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Women's Liberation and Revolution a bibliography compiled by Sheila Rowbotham

U. Rosa Dellaloha

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Introduction

This bibliography lists books, pamphlets and articles which explore the relationship between feminism and revolutionary politics.

It covers such areas as: the effect of capitalism on women at work and in the home, the changing nature of the family, religious dissent and women's equal rights, women and the socialist movement, the role of women in revolutions and their effect on the position of women, women's liberation and colonialism, national liberation movements, the origins of the recent women's liberation movement, new forms of sexual relations, the connection between culture, consciousness and revolutionary change.

It is intended as a general introduction: anyone who wanted to follow up a particular section would probably read much more. On the other hand, an asterisk indicates items which provide useful summaries if you don't want to read the lot, or which it would be a pity to miss: all the items listed in Section 1 and under 'Miscellaneous pamphlets and articles' in Section 16 fall into one of these two categories. Paperback books are indicated by (p). In the case of commercially published books, if the publisher is cited, then the book was in print in 1971 or later. This does not necessarily apply to non-commercially published pamphlets etc., the publishers of which have been cited as a guide to identity.

The bibliography is based on what I read for a book called *Women: Resistance and Revolution*, which is to be published by Allen Lane in Autumn 1972 (though the book doesn't cover all the stuff I've listed here because it became too long).

February 1972

Sheila Rowbotham

Note on the Second Edition

Sheila has added a supplement to the bibliography which contains three new sections (dealing with waged work and the trade unions, birth control and abortion, and spiritualism and sexuality) and substantial additions to some of the original sections. These are mainly books Sheila has found while working on *Hidden from History*, to be published by Pluto Press in June 1973.

The supplement includes corrections to the original bibliography, and the British addresses in the list at the back of the bibliography have been updated. But the bibliography as a whole has not been brought up to date - it does not include material written in the Women's Liberation Movement since February 1972. So much has been published in the last few months that to cover this period would require a new bibliography.

Women's Liberation and Revolution is now essentially a historical bibliography, including the history of the Women's Liberation Movement in its first years, but not what has happened since the beginning of 1972.

May 1973

Falling Wall Press

1. Some general books on women's liberation

- BEAUVOIR, Simone de, *The Second Sex*, London, Cape, 1968, Four Square (p), 1969; & *The Nature of the Second Sex*, London, Four Square (p), 1968.
Essential study of the nature of female oppression and consciousness.
- FIGES, Eva, *Patriarchal Attitudes*, London, Faber, 1970.
Description of attitudes to women of famous literary, political and psychological figures in the past.
- FIRESTONE, Shulamith, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution*, London, Cape, 1971.
Radical feminist perspective on women's liberation.
- FRIEDAN, Betty, *The Feminine Mystique*, London, Penguin (p), 1968.
Description of the pre-liberation movement period in the U.S.
- GREER, Germaine, *The Female Eunuch*, London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1970, Paladin (p), 1971.
Witty attack on the absurdities of the female condition from an individualistic outsider liberationist. No good, though, on the movement itself.
- MILLET, Kate, *Sexual Politics*, London, Hart-Davis, 1971.
Images of women in literature, sociology, psychology.
- MITCHELL, Juliet, *Woman's Estate*, London, Penguin (p), 1971.
Short account of various strains in women's liberation thinking. Very useful for group discussions. Connects feminism and socialism.
- MORGAN, Robin (ed.), *Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement*, New York, Vintage Trade Books (p), Random House, 1970.
Very good. Includes writing on jobs, schools, sexuality, black women, chicana women, gay liberation, China. Poetry; excerpts from SCUM manifesto.
- ROWBOTHAM, Sheila, *Women: Resistance and Revolution*, London, Allen Lane, due 1972.
Relationship between feminism and social revolution, in ideas and actuality.
- TANNER, Leslie B. (ed.), *Voices from Women's Liberation*, New York, Signet (p), 1971.
Anthology of modern American material, plus historical texts. (See section 2.)
A mystery book, no name yet, is going to appear soon. It is a collection of women's liberation writing on a wide variety of subjects, ranging from primary school readers to the law, sexuality to claimants' unions, women in T.V. and trade unions. It is being written by women from groups in various parts of Britain.
See Leonora Lloyd, A Booklist for Women's Liberation, published by London Socialist Women, for a longer list of general books on women's liberation.

2. General histories of feminism

- ABENSOUR, Léon, *Histoire Générale du Feminisme*, Paris, 1921.
Narrative account of feminism—mainly in France, from the middle ages to the suffragettes.
- BLEASE, W. Lyon, *The Emancipation of English Women*, London, 1910.
Rather antiquated, but contains some useful information.
- *COWLEY, Joyce, *Pioneers of Women's Liberation*, Merit pamphlet.
Introductory pamphlet.
- *DANGERFIELD, George, *The Strange Death of Liberal England*, London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1966, Paladin (p), 1970.
Racy history of the period before World War I: the women's revolt, strikes, trouble in Ireland.
- *FLEXNER, E., *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the U.S.*, Atheneum, (p), 1968.
General history of feminism.
- *GORDON, Ann D., BUHLE, Mari-Jo & SCHROM, Nancy E., 'Women in American Society', in *Radical America*, Vol. V, No. 4.
Article on approaches to women's history, relationship between methodological assumptions and women's liberation. Includes extensive bibliography on American

women's history.

- HAYS, H. R., *The Dangerous Sex: The Myth of Feminine Evil*, London, Methuen, 1966.
Illustrates male fear of women through anthropological and historical examples.
- *IRELAND, Waltrand, 'You don't need the Vote to Raise Hell. The rise and fall of the Suffrage Movement', in *Leviathan*, Vol. 2, No. 1, May 1970.
Good introduction to history of American feminism and its relation to the labour movement.
- KRADITOR, Aileen, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement*, New York, Columbia U.P., 1965.
Account of various tendencies among suffragettes.
- KRADITOR, Aileen, *Up from the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism*, Chicago, Quadrangle, 1968.
Feminism in relation to the working class.
- O'NEILL, William, *The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England*, London, Allen & Unwin (p), 1969.
Account of feminist movement.
- O'NEILL, William, *Everyone was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America*, Chicago, Quadrangle, 1969.
Feminism in relation to the working class.
- RAMELSON, Marion, *Petticoat Rebellion*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1967.
Feminism and socialism. Useful introduction.
- TANNER, Leslie B. (ed.), *Voices from Women's Liberation*, New York, Signet (p), 1971.
Includes material by Wright, Wollstonecraft, Grimke, Stanton, Anthony, Truth, Blackwell, Stone.
- *Women in History: a Re-creation of Our Past', in *Women: a Journal of Liberation*, Spring 1970.
Includes articles on Grimke sisters, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Margaret Sanger, Maude Gonne, and the suffrage and trade union movements. Has bibliographies covering feminism in America, and Ireland.
- *Women in Revolution', in *Women: a Journal of Liberation*, Summer 1970.
Includes articles on French Revolution, Russian Revolution, Cuba, Vietnam, China, Rosa Luxemburg.

