells its own story.¹²¹⁵ Carefully selected and cut images of co-operative women are arranged in a subjective response, evoking the female relatives of the participant's family: '*The page is like family album*'.¹²¹⁶ On the left-side of the page the image of Annie Besant is the largest picture and represents 'Grandmother'. In the centre of the page two smaller pictures show 'Mother' and 'I' with the 'Daughter' positioned on the right-side of the page. With meticulous cutting and placing, images representing 'Grandmother', 'Mother', 'Daughter' and 'I', suggest the participants explicit and close dialogue with *Woman's Outlook*. In this example, the archival material, collage and workshop, provoking the

¹²¹⁴ Participant collage redacted for confidentiality and anonymity.

¹²¹⁵ Ingold, *Making*, p. 31.

¹²¹⁶ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop Six.

participant, through the subjectivity of the family, re-presented data of the archive.¹²¹⁷

As the workshops progressed it became clear that the collage-making demonstrated how participants find a foothold to connect with archival material and the co-operative movement through *Woman's Outlook*. Participant-researchers who have not previously encountered or had a research connection with co-operative movement archival material find purchase and resonance through disciplinary or biographical positions (Figure 125).

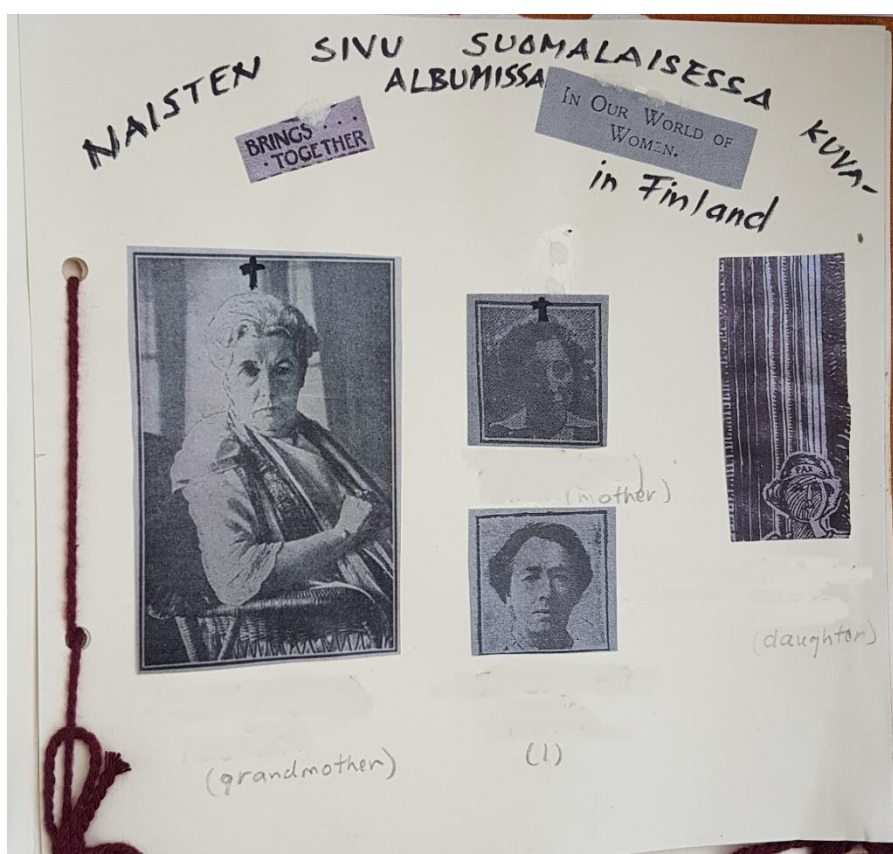


Figure 125 Participant collage showing matrilineal family tree, Workshop Six September 2016

¹²¹⁷ Digital Women's Archive Network, 'The Feminists Are Cackling in the Archive', *feminist review* Vol. 115, No. 1, (2017), pp. 155-164, 156-157; Y. Gunaratnam and C. Hamilton, 'The Wherewithal of Feminist Methods', *feminist review*, Vol. 115, No. 1, (2017), pp. 1-12, 9.

Participants work toward an overarching aim to open up the archive set by the project, with a predetermined set of materials and task. Within this group context the individual participant-researcher decided their own research questions and which and how to use the pre-set materials. That said, the collage workshop although part directed, due to the location, time constraints and the limitations of the conference context, mobilises the limitations to offer participants freedom to explore their own question through their own interpretations. Reflecting upon their own identity (Figure 125) has a bearing on the type of knowledge produced.¹²¹⁸

This partially echoes Abigail Hackett and her methodology of ‘parents as researchers’.¹²¹⁹ Although the approaches have similarities, they differ in the individual and group framework. Similar to Hackett’s study the conference participants knew they were co-researchers. Like Hackett’s approach, the role of documentation offered participants ‘the opportunity to make sense of their own...experiences in new ways’ to add valuable insight.¹²²⁰ The approach differs to Hackett’s study in that the research question and how to collect the materials was agreed between the parents in a group context. In comparison, Hackett’s study, through shared goals, offers a greater degree of co-production.

The workshops and collages revealed that engaging in a new pedagogic practice widens participation, to challenge ways of thinking about archives, archival

¹²¹⁸ Gauntlett, *Creative*, p. 17.

¹²¹⁹ Hackett, ‘Parents’, p. 485.

¹²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 494.

collections and historical research. Expanding the opportunity for ideological transformation affirms Ted Kafala and Lisa Cary's call 'for discontent and *dissensus*, sceptical and critical relativity, and multiple viewpoints' in pedagogical spaces.¹²²¹ A biographical people's history opening up prospects for participant researcher traction resonates with Jim Aulich and John Hewitt's argument that First World War posters in Europe and America, offered representation to 'The working people, who might not have the vote, were addressed through the commercial media to find representation in an image of itself'.¹²²² How this dialogue can be mobilised in a different way became apparent in the next workshop.

Workshop Seven: Different Spaces for Dialogue

Conference theme: '*Creative Humanities: Thinking, Making and Meaning*'

North West Consortium Doctoral Training Partnership (NWCDTP) Arts and Humanities Postgraduate Conference Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester 19-20 October 2016

The workshop methodology evolved in alignment with the particularities of each conference. This workshop engaged with 14 participants at a duration of 45 minutes, and demonstrates how the project brings together the archive, the archival fragment and the workshops as different forms and spaces. In line with the conference theme of '*Creative Humanities: Thinking, Making and Meaning*', I developed this 'Unfolding

¹²²¹ Kafala and Cary, 'Postmodern', p. 25, Kafala and Cary italics.

¹²²² Aulich and Hewitt, *Seduction*, p. 119.

The Archive' workshop to focus on the participants' subjective engagement with the collage-making encountered in Workshop Six. To do this, I amended the collage book as the final mode of presentation to a collage postcard format. As we have seen, *Woman's Outlook* invited the reader to correspond with the magazine by postcard (see Figures 100, 101).¹²²³ The workshop invited the participants to collage one side of a postcard, and for the first time, the participants were invited to explain and describe, on the reverse of their collage postcard, the reasons motivating the composition (Figures 129-132).



Figure 126 Participants use the space to mingle, peruse, discuss and contemplate, Workshop Seven October 2016

'A focus on movement challenges the emphasis on the static product, the noun, the object'.¹²²⁴

¹²²³ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

¹²²⁴ Ravetz et al, 'Introduction', p. 7.



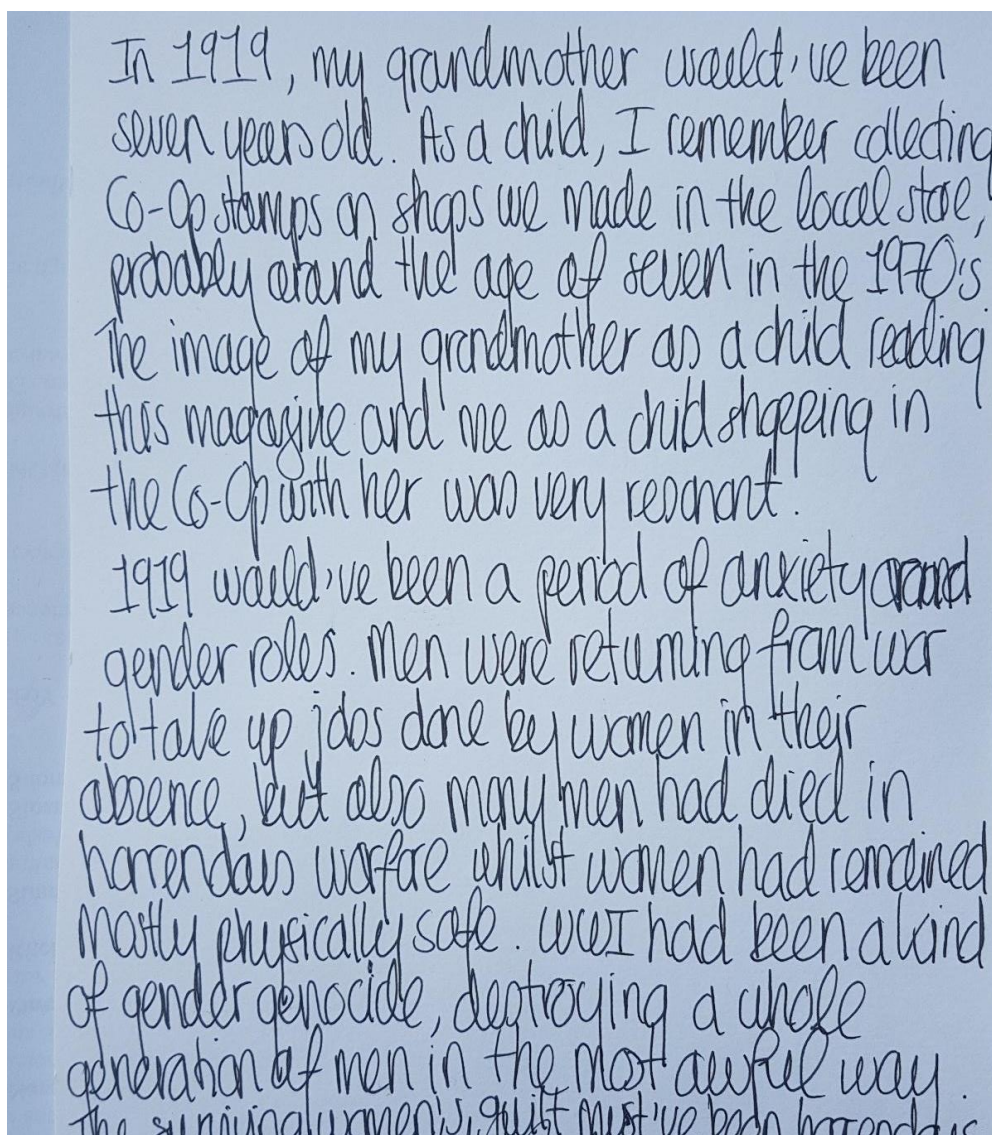
Figure 127 Glue pots, coffee cups, messiness offer a different way of knowing and moving with photocopies of *Woman's Outlook*, Workshop Seven October 2016



Figure 128 Participant thinking moving cutting placing, Workshop Seven October 2016

Their explanation presents important meta-data enabling greater understanding of the subjective experience and meaning-making processes of the participant. For example, the dialogue, on the verso of the postcard in Figure 129, 130, returns to the familial theme seen in Figure 125. The participant's memories of his grandmother, and shopping at the local Co-operative store in the 1970s are the central focus, which

then turns to a broader discussion of gender roles in 1919. As such, Figure 129, 130, demonstrates in a different way, how the process of 'art-making' constructed in diverse spaces, can offer biographical investigation of identity through reflectivity.¹²²⁵



In 1919, my grandmother would've been seven years old. As a child, I remember collecting Co-Op stamps on shops we made in the local store, probably around the age of seven in the 1970's. The image of my grandmother as a child reading this magazine and me as a child shopping in the Co-Op with her was very resonant.

1919 would've been a period of anxiety and gender roles. Men were returning from war to take up jobs done by women in their absence, but also many men had died in horrendous warfare whilst women had remained mostly physically safe. WWI had been a kind of gender genocide, destroying a whole generation of men in the most awful way. The survival of women, quite must've been horrific.

