

'WE INTEND TO SHOW WHAT OUR LORD HAS DONE
FOR WOMEN': THE LIVERPOOL CHURCH LEAGUE
FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, 1913–18

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HERE was nothing unusual in the inauguration, in December 1909, of a Church League for Women's Suffrage (CLWS). By January 1914, suffrage had become so expansive that fifty-three organizations competed for or shared a membership divided by tactics, religion, political allegiance, ethnic origin, or metier, but united in their desire to see the parliamentary franchise awarded to women.¹ At the time of the League's formation, the centre stage of suffrage politics was largely occupied by three groups: the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), suffragettes whose commitment to direct militant tactics brought them spectacularly into both the public eye and the prison cell; the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), whose suffragist members condemned all militancy, describing themselves as 'law-abiding'; and the Women's Freedom League (WFL), militants who had quit the WSPU in 1907 in a dispute over constitutional democracy.² Whilst they were often virulently opposed to each other, these three groups shared a commitment to an all-female membership and also the political will to prioritize the franchise above the broader feminist issues which adjoined their public campaigns. By contrast smaller suffrage groups, including the

¹ This figure comes from the 'Suffrage Directory', *Votes for Women* [hereafter *VFW*], 6 Feb. 1914.

² For the WSPU see, for example, E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement, an Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals* (London, 1931); Roger Fulford, *Votes for Women* (London, 1957); Antonia Raeburn, *The Militant Suffragettes* (London, 1973); Andrew Rosen, *Rise Up Women! The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, 1903–14* (London, 1974). For the NUWSS, works include Ray Strachey, *The Cause: A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain* (London, 1928); Jill Liddington and Jill Norris, *One Hand Tied Behind Us: The Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London, 1978); Leslie Parker Hume, *The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies* (New York and London, 1982). For the WFL, which still awaits a published history, see C. L. Eustance, 'Daring to be free: the evolution of women's political identities in the Women's Freedom League' (University of York D. Phil. thesis, 1993), and Hilary Francis, 'Our job is to be free: the sexual politics of four Edwardian feminists from c.1910–1935' (University of York D. Phil. thesis, 1996).

Church League, added extra dimensions to the suffrage campaign. They allowed members of the three main groups to explore issues other than suffrage whilst simultaneously providing alternative arenas for suffrage activity to those who did not feel able to commit themselves to the larger bodies. Thus the Church League did restrict its membership to practising Anglicans, but welcomed both militants and constitutionalists, and men as well as women into its ranks. Whilst the achievement of the parliamentary franchise remained its main aim, it also provided space for those who wished to explore 'the deep religious significance of the women's movement'.³ This paper uses the example of the Liverpool branch of the Church League to examine in greater detail to what extent, if any, such explorations resulted in an alteration of the gendered nature of space within Edwardian Anglicanism.

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The idea that space is a gendered phenomenon dovetails neatly with the notion of 'separate spheres', the 'middle-class, western and nineteenth-century variant of the public-private dichotomy'.⁴ 'Separate spheres' remains a somewhat problematic concept, and one with which historians of gender have rightly exercised caution.⁵ Yet for those of us whose main interest rests with the often forcible entry of women into public life, it remains a convenient yardstick for, as Alice Kessler-Harris acknowledged in her criticism of the concept, 'women and men may function in both [spheres], but gender defines where one's feet are planted'.⁶ For Edwardian women, this frequently meant that their feet were planted firmly within the domestic terrain. The popular forms of public speech and their forums had long been conceptualized as 'rational' and 'manly', placing a masculine republic in diametric opposition to a feminine home.⁷ Yet this division was frequently

³ London, Lambeth Palace Library, Davison Papers W16, Revd Claude Hinscliffe to Archbishop Davison, 3 May 1912, cited in Brian Heeney, *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930* (Oxford, 1988), p. 105.

⁴ Jane Rendall, 'Nineteenth century feminism and the separation of spheres: reflections on the public/private dichotomy', in Tayo Andreasen, Anette Borchorst, Drude Dahlerup, Eva Lous, and Hanne Rimmen Nielsen, eds, *Moving On: New Perspectives on the Women's Movement*, Acta Jutlandica LXVII:1, Humanities Series, 66 (Aarhus, 1991), p. 17.