3. Women and the Puritan Revolution in England and America

- ADAMS, C.F., *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636-38*, Boston, 1894 (reprinted, Burt Franklin, 1966).
Religious defiance amongst American puritans.
- BROCKBANK, E.E., *Richard Hubberthorne of Yealand*, London, 1929.
Conflict between female ranter and male quaker.
- *CLARK, Alice, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1919 (reprinted, F. Cass, 1968).
Very important study of the effect of the growth of capitalism on the structure of women's work. Shows how women's trades were invaded by male workers.
- COHN, Norman, *The Pursuit of the Millenium*, London, 1959, Paladin (p), 1970.
Religious heresy and female discontent: mainly Middle Ages, but appendices on puritanism.
- GARDINER, Dorothy, *English Girlhood at School*, London, 1929.
Education.
- GUILLET, Edwin C., *The Pioneer Farmer and Backwoodsman*, Toronto, Toronto U.P., 1963.
Early American farming community and position of women.
- *HILL, Christopher, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England*, London, Secker & Warburg, 1964, Panther (p), 1969.
For changes in the family and work with the growth of capitalism.
- HILL, Christopher, *Puritanism and Revolution*, London, Panther (p), 1968.
Contains essay on Richardson's Clarissa and property marriage.
- KETTLE, Arnold, *An Introduction to the English Novel*, London, Hutchinson (p), 1967.
Literary criticism from a marxist perspective. Volume 1 includes discussion of Clarissa.
- MACARTHUR, Ellen, 'Women Petitioners and the Long Parliament', in *English*

- Historical Review, Vol. XXIV, 1909.**
Women and politics in the Civil War.
- PINCHBECK, Ivy, & HEWITT, Margaret, *Children in English Society*, London, Routledge, 1969.
History of the position of children.
- *THOMAS, Keith, 'Women in the Civil War Sects', in *Past and Present*, No. 13, 1958.
Very important article on the effect of puritanism on women.
- UNDERWOOD, Dale, *Etherege and the Seventeenth Century Comedy*, Yale U.P., 1957.
For women in seventeenth century literature.
- WALZER, Michael, *The Revolution of Society*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966.
Chapter on the family and puritanism.
- WRIGHT, Louis B., *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, Cornell U.P., 1958.
Useful background. Includes extracts from feminist literature of the seventeenth century.

You should supplement this bibliography with the items quoted in Ann D. GORDON et al., 'Women in American Society', in Radical America, July–August 1971—especially on America.

Some of the original pamphlets are still available. For example, in the British Museum you can find:—

- L'ESTRANGE, Roger, *The Woman as good as the man, or the equality of both sexes*, 1677.
Feminist.
- The Women Fegaries, shewing the great endeavour they have used for obtaining of the Breaches*, c.1675.
Anti-feminist.

4. The eighteenth century and the French Revolution: France and England

- ABENSOUR, Léon, *La Femme et le Feminism avant la Révolution*, Paris, 1928.
Position of women and feminist ideas before 1789—narrative.
- CHEVALIER, Louis, *Classe Laborieuse et Classes Dangereuses*, Paris, 1958.
Useful background. Growth of Paris, concentration of population by class, sex and age. Housing, disease, prostitution. Image of lower class in upper class literature. From 1789–1848.
- COBB, Richard, *A Second Identity: Essays on France and French History*, London, O.U.P., 1969.
Collection of essays and reviews, including material on the part of women in the French Revolution and later popular movements.
- GOLDSMITH, Margaret, *Seven Women against the World*, London, 1935.
Short biographical essays on women, including some who participated in the French Revolution.
- *RACZ, Elizabeth, 'The Women's Rights Movement in the French Revolution', in *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, Summer 1970.
Useful introduction. Includes more detailed bibliography than is given here.
- RUDÉ, George, *The Crowd in the French Revolution*, London, O.U.P., 1959, (p) 1968.
Includes accounts of women in the revolutionary crowd during the French Revolution.
- *RUDÉ, George, *The Crowd in History: a Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848*, New York, Wiley (p), 1964.
Same. But more general material up to 1848.
- STORR, M.S., *Mary Wollstonecraft et le Mouvement Féminist dans la Littérature Anglaise*, Paris, 1932.
Wollstonecraft in the context of feminism before the Vindication (see below).
- UTTER, R.P. & NEEDHAM, G.B., *Pamela's Daughters*, London, 1937.
General study of women in eighteenth and early nineteenth century novel. Discussion of morality, property marriage, influence of Rousseau. Reaction to French Revolution and early women's rights in lesser known novels.

VILLIERS, Baron Marc de, *Histoire des Clubs des Femmes et des Légions d'Amazone* 1793–1848, Paris 1871.

Story of the clubs. Antiquated but interesting.

- *WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary, *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, London, 1792, & *Posthumous Works*, London, 1798.
Still relevant statements on the need for liberation.

5. Feminism and the early radical and socialist movements: France, America, England, Russia

ABENSOUR, Léon, *Le Féminisme sous la Règne de Louis Philippe et en 1848*, Paris, 1913.

Tendencies in feminism after French Revolution.

BESTOR, Arthur E. jnr., *Backwoods Utopia*, University of Philadelphia, 1950.

Utopian communities and women's equality.

- *BRAILSFORD, H.N., *Shelley, Godwin and their Circle*, London, 1951.
Intellectual early radicalism and feminism. Very good as an introduction to England.

*COLE, G. D. H., *A History of Socialist Thought*, London, Macmillan, 1953.
Vol. 1 for Flora Tristan.

DEMAR, Clair, *Ma Loi d'Avenir et l'Appel d'une Femme du Peuple sur l'Affranchissement de la Femme*, Paris, 1833.

Early attempt to connect feminism and utopian socialism.

DERVIN, Jeanne, *Cours de Droit Social pour les Femmes*, Paris, 1848.

Feminism and utopian socialism.