Figure 129 Participant postcard, Workshop Seven October 2016

¹²²⁵ Gauntlett, *Creative*, p. 30.

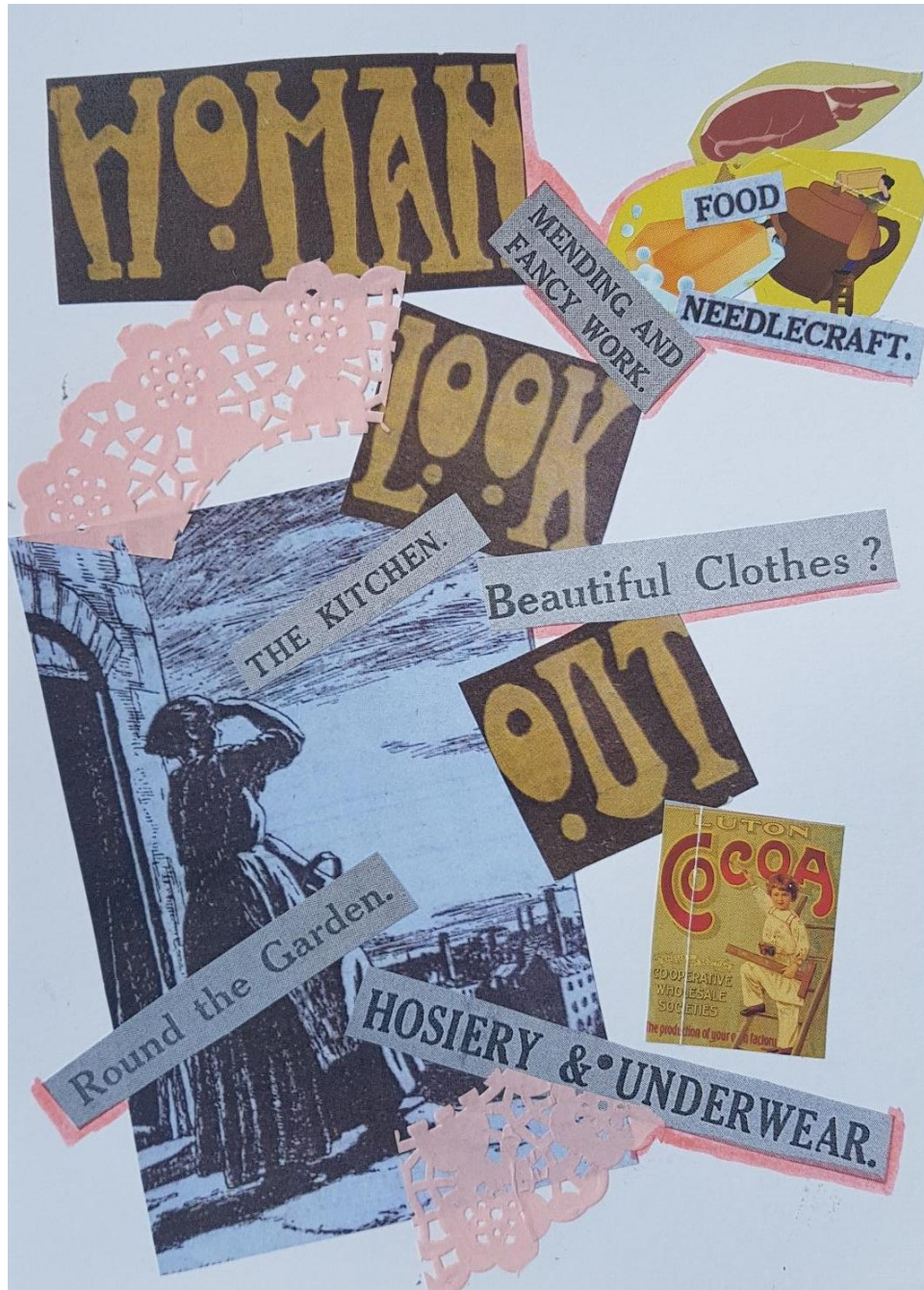


Figure 130 Participant postcard, Workshop Seven October 2016

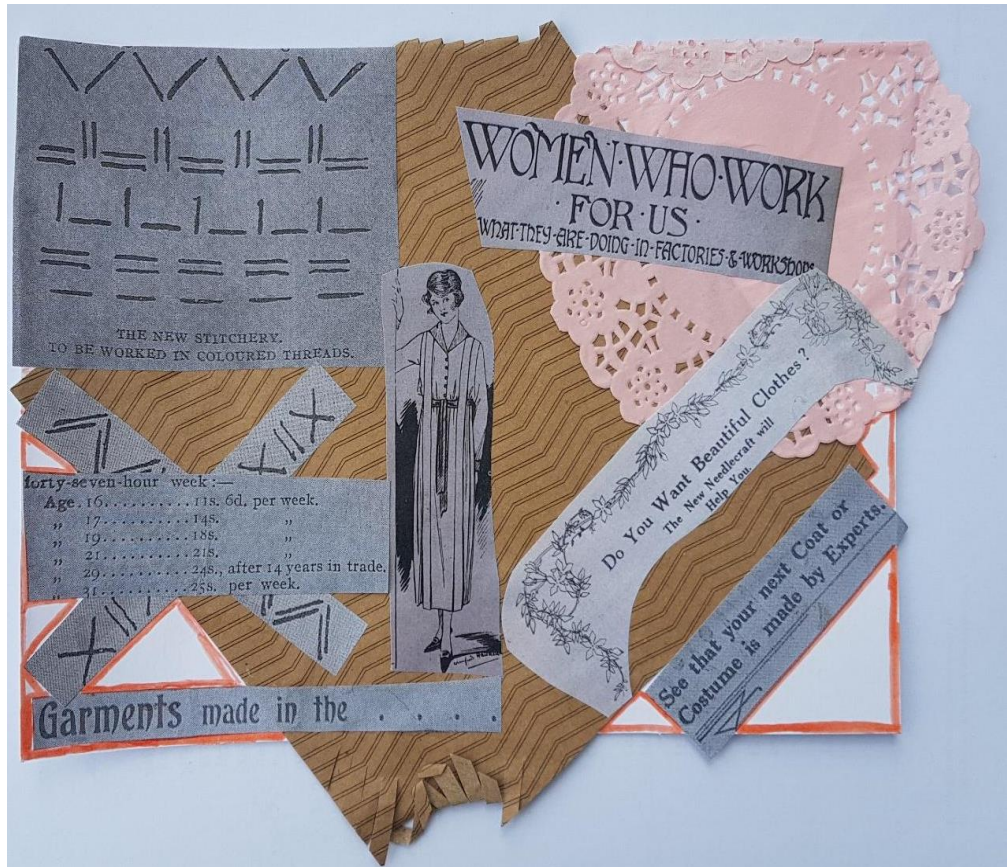


Figure 131 Participant postcard, Workshop Seven October 2016

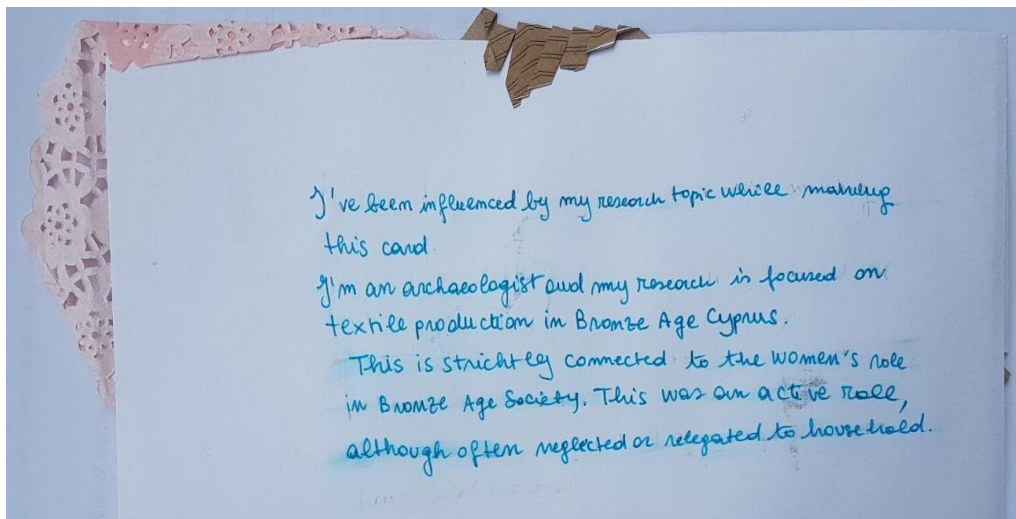


Figure 132 Participant postcard, Workshop Seven October 2016

The collages show how archival fragments of image and text, neatly cut and layered in juxtaposition, cover the postcard. Unlike previous collages, the collage in Figure 131, 132 physically spills over the material boundary of the postcard. In doing so, the participant mobilised their disciplinary background of archaeology, to explore *Woman's Outlook* through textiles.¹²²⁶ The material production of the postcards disrupting the boundaries of the NCA and the usual institutions of the participants creates a different space for dialogue in the collaborative workshop.

This dialogic space of the workshop, co-occurs, somewhere else from the spaces of the archive, in a state of 'coexisting heterogeneity' discussed by Doreen Massey.¹²²⁷ This different spatial context is an important part of the approach as it materially dislocates the photocopied archival material and the participants from familiar spatial contexts. The workshop offered an unfamiliarity, described as that 'spatial elsewhere', in which participants shared in a dynamic iterative encounter like Carol Taylor's examination of her collaborative writing workshop, in which she draws on Massey's concept of space and Barad's understanding of materiality.¹²²⁸ The concepts of space, materiality and embodiment continued in the next workshop, to explore the theme of legacy, which was the focus of the next conference.

¹²²⁶ Hannah Maughan's case study of embroidery students and their engagement with the Hazel Sims Archive demonstrates how the materiality of embroidery is of benefit to research work in the archive as it does not impact on the materiality of archival matter. See Hackney et al, 'Power', p. 55.

¹²²⁷ Massey, *For*, pp. 31-32, 38.

¹²²⁸ Taylor, 'Telling', pp. 398-400.

Workshop Eight: Past/Present/Future - Legitimising Participant Voices

Conference theme: LEGACY: *How and why should artistic research create a legacy?*

Practicing Communities: Transformative societal strategies of artistic research, Nordic Summer University, (NSU), Winter Symposium, Circle 7, Ricklundgården, Saxnäs, Sàpmi, Northern Sweden, 9-12 March 2017



Figure 133 Participant movement and dialogue, Workshop Eight March 2017

The next workshop, *Deciding the 'legacy' of a Book Art Collection* is important because it explored the theme of 'Legacy' and demonstrates the emergent nature of this methodology. It was set within the NSU Circle 7, conference theme: LEGACY: *How and why should artistic research create a legacy?* Practicing Communities: Transformative societal strategies of artistic research, 9-12 March 2017 which took place at Ricklundgården, Saxnäs, Sàpmi, Northern Sweden. In collaboration with Gemma Meek this workshop of 30 minutes, engaged with 22 participants, and was the largest participant group. The workshop offers a circularity and organic whole to this aspect of the project. In the first workshop, held at the NSU Circle 7, Winter Symposium in March 2016 in Riga, Latvia participants mostly sat in a circle on the

floor (Figure 98). We can see in Figure 133,¹²²⁹ that in this workshop twelve months later, the participants return to the floor. As Ami Skånberg Dahlstedt the organiser (Sweden) of NSU Circle 7, Winter Symposium, 2015-2018¹²³⁰ observed, participants return to the floor sitting, yet it is different: 'unfolding as the participants change'.¹²³¹ The participants, kneeling, bending and reaching, physically engage with the collages and this movement expresses 'life and aliveness and becomes a way for the maker to reach beyond the singular person into a shared environment'.¹²³²

In contrast to the first workshop in March 2016, this encounter offered the participants the opportunity to name and identify the preceding workshops and collages as a legacy/ archive/ collection.¹²³³ The workshop developed as a second stage to the first workshop strand and aimed to gather responses to what had by now become a collection of collage books, folded booklets and postcards that had originated in the preceding March 2016 in Riga, Latvia and continued to be constructed in the following 12 months.