⁵ See Rendall, 'Nineteenth century feminism', for an overview of historiography.

⁶ Alice Kessler-Harris, 'Gender ideology and historical reconstruction', *Gender and History*, 1 (1989), pp. 31-49.

⁷ The categories of 'rational' and 'manly' come from Nancy Fraser, 'Rethinking the

The Liverpool Church League for Women's Suffrage

contested from within the Edwardian feminist movement. Underpinning all of the movement's political campaigns lay a challenge to the way in which public space was gendered, and a desire to see it become more feminized. This had been achieved in a variety of locations. Educational, legal, medical, and local political institutions had opened up in response to the force of successive crusades. Certain other areas, including the epicentre of the state, Parliament, still remained wholly masculine, barred to women. This was mirrored within Anglicanism, the state religion. Here, even the physical boundaries of public space were gendered in certain churches, where women were 'excluded not only from the priesthood and from the pulpit, but from coming near the altar, singing in the choir – even taking the collection'.⁸

From its founding, the Church League recognized this system of gendered space, drawing heavily on the rhetoric of separate spheres. Many of the men involved in the League used the issue of women's suffrage as a means of promoting their personal views on woman's space and role within the Church. There was nothing new in the association of these views with the suffrage campaign. When the Revd Maurice F. Bell stated in the League's inaugural sermon that it had 'always been the business of Christian women to care for the home', he was following a well-established tradition.⁹ As early as 1895, the Central Society for Women's Suffrage attempted to 'remove a fear still to be found in some quarters that the women's suffrage movement is not consistent with the religious aspect of women's work and duty'.¹⁰ Much of the sermons of ministers involved in the Church League could have come directly from the abundance of prescriptive literature concerned with separate spheres and the perpetration of the gendered

public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy', in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA, 1994), pp. 109–42. Here, Fraser borrows from Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY, 1988). For a similar analysis see Leonore Davidoff, 'Regarding some old husbands' tales: public and private in feminist history', in her collection *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 227–76.

⁸ Sheila Fletcher, *Maude Royden, a Life* (Oxford, 1989), p. 4.

⁹ Maurice F. Bell, *The Church and Women's Suffrage: Sermon before the Inaugural Meeting of the Church League for Women's Suffrage at St Mark's, Regent's Park, Thursday December 2, 1909 by the Vicar, Rev. Maurice F. Bell, M. A.*, CLWS Pamphlet, 1 (London, 1909) [London, Museum of London, Suffragette Fellowship Collection, MOL 50. 82./307].

¹⁰ Central Society for Women's Suffrage, *Women's Suffrage: Opinions of Leaders of Religious Thought* (London, 1895).

public/private dichotomy published in the nineteenth century. The Revd William Temple certainly believed that women's concentration in the private sphere away from the corrupting world had given them 'special' and 'superior' qualities. These qualities, he believed, meant that 'Women have a greater initial facility for worship than men . . . [and] will raise worship to a new place in the life of the whole church by teaching men to revere something which women most easily do.'¹¹

However, as an organization dedicated to achieving a greater share in public life for women, it would have been illogical for the Church League simply to perpetuate existing gender conventions regarding access to public space. Within its own domain, therefore, it began to develop a new view drawing heavily on the theological belief that women did have an important role to play within the Church. This was not identical to men's role, but was of equal value and was equally public. As the Bishop of Hull explained, 'the ministry of women is different from that of men but there is no question of superiority or inferiority. Both are needed by Christ.'¹² Hence women within the Edwardian Anglican Church were perceived as 'equal but different'; superior to men but also more restricted in their role and access; more 'godly' yet less able physically to share in the holier spaces. This paradox was unique to neither the Edwardian period nor Anglicanism. Megan McLaughlin has found it to be at the heart of 'Christian rhetoric from the very beginning', whilst Bjorg Seland has noted amongst European Lutherans a prevailing 'pious ideology [which] carried in itself the potential both to conserve and provoke dominant attitudes to female roles'.¹³

For the more radical women involved in the Church League there was no question of allowing any part of the rhetoric of separate spheres to affect their position within both the organization itself and the wider Anglican community. 'Remember what were the conditions of life when the home was the only sphere allowed to women', CLWS

¹¹ Revd William Temple, M. A., 'How the women's movement may help the cause of religion', in *The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement; being a Series of Addresses Delivered at Meetings held at the Queen's Hall, London, on June 19 1912* (London, 1912) [London, Museum of London, Suffragette Fellowship Collection, MOL 50. 82./205], pp. 57–61.