DOLLÉANS, Edouard, *Féminisme et Mouvement Ouvrier*, Paris, 1951.

Account of early feminism's connections with the developing labour movement in France.

FOURIER, C., *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements in Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris, 1841–45.
Important early attempt to understand the connection between kinds of society and the position of women.

- *FRYER, Peter, *The Birth Controllers*, London, Corgi (p), 1967.
Chatty general history of the movement for birth control. Shows relationship to radicalism.

GATTEY, Charles Nelson, *Gauguin's Astonishing Grandmother: Flora Tristan*, London, Femina, 1970.

Biography of Flora Tristan. Unfortunately, more interested in drama and romance of her life-story than her feminism and socialism.

GRAY, John, *A Lecture on Human Happiness*, London, 1825.

An early co-operative scheme which carefully includes women. All household tasks shared equally between the sexes.

GREPON, Marguerite, *Une Croisade pour un Meilleur Amour*, Paris, 1967.

The story of Suzanne Voilquin, a French working class girl who became involved with the Saint-Simonites and went to Egypt searching for the woman messiah.

HARRISON, J. F. C., *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America: the Quest for the New World*, London, Routledge, 1969.

Includes account of the extraordinary life of Frances Wright and early free love communities in the U.S.

- *KILLHAM, John, *Tennyson and 'The Princess': Reflections of an Age*, London, Athlone, 1958.

This is much more than useful background to 'The Princess'. It is in fact a general account of the utopian socialist and feminist movement in England in the first half of the nineteenth century.

LUBAC, Henri de, *The Unmarxian Socialist: A Study of Proudhon*, London, 1948.

Description of the ideas of Proudhon who, though an utopian socialist, was very anti-feminist.

MILLER, Percy (ed.), *Margaret Fuller, American Romantic*, New York, 1963.

Transcendentalist feminism in America.

- *PANKHURST, Richard K., *William Thompson, 1775–1853*, London, 1954.

Biography of early socialist and feminist. Useful introduction to ideas on the left in the early nineteenth century.

- PANKHURST, Richard K., 'Fourierism in Britain' in *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 1, 1956.
Impact of Fourier.
- SHELLEY, P.B., Notes on 'Queen Mab' in his *Poetical Notes*, London, 1947.
Criticism of marriage.
- SMITH, W. Anderson, *Shepherd Smith the Universalist*, London, 1892.
Freaky religion, feminism and radicalism.
- SULLEROT, Evelyne, 'Journaux Féminins et Lutte Ouvrière' in *La Presse Ouvrière*, Paris, Jacques Godechot, 1966.
Description of contents of early feminist papers.
- THOMAS, Clara, *Love and Work Enough: The Life of Anna Jameson*, London, Macdonald, 1967.
Feminism in the mid-nineteenth century moving away from socialism.
- *THOMAS, Edith, *Les Femmes de 1848*, Paris, 1948.
Short history of role of women in 1848. Written as a tribute to the women in the French Resistance.
- THOMPSON, Dorothy (ed.), *The Early Chartists*, London, Macmillan (p), 1971.
Collection of documents including some indicating attitudes towards women's rights in Chartist movement.
- *THOMPSON, William, *Appeal of one half of the Human Race, Women, against the pretensions of the other half, Men, to retain them in political and thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery*, London, 1825.
Though written long ago, the points Thompson makes against his anti-feminist opponents are still relevant today.
- ZELDIN, David, *The Educational Ideas of Charles Fourier, 1772–1837*, London, Cass, 1967.

6. Marx and Engels on women's liberation†

- COLLINS, H. & ABRAMSKY, C., *Karl Marx and the British Labour Movement*, London, 1965.
Has information about Marx's attitude to children's and women's work.
- *DRAPER, Hal, 'Marx and Engels on Women's Liberation' in *International Socialism*, July/August 1970.
This is very useful as a summary of what Marx and Engels wrote about women, although it doesn't really point out problems and inadequacies in what they wrote. Contains bibliography.
- GEIGER, H. Kent, *The Family in Soviet Russia*, Harvard U.P., 1968.
Contains introductory chapter on Marx and Engels on the family.
- HODGKIN, Thomas, *Love and the Revolutionaries*, Millicent Fawcett Lecture, Bedford College, University of London, sections printed in *Oxford Left*, 1968.
Article on attitude towards love of various revolutionary circles.
- *Marxism and the Liberation of Women: Quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, Union of Women for Liberation.
This pamphlet of excerpts provides a good start if you've read nothing by Marx and Engels and co. before. Useful for group discussions, too.
- ENGELS, Friedrich, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.
Description of conditions in early industrialisation, including effect of towns and factories on the family.
- *ENGELS, Friedrich, *Origin of the Family*.
Engels used the anthropologist Morgan's ideas in an attempt to connect the mode of production to particular forms of the family. Although he doesn't in fact integrate his anthropology, his marxist ideas and his sympathy for the liberation of women, he raises questions which are still relevant for discussion—for example, attitudes in revolutionary movements to love, monogamy, socialisation of housework. Subsequent anthropology has shown evidence for a universal matriarchal order to be inadequate; and that to use existing models of primitive society is not a reliable way of establishing what society was like in the past. The connection

† Publication details are not generally included for works by Marx and Engels because they are published, in full or in selection, in so many editions.

between the family and particular modes of production is more varied and complex than Engels imagined.

MARX, Karl, **Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts.**
Marx, influenced by Fourier, develops idea of connection between oppression of women and position of workers.

MARX, Karl, **Capital.**
Marx describes what capitalist commodity production is and how it works. This is very helpful because, having grasped the main points of his argument, you can go on to try and work out what is different about social reproduction of life in the family. There are odd pieces of information about women's condition in the nineteenth century. Also Marx's statements about involving women in production.

MARX, Karl, (edited by E.J. Hobsbaum), **Pre-capitalist Economic Formations,** London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1964.
See next item.

MARX, Karl (edited by David McLellan), **Marx's Grundrisse,** London, Macmillan, 1971.
Both these are useful for thinking about the family and its similarities to pre-capitalist modes of production. Marx explains the difference between capitalist commodity production and previous modes of production.

MARX, Karl & ENGELS, Friedrich, **The Communist Manifesto.**
Includes section on children and the family.

MARX, Karl & ENGELS, Friedrich, **The Holy Family.**
Includes criticism of double-standard of bourgeois morality.

MARX, Karl & ENGELS, Friedrich, **The German Ideology.**
This is useful generally for thinking about the relation between material conditions and consciousness. There are also statements about the family and the oppression of women in early times.