Some of the participants, through their participation in the first workshop and the seminar at the NCA in July 2016, had prior knowledge of the collages and *Woman's Outlook* whilst some had no former experience. Engaging with the collection, they were invited to document, through writing and drawing on an individual page, their

¹²²⁹ Photograph of workshop participants redacted for confidentiality and anonymity.

¹²³⁰ Nordic Summer University <http://nordic.university/study-circles/archive-study-circles/practicing-communities-transformative-societal-strategies-artistic-research-2018-2020/> accessed 06032018.

¹²³¹ Email correspondence Ami Skånberg Dahlstedt 12 January 2018.

¹²³² Ravetz et al, 'Introduction', p. 7.

¹²³³ Vergunst, et al, 'Material', pp. 168-169.

responses to these representations of co-operative woman and suggest the potential and future functions for the collage collection as a material legacy.¹²³⁴ With often compelling and moving participant voices, the individual participant pages, constructed into a book, suggest a legitimacy to the collages.¹²³⁵

For example, we can see in Figure 134 'The collection', written in fine blue felt pen, is capitalised and placed central to the page. Words which include, 'Heritage', 'Future' 'Remember', 'Legacy', 'Education', 'Stories', connected by flurried pen lines to and from 'The collection' reflects the participants' dynamic encounters with the collages. The curved lines and arrowheads illustrate the entangled relationships engendered by the collage-making. The participants responded with 'the ongoing practice of being open and alive to each meeting, each intra-action' and the workshop importantly facilitated their 'responsibility, to help awaken, to breathe life into ever new possibilities for living justly'.¹²³⁶

¹²³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²³⁵ K. Eichhorn, 'D.I.Y. Collectors, Archiving Scholars, and Activist Librarians: Legitimizing Feminist Knowledge and Cultural Production Since 1990', *Women's Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 6, (2010) pp. 622-646, 640.

¹²³⁶ Barad, *Meeting*, p. x.



Figure 134 Participant page, Workshop Eight March 2017

In Figure 135 we can see the verso. The zigzag shape, drawn in fine blue felt pen at the midpoint on the left edge of the page, encapsulates the capitalised word 'Choice??'. Here, curved pointed lines, shoot outwards across the page to more capitalised words which, written with a flurry, question the notion of choice to include 'Expectation', 'Rules', 'Decoration', 'Body' and 'Stories'. Figure 134, 135, suggests the participants' understanding of *Woman's Outlook* and the archive, expressed in the collages. Word and image visually manifest the circularity and timeliness of the research methodology and process. One participant commenting about the gender identity of co-operative woman and the notion of legacy observed how it is *'Vital to map and reflect upon what work was done, what has shifted and how much more to do'*.¹²³⁷ The participant bodies interconnect and interweaving,

¹²³⁷ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop Eight.

their movement through time and space mark this opportunity to consider their own and others participation in the research process.

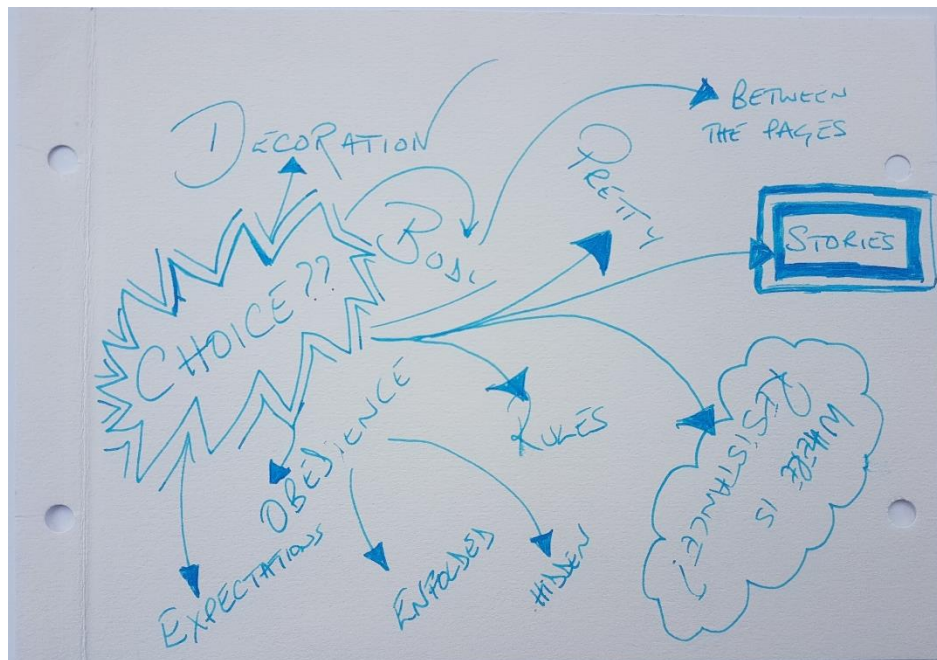


Figure 135 Participant page, Workshop Eight March 2017

Multiple participant experiences are traced in picture, sketch, writing and mark-making. New voices, thoughts and viewpoints offer impressions and understandings. The 'data' collected – collage, folded booklets, postcards and questionnaires - form part of the project to open up the archive. The collages present an invitation to be investigated and reflected upon, to initiate conversations, by both the researcher, future viewers and participants.¹²³⁸ For example, following an informal conversation about the project at a different conference 'Space, Materials and the Body: Research Methods for Exploring Young Children's Experiences in Museums' in May 2017, one delegate commented:

¹²³⁸ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop Eight.

*I think it's a really brilliant idea. I really like the idea of using creative practice to draw out the content of archives especially given how fragile they are and the desire for people to have tactile experiences within museums. The idea of using collage with archives as 2D material creative projects just sounds fantastic. I can't wait to steal the idea and use it myself.*¹²³⁹

As we can see, collage-making 'is not daunting because everyone, whether a novice or veteran, can cut and paste and ultimately gets a sense of satisfaction with the product'.¹²⁴⁰ In response to my presentation at the History of Education Summer School, in June 2017 a delegate remarked that they would like to use artistic expression with archival research. User-friendly, as opposed to a paper or lecture it offered a more universal approach to carrying out archival research, '*a different way...as opposed to the narrowed research, write and present*'.¹²⁴¹

Workshop dialogue and movement (Figure 133) are ephemeral yet, none the less real, in-the-moment responses for which the future effect can never be measured or scrutinised but can be reflected upon. Documentation of the process and examination of this innovative approach offers and captures insight into otherwise transitory moments and events.¹²⁴² It pays attention to the opportunities activated with both participants as researchers, and myself as an individual researcher and how

¹²³⁹ Conversation with delegate, at Space, Materials and the Body: Research Methods for Exploring Young Children's Experiences in Museums Symposium, Manchester Metropolitan University, at Z Arts, Manchester, England, 23 May, <https://underfivesinmuseums.com/2017/05/08/space-materials-and-the-body-looking-forward-to-our-event-on-23rd-may/> accessed 16/07/2019.

¹²⁴⁰ Butler-Kisber and Poldma, 'Power', p. 5.

¹²⁴¹ Conversation with delegate, at 8th History of Education Doctoral Summer School, University of Sassari, Porto Conte Alghero, Sardinia, Italy 8-11 June 2017.

¹²⁴² Facer and Pahl, 'Introduction', p. 11.

those facilitated the emergence of the methodology as a living methodology which if not documented and made visible would otherwise go unnoticed.

Conclusion

This workshop approach emphasised pedagogy, dissemination, participation and collaboration and sharing many aims of the ethos of the co-operative movement, opened up the NCA. The archive is a fixed physical institution, whilst the archival fragments of which it is comprised, in this case the photocopies of *Woman's Outlook*, are portable material objects; similarly, the workshops are predominantly located outside the institutions of the NCA and MMU but within comparable but temporary, alternative and various academic institutions. Yet the function of these different forms is not dissimilar and construct the possibility of multiple dialogic spaces as demonstrated in Figures 97-135.

Through serendipity the workshops offered participants space for dialogue and movement. Knowledge, shaped through collage as an arts-based practice, was produced by participant encounters with archival material. Participants come together, pay attention to, discuss and consider in movement, touching, holding, ripping and drawing, kneeling, reaching, walking, gluing, slicing and folding; challenging the emphasis on the traditional approach to the archive.

As an emergent methodology it evolved as an experimental approach to ‘unpack’ the archive, and opens up fresh interpretations and dialogues with the NCA and its collections.¹²⁴³ The investigation of seven of the ten conferences is a living methodology that responds to the contemporary research landscape to offer a different perspective to that taken in Chapters Five and Six. In contrast to these chapters, the conference workshops explore the potential of a more participatory engagement situated in the traditional conference context and considers agency within the co-production process and the agentic qualities of archival material.

The practical and embodied experience of delivering a number of participatory workshops at conferences¹²⁴⁴ disrupted prevailing notions¹²⁴⁵ of the archive. This in turn provoked different archival practices to engage with the archive, pivoting in this case on discussions of gender identity. The contingent nature of knowledge created through this arts-based approach, demonstrates how the methodology evolved.¹²⁴⁶ The workshop methodology was precarious, aligned with a broad range of conference themes and disciplines, the workshop depended on its acceptance by conference organisers and delegates.

A thematic approach might collapse the integrity and diverse nature of the collages and workshop contexts, whilst a chronological approach enables a focus on the

¹²⁴³ Benjamin, ‘Unpacking’, p. 486.

¹²⁴⁴ E. F. Henderson, *Gender, Definitional Politics and 'Live' Knowledge Production: Contesting Concepts at Conferences*, (New York: Routledge, 2020).

¹²⁴⁵ Facer and Pahl, ‘Understanding’, pp. 220-221, 227.

¹²⁴⁶ O’ Donoghue, ‘Education’, pp. 525-526 .

emerging distinctiveness of these different workshops. Workshop one, two, three, five, six, seven and eight, exemplified specific features of participant dialogue and movement with the materials. The discussion of similarities and differences of these seven of the ten workshops demonstrates the iterative and active process of materiality, space and time and is suggestive of ‘agential intra-action’ as expressed by Karen Barad. Doreen Massey’s consideration of space offers the possibility to manifest the seemingly diverse and unrelated (for example Figures 131, 132),¹²⁴⁷ contributing to the developing field of gender and feminist scholarship which emphasises conferences as spaces of learning.¹²⁴⁸ These collages, participant questionnaires and workshops deserve further attention; however, operating within the space constraints of the research it is not possible to engage with the wealth of outcomes of all the workshops.

Considering what we want the archive to be, prompts us to address the purpose and meaning of the archive.¹²⁴⁹ ‘Unpacking’ the NCA we can argue that the archive needs to be exploited further by new audiences to engage in fresh dialogues with the collections. For example, the dedication plaque outside Holyoake House home of the NCA (see Figure 1 and 3 in the Introduction) demonstrates the disseminatory ethos of the movement. The publications circulated through the Co-operative College and co-operative societies, distributing the co-operative principles, and aimed to

¹²⁴⁷ Massey, *Space*; Massey, *For*.

¹²⁴⁸ E. F. Henderson and J. Burford, ‘Thoughtful Gatherings: Gendering Conferences as Spaces of Learning, Knowledge Production and Community’, *Gender and Education*, Vol. 32, No. 1, (2020), pp. 1-10, 3, 6-7.

¹²⁴⁹ Breakell, ‘Archival’, p. 4; Moore et al, ‘Other’, p. 2.

encourage people to participate and become members of the movement. The inaugural *Woman's Outlook*, for example, urges co-operators to gather, make connections and engage in dialogue:

There would be a far larger number of real co-operators to-day if we could all meet and exchange thoughts and ideas with one another and the people who lead the great workers' movements.¹²⁵⁰

Indeed, the editor, Annie Bamford Tomlinson presented *Woman's Outlook* as a space to share, 'to meet and exchange thoughts and ideas with one another'.¹²⁵¹ Co-operative Libraries and reading rooms were established for members to gather and engage with co-operative publications and wider reading materials.¹²⁵²

Meaning is created by audience engagement and encounter¹²⁵³ with the archive and archival material. Import does not lie in the presence and physical existence of the NCA alone. Margaret Beetham's consideration of reading in the NCA, offers a constructive insight:

The library is dead without a reading body in it. The corpus of texts, the body of work, we find in the archive is dead unless we, as researchers and writers, can bring it back to life, revivifying it for our own times'.¹²⁵⁴

The project of unpacking the NCA collections, influenced by Margaret Beetham's quest of 'How to revivify the corpus of these texts', re-activates archival matter (Figure 97).¹²⁵⁵ To do so, fuses the disseminatory ethos of the movement with

¹²⁵⁰ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

¹²⁵¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

¹²⁵² Beetham, 'Body', p. 146.