¹² Right Revd J. A. Kempthorne, D. D., Bishop of Hull, 'Our Lord's teaching about women', *ibid.*, pp. 9–13.

¹³ Megan McLaughlin, 'Gender paradox and the otherness of God', *Gender and History*, 3 (1991), pp. 147–59; Bjorg Seland, 'Women's place within the pious Assembly House culture', unpublished paper delivered to 'A Woman's Place' conference, Kristiansand, June 1996 (cited with permission of the author).

The Liverpool Church League for Women's Suffrage

activist Mrs Creighton warned the movement in 1912.¹⁴ Christianity did not equate with passivity, and some members of the League were keen to affirm that despite recent advances in society: 'it remained for Christianity to fully declare that the accident of sex is nothing, and that in the Christian Commonwealth there is "neither male nor female"'.¹⁵ One of the aims of the Church League was to see this replicated in the outside world, specifically within the wholly masculine arena of Parliament.

The Church League represented more than simply a way for Anglicans to demonstrate their support for women's suffrage. Christianity had long played an important part in suffrage politics, especially amongst the most militant of suffragettes in the WSPU. Although the suffrage movement aimed at increasing women's equality with men, its own rhetoric could sometimes mirror the paradoxes of that of the Church. Difference was accepted implicitly through the constant stress that was placed on women's innate superiority to men, especially noticeable in the period from 1913 when belief that 'woman's human nature is . . . cleaner, stronger and higher than the human nature of men' led the WSPU to adopt the new campaign slogan of 'votes for women, chastity for men!'¹⁶ This reflected a wider WSPU belief that the intrinsic moral right of their campaign would win over the brute force of their male opposition. 'Fight on', the banner heading Emily Wilding Davison's funeral procession urged her comrades, 'and God will give the victory.'¹⁷

Many suffragettes drew on their Christian faith to justify their actions. During one of her many imprisonments Emily Wilding Davison scrawled the words 'rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God' on the wall of her Holloway cell, justifying her militant actions in terms borrowed from the civil disobedience of early Christian martyrs.¹⁸ She later became the famous suffragette martyr, dying under the hooves of the King's horse at the 1913 Derby, the WSPU colours pinned to her coat. The self-sacrifice of Lady Constance Lytton, who disguised her identity and her heart condition to undergo

¹⁴ Mrs Creighton, 'Effects of the women's movement on the education and ideals of women', in *The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement*, pp. 46–50.

¹⁵ Revd George Williams, *Women's Rights; a Sermon* (Glasgow, 1914).

¹⁶ *The Suffragette*, 1 Aug. 1913.

¹⁷ Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907–14* (London, 1987), p. 138.

¹⁸ Emily Wilding Davison, *VFW*, 3 Sept. 1909.

the forcible feeding that left her an invalid for life, was described by her comrade Dr Mary Gordon as a 'burnt offering' from a 'spiritual movement'.¹⁹ Other suffragettes often described their movement in quasi-religious terms, presenting Christian theology and suffrage rhetoric as interchangeable. Take this early example from a speech made in 1907 by Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, the WSPU's treasurer. Here, she preaches to her audience in words which would not have been out of place at a Salvation Army meeting:

The new conception of life which has been given to us is that of the woman, possessor of her own body and soul . . . free to develop within herself the thought and purpose of her Maker, unsubservient to the will or desire of man. . . . The new ideal is not only the cross, it is also the sword. 'I came not to bring peace on earth but a sword.' This word, spoken by the Prince of Peace, is one of the great paradoxes of which life is full.