Marx and Engels' ideas make most sense when you place them in their historical context, with particular reference to: 1) the effect on the family and women of the industrial revolution; 2) ideas in the socialist movement about the liberation of women.

7. The family and the position of women in the nineteenth century: France, U.S., Britain

*BANKS, J.A. & Olive, **Feminism and Family Planning,** Liverpool University Press, 1964.
Useful account of the changing position of the middle class woman. Use the bibliography at the back for further reading.

DAUBIÉ, J., **La Femme Pauvre aux XIX Siècle,** Paris, 1866.
Description of conditions by a contemporary.

FONER, Philip, **The History of the Labour Movement in the United States,** New York, International Publishers Co., 1947-65.
General History. Handy as a reference book.

*HENRY, Alice, **The Trade Union Woman,** New York, 1915.
Account of unionisation of women workers. Very moving description of the difficulties they encountered.

HEWITT, Margaret, **Wives and Mothers in Victorian Industry,** London, Barrie & Rockliff, 1958.
Women's conditions. Impact of women's work away from home (especially in Lancashire mills) on family. Nineteenth century baby-minding, infant mortality, early attempts at nurseries for working class children.

*HOUGHTON, W. E., **The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870,** Yale University Press, 1957 (p).
Account of uncertainties behind Victorian confidence. Attitude to love, sexual guilt, sense of duty, home as retreat from the harshness of capitalist competition. Includes bibliography.

LLOYD, A. L., **Folk Song in England,** London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1967.
For account of women in folk music. Hints at possibility of discovering attitudes of groups excluded from history.

*PINCHBECK, Ivy, **Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850,**

London, 1930 (reprinted F. Cass, 1969).

Women's conditions.

MARCUS, Steven, **The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth Century England**, London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1969, Corgi (p), 1969.

Seamy side of Victorian morality. Illustrates the connection in upper class male mind between working class girls and sexuality forbidden in their own women.

NEFF, W. F., **Victorian Working Women**, New York, A.M.S. Press, 1929.

Women's conditions.

*THOMPSON, Dorothy, **The British People, 1760–1902**, London, Heinemann Educational, 1969.

General account with pictures of changes in people's lives—including women, work, home, political rights. Very useful if you have no general social history background.

THOMPSON, E.P., **The Making of the English Working Class**, London, 1963, Penguin (p), 1970.

Includes descriptions of the effect of early stages of industrialisation on women. Essential also for general background for early nineteenth century radicalism.

8. Feminism and socialist and anarchist movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Germany, Russia, U.S., Britain, France, Italy†

BALABANOFF, Angelica, **My Life as a Rebel**, London, 1938.

Description of socialist movement in Italy and Russia by a supporter of women's liberation.

BAX, E. Belfort, **Essays in Socialism**, London, 1907.

Contains criticism of feminists. Anti women getting the vote. If you want to follow up the debate in the Social Democratic Federation, look through numbers of their journal, The Social Democrat.

*BEBEL, A., **Woman in the Past, Present and Future**, London, 1885.

Book on women's liberation, by member of German socialist movement, which caused conflict in Germany and had an important influence there and elsewhere.

BONDFIELD, Margaret G. & OLIVER, Kathlyn, **Shop Workers and the Vote, Domestic Servants and Citizenship**, People's Suffrage Federation (no date).

Description of conditions of shop workers and servants. Account of attempt to establish a domestic servants' union.

CARPENTER, Edward, **My Days and Dreams**, London, 1918.

Autobiography of an anarchist socialist who wrote about the liberation of women and sexuality.

CARPENTER, Edward, **Love's Coming of Age**, Manchester, 1896.

Attempt to connect liberation of women with socialism, drawing on early anthropological and psychological material. Outdated now, but interesting. Upset the socialist movement at the time, but also influenced many socialists. Early hints of Gay Liberation.

CHERNYSHEVSKY, N. G., **A Vital Question; or, What is to be Done?**, New York, 1886; Vintage Books (p), 1961.

Utopian novel about women's liberation. Influenced Russian revolutionaries in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

CONLON, Lil, **Cumann na mBan and the Women of Ireland, 1913–25**, Kilkenny, 1969.

Account of women in civil war.

CRONWRIGHT-SCHREINER, S.C. (ed.), **Letters of Olive Schreiner**, London, 1924.

Biographical material on Olive Schreiner, mystical feminist socialist.

DRINNON, Richard, **Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman**, University of Chicago Press, 1961, Beacon Press (p), 1970.

Life of Emma Goldman, anarchist and women's liberator.

FIGNER, Vera, **Memoirs of a Revolutionist**, London, 1929.

† See also Section 9 below.