¹²⁵³ Mitchell, *What*, p. xiv.

¹²⁵⁴ Beetham, 'Body', p. 148.

¹²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

Benjamin's observations of renewal regarding a collectors' encounter with 'his' (sic) book collection, 'As he holds them in his hands, he seems to be seeing through them into their distant past, as though inspired'.¹²⁵⁶

Participant embodied engagement with archival material in the form of an archival fragment, *outside* the archive, beyond the physical threshold of the NCA rejuvenates the archive, in the example of the case study *Woman's Outlook*, and wider co-operative history. The participatory potentiality of the NCA suggests new ways to engage with new audiences to broaden involvement.

This process of opening up different dialogic spaces in different encounters and engagements with the archive is influenced by W.J.T. Mitchell's discussion of what pictures desire. Raising the question *What do Pictures Want?* he argues that perhaps pictures are like people and that sometimes they require support in the exchange of ideas to enable them to know what they may potentially want.¹²⁵⁷ Interpolating Hans Belting, whose response to Mitchell's question is "'What do we want *from* pictures?'"¹²⁵⁸ collage supports a process of dialogue and exchange with new potential audiences. Understanding of the absorbing nature, potential and capacity of pictures can be directed to archives, as James Elkins points out 'what makes

¹²⁵⁶ Benjamin, 'Unpacking', p. 487.

¹²⁵⁷ Mitchell, *What*, p. 46.

¹²⁵⁸ Belting, *Anthropology*, p. 130 Belting italics.

pictures so compelling: they push on our thoughts, taunting us with the promise of meaning'.¹²⁵⁹

The NCA contain an assortment of co-operative materials. But what is it without people? Is it empty (meaningless, insignificant) inactive without people? What is its purpose? How can the NCA engender meaning in the past present and possible future audience encounters with the archive and collections? Offering dynamic opportunity for engagement and new meanings, we can ask 'What is gained in their preservation, and what, paradoxically, might be lost?'¹²⁶⁰

¹²⁵⁹ J. Elkins, 'What Do We Want Pictures to Be? Reply to Mieke Bal', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (1996), pp. 590-602, 602.

¹²⁶⁰ G. Cooke and A. Reichelt-Brushett, 'Archival Memory and Dissolution: The *after* | *image* project', *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, (2015), pp. 8–26, 9'

Conclusion

The National Co-operative Archive

This project, in bringing together two distinct approaches, has opened up the National Co-operative Archive (NCA) to fresh audiences by offering new ways of knowing the collections. The NCA holds the vast print collections of the co-operative movement in Britain and is a substantial pedagogical tool for the movement and society. The conclusion reflects upon the significance of the co-operative publications *Woman's Outlook*, *Herald*, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves*, compared with commercial women's magazine *Woman's Weekly* and Labour women's magazine *Labour Woman*, and on the importance of participatory collage-making with photocopies of the inaugural edition of *Woman's Outlook*. It addresses how this project has challenged traditional perceptions of the NCA in order to extend understanding of co-operative ideology, the gender identity of co-operative woman and visual culture and collaboration and has, in turn, fostered consideration of the co-operative movement, its collections and their relevance for people today.

The investigation of the NCA as a significant archival collection of co-operative women in interwar Britain has not been undertaken before. Individual visual analysis and collaborative participatory collage-making have examined how the gender identity of co-operative woman was represented to offer atypical and multiple viewpoints.¹²⁶¹ Both approaches suggest the numerous ways that *Woman's Outlook*,

¹²⁶¹ Easley et al, 'Introduction', p. 7; Beetham, 'Body', pp. 150-151.

and the archive, can be opened up. In this way, different relationships with the NCA are suggestive of renewal.¹²⁶²

When unpacking the NCA it is important to consider the problematic concept of the archive¹²⁶³ and importantly, its purpose.¹²⁶⁴ A customary perception is of the archivist's objective of conservation and perpetuation, whereby conventional archival practices must not be disrupted.¹²⁶⁵ Nonetheless, considering the archive as open-ended¹²⁶⁶ offers a dynamic process in which the archival material is creative, not 'static'.¹²⁶⁷ For example, the *process* of research around the construction of identity with and in archives transforms the significance of the research outcome.¹²⁶⁸

Who decides the contents of archives, organises, presents and accesses them, has 'power over the record and how it is interpreted'.¹²⁶⁹ These are stimulating propositions with important political implications for history, memory, and the past.¹²⁷⁰ Yet despite the uncertainty regarding the reception of alternative methodologies, it is important to raise awareness of the archive's political and creative capacity to transform the practices of archivists and the archive itself.¹²⁷¹

¹²⁶² Benjamin, 'Unpacking', p. 487.

¹²⁶³ Derrida, *Archive*, p. 90.

¹²⁶⁴ Breakell, *Archival*, p. 4.

¹²⁶⁵ Cook, 'Evidence', p. 97.

¹²⁶⁶ Derrida, *Archive*, p. 27-9.

¹²⁶⁷ Nesmith, 'Seeing', pp. 34-35.

¹²⁶⁸ Cook, 'Evidence', p. 96 Cook italics.

¹²⁶⁹ Kaplan, "'Many'" p. 211.

¹²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷¹ Derrida *Archive*, pp. 27-29.

This project has affirmed the recognition of funding bodies such as the AHRC, who introduced the Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA) scheme, with the specific intention that doctoral candidates focus on and engage with collections and archives, as this CDA does with the NCA. Archival materials, re-opened with new audiences through fresh perspectives, disrupted understandings of the archive and the collections and produced change; it encouraged users of the archive to think about the utility of different approaches and how it is perceived.¹²⁷² This may provoke archivists to renegotiate their roles and practices as 'elite experts behind institutional walls', to revisit their perceptions of the identity of the archive, and to promote participatory practices.¹²⁷³

The project, in seeking a new dialogue with the NCA, has mobilised the pedagogical and disseminatory ethos of the co-operative movement. In order to engender transformation within the dominant capitalist mode of economic organisation, the co-operative movement generated dialogue about its principles by gathering co-operators physically at Holyoake House and more broadly through its built spaces and extensive visual culture through publications such as *Woman's Outlook*. Likewise, the emergent collage methodology developed in this project took a fragment of the archive¹²⁷⁴ across the threshold of the NCA, into public space. Writing in the context of the Coronavirus pandemic has highlighted the immediacy of the

¹²⁷² N. Mansfield, 'The Contribution of the National Banner Survey to Debates on Nineteenth-Century Popular Politics', *Visual Resources* Vol. 24, No.2, (2008), pp. 133-143, 134-135.

¹²⁷³ Cook, 'Evidence', p. 114.

¹²⁷⁴ Steedman, *Dust*, pp. 45, 68, 146; Tamboukou, 'Archival Research', p. 631; Moore et al, 'Other', pp. 1-30, 97, 168; Tamboukou, 'Archival Rhythms', p. 86.

visual, and the value of connectedness and gathering people together physically in the conference workshops and representationally, as in the co-operative publications. Participatory collage-making as a product of the contemporary political context resonates with and legitimises the relevance of the co-operative ethos for today.

However, utilising different methods is messy and challenging.¹²⁷⁵ It has, therefore, been important to give a sense of the nature of the movement, the archive, archival practices and how these are carried out among new users. As such, this project has illustrated the transparency of the research process and the method of archival research.¹²⁷⁶ These approaches have aligned with co-operative ideology to assist this particular archive to achieve co-operative ends rather than being the object of Cartesian analysis, as is usually the case.

The project recognises the historical significance of *Woman's Outlook*, *Herald*, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves* which aimed to appeal to everyday audiences of co-operative society members and employees, and highlights these publications as deserving acknowledgement for their important role in the movement. For example, in November 1919, the inaugural edition of *Woman's Outlook* boldly declared on behalf of the co-operative woman that it was 'Seeking freedom for their own

¹²⁷⁵ Bal, 'Mektoub', p. 95.

¹²⁷⁶ Moore et al, 'Prologue', pp. x-xi; Moore et al, 'Other', pp. 15, 23; Moore et al, 'Beginning', pp. 155-169; Stanley, 'Archival', pp. 33- 67, 66; M. Smith, 'Introduction: Why "What is Research in the Visual Arts? Obsession, Archive, Encounter"', in M. A. Holly and M. Smith, (eds.), *What is Research in the Visual Arts? Obsession, Archive, Encounter*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. x-xxvii.

progress, and the equal fellowship of men and women in the home, the store, the workshop, and the State'.¹²⁷⁷

The co-operative movement, through its print culture, documented its responses¹²⁷⁸ to the changing socio-economic and political context and promoted women's multiple identities which included the familial, consumer, employee and member. Produced autonomously by different co-operative societies the publications are testimony to the movement's principle of self-help. To demonstrate the movement's ethos as a democratic consumer organisation,¹²⁷⁹ these co-operative publications propagandised co-operative values and in doing so offered complexity, tensions, continuities, differences and similarities.

Turning the attention to these co-operative publications, contributes to and complicates previous studies of co-operative woman. Despite the challenging landscape of traditional gender identity, the magazines embodied the expanding socio-economic-political outlook of women's roles. They presented distinctive editorial approaches, both the conventional and the progressive¹²⁸⁰ and *Woman's Outlook* particularly addressed the domestic and economic subjectivity of women and reflected the tensions of a democratic structure within the movement itself.¹²⁸¹

Woman-edited and visually diverse, it was dedicated to improving the position of co-

¹²⁷⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

¹²⁷⁸ Sturken and Cartwright, *Practices*, p. 3.

¹²⁷⁹ Southern, Co-operative, p. 12.

¹²⁸⁰ Aulich, 'Advertising', pp. 118-119.

¹²⁸¹ Southern, Co-operative, pp. 122-124.

operative women and reached beyond the typical audience and organisational interests of the WCG. *Woman's Outlook* exceptionally demonstrated a relevant and significant ideological and pedagogical role for the movement in interwar Britain which also has relevance for today.

The *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves*, whilst based in Manchester, offered a national outlook. Yet despite their distinctive photomontage, graphic and modernist page layouts, these publications have been marginalised in historical studies.¹²⁸² The publications, acknowledged and encouraged their audiences to read *Woman's Outlook* and were trying to reach a broad and diverse readership which was not homogenous. The *Herald* published by the Manchester and Salford Equitable Co-operative Society (MSECS), provided a particularly Manchester perspective. Although, it did not readily illustrate the co-operative woman in the home or work, the frequency of drawings and photographs more broadly did increase over the period. It is quite possible that, as a local society, the MSECS did not have the financial capacity to include illustrated articles. Analysing these publications challenges the usual hierarchy of co-operative sources in which *Co-operative News* has traditionally been dominant.

As an investigation of the NCA, the co-operative publications were only sampled from this archive, where the availability of full runs facilitated a diverse analytical

¹²⁸² For exceptions see Ritchie, *Housewife*; Bradbury, '*Woman's*'; Kelley, '*Equitable*'; Robertson, *Co-operative*.

comparison and contrast of *Woman's Outlook*, *Herald*, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves*. Employing a latitudinal and longitudinal approach¹²⁸³ enabled a consistent analysis of how the publications documented their responses to changing socio-economic and political conditions across the interwar period, from November 1919 to November 1939. These co-operative publications revealed the complex and fluid nature of how co-operative woman's gender identity was represented in interwar Britain, occupying and connecting two seemingly isolated spheres of home and work. However, it is recognised that a different sampling might reveal alternative perspectives.

Unlike typical academic approaches, different kinds of engagements with these co-operative publications have shown how doing things differently can open up new possibilities to those who may not previously have considered engaging with the NCA, its print culture or the ideas of the co-operative movement. This project has transformed typical perceptions of the archive, its collections and the concept and role of the archivist and may extend understanding of the co-operative ethos. New audiences, together with engagement beyond customary modes of historical enquiry, which may appear to be new to the archivist, but have engendered a broader encounter with the archive.