I call upon [you], those who have vision, to take up the cross, to grasp the sword of this new conception, and with it to wage holy warfare against prejudice and custom . . . which enforce bondage and hold the woman's body and soul in subjection . . . come and join our crusade!²⁰

For other suffragettes the spirituality of suffrage went beyond Christianity to embrace what Martha Vicinus calls 'a closer union with nature and with religions that gave room for the expression of what they saw as peculiarly feminine characteristics'.²¹ For some suffragettes, this involved a departure from 'masculinist monotheism' towards a female trinity, for others it simply involved an acceptance of the iconography of 'Saint Christabel'.²²

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¹⁹ Cited by Martha Vicinus, 'Male space and women's bodies: the suffragette movement', in her *Independent Women* (London, 1985), p. 251.

²⁰ Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, *The New Crusade: a Speech Delivered by Mrs Pethick-Lawrence at Exeter Hall on May 30th, 1907*, WSPU Pamphlet (London, 1907) [London, Museum of London, Suffragette Fellowship Collection, MOL 50. 82./144].

²¹ Vicinus, 'Male space', p. 260.

²² See the religious ideas of Dora Marsden, described in Les Garner, *A Brave and Beautiful Spirit* (Aldershot, 1990), pp. 155–83. A representation of 'Saint' Christabel is reproduced on the cover of David Mitchell, *Queen Christabel* (London, 1977).

The Liverpool Church League for Women's Suffrage

The Church League itself provided an obvious forum for debates on the gendered construction of spirituality and organized religion. Thus it provided both a space for those who accepted existing gendered concepts around the idea of public space and also those who challenged them. The remainder of this paper will focus more closely on the Liverpool branch of the Church League, to explore how this contradiction affected the organization in practice.

Although certain radical ministers in Liverpool, mainly within the Free Churches, had long associations with both socialist and suffrage politics, it was not until January 1913 that a local branch of the CLWS was inaugurated, allowing Anglicans a chance to declare themselves simultaneously as suffragists.²³ Like other local suffrage organizations, the branch was called the Liverpool branch, but organized geographically throughout the region which constitutes the present-day county of Merseyside.²⁴ Nationally, Brian Heeney has noted, there was some public concern expressed over the high number of WSPU members who joined the Church League:

Despite the insistence of members and leaders that the League was perfectly innocent of political aims, the *Standard* of 25 September 1913 remarked; '[since] no fewer than six members of the elected committee, including the chairman, are subscribers to the Women's Social and Political Union, a grave doubt must arise as to the real character of this outwardly respectable society'.²⁵

Liverpool shared the *Standard's* concerns, but militancy won the day. An early attempt was made to bar 'militants on active service' from membership of the Liverpool CLWS branch, but the majority of the membership opposed this.²⁶ This first president and secretary, both

²³ *Church League for Women's Suffrage Monthly Paper* [hereafter *CLWS Monthly Paper*], Jan. 1913. Pembroke Chapel was the main site of pulpit radicalism in Liverpool. For more details see I. Sellers, *Salute to Pembroke*, unpublished typescript, Liverpool Record Office; also Leonard Smith, *Religion and the Rise of Labour* (Keele, 1993), pp. 145–53.

²⁴ For an explanation of the way that suffrage politics in Liverpool stretched through into Cheshire, Bootle, and Merseyside, see Krista Cowman, 'Engendering citizenship: women in Merseyside political organisations, 1890–1930' (University of York D.Phil. thesis, 1994).

²⁵ Heeney, *Women's Movement*, p. 112.

²⁶ Church League for Women's Suffrage, *Fourth Annual Report* (London, 1913).

constitutionalists, resigned following the membership's decision; but the other branch officials, drawn from both sides, remained. The majority of activists within the Liverpool Church League were predominantly WSPU members.²⁷ However this did not preclude constitutionalists from joining. A belief that common faith transcended policy differences between political organizations allowed even the most hostile suffragist enemies to combine under the auspices of the League. For example in 1914 NUWSS leader Eleanor Rathbone, whose stated opinion was that the NUWSS should at all times keep their campaign in the public eye over and above that of the WSPU, chaired a CLWS meeting at which the main speaker was Mr Bernard, a prominent local WSPU supporter, without either party appearing to feel compromised.²⁸

The denial of difference which was so important to the Liverpool Church League was not simply restricted to policy differences between suffrage campaigners, but reflected the far more radical denial at the organization's heart. At its first reported meeting, the preacher, the Revd J. Coop, took as his text Mark 1.31, explaining that as 'In Christ Jesus there was "neither male nor female" . . . the Church League intended to show those outside what Our Lord had done for women when "he took her by the hand and lifted her up".'²⁹