- Part played by a woman in Russian revolutionary movement.*
- GOLDMAN, Emma, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, New York, 1910 (partly reprinted in *Anarchy*, Oct. 1965 as Emma Goldman, 'It's a man's world').
Includes criticism of feminist movement and her ideas of women's liberation.
- GOLDMAN, Emma, *Living My Life*, New York, 1931; Dover (p), 1970.
Courageous defiance against convention and oppression in every form.
- GREIG, Teresa Billington & BONDFIELD, Margaret, *Verbatim Report of Debate on December 3rd 1907: Sex Equality versus Adult Suffrage*, Adult Suffrage Society, 1907.
The argument was whether women should campaign for a limited franchise which would exclude working class women and continue to leave men who were 'living in' as servants or shop assistants voteless, but which could possibly be extended later. But Billington Greig also argues that sex inequality is the crucial factor in holding back the development of a democratic society.
- HOBMAN, D. L., Olive Schreiner: *Her Friends and Times*, London, Pemberton, 1955.
Account of Carpenter-Schreiner circle. Inadequate, but nothing else exists.
- KENDALL, Walter, *The Revolutionary Movement in Britain, 1900-21*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969.
Reference to women's actions, including over housing on Clyde.
- LAMPERT, E., *Sons against Fathers*, London, O.U.P., 1964.
Includes chapter on Chernyshevsky and his ideas.
- McMILLAN, Margaret, *The Life of Rachel McMillan*, London, 1927.
Women in socialist movement and early nursery agitation.
- MARX, Eleanor & AVELING, E., 'The Woman Question', in *Westminster Review*, 1885. Reprinted in *Marxism Today*, Vol XVI, No.3, March 1972.
Review of Bebel. Shows Eleanor Marx's ideas and indicates influences on socialist approach to the woman question at the time.
- MEIZER, J. M., *Knowledge and Revolution: The Russian Colony in Zurich, 1870-1873*, New York, Fernhill, 1965.
Not a very well known book. Account of Russian intellectual revolutionaries in exile in Zurich during the 1870s. Includes description of separate women's groups, and the arguments for and against them, in the early revolutionary movement.
- *MITCHELL, David, *Women on the Warpath*, London, Cape, 1966.
Racy account of women in the first world war. Ranges from suffragette police women and women who insisted on going to the front to the activities of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes. It's a good idea to read him after Dangerfield (see section 2).
- MITCHELL, Geoffrey (ed.), *The Hard Way Up: The Autobiography of Hannah Mitchell, Suffragette and Rebel*, London, Faber & Faber, 1968.
Moving account of childhood in the countryside and work as a shop assistant and dress-maker; attitudes of men in the socialist movement to housework, and activities in the suffragette movement.
- MONTEFIORE, Dora, *From a Victorian to a Modern*, London, 1927.
Autobiography of a socialist feminist.
- MONTEFIORE, Dora, *Sings through the Dark*, London, 1898.
Feminist verse. Quaint but touching now.
- PANKHURST, E. Sylvia, *The Suffragette Movement: An Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals*, London, 1931.
Her version of the movement's history, and a moving record of her own life at that time.
- PANKHURST, E. Sylvia, *The Suffragette: The History of the Women's Militant Suffrage Movement, 1905-1910*, New York, 1911.
More journalistic and general account.
- PANKHURST, E. Sylvia, *The Life of Emmeline Pankhurst*, London, 1935.
Biography of her mother.
- PANKHURST, E. Sylvia, *Writ on Cold Slate*, London, 1922.
Poems about women she met in jail.
- SCHREINER, Olive, *Story of an African Farm*, London, 1883, Penguin (p), 1970.
Mystical novel about adolescence in South Africa. Includes resentment about femininity.
- SCHREINER, Olive, *Woman and Labour*, London, 1911.

- Attempt to understand the oppression of women through exclusion of upper class women from production. Shaky analysis, but interesting.*
- SHAW, Bernard, **The Quintessence of Ibsenism**, London, 1891.
Shaw's version of Ibsen's ideas.
- STEINBERG, I., **Spiridonova: Revolutionary Terrorist**, London, 1933.
One woman's life in the Russian revolutionary movement before the Revolution and after.
- STEPNIAK [pseudonym], **Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life**, London, 1883.
Account of Russian revolutionary movement, including several women.
- *THOMAS, Edith, **The Women Incendiaries**, London, Secker & Warburg, 1967.
Study of women in the Commune, but also includes description of conditions and socialist feminist argument before 1871. Very important. Has lengthy bibliography on France.
- TSUZUKI, C., **H. M. Hyndman and British Socialism**, London, O.U.P., 1961.
Background of controversy in socialism during late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Includes reference to attitudes to feminism.
- TSUZUKI, C., **The Life of Eleanor Marx, 1855-98: A Socialist Tragedy**, London, O.U.P., 1967.
Material on Marx menage, plus Eleanor's role in trade union organising, attitudes to woman problem.
- TSUZUKI, C., 'The Impossible Revolt in Britain', **International Review of Social History**, Vol. 1, 1956.
Young rebels against Hyndman. Interest in women's liberation and Engels' Origin of the Family which Hyndman hated.
- WILKINSON, Lily Gair, **Revolutionary Socialism and the Women's Movement**, Edinburgh, Socialist Labour Party, no date (c.1910).
Pamphlet criticising feminism in early twentieth century.
- Women's [later Workers'] **Dreadnaught**.
Paper produced by Sylvia Pankhurst and East London Federation of the Suffragettes. Contains accounts of women's conditions in early twentieth century.
- WOODROOFE, Debby, 'American Feminism 1848-1920', in **Women in Revolt, International Socialist Review**, March 1971.
Article that provides a useful summary of U.S. feminist movement in the past. Shows failure of feminists to move towards socialist movement, and failure of socialists to really support feminism.
- In the Marx Memorial Library (37a Clerkenwell Green, E.C.1) there are old pamphlets, in cardboard boxes, on women and socialism.*

9. Women's conditions in Britain in the early twentieth century†

- BRANSON, Noreen & HEINEMANN, Margot, **Britain in the Nineteen Thirties**, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971.
Contains information about birth rate and living conditions.
- DAVIES, Margaret Llewelyn (ed.), **Life as we have known it**, by Co-operative Working Women, with an Introduction by Virginia Woolf, London, 1931.
Very moving descriptions of the life of working class women in the Co-operative Women's Guild. Also an account by Virginia Woolf of a congress in 1913, and of her own feelings as a middle class woman in relation to the organisation of working class women.
- EYLES, Leonora, **The Ram Escapes**, London, 1953.
Autobiographical account of middle class childhood, impoverishment and coming to London for work as a young girl in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- *EYLES, Leonora, **The Woman in the Little House**, London, 1922.
Description of everyday life after World War I: attitudes to class, courting, sex, need for children's allowances, economic and social problems of working class women.

† See also Section 8 above.

- HAMILTON, Mary Agnes, *Margaret Bondfield*, London, 1924.
Biography of women trade unionist who organised shop workers. Describes conditions of living in early twentieth century.
- *HOLTBY, Winifred, *Women and a Changing Civilisation*, London, 1934.
Includes account of changes in women's conditions. Especially interesting for her comments on attitudes to feminism. She argues that some of the tendencies to be described by Betty Friedan later, in reaction to feminism, are already well developed by the mid-1930's.
- *HUTT, Allen, *The Condition of the Working Class in Britain*, London, 1933.
Although this is a general account, of men and women's conditions, there is quite a lot on women in the cotton industry and on the health of mothers; also the growth of new industries around London and the use of women's labour.
- *PHILLIPS, Marion, 'Women in Industry', in *Some Problems of Urban and Rural Industry: The Reorganisation of Industry*, Series II, Ruskin College Oxford, 1917.
Detailed account of the effect of the war, and the attitudes of male trade unionists.
- PHILLIPS, Marion (ed.), *Women and the Labour Party*, London, Labour Publishing House, 1918.
Includes variety of articles—on women in trade unions, children's allowances, nurseries, housing, domestic servants' conditions, the struggle for pit-head baths.
- PHILLIPS, Marion, *The Miners' Lockout*, London, Labour Publishing Co., 1927.
Account of the collection of relief and the hardships in miners' families after the General Strike. Role of women's organisations—e.g. Women's Sections of the Labour Party and Women's Co-operative Guild.
- PIKE, E. Royston, *Human Documents of the Age of the Forsytes*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1969.
Includes interesting documents from the match girls' strike and on child prostitution.
- *THOMPSON, Flora, *Lark Rise to Candleford*, London, O.U.P., World's Classics, 1968.
Description of childhood in countryside in the late nineteenth century.