¹²⁸³ Tinkler, 'Miss', p. 154.

Visual Culture

Woman's Outlook

This historical investigation of *Woman's Outlook*, informed by a gendered and visual analysis of word and image, offers a distinctive perspective on the everyday life of the co-operative woman, when compared with the sampled co-operative publications, and contrasts with the emphases of commercial publications such as *Woman's Weekly* and political magazines like *Labour Woman*. *Woman's Outlook* stood out from its first edition in 1919, with its bold declaration for freedom,¹²⁸⁴ diverse use of colour, typeface, word and image to depict the co-operative woman. From the outset, the modern montage approach of the front cover, editorial and contents of the first edition presented a strong visual awareness and political statement about co-operative woman and her relationship with the home and work.

Woman's Outlook was unique within the movement's publications, yet has received scant academic attention, having found only a marginal role in periodical and gender studies, social history and design history. An illustrated publication, *Woman's Outlook* fostered a dialogic approach to everyday life. Indeed, the inaugural edition encouraged its readers to pay attention to different ways of doing in words and in pictures. Using a common marketing strategy,¹²⁸⁵ page layout and design demonstrated a diversity of design features which were mobilised to engage audiences, in a dialogic space, raising political and educational awareness. The

¹²⁸⁴ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

¹²⁸⁵ Kelley, 'All-Conquering', p. 85.

editors identified it as a woman's magazine¹²⁸⁶ and aimed to appeal to 'Woman's Interests In All Spheres And Phases Of Life'.¹²⁸⁷

There were similarities and differences between the content and style of the co-operative publications, *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*. Articles and illustrations of a similar nature included gardening, health, fiction, dress making, knitting patterns and recipes.¹²⁸⁸ What distinguished *Woman's Outlook* from *Woman's Weekly*, and which were also to be found in other co-operative publications, were additional topics of citizenship, international humanitarian issues, marital relationships, employee and factory profiles, and ladies' sports teams. Nonetheless, *Woman's Outlook* was differentiated from these other publications by representing co-operative woman in the form of line drawings and photographs on almost every page. Photographs expressed a technologically advanced print culture and *Woman's Outlook's* use of photographs in diverse articles and politicised features were signs of the co-operative intention to be progressive.

This intent contrasted with *Woman's Weekly*, where although women were frequently characterised by line drawings in features and articles, typically photographs appeared in advertisements and knitting patterns; the columns and articles rarely featured photographs. These images largely portrayed homogenous young women whose stylish and contemporary appearance was suggestive of a

¹²⁸⁶ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 1.

¹²⁸⁷ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover.

¹²⁸⁸ Hackney, "They", Chapter One.

wealthier class, whereas, *Woman's Outlook* depicted a range of identities. Although the young woman was often central in *Woman's Outlook*, the mature woman was also illustrated, unlike in *Woman's Weekly*. The co-operative woman was typically neatly dressed; aspirational yet not always in the contemporary fashion, her depiction was often indicative of the respectable working-class, for example, as seen on the inaugural front cover.

Like *Woman's Outlook*, *Labour Woman* was women-edited and both magazines viewed themselves as distinct from the capitalist press;¹²⁸⁹ articles had a political focus and advertisements regularly featured connections with the co-operative movement.¹²⁹⁰ Articles and columns within *Labour Woman* featured women and the setting of home and work. These occasionally offered a handful of illustrations and photographs, some of which attempted to address the economic subjectivity of women. Illustrative content increased during the interwar period. *Woman's Outlook* and *Labour Woman* described their intended readership as the working woman.¹²⁹¹ However, despite similarities with *Labour Woman*, *Woman's Outlook* aimed to reach a more inclusive, broader audience, and unequivocally beyond the organisational identity of the WCG.¹²⁹²

¹²⁸⁹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1939, pp. 1-2; *Labour Woman* May 1927, p. 74.

¹²⁹⁰ The co-operative movement, often finding expression throughout the period in the regular appearance of advertisements. See for example, *Labour Woman* May 1923, p. 79; November 1923, p. 183; May 1925, p. 67; November 1925, pp. 179, 189; May 1927, p. 68; November 1927, p. 175; November 1937, p. 164.

¹²⁹¹ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover; *Labour Woman* November 1919, Front cover, p. 130.

¹²⁹² *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, Front cover.

Woman's Outlook was distinguished by its design, visuality, content and political outlook.¹²⁹³ Like *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*, *Woman's Outlook*, used the new visual technologies which emerged in the 1920/30s, but it was more visually innovative and aimed to achieve different ends. *Woman's Outlook* embodied the co-operative ethos and sought to engender a dialogue about co-operativism through the relationship of word and picture. Across the interwar years, the magazine offered opportunities for co-operative women throughout Britain to make connections with each other including around sensitive issues such as marital relations.¹²⁹⁴

The high production values of *Woman's Outlook* reflected the central role that the visual, word and image played in co-operative publications. High print quality was important to the movement. The production processes and attention to the printing detail of page layout and choice of fonts all signalled excellence. Co-operative publications were in step with advances and increases in visual content in general magazine production in interwar Britain.¹²⁹⁵ The visual features of women's commercial and political magazines were used to develop distinct complex and multifaceted publications. Changes in consumer habits and expectations¹²⁹⁶ which influenced the design, format, layout and content of these publications suggest a growing awareness of the editors of *Woman's Outlook*, the *Wheatsheaf*, *Ourselves* and *Herald*, of the need to adapt to shifting consumer outlooks.

¹²⁹³ *Woman's Outlook* November 9th 1935, p. 19.

¹²⁹⁴ *Woman's Outlook* November 1919, p. 2.

¹²⁹⁵ Pugh, *Women*, p. 172.

¹²⁹⁶ Southern, *Co-operative*, p. 24.

This project's investigation of *Woman's Outlook*, has led to a deeper academic understanding of the diverse ways co-operative woman was represented in interwar Britain, and the complex and fluid nature of her gender identity. It has offered a more nuanced interpretation by placing it in the context of her relationship with home and work and the movement's visual culture.¹²⁹⁷ It has established an alternative to the predominant identity of the married working-class housewife in the WCG. The project, by building on Jayne Southern and Rachel Ritchie's visual and gender analyses¹²⁹⁸ contributes a detailed and comprehensive view of co-operative woman, the publications and the movement, which differs significantly from previous organisational conceptions.

Reworking dialogues with the NCA establishes the fluid political and gender identity of co-operative woman which was part of a political continuum whereby co-operative woman engaged with the diverse aspects of the movement's ecology. *Woman's Outlook* politicised everyday identities which embodied and fashioned shifting representations, whose fluidity traversed and negotiated traditional boundaries of public/private, inside/outside, home/industrial, political/social.

Woman's Outlook attempted to construct a co-operative woman who had an adaptable and active role in the private and public discourses of the home and the workplace. The publication manifested complexity in overlapping themes of

¹²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

¹²⁹⁸ Southern, Co-operative; Ritchie, Housewife.

citizenship and the promotion of co-operative goods, which signified agency through self-identification.¹²⁹⁹ Encouraging a continual political consciousness, these varied representations¹³⁰⁰ suggest the possibility of her making individual everyday choices,¹³⁰¹ albeit contingent on her own individual set of circumstances. In this way, the movement could work towards the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, offering a critique of the individualist approach to a consumer economy and 'the dominant mode of capitalist production'.¹³⁰² This was not in opposition or diametric tension to a consumer economy. Rather, it was in dialogue with capitalism developing an alternative pathway, for example, in the context of home and work, as a different basis for the economic structure of society.

Home

Co-operative women of different ages, classes and appearance can be found in the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves* and on practically every page of *Woman's Outlook*. The editors of *Woman's Outlook* regarded the visibility of a diverse co-operative woman, in a variety of scenarios connected to the home space, as of great significance and meaning for their readership. *Woman's Outlook*, unlike the other co-operative publications and in contrast to *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*, drew on

¹²⁹⁹ Butler, *Gender*, pp. xxv, 173, 191, 201.

¹³⁰⁰ Massey, *For*, p. 300.

¹³⁰¹ Savage and Miles, *Remaking*, pp. 19-20.

¹³⁰² Linehan, *Modernism*, p. 80.

numerous aspects of the home to explore the possibility of the co-operative alternative and what that might offer.

Woman's Outlook, sharing a particular focus on domestic, every day and familial gendered models, communicated traditional assumptions of the identity of co-operative woman as home-maker. Pictorial depictions of the mother and child and the co-operative woman engaged in housework reveal the domestic priorities of the editors and purposes of *Woman's Outlook*. Yet, by placing familial and domestic roles within wider questions of war, peace, efficiency, citizenship and emancipation, *Woman's Outlook* encouraged a new view of women's autonomy in everyday familiar and topical sites, rather than employing the domesticated language and images which saturated the WCG.¹³⁰³ In depicting the subjective lives of women, it highlighted economic hardship and domestic abuse. A strategic editorial decision that engaged with different audiences yet presented tensions within the publications suggests a particularly discrete understanding of co-operative woman's gender identity and the home space. *Woman's Outlook's* distinct identity, aspired to reach beyond co-operative membership, feminism, the Labour Movement and the WCG,¹³⁰⁴ to appeal also to the readership of women's commercial magazines such as *Woman's Weekly*.

The domestic was an aspect of *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*, yet the editors had distinctive emphases and different purposes for their publications. Articles in

¹³⁰³ Scott, *Feminism*, pp. 139, 186.

¹³⁰⁴ Pugh, *Women*, pp. 190-193.

Woman's Outlook featured a combination of real and conjectured everyday maternal identities with a supportive approach which contrasted with the matronly expert and predominant depiction of mothers in advertisements of *Woman's Weekly*.¹³⁰⁵ *Woman's Outlook* frequently depicted co-operative woman as a mother, housewife and also a consumer of co-operative products to be bought in the co-operative store. Product placement is a central feature of *Woman's Outlook* and *Woman's Weekly*. *Woman's Outlook* employed pictures and text, often in double and three page advertorials to demonstrate the wide range of products produced by the CWS and the movement more broadly. *Woman's Weekly*, by contrast, depicted the housewife cleaning in only a scattering of columns. Pictorially, this role was predominantly portrayed in advertisements. Although 'The Housewife' appeared regularly in *Labour Woman*, typically the magazine included only a handful of illustrations of the mother and the housewife.¹³⁰⁶ Importantly *Woman's Outlook* communicated contrast and tension across image and text, in editorials, articles and advertisements, which simultaneously endorsed and negotiated women's gender roles.¹³⁰⁷ The magazine regarded the relationship between co-operative woman, the movement and home as one of several unique aspects of her identity and, as we have seen, often politicised matters of the family, domestic and also work.

¹³⁰⁵ *Woman's Weekly* May 2 1925, p. 775

¹³⁰⁶ For example, *Labour Woman* May 1921, Front cover; November 1921, Front cover, p. 181; May 1927, p. 69; May 1929, p. 67; May 1931, p. 77; November 1931, pp. 165, 168-169.

¹³⁰⁷ Kafala and Cary, 'Postmodern', p. 40.

Work

Co-operative woman's gender identity was in the home yet it also functioned in the everyday public space of work. Her relationship with work was multifaceted; she was frequently illustrated in a broad range of work settings. *Woman's Outlook* unequivocally constructed co-operative woman as a working woman on the 1919 front cover. Its appeal to readers, as 'Women who work for us' addressed her economic subjectivity and continued throughout the period to offer an alternative and politicised identity; a lived reality of the co-operative woman worker, as the movement would like to see it.