The main campaigning focus of the Liverpool Church League was on education. Membership allowed opportunities to share faith as suffragists during special services where the spiritual dimension of suffrage was discussed. At one such early gathering, some 300 members and supporters heard the Bishop of Hull give his opinion that 'There is not a parish in Liverpool . . . the work of which would not collapse if there were not women workers, and it is little short of a scandal . . . women who do the lions share [sic] of the church's work should not have the privilege of a vote.'³⁰ This in itself was insufficient for the more radical amongst the Anglican suffrage campaigners, who were

²⁷ An analysis of the Liverpool members named in the *CLWS Monthly Paper* shows that of the nineteen who had associations with other suffrage bodies, nine were WSPU members, six supported the NUWSS, and four were involved with the WFL.

²⁸ 'The recent developments of militant policy and . . . the reaction in public opinion . . . make it more important than ever that the . . . methods of the National Union should be kept prominently before public attention': Eleanor Rathbone, 'The methods of conciliation', *Common Cause*, 5 Sept. 1911.

²⁹ *CLWS Monthly Paper*, March 1914.

³⁰ *VFW*, 18 April 1913.

The Liverpool Church League for Women's Suffrage

seeking a broader debate about the very nature of the work that women did or did not do in the Church altogether. The League remained most committed to developing a critique of the gendering of public space outside the Church. The firmest gendered division of labour, the priesthood, remained 'debarred to women . . . a permanent prohibition'.³¹ The League appears to have fought shy of this issue. Even Maude Royden, who herself made a 'notorious' speech on the issue in 1915, admitted privately that her support for women priests was 'extreme', and warned her fellow League member, Ursula Roberts, to tread very carefully around the subject.³²

Outside of the League, as the organization began and increased its activity in Liverpool, there was a marked augmentation in public expressions of spirituality by the WSPU. Following a national campaign, local suffragettes had regularly and enthusiastically participated in the 'prayers for prisoners' initiative, in which church services were interrupted by women praying for suffragette hunger strikers.³³ In Liverpool, the campaign aptly centred around the newly opened Lady Chapel in the Anglican Cathedral. The chapel took famous Christian women as its theme, including Josephine Butler who had a window dedicated to her there, providing a perfect backdrop for militant spirituality.³⁴ During the first protest, in January 1914, women chanted a suffrage prayer for hunger strikers, 'brave women who are being persecuted for righteousness sake'. The protest culminated in a suffragette unfurling a banner declaring 'I came not to send peace, but a sword.' This was knocked from her hand and the churchwardens with unconscious irony threatened to exclude all women from the Lady Chapel in the future. The following week the prayers were repeated, although the cathedral authorities had hired six policemen and a sergeant to prevent another scene.³⁵ Such protests did not impress the local church authorities, and a WSPU deputation to the Bishop of Liverpool in April was told that rather than being willing to intervene on the subject of forcible feeding, he 'declined to lift a finger to help . . . until . . . the women desisted from brawling in the churches'. Members of the deputation, including Dr Alice Ker, an elderly local

³¹ Bell, *The Church and Women's Suffrage*.

³² Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, pp. 143–4.

³³ See Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, p. 510.

³⁴ For a short account of the importance of the Lady Chapel to feminism, see *The Vote*, 11 Nov. 1909.

³⁵ *The Suffragette*, 23 Jan. 1914, 30 Jan. 1914.

GP, 'remarked that it was a grievous matter if women were not to pray for their suffering sisters and added that the Church was in grave danger of losing its chief supporters . . . many women disgusted with the attitude of the clergy had already left'.³⁶