10. Russian Revolution

- ALBERT, Valerie, 'It's the Women who have saved Russia from collapse', in *Pulse*, 30 December 1967.
Article on women's working conditions. Very critical of Russian women's position.
- BERNSTEIN, Marcelle, 'The Hard Hat Girls', in *Observer Colour Supplement*, 31 January 1971.
Fairly superficial, but shows how women in Russia take part in industry and have achieved considerable economic independence.
- BRYANT, Louise, *Mirrors of Moscow*, New York, 1921.
Sketches of people in Soviet Union after the Revolution by sympathetic American journalist. Includes stuff on women.
- BRYANT, Louise, *Six Red Months in Russia*, London, 1919.
Journalistic account of life immediately after the Revolution. Includes stuff on women.
- DEUTSCHER, Isaac, *Stalin*, London Penguin (p), 1966.
Useful background. Includes suicide of Stalin's wife.
- DIDSUSENKO, A., *Soviet Children*, Moscow, 1967.
Official Soviet account of position of children.
- *DUNN, Erica & KLEIN, Judy, 'Women in the Russian Revolution', in *Women: a Journal of Liberation*, Summer 1970.
Very useful introductory article. Includes bibliography.
- FRY, John, 'The Soviet Health Service', in *Guardian*, 19 July 1967.
Information on provision for health.
- *GEIGER, H. Kent, *The Family in Soviet Russia*, Harvard U.P., 1968.
Very useful study of ideas about the family and changes since the Revolution in the structure of the Soviet family. Interesting on male resistance to housework.

- GOULD, Donald, 'Russia's Health Service', in *New Statesman*, 9 June 1967.
Information on health.
- *HALLE, Fannina W., *Woman in Soviet Russia*, London, 1933.
Very useful account of pre-revolutionary ideas about women's liberation, including nineteenth century communes. Her version of the position of women in the Revolution shows the turning point in orthodoxy: still committed to liberation but distrustful of the more adventurous social experimenting of the 1920s.
- HALLE, Fannina W., *Woman in the Soviet East*, London, 1938.
Conflict between emancipation and the traditional position of women in the East.
- *KOLLONTAI, Alexandra, *Communism and the Family*, London, Pluto Press (p), 1971.
Tries to show how the family acts as a means of continuing bourgeois values, even after the revolution. Sees the family as a place of consumption. Interesting, but dismisses upbringing of children as a problem. Relies on state provision of nursery facilities alone.
- *KOLLONTAI, Alexandra, *Free Love*, London, 1932.
A very moving novel about a woman trade unionist who disagrees with the N.E.P., and her conflicts with her husband over his right-wing attitudes, on general political and economic questions but also towards her.
- *KOLLONTAI, Alexandra, *Women Workers Struggle for their Rights*, Bristol, Falling Wall Press (p), 1971.
Account of how working women organised in the early twentieth century, and her views on importance of separate women's section within the Party.
- KOLLONTAI, Alexandra, *The Workers' Opposition*, Reading, Solidarity pamphlet, 1962.
Arguments against bureaucracy and lack of autonomy of the trade union movement. Useful to connect to Kollontai's emphases in her writing on the liberation of women.
- KOLLONTAI, Alexandra, *The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman*, with an Introduction by Germaine Greer, London, Orbach & Chambers (p), 1972.
Interesting because the details of Kollontai's life are not well known, but disappointing from the point of view of finding out more about her ideas on women's liberation. Also she was relatively young when she wrote this, and the latter part of her life remains obscure. Contains a chapter from The New Morality and the Working Class. Unfortunately expensive.
- KRUPSKAYA, N., *Memories of Lenin*, London, 1930.
References to Inessa Armand and the women's movement.
- *LENIN, V. I., *On the Emancipation of Women*.
Conversations with Clara Zetkin and assorted speeches on women, letters to Inessa Armand. Interesting, but not Lenin at his best. He is reacting strongly against younger communists who he felt were devaluing personal relationships by a casual and unfeeling attitude to sex.
- LENIN, V. I., *On the National Question*.
Interesting as a statement of the need for autonomy and unity. Relates to the separate organisation of women.
- LENIN, V. I., *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.
The section on the corvée is helpful if you're thinking about the relation between the family as a subordinate mode of production and the dominant mode of production in capitalism—commodity production.
- MACE, David & Vera, *The Soviet Family*, London, 1964.
Chatty account of the family, based on observation on the spot.
- MAYAKOVSKY, V. V. (edited by Patricia Blake), *The Bedbug and Selected Poetry*, London, 1961.
Satirical play about the private lives of the emerging bureaucracy.
- *PALENCIA, Isabel de, Alexandra Kollontay, New York, 1947.
Biography of Kollontai. Avoids a lot of awkward questions, but the only long account of her life in English. If you can read Russian, there is a lot of stuff by and about Kollontai in the British Museum.
- PAVLOVA, Ludmilla, *Women in my Country*, Novosti Press Agency, no date.
- POPOVA, N. V., *The Part Played by Women in Socialist Society*, Moscow, 1967.
These official Soviet accounts are rather dull, but contain lots of facts and figures.
- *REICH, W., *The Sexual Revolution*, New York, Noonday (p), 1963, London, Vision Press, 1969.

Supplement

CORRECTIONS[†]

1. Some general books on women's liberation

ROWBOTHAM, Sheila, *Women, Resistance and Revolution*, London, Allen Lane, 1973.
WANDOR, Michelene (ed.), *The Body Politic: Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement in Britain 1969-1972*, London, Stage 1 (p), 1972.
This is the "mystery book" referred to in Section 1.

2. General histories of feminism

RAMELSON, Marian, *The Petticoat Rebellion: A Century of Struggle for Women's Rights*, London, Lawrence & Wishart (p), 1972.

3. Women and the Puritan Revolution

WALZER, Michael, *The Revolution of the Saints*, London, 1966; New York, Atheneum (p), 1969.

16. General

BRANT, Marie & SANTORI, Ellen (pseudonym), *A Woman's Place*, 1953; republished in M. Dalla Costa & S. James, *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*, Bristol, Falling Wall Press (p), 1972.