To do this, *Woman's Outlook*, in contrast with *Woman's Weekly* and *Labour Woman*, offered a readily accessible mixture of allegory, simple line drawings and photographs and connected the public/private with matters of work/domestic to offer a fluid gender identity. This differed from the irregular, capitalist and mostly imagined illustration and understanding of woman's relationship with work depicted in *Woman's Weekly*. *Woman's Weekly's* dominant style of line drawing illustrations offered limited images of women and the work place which were often bound up with the tensions of single working women and marriage conforming to that period of in-between, of leaving school and getting married, which may have become more acute in the interwar period.¹³⁰⁸ *Woman's Outlook's* numerous portrayals of the woman worker contrasted with *Labour Woman's* infrequent depictions. Yet David Thackeray, one of the few to analyse *Labour Woman*, argues

¹³⁰⁸ Hackney, "They", Chapter Five.

that the magazine's emphasis on the plight of the woman worker and her un/employment, expanded in the early 1920s. Significantly, this too was of greater prominence than the attempts of other political organisations to appeal to the newly enfranchised woman voter as a consumer.¹³⁰⁹

Like *Woman's Outlook*, the *Wheatsheaf* and *Ourselves* presented a particular aspect of co-operative woman which shifted across roles, beyond the identity of the married member of the WCG and especially demonstrated the co-operative movement's 'corporate soul' which countered the 'soullessness' of large business organisations.¹³¹⁰ These co-operative depictions were not in tension with her other gender roles of consumer, family and domesticity. Despite offering distinct positions, the portrayals were not boundaries, in binary or a dichotomy, but were parts of the ecology of the movement, supporting the co-operative ethos as a whole.

The *Wheatsheaf* portrayed the wide range of employment opportunities available for co-operative women as a lived reality. Photographs of large numbers of young women demonstrate a strong female labour force yet unlike in *Woman's Outlook*, they were typically depicted on the factory floor. This suggests a restricted view into co-operative women's work, although it might also be a reflection of the magazine's purpose and its promotion of the CWS's productive capacity.

¹³⁰⁹ Thackeray, 'From', p. 45.

¹³¹⁰ Marchand, *Creating*, pp. 7-10.

Ourselves, in contrast to the *Wheatsheaf* and *Woman's Outlook*, depicted the social and cultural aspects of work. Photographs often showcased the co-operative woman worker, not *in* the work setting but *beyond* the workplace, engaged in a broad range of social and cultural activities. The magazine brought to life the brighter aspects of the everydayness of work. *Ourselves* personalised the relationship with the worker, to offer observations which emphasised her professional and personal attributes.¹³¹¹

Advertisements, articles and features in *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf* aimed to manifest community pride and loyalty through portrayals of family, gender, machinery and space which promoted an understanding of esprit de corps. Picture and word operated together and embodied the co-operative woman and worker dignity. Co-operative publications offered a robust and keen awareness of place. Captions and by-lines of photographs regularly named the factory and alerted the reader to the geographical compass of the co-operative worker, production and the strength of the movement across Britain. Consequently, the geographical focus did not appear to be London-centric, although *Woman's Outlook* editor Mary Stott argued that the Manchester base of the Co-operative Press felt like a 'back-water' cut off from London journalism.¹³¹² The co-operative publications' progressive approach to place was a precursor of the innovative endeavours which Cynthia White attributes to commercial magazines in the 1950s and 1960s, in their attempts to expand readership by broadening their geographical scope.¹³¹³ The interwar co-

¹³¹¹ *Ourselves* May 1933, p. 15.

¹³¹² Stott, *Forgetting*, pp. 55-56.

¹³¹³ White, *Women's*, pp. 129, 171, 173, 202.

operative style also contrasts with Rachel Ritchie's observations that *Woman's Outlook* of the later 1954-1967 period rarely remarked about location.¹³¹⁴

Woman's Outlook, *Ourselves* and the *Wheatsheaf* each offered distinctive representations of the co-operative woman and her relationships with home and work as alternatives within capitalism. The visual distinctiveness of *Woman's Outlook* contrasted with the *Herald*, *Ourselves*, the *Wheatsheaf*, *Labour Woman* and *Woman's Weekly*, offering a combination of typography, strap lines, advertisements, line drawing, illustration, allegory and photography which represented the co-operative woman in a range of styles and roles through graphic and modernist page layouts.

This visual analysis, which extended beyond traditional modes of historical enquiry with the NCA, was further developed through the medium of collage-making, employing the rich visual diversity which the project had identified in *Woman's Outlook* to connect with different audiences, to discover the significance of these representations to contemporary individuals.

Collage

Collage offered an alternative way for workshop participants to subjectively engage with *Woman's Outlook*, framed through individual identities and academic

¹³¹⁴ Ritchie, *Housewife*, p. 49.

conference contexts and disciplines. Combining creative practice and empirical research, archival improvisation invited participants into movement and dialogue¹³¹⁵ in a collage-making workshop, as co-producers¹³¹⁶ and co-researchers. Conference delegates, as participant–researcher¹³¹⁷ comprised academics and practitioners from a range of disciplinary fields and spaces, who made artefacts which drew on the specific material of photocopies of the first edition of *Woman's Outlook*. Creating an individual collage, they manipulated the pages; the agentic qualities of the visual engaged participants in a material dialogue with the publication, which opened up the archive to new audiences.

The project contributes to an emerging area of research in archival studies.¹³¹⁸ The conference-based workshop, for example, drawing on the visuality of *Woman's Outlook*, revealed the agentic capacity of archival materials, in the form of *Woman's Outlook*, to illustrate how archival evidence can affect the humans that engage with them.¹³¹⁹ *Woman's Outlook*, stimulating an effect, connected with new audiences and the workshop disseminated knowledge about the potential of such archive materials to aid understanding about the project, the NCA and the co-operative movement. Despite being constrained by the limitations of the conference context,

¹³¹⁵ Beetham, 'Body', p. 149.

¹³¹⁶ Durose, et al, *Towards*, p. 2; Kelemen, et al, 'Performing', p. 107; Gearty, 'Learning', pp. 493-494.

¹³¹⁷ Hackett, 'Parents', pp. 494-495.

¹³¹⁸ Carbone, 'Artists', pp. 100-118, 102, 108, 112, 114 f/n 19.

¹³¹⁹ Mitchell, *What*, pp. 47-8; Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 177, 132–185, 214; Bennett, *Vibrant*, pp. vii-x, xvi-xvii, 1-19; Carbone, 'Artists', pp. 102, 108, 112.

the fact that the periodical collection is not digitized,¹³²⁰ meant that the workshops effectively opened up awareness of the archive's research and creative potential.

Each collage-making workshop made an important contribution to this project because, primarily located away from the archive, it typically gathered together unconnected people and places. Each workshop, with a specific spatio-temporality, what Doreen Massey would term 'throwntogetherness',¹³²¹ revealed different participant relationships with the textual and pictorial representation of co-operative woman. The collages are an important material legacy because, considered chronologically, they document the participant interaction with photocopied archival material in relation to each unique conference space. Significantly, they also chart the emergence of this 'Conference Workshop Methodology'. The collage is an expression, deconstructed and then reconstructed. It is a non-linear multivocal, archival improvisation, guided by 'thinking in movement'¹³²² and directed by using 'thinking through making'.¹³²³

The physical processes of cutting, ripping, bending, kneeling and sticking embodied in 'the moving flow of its creation'¹³²⁴ disrupted and dislocated traditional understandings of the NCA. The majority of participants had sparse awareness or knowledge of the NCA, the movement and *Woman's Outlook*. The collage,

¹³²⁰ Email correspondence Sophie McCulloch 25 November 2019.

¹³²¹ Massey, *For*, pp. 283-285, 296, 300, 319, 347, 356.

¹³²² Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, pp. xvii, xxxi, 419-449.

¹³²³ Ravetz, "'Both'", pp. 159, 171.

¹³²⁴ Sheets-Johnstone, *Primacy*, p. 421.

questionnaire, reflective journal and booklet documented their thoughts, reflexions and interactions, became entwined¹³²⁵ and facilitated opportunities for participants to transform their thinking. One participant highlighted the newness to them of the archival matter and its significance, *'It's a material I've never seen before so I found it fascinating to see how things were a 100 years ago'*.¹³²⁶ Another participant offered a similar response to finding out about the archive and the co-operative movement, which *'made me aware it exists in the first place, and that co-operatives were a big thing'*.¹³²⁷ The uniqueness of each collage, booklet, reflective journal and questionnaire, shaped in and by the workshop process, reveals the endless possibilities for the future opening up of the NCA.

Collage-making contrasted with the systematic visual analysis of the magazines. This itself departs from the more traditional textual analysis, which often only uses imagery as illustration,¹³²⁸ emphasising a myriad of unforeseen possibilities of exploration. Images, photographs, articles and drawings were constructed in *Woman's Outlook* with a specific intent and purpose.¹³²⁹ In the workshop, the participants re-used images and text, deconstructed to communicate their responses. The participant may or may not intend their collage page to communicate something specific, a direct message. It is, however, significant. The collage pages

¹³²⁵ S. Finley, 'Painting Life Histories', *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, Vol. 7, No. 2., (2001), pp. 13-26, 20.

¹³²⁶ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop One.

¹³²⁷ Participant questionnaire comment, Workshop Two.

¹³²⁸ Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, p. 10.

¹³²⁹ Tagg, *Burden*, pp. 148-150.

offer a contemporary trace of participant engagement with the paper copies of archival material.¹³³⁰

Project as Dialogue

The project has been a dialogue about the NCA, in which the methods of visual analysis and the participant collage-making have been brought together in synchronic dialogue. These inherently different approaches established an exchange of ideas across different perspectives because, as John Schostak and Jill Schostak observe, 'there are differences to explore; otherwise, no matter how many voices, it would be speaking as one, a monologue'.¹³³¹

As a dialogue about the potentiality of the archive, the project is not intended or viewed as the end of the knowledge exchange journey. This juxtaposition and connection between historical and practice arts-based methodologies has revealed the often hidden processes, as Maria Tamboukou argues, that 'archives are beginnings as much as they are ends: they give their documents a new life...but they can also deprive their documents of a future life'.¹³³²

Showing, the *what* and *how* are part of the process of knowing the visual culture of the NCA. Viewed as 'juxtapositionary encounters', the project has paid attention to

¹³³⁰ Vacchelli, 'Embodiment', p. 3.

¹³³¹ J. F. Schostak and J. Schostak, *Radical Research: Designing, Developing and Writing Research to Make a Difference*, (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 90.

¹³³² Tamboukou, 'Reassembling', p. 6.

the fruitful complexity that can occur.¹³³³ Influenced by Karen Barad's concept of intra-action the components are engaged in a constant fluid process. Mutually informing each other in co-operative transformation is an entangled space of dialogue and intra-action,¹³³⁴ from which complexity and new approaches emerge. Karen Barad's understanding of apparatuses has enabled this consideration of the archive, its collections and the devices by which it is accessed and defined, in different ways.¹³³⁵ As Barad argues, viewed as an entanglement, this coming together reconstitutes 'our beings, our psyches, our imaginations, our institutions, our societies; "we" are an inextricable part of what gets reworked in our R&D projects'.¹³³⁶ Word and image, brought together in the visual are not separate elements but acting upon each other, 'apparatuses of bodily production' which 'are intra-acting with and mutually constituting one another'.¹³³⁷ The publications and collages as 'representations are not (more or less faithful) pictures of what is, but productive evocations, provocations, and generative material articulations or reconfigurings of what is and what is possible'.¹³³⁸

The freedom to explore fresh approaches has facilitated new understandings that might not be visible through a single disciplinary perspective.¹³³⁹ This dialogue has been positioned across three disciplinary fields of History, Art and Design, and

¹³³³ E. Honan and D. Bright, 'Writing a Thesis Differently', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, Vol. 29, No. 5, (2016), pp. 731-743, 737-738.

¹³³⁴ Barad, *Meeting*, p. 152.

¹³³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, 161-168.

¹³³⁶ *Ibid.*, Barad, *Meeting*, pp. 224, 383-384.

¹³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

¹³³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³³⁹ R. Szostak, 'The Interdisciplinary Research Process', in Repko et al, (eds.), *Case*, pp. 3-19, 4.

Education and physically located between four different locations. Three University buildings house the disciplinary departments of History, Art and Design and Education and a fourth building, Holyoake House, home of the NCA. Like Departments, the buildings are arbitrary. Interdisciplinarity has been active in a number of ways. 'Different elements'¹³⁴⁰ have been brought together in one physical yet interdisciplinary space when meeting up with the four disciplinary supervisors. Transitioning the disciplinary spaces produced the in-between, as a continuum.

The project has also become an investigation of itself in interdisciplinary research. Embracing understandings of 'logos...ethos...and pathos',¹³⁴¹ the constituent disciplines connected in a dialogue¹³⁴² widened participation. Juxtaposition of a systematic historical approach together with improvisational and subjective encounters with the same material initiated different yet complementary approaches and produced distinct kinds of knowledge in which the archive is implicated and opened up. The logocentric is enriched by embodied responses to the visual, material and tactile.¹³⁴³ As such, this project may be significant for other archives and offers opportunities for different approaches to archives more broadly.