Such attitudes were not helpful to women seeking a space in which they could practise their faith without renouncing their political beliefs. Indeed, once again it would appear that they were expected to keep silent in church. Against this background, the Church League did at least offer an area in which political beliefs and faith could run in tandem. It also permitted prayers for suffragettes and allowed the spiritual dimensions of their campaigns to be explored. The 'Cat and Mouse Act', for example, which permitted the authorities to release hunger strikers under licence, only to return them to gaol when their health had improved, was condemned as 'un-Christian' by the Liverpool branch.³⁷ However, the Church League still supported restricted access to certain functions of the life of the Church, especially the priesthood, which was never really a subject for discussion within the League. For some women, therefore, it was still failing to provide the space that they sought completely. This failure must have appeared most frustrating to suffragettes within the League. They were devoting much of their campaigning activity outside of Anglicanism to an organization in which, as they did not have to compete with men for access to any activity or position, they were constantly able to set, explore, and develop their own agendas. The Church League, however, as a body with a male and female membership, could not replicate this. What this meant in practice was that the women members of the Church League did speak at public meetings, but that the preaching of sermons, the focal point of their regular suffrage services, could only be undertaken by male members.

On Merseyside, the militant suffrage campaign had always been high profile. Local women had shown themselves as capable public speakers and political organizers in its name. Girls in their late teens and elderly women had tackled cabinet ministers, braved imprisonment and forcible feeding, been heckled, stoned, and ridiculed at public meetings, interrupted plays and films, and undertaken a variety of serious illegal actions including bombing and arson in the name of the WSPU. This tradition fostered a sense of independent ability in

³⁶ *The Suffragette*, 3 April 1914.

³⁷ *CLWS Monthly Paper*, Sept. 1913.

The Liverpool Church League for Women's Suffrage

local suffragettes which made them willing to go further beyond what the Church League could offer in an attempt to develop suitable spiritual space for women. In March 1914 a Woman's Church, possibly the only such in the country, was opened at Wallasey. It had no premises of its own, but met in Liscard Concert Hall where two Sunday services a week were held, the afternoon one for women and the evening one mixed. The Woman's Church reflected the dual focus of spirituality within the WSPU. It aimed to recruit both women who, finding the Church 'like a cage . . . had come away in sheer disgust at the attitude of the clergy to the things which to them are dearer than life', and also those unattached to any church 'who would . . . be eager and anxious to attend a service where the real needs of women were sympathetically understood'.³⁸ Within the Woman's Church, gendered boundaries of space were not removed. More radically, they were reversed. An article in the *Free Church Suffrage Times* reported:

Women are to preach the sermons, offer the prayers, provide the music and take the collection. . . . Unthinking people will probably smile, but, after all, there is nothing novel in the idea of a Church governed by *one* sex only: the novelty . . . lies in the fact that it is the sex usually governed which is to govern.³⁹

Both local suffragettes and nationally famous Christian feminists supported the Woman's Church initiative. The inaugural service was held by the Revd Hatty Baker, 'one of the pioneer preachers in the Congregational Church' and a co-pastor at Plymouth. Miss Hoy, the Wallasey WSPU Secretary, was a keen attender.⁴⁰ It also received publicity within *The Suffragette* and *Votes for Women*. Sadly, the experiment was cut short. The Church appears to have folded during the First World War, a fate shared by many of its contemporary feminist organizations.

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³⁸ Letter from Miss Hoy, WSPU and Woman's Church activist, *Wallasey and Wirral Chronicle*, 14 March 1914; letter from Miss Brand, *ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1914.

³⁹ *Free Church Suffrage Times*, April 1914.

⁴⁰ For more details on the Revd Baker, see *Free Church Suffrage Times*, Jan. 1917; also Elaine Kaye, 'A turning point in the ministry of women: the ordination of the first women to the Christian ministry in England in September 1917', *SCH*, 27 (1990), pp. 505-12.

From the Liverpool example, it would appear that the Church League for Women's Suffrage did enjoy limited success in directing the spiritual side of the women's movement, and in forming a limited critique of the gendered nature of space within society. However, this critique, which rested on the denial of gender difference inherent within Christianity, did not extend to the separation of space or labour within the Church itself, and hence was insufficient for some spiritually radical women. They were forced beyond the limitations of Anglicanism into the Woman's Church, whose brief experimental forum allowed gender roles within the Church to be reversed, although not eradicated. Within the broader confines of Anglicanism, gendered space remained an accepted fact; and woman's place continued to be largely defined by men despite the impact of the wider Edwardian women's movement. It was to take almost another eighty years before the most rigid gendered division of labour, the Anglican ministry, broke down.

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