ADDITIONS TO SOME OF THE ORIGINAL SECTIONS

3. Women and the Puritan Revolution

HILL, Christopher, *The World Turned Upside Down*, London, M.T.Smith, 1972.
The attitudes to sexual liberation in the left of the Puritan movement.

6. Marx and Engels on women's liberation

- *DELAMONT, Sara, 'Fallen Engels', in *New Edinburgh Review*, No. 18, 1972.
Background to evolutionary anthropology and criticism of Origins of the Family. Argues very convincingly that there is no reliable evidence about matriarchy, and that women have been subordinate in most spheres of life in all known cultures.
- SMALL, Rosemary, 'Marxism and the Family', in *Marxism To-day*, December 1972.
Believes that women were 'downgraded' after the break-up of the primitive communal household, but is opposed to idealisation of this situation in early societies. Relates Engels' ideas to the nineteenth century family and discusses changes in the twentieth century.

[†] Including some items now in print, which were out of print in February 1972.

7. & 9. Position of women in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century

- GALLACHER, William, *Revolt on the Clyde*, London, 1936.
Description of women's tenants and rent strikes.
- GALLACHER, William & CAMPBELL, J. R., *Direct Action: An Outline of Workshop and Social Organisation*, London, 1919; Pluto Press (p), 1972.
Touches on problem of connecting factory and home.
- GRAVES, Robert, *Goodbye to All That*, London, 1929; London, Penguin (p), 1969.
Describes his wife Nancy's feminist socialism after World War I.
- HORNE, Bob, '1915, The Great Rents Victory', in *Scottish Marxist*, No. 2.
Women's role in the Glasgow rent strike.
- LAVER, James, *Edwardian Promenade*, London, 1958.
Excerpts from contemporary writings.
- LAVER, James, *The Age of Optimism: Manners and Morals 1848 - 1914*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966.
- LAVER, James, *Modesty in Dress*, London, Heinemann, 1969.
Fashion and sexual attitudes.
- STERN, Jenny, 'Women and the Novel: A Nineteenth Century Explosion', in *Women's Liberation Review*, No. 1, October 1972.
Discussion of the social basis for the novels of the Brontes, Mrs. Gaskell, George Eliot and others.

8. Feminism and socialist and anarchist movements

- *ALDRED, Guy, *No Traitor's Gait! The Autobiography of Guy Aldred*, Glasgow, 1955.
Includes information on birth controller Rose Witcop.
- ALDRED, Guy, *The Religion and Economics of Sex Oppression*, London, 1908.
Advises socialists not to have children because of the terrible state of society.
- DELAVERNAY, Emile, D.H. Lawrence and Edward Carpenter: A Study in Edwardian Transition, London, Heinemann, 1971.
Influence of Carpenter on Lawrence. Has interesting background information on Lawrence's contact with feminism and the women he bases Clara and Miriam on in Sons and Lovers.
- FORD, Isabella, *Women and Socialism*, London, 1904.
Pamphlet arguing for connection between feminist movement and socialism.
- GAWTHORPE, Mary E., *Votes for Men*, London, 1910.
Pamphlet showing that all the arguments used against the suffragettes were also used against the working class male franchise.
- KAPP, Yvonne, *Eleanor Marx*, Vol. 1, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1972.
The Marx family and the influences upon Eleanor.
- RUSSELL, Dora, *Hypatia*, London, 1925.
Emphasis on need for feminism to concentrate on motherhood and sexual liberation.
- SNOWDEN, Ethel, *The Woman Socialist*, London, 1907.
Tries to connect feminism and socialism.
- WILKINSON, Lily Gair, *Woman's Freedom*, London, 1914.
Interesting contrast to her earlier pamphlet.
- WOLFE, Lilian, 'Lifetime of Resistance', in *Shrew, Stratford*, Vol. 4, No. 4.
Interview with an anarchist suffragette.

10. Russian Revolution

- KOLLONTAI, Alexandra, *Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle & Love and the New Morality*, Moscow, 1919; Bristol, Falling Wall Press (p), 1972.
Two essays on the relationship between personal relationships, society and social change.

NEW SECTIONS

17. Women, waged work and the trade unions: late nineteenth and early twentieth century

- BOURNE, Gladys, **The Women's Trade Union League**, New York, 1942.
Women's trade unions in England and America.
- COATES, Ken & TOPHAM, Tony, 'What happened at Leeds' in Coates & Topham (eds.), **Industrial Democracy in Great Britain**, London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1968.
- FORD, Isabella, **Women's Wages**, London, 1893.
- FORD, Isabella, **Industrial Women and How to Help Them**, London, c. 1894.
Argues for self-activity of women workers and against philanthropy of middle class charity workers.
- FORD, Isabella, **Women as Factory Inspectors and Certifying Surgeons**, London, 1898.
Argues need for women inspectors to improve conditions of women's work.
- FROW, E.E. & KATANKA, M., **Strikes: A Documentary History**, London, Charles Knight, 1971.
Includes several accounts of women's strikes.
- HANNINGTON, Wal, **Never on Our Knees**, London, 1967.
Account of the organisation of the unemployed in the 1920s and 30s. Includes references to women's marches.
- KIRKALDY, A. W., 'The Replacement of Men by Women in Industry during the First World War' in A. W. Kirkaldy (ed.), **Labour, Finance and the War**, London, 1916.
Contains useful information about the jobs women entered during the First World War.
- *LERNER, Shirley, **Breakaway Unions and the Small Trade Union**, London, 1961.
Problems of maintaining small, breakaway unions. Account of the clothing industry breakaways in the 1920s.
- MEYER, Mrs. Carl & BLACK, Clementina, **Makers of Our Clothes: A Case for Trade Boards**, London, 1909.
Descriptions of conditions in the clothing industry.
- MOORE, Bill, 'Sheffield Shop Stewards in the First World War' in L. M. Munby (ed.), **Luddites and Other Essays**, London, Katanka, 1971.
Attempt of shop stewards to include skilled and unskilled, men and women.
- MURPHY, J. T., **Preparing for Power**, London 1934; Pluto Press (p.), 1973.
Includes resolution at Leeds Conference of 1917 against sex discrimination.
- MURPHY, J. T., **The Workers' Committee: An outline of its principles and structure**, Sheffield, 1916; London, Pluto Press (p), 1973.
Discusses sex prejudice against women. Says that because of man's economic dominance in the past, "men are now faced with problems not to their liking".
- Out of Work**, 1922.
Unemployed workers' paper. Includes references to the organisation of women without jobs.
- PHILLIPS, March, **Evils of Home Work for Women**, London, 1902.
Criticism of conditions of home work.
- POLLIT, Marjorie, Review of Theresa Wolfson, **The Woman Worker and the Trade Unions**, in **The Communist**, Vol. 3, No. 1, January 1928.
Criticises trade union officials who say women workers are not organisable.
- PIKE, E. Royston, **Human Documents of the Lloyd George Era**, London, Allen & Unwin, 1972.
Several of these are about women's work.
- STEWART, Margaret & HUNTER, Leslie, **The Needle is Threaded**, London, 1964.
History of the clothing industry.
- TURNER, Beth, 'Women in the Labour Market', in **The Communist**, Vol.2, No. 10, November 1927.
- Workhouses and Women's Work**, London, 1858.
Contains paper arguing for women supervisors of workhouses and visiting committees of "ladies" - both to improve conditions in the workhouses and to occupy the women outside.
- The Woman Worker**, 1907 - ?
This was the journal of the Women's Trade Union League.