¹³⁴⁰ Bal, 'Mektoub', p. 104.

¹³⁴¹ S. Oliver and S. Duncan, 'Editorial: The Challenges of Sharing Different Ways of Knowing', *Research for All*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (2018), pp.1-5, 2.

¹³⁴² Bal, 'Mektoub', p. 95.

¹³⁴³ Haynes, *Bakhtin*, p. 9.

According to W.J.T. Mitchell, the study of visual culture is ‘a site of convergence and conversation across disciplinary lines’.¹³⁴⁴ Interdisciplinarity expedited research autonomy, self-determination and openness, initiating new questions for further research and potentially fostering agency for social change.¹³⁴⁵ The perspective of ‘new ways of working with images, artefacts, and archives’¹³⁴⁶ drew together diverse and interdisciplinary approaches and participants ‘from a range of institutions’.¹³⁴⁷ Participants in European conference workshops deconstructed and reconstructed photocopies of *Woman’s Outlook*, relocated in a range of new geographical locations. Bringing the past into the present, fresh voices of participant engagement fostered multiple entry points and the development of a framework to open up the NCA to alternative and interdisciplinary perspectives.

The project is grounded in the assumption that the processes through which the participants encounter the archive are as significant as the collages that the participants produce. Marquard Smith points out, ‘this “doing”’ as an ‘encounter with and enactment or performance of research – is itself a thinking, a writing, a teaching, a curating, and a making’.¹³⁴⁸ The juxtaposition of perspectives determined by gender, visual analysis, arts-based research and collaborative work unsettles. As

¹³⁴⁴ W. J. T. Mitchell, ‘Interdisciplinarity and Visual Culture’, *Art Bulletin*, Vol. LXVII, No. 4, (1995), pp. 540-544, 540.

¹³⁴⁵ Szostak, ‘Interdisciplinary’, p. 4.

¹³⁴⁶ 8th History of Education Doctoral Summer School, University of Sassari, Porto Conte Alghero, Sardinia, Italy, 8-11 June 2017, <https://historyofeducation.org.uk/events/8th-history-education-doctoral-summer-school/> accessed 10/11/2016.

¹³⁴⁷ V. Walsh and L. Morley, ‘Introduction: Feminist Academics: Creative Agents for Change’, in V. Walsh and L. Morley, (eds), *Feminist Academics: Creative Agents for Change*, (London: Taylor and Francis, 1995), pp. 1-6, 3.

¹³⁴⁸ Smith, ‘Introduction’, p. x.

W.J.T. Mitchell observes, the archive presents a tension about the past, present and future which is unknowable: 'pictures form a point of peculiar friction and discomfort across a broad range of intellectual inquiry'.¹³⁴⁹ This unsettling offered ways to make anew. Like Derrida's understanding of the archive as anticipation of the future, 'The archive has always been a pledge...a token of the future' these approaches and findings can be taken forward outward beyond this research.¹³⁵⁰

Mitchell draws on Derrida who posits that the archive is a 'question of the future...and of a responsibility for tomorrow. The archive: if we want to know what that will have meant, we will only know in times to come'.¹³⁵¹ Mitchell interprets Derrida's use of 'to come' in relation to the archive as the potential arrival of political change.¹³⁵² The project's fresh interdisciplinary perspectives have challenged traditional ways of knowing to 'provide a new life to an object or phenomenon', suggesting political change is possible¹³⁵³ by simultaneously raising awareness of co-operativism. The complexity and value of engaging with archival material, the NCA, the visual, participants and conferences disrupted the 'status quo' to 'raise awareness' in these spaces.¹³⁵⁴ As Walter Benjamin observes about his own practice of collecting: 'what else is this collection but a disorder to which habit has accommodated itself to such an extent that it can appear as order?'.¹³⁵⁵

¹³⁴⁹ Mitchell, *Picture*, p. 13.

¹³⁵⁰ Derrida, *Archive*, p. 18.

¹³⁵¹ W. J. T. Mitchell, 'The Abu Ghraib Archive', in Holly and Smith, *What*, pp. 168-182, 168, 180-182; Derrida, *Archive*, p. 36.

¹³⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 182, f/n 26.

¹³⁵³ C. Olalquiaga, 'The Researcher as Collector of Failed Goods', in Holly and Smith, *What*, pp. 33 - 46, 43.

¹³⁵⁴ Schostak and Schostak, *Radical*, pp. 7-8.

¹³⁵⁵ Benjamin, 'Unpacking', pp. 486-487.

Future Visual Culture Research

The project's engagement with the visual culture of the co-operative movement's publications has opened up one particular aspect of the NCA and its collections, promoting new dialogues and highlighting the value of interdisciplinary approaches. A small number of studies stand out for their cultural analyses of the co-operative movement.¹³⁵⁶ However, none, other than Rachel Ritchie's study of *Woman's Outlook*, which focuses on the different period of 1954-1967, have developed a visual analysis of *Woman's Outlook* in interwar Britain.¹³⁵⁷

Pioneering a different approach to the NCA, the project has based itself upon co-operative social practices that drew upon the co-operative movement's legacy as a people's project. Opening up the connected relationships of co-operative ideology, gender identity, co-operative woman, visual culture, collaboration and the archive has challenged traditional perceptions of the NCA and fostered an understanding of the movement, its archival collections and their relevance for people today. By discussing the methods, considering the process, working across disciplines, engaging with the archivists and a diverse range of participants, the project has attempted to provoke change with the NCA, to 'bring it back to life, revivify it for our

¹³⁵⁶ For example see: J. Southern and J. Turnbull, *More Than Just a Shop: A History of the Co-op in Lancashire*, (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1995); S. Todd, 'Pleasure, Politics and Co-operative Youth: The Interwar Co-operative Comrade's Circles', *Journal of Co-operative Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (1999), pp. 129-145; T. Campbell and M. Wilson, (eds.), *Each for All and All for Each: A Celebration of Co-operative Banners*, (Loughborough: National Co-operative Education Association, 1994); N. Mansfield, 'Radical Banners as Sites of Memory: The National Banner Survey', in P. A. Pickering and A. Tyrrell, (eds.), *Contested Sites Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 81-100; Mansfield, Contribution.

¹³⁵⁷ Ritchie, *Housewife*.

own times'.¹³⁵⁸ However, as John Schostak and Jill Schostak observe in relation to alternate research approaches, 'What it does not mean is that there is any straightforward recipe that can be culled from a textbook and applied mechanistically'.¹³⁵⁹ Rather, it is the new questions that a project such as this raises which activate the past, present and future of the archive, through drawing attention to the significance of archival collections.¹³⁶⁰

¹³⁵⁸ Beetham, 'Body', p. 148.

¹³⁵⁹ Schostak and Schostak, *Radical*, p. 8.

¹³⁶⁰ Duff and Harris, 'Stories', pp. 280, 284.

Appendix One: A Selection of Publications Using Research in the National Co-operative Archive Books and Periodical Articles, compiled by G. Lonergan (Librarian) and S. McCulloch (Archivist) June 2018

Armytage, W. H. G. (1961). *Heavens Below: utopian experiments in England 1560-1960*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ashton, Rosemary (1991). *G. H. Lewes: a life*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Backstrom, Philip N. (1974). *Christian Socialism and Cooperation in Victorian England: Edward Vansittart Neale and the co-operative movement*, London: Croom Helm.

Bennett, Andrew (2016). *The Hidden Oak: the life and works of George Mudie, Pioneer Co-operator*, Albion Press

Bestor, Arthur Eugene (1950). *Backwoods Utopias: the sectarian and Owenite phases of communitarian socialism in America 1663-1829*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bibby, Andrew (2015). *All Our Own Work: the co-operative pioneers of Hebden Bridge and their mill*, London: Merlin Press.

Billinghurst, Keith (2017). *The Origins and Evolution of the Progress Estate: Eltham's garden suburb*, Bath: Brown Dog Books.

Birchall, Johnston (1994). *Co-op: the people's business*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Blaszak, Barbara J. (1988). *George Jacob Holyoake (1817-1906) and the Development of the British Cooperative Movement*, New York: Edwin Mellen Press.

Blaszak, Barbara J. (2000) *The Matriarchs of England's Cooperative Movement: a study in gender politics and female leadership, 1883-1921*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Burton, Alan (1994). *The People's Cinema: film and the co-operative movement*, London: National Film Theatre.

Burton, Alan (1997). *The British Co-operative Movement Film Catalogue*, Trowbridge: Flicks Books.

Campbell, Thalia & Wilson, Mervyn (1994). *Each for All and All for Each: a celebration of co-operative banners*, Loughborough: National Co-operative Education Association.

Claeys, Gregory (1989). *Citizens and Saints: politics and anti-politics in early British socialism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Claeys, Gregory (editor) (1993). *Selected Works of Robert Owen. Four volumes*, London: William Pickering.

Claeys, Gregory (editor) (2005). *Owenite Socialism: Pamphlets and Correspondence. Ten volumes*, London: Routledge.

Cole, G. D. H. (1925). *The Life of Robert Owen*, London: Frank Cass & Co.

Donnachie, Ian & Hewitt, George (1993). *Historic New Lanark: the Dale and Owen industrial community since 1785*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Doress-Worters, Paul (Editor) (2007). *Mistress of Herself: speeches and letters of Ernestine L. Rose, early women's rights leader*, New York: The Feminist Press at the University of New York.

Ekberg, Espen (2009). Consumer Co-operation and the Transformation of Modern Food Retailing: The British and Norwegian consumer co-operative movement in comparison, 1950-2002, in Lawrence Black and Nicole Robertson (eds.), *Consumerism and the Co-operative Movement in Modern British History*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 51-66.

Ekberg, Espen and Vatnaland, Jon (2004). Corporate Efficiency, Democratic Legitimacy and Consumer Political Integrity: Norwegian consumer co-operatives, 1970-2002, in Iselin Theien and Even Lange (eds.), *Affluence and Activism. Organised Consumers in the Post-War Era*, Oslo: Oslo Academic Press, p. 83-102.

Flanagan, Desmond (1969). *1869-1969 A Centenary Story of the Co-operative Union*, Manchester: Co-operative Union.

Foynes, Peter, Rynne, Colin, & Synott, Chris (Editors) (2014). *Butter in Ireland: from earliest times to the 21st century*, Cork: Cork Butter Museum.

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Recurring Publications

Co-operative News

The newspaper of the co-operative movement, now published monthly uses information from the Archive's collections as appropriate, using research carried out by its own staff or the Archive team.

Evergreen

The Co-operative Group's publication for retired employees, published twice a year includes articles written by the Archive team about the collections.

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Appendix Two: G. Lonergan National Co-operative Archive 28 March 2018

Personal Involvement

Most of my working life has been with the collections that developed into part of the National Co-operative Archive.

The idea of becoming a librarian was suggested to me at around the age of 10 when my mum found me cataloguing the family's books. I think her exact words were "You are going to end up a librarian" and she was right. The more I found out about librarianship, the better fit it seemed to me and I was always more attracted to business libraries and special libraries rather than to public libraries.

I studied at the Library School at Manchester Polytechnic, taking a BA (Hons) in Library Studies. My first post after qualifying was with the Co-operative Wholesale Society, in a temporary role in the library of its Central Laboratories in Manchester.

Because of the temporary nature of the job, I did not get much opportunity to find out about co-operatives, but I did get to find out about a job as Assistant Librarian at the Co-operative Union which came up shortly after the end of the temporary job. The Co-operative Union role was one of a "one man band" in library terms, as I was the only qualified librarian there. The Librarian, Roy Garratt was a journalist by profession and his work involved mainly working with international visitors. He had worked with co-operatives for most of his career and had an encyclopaedic knowledge which he was happy to share. The starting point on answering historical enquiries was often to ask Roy what he knew about the subject – he could usually start you off in the right direction.

Through the experience of the first few years of work, I gained the professional qualification of Chartered Librarian. In 2005 I began a part time postgraduate diploma in Archive Administration, which I successfully completed in 2010.

I began to be involved in the publications work of the Co-operative Union during the 1980s. I have had training in copyediting and proofreading and qualified as a Registered Indexer (now Fellow of the Society of Indexers) in 1993.

As the Archive developed in the twenty-first century, I took on the role of managing colleagues, more recently I have stepped back from that to my first love, working with collections and researchers.

I have now reached the point of trying to make sure that I pass on the knowledge that I have to colleagues so they can benefit – as I have benefited from the knowledge of others.

The Development of the Archive

We date the origins of the Archive to 1903, which is when the Robert Owen Correspondence Collection was deposited with the Co-operative Union. When Holyoake House was being planned, one of the aims for the building was to include a library where people could learn about co-operatives and that was put in place in 1911.

The library developed and from 1919 was used by the Co-operative College's staff and students as well as other researchers. The College moved to Stanford Hall near Loughborough at the end of 1945 and at that point, the library was split, part staying in Manchester with the Co-operative Union and part going with the College.

The archival collections like the correspondence collections remained in Manchester, but over the next 55 years, the historical collections grew in both places.

In 1994, the decision was made to change the focus of the Co-operative Union Library from a current information library with a historical specialism to a historical library with a bit of current information. The name was changed to the Co-operative Union Archive.

Having two centres was not ideal and by the late 1990s researchers were having to travel between the two archives, so the decision was made to merge the collections on 1 January 2000. The best place for what then became known as the National Co-operative Archive was the Co-operative College, then at Stanford Hall and the Co-operative Union Archive along with the management of the Rochdale Pioneers Museum were transferred. In September 2001, the College relocated to Holyoake House and the collections moved back to Manchester.

The merging of the archives meant that the collections doubled in size. Following this, other organisations contacted the Archive to discuss the deposit of their collections and the collections grew again. In 2017, the Archive accepted on loan a major collection from the Co-operative Group, which has again dramatically increased the size of the Archive and a wealth of materials are available to researchers.

In 2004, the first professional Archivist was recruited and since that point, the collections have been cared for using archival methods rather than the earlier library methods.

In 2007, the Co-operative Heritage Trust was set up to safeguard the collections for the future. The CHT has two sites, the Rochdale Pioneers Museum and the National Co-operative Archive. The two work closely together.

The Archive received Designated status for the full collection in 2007, recognising the importance of the collections to the heritage of England. In 2016, the correspondence collection of Robert Owen was added to the UK Memory of the World Register by UNESCO, showing that collection's value to research.

The Renewing Our Co-operative Heritage Developing the Archive and Learning Experiences (ROCHDALE) Project was part funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund. The project (2009-2014) involved the development of the Museum by the restoration of

the historic building, conservation work on collections, the addition of an access tower giving full access to the whole building for the first time, new exhibitions and a new learning space. In the Archive, the project brought conservation work and the opportunity to work with and learn from conservators and the opportunity to repackage many of the collections to archival standards.

The Future

The developments of the last decade have put the Archive in a good position to move forward. While there is much cataloguing to be done, researchers can make use of the collections and people are starting to come forward with different ways of interacting with the heritage.

Some areas of the Archive have been extensively researched, while others remain less so. In the Correspondence Collections, that of Robert Owen is probably the most widely known collection that the Archive holds, with enquiries coming from various parts of the world. The Edward Owen Greening collection, in contrast is not widely known and receives few researchers, despite including material on an interesting range of subjects.

Among the 'Auxiliary' organisations of the co-operative movement, the Women's Co-operative Guild has been more widely researched than the youth movements and very little research has been done on the Men's Guilds and the National Guild of Co-operators.

Researchers usually approach us with ideas of the subjects that they wish to study already formed, it is difficult for an archive to put forward potential subjects – up to now, we have not found a way of developing a dialogue with researchers before they start their research as they are developing the research questions. It would be interesting to be able to find a way of doing this.

Appendix Three: Project Outputs

Workshop Delivery at Conferences, March 2016 – May 2017

Workshop One

Practicing Communities: Transformative societal strategies of artistic research: How does artistic research transform society? Nordic Summer University (NSU), Winter Symposium, Circle 7, Riga, Latvia 18-20 March 2016

Role: Present collaborative workshop

Title: *Woman's Outlook*, Past Present Future: Rip, Mark, Stick, Create, Multi-Vocal Image Making

Outcome: collage book

Number of Participants: 13

Workshop Length: 40 minutes

Workshop Two

Feminist Readings 2: Theory, Practice and Politics of Reading Today Conference, University of Leeds 15-16 April 2016

Role: Present collaborative workshop

Title: *Woman's Outlook*, Past Present Future: Rip, Mark, Stick, Create, Multi-Vocal Image Making

Outcome: collage book

Number of Participants: 3

Workshop Length: 50 minutes

Workshop Three

21st Century Feminist Praxes, Ontologies and Materialities Conference, Central European University, Budapest 13-14 May 2016

Role: Present collaborative workshop

Title: '*Woman's Outlook*', Past Present Future: Rip, Mark, Stick, Create, Multi-Vocal Image Making

Outcome: collage book
Number of Participants: 9
Workshop Length: 90 minutes

Workshop Four

Research matter(s), conversations about research in art design and media conference, Birmingham City University 8 July 2016

Role: Present collaborative workshop
Workshop Title: Unfolding The Archive
Outcome: Collage folded booklets and reflective journals
Number of Participants: 9
Workshop Length: 60 minutes

Workshop Five

Artists Open up the Archive Day Seminar at the National Co-operative Archive, Manchester 19 July 2016
Role: Organise and deliver day seminar with Satellite Circle 7, NSU
Outcomes: Collage book, folded booklets and reflective journals
Number of Participants: 14
All day seminar

Workshop Six

Arts and Creativity Working on Identity and Difference, 9th Midterm Conference of the European Sociological Association (ESA) Research Network 02 - Sociology of the Arts, University of Porto, Portugal 8-10 September 2016
Role: Present collaborative workshop
Title: *Woman's Outlook*, Past Present Future: Rip, Mark, Stick, Create, Multi-Vocal Image Making
Outcome: collage book
Number of Participants: 9
Workshop Length: 45 minutes

Workshop Seven

'Creative Humanities: Thinking, Making and Meaning', NWCDTP Arts and Humanities Postgraduate Conference Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester 19-20 October 2016

Role: Present individual workshop

Title: Unfolding the Archive

Outcome: collage postcards

Number of Participants: 14

Workshop Length: 60 minutes

Workshop Eight

LEGACY: *How and why should artistic research create a legacy?* Practicing Communities: Transformative societal strategies of artistic research. Winter Symposium, at Ricklundgården, Saxnäs, Sàpmiin, Northern Sweden 9-12 March 2017

Role: Present collaborative workshop

Title: Deciding the 'legacy' of a Book Art Collection

Outcome: reflective book

Number of Participants: 22

Workshop Length: 30 minutes

Workshop Nine

'Learning for Co-operative Transformations', The Co-operative Education and Research Conference 2017, Manchester Metropolitan University 5-6 April 2017

Role: Present individual workshop

Title: Deciding the 'legacy' of a Book Art Collection

Outcome: reflective book

Number of Participants: 7

Workshop Length: 45 minutes

Workshop Ten

Feminist Readings 3: Feminist Writings, University of Helsinki, Finland 26-27 May, 2017

Role: Present individual workshop

Provocation Title: Feminist Readings/ Writings in the Archive: Co-operative Woman and *Woman's Outlook* in interwar Britain

Outcome: reflective book

Number of Participants: 8

Workshop Length: 40 minutes

Conference Papers 2016-2017

Women, Activism and Reform, Economic History Society, Women's Committee 27th Annual Workshop, Mining Institute, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 19 November 2016

Paper Title: 'Co-operative women, gender identity and the everyday: a visual and material approach to the co-operative movement in interwar Britain'.

8th History of Education Doctoral Summer School Porto Conte (Alghero), University of Sassari, Italy 8-11 June 2017

Paper Title: 'Co-operative responses to gender in interwar Britain: an archival case study of co-operative movement visual and material culture'.

Twentieth Century British Periodicals; Words and Art on the Printed Page, 1900 - 1999, University of Reading, Museum of Rural Life, Reading 4 July 2017

Paper Title: 'Co-operative Woman and *Woman's Outlook*: representation and gender identity in interwar Britain'.

Conference Panels

The Co-operative Education Research Conference, MMU 21 April 2016

Panel member- 'Researching Co-operatives and Co-operation – Challenges & Insights'.

'Skills for Co-operators', 4th Annual Co-operative Education and Research Conference, Federation House, Manchester 1-2 May 2018

Panel member- 'Co-operators Early Researcher Network, (CERN): new ideas from new co-operative researchers'.

Exhibition

Advanced Visual Methods Summer School, Z-Arts Manchester 28-29 September 2017

Exhibition Title: *PROCESS MADE: Making & Thinking in Research*

Exhibit Title: Ways of knowing the National Co-operative Archive: Co-operative woman and *Woman's Outlook* in interwar Britain.

Appendix Four: Rationale for Sampling

20 Year Span: 1919-1939

4 magazines x 2 per year (November & May Issues) = 8 magazines per year x 20 years

TOTAL for 4 magazines for 1919-1939 = 160 magazines

TOTAL for 3 magazines for 1919-1939 = 120 magazines

Focus Approach: 1919, 1928-32, 1937-39

1919-1920

Nov 1919, Feb, May, Aug 1920 = 4 months x 4 magazines p/month = 16 magazines

1928-1932

Nov 1928, Feb, May, Aug 1929

Nov 1929, Feb, May, Aug 1930

Nov 1930, Feb, May, Aug 1931

Nov 1931, Feb, May, Aug 1932

Nov 1932 17 months x 4 magazines p/month = 68 magazines

1937-1939

Nov 1937, Feb, May, Aug 1938

Nov 1938, Feb, May, Aug 1939

Nov 1939 9 months x 4 magazines p/month = 36 magazines

TOTAL for 4 magazines for focus approach = 120 magazines

TOTAL for 3 magazines for focus approach = 90 magazines

10 Year Span: 1919-1929

4 magazines x 2 per year (November & May Issues) = 8 magazines per year x 10 years

TOTAL for 4 magazines for ten year span = 80 magazines

TOTAL for 3 magazines for ten year span = 60 magazines

5 Year Span: 1919 – 1924

Nov 1919, Feb, May, Aug 1920 = 4 months x 4 magazines p/month

Nov 1920, Feb, May, Aug 1921

Nov 1921, Feb, May, Aug 1922

Nov 1922, Feb, May, Aug 1923

Nov 1922, Feb, May, Aug 1923

Nov 1923, Feb, May, Aug 1924

Nov 1924

TOTAL for 4 magazines p/month for five year span = 100 magazines

TOTAL for 3 magazines p/month for five year span = 75 magazines

Appendix Five: Introduction to the National Co-operative Archive and the Co-operative Movement

This workshop offers an introduction to the National Co-operative Archive (NCA) and to my research project with the archive. Established in 2000, the NCA, holds the national print collections of the co-operative movement in Britain and is located in Manchester, England. The project focuses on the gender identity of co-operative woman in interwar Britain. The workshop spotlights the representation of co-operative woman in the inaugural edition of the co-operative publication *Woman's Outlook* (1919-1967).

As a participant at this conference, you are invited to make a collage, in response to the representation of co-operative woman, with photocopies of the inaugural edition of *Woman's Outlook* (November 1919). The workshop aims to gather participant responses to their experiences and understanding of co-operative woman, while accessing and using photocopies of the NCA material to try to understand ways of opening up the archive.

In Britain the co-operative movement was inaugurated in 1844, by 28 working men who founded the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers to cope with the socio-economic hardships of the 1840s. In response to the adulteration of food goods, the society offered an alternative business model to that of capitalism, through which it aimed to democratically improve living conditions. This was articulated in the distinctive co-operative ideology, Law First. For example, consumers by buying goods

at the co-operative store benefited with the purchase of high-quality goods and the surplus, distributed quarterly as a dividend, offered a form of saving.

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century autonomous co-operative societies developed across Britain. The movement engaged in the production and distribution of goods and services and comprised of large numbers of employees. It produced a rich print culture.

By taking part in this workshop your response and experience of handling and exploring the archival sources contributes to the project. Your contribution is important. I hope this knowledge will help me and others to learn how the archives may be more accessible to different people, and potentially develop further uses in the future.

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