The Woman Worker, 1926.

A newspaper published by women in the Communist Party which contains accounts of women's activity in the General Strike.

18. Birth control and abortion: early twentieth century

- BROWNE, Stella F. W., 'Women and birth control' in M. Eden & C. Paul (eds.), **Population and Birth Control: A Symposium**, New York, 1917.
Connects birth control to female control over sexuality and reproduction.
- BROWNE, Stella F. W., 'The Woman Question' in **The Communist**, March 11th, 1922.
Need for abortion on demand.
- *BROWNE, Stella F. W., **Abortion**, London, 1935.
Need for abortion on demand.
- CLETE (pseudonym), 'Birth Control' in **The Communist**, August 5th, 1922.
Anti-Malthusian distrust of birth control movement.
- EDEN, M. & PAUL, C., **Socialism and Eugenics**, London, 1911.
Feminism, birth control and socialism in somewhat sinister eugenical company.
- HINDELL, Keith, 'Stella Browne and Janet Chase', in **The Listener**, June 29th, 1972.
Article on the early campaigners for abortion law reform.
- *SANGER, Margaret, **An Autobiography**, London, 1937; London, Dover Publications (p), 1972.
Generally interesting as an account of the struggle for birth control. She also describes the response of British working class socialists to birth control in the 1920s and her friendship with Guy Aldred and Rose Witcop.
- SEMMELE, Bernard, **Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperialist Thought, 1895-1914**, New York, Doubleday (p), 1968.
Includes some references to population control, eugenics and right wing support for contraception.

19. Witchcraft, spiritualism and sexuality

- *LEWIS, Ioan, **Ecstatic Religions: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism**, London, Penguin (p), 1971.
Study of spirit possession and the position of women.
- THOMAS, Keith, 'The Double Standard', in **Journal of the History of Ideas**, Vol. XX, No. 2, April, 1959.
Legal and cultural forms of double standard of morality about women's chastity.
- *THOMAS, Keith, **Religion and the Decline of Magic**, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971.
Social history of witch mania in Britain which relates it to change in the community and religious assumptions about poverty.

The second part of this book consists of a very clear account of the failure of the Russian Revolution to create a theory of new forms of sexual and personal living which developed after the Revolution; and chronicles the retreat on the education of children, communal living, homosexuality, attitudes to delinquency. Very important.

- *ROWBOTHAM, Sheila, 'Alexandra Kollontai: Women's Liberation and Revolutionary Love', in *The Spokesman*, June & July 1970.
Useful introduction to Kollontai's ideas; but unfortunately restricted to material published in English, which was even more scanty when the articles were written than it is now.
- *SCHLESINGER, R.A.J., *Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia: The Family*, London, 1949.
Important collection of contemporary documents. Includes more Kollontai and debate on marriage law, abortion, criticism by peasant women of men's attitudes. Connecting explanatory text, relating changes to problems—e.g. orphans, delinquency, war.
- *SMITH, Jessica, *Woman in Soviet Russia*, New York, 1928.
Very moving account of changes in women's position after 1917. Detailed. Conflict between women's organisation and men in trade unions. Work, family, education.
- STALIN, J., excerpts in *Marxism and the Liberation of Women*, Union of Women for Liberation.
Stirring if Uncle Joe is your cup of tea. Rather keen on emancipation being connected to hard work.
- SULLEROT, Evelyne, *Histoire et Sociologie du Travail Féminin*, Paris, 1958.
Survey of woman's work. Includes section on Soviet Union.
- TIDMARSH, Cyril, 'Russia Plans More Shopping Centres', in *The Times*, 14 September 1967.
Article on shopping arrangements to help working wives.
- *TROTSKY, Leon, *Problems of Life*, London, 1924.
Lectures to workers. Very little known. Covers the family, socialisation of housework, the need for revolutionary culture to penetrate the personal areas of life, male dismissal of women's point of view. Mysterious silence about sex, though.
- TROTSKY, Leon, *History of the Russian Revolution*, London, Penguin (p), 1969.
Useful background on events in the Revolution. Contains account of the demonstration of women workers and housewives which sparked off the Revolution.
- TROTSKY, Leon, *The Revolution Betrayed*, New York, 1937.
Includes a chapter on the retreat in attitudes towards women's liberation, which Trotsky connects to Stalinism.

11. China

- ANDERSON, Dick, *Grass Roots Self-Government*, Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding (SACU), 1969.
Organisation of street committees and women's role.
- *BEAUVOIR, Simone de, *The Long March*, 1958, Deutsch and Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1958.
Chapter on women's liberation.
- BERGER, Roland, *The Cultural Revolution and the Family*, SACU, February 1969.
Effect of cultural revolution on family life.
- BLACKBURN, Fei-Ling (née DAVIES), *The Role and Organisation of Chinese Secret Societies in the Late Ch'ing*, M.Phil. thesis, London, 1968.
Includes role of women in secret societies.
- *BUNCH-WEEKS, Charlotte, 'Asian Women in Revolt', *Women: a Journal of Liberation*, Summer 1970.
Useful general introduction. Contains bibliography.
- CHIN P'ING MEI, *The Adventurous History of Hsi Men and His Six Wives*, London, 1959.
Beautiful stories from sixteenth century China banned as erotically subversive for hundreds of years. They contain a lot of interesting information about the

situation of women and attitudes to love.

- *GREENE, Felix, **A Divorce Trial in China**, New England Free Press.
Pamphlet describing a trial for divorce indicating official attitude to economic position of women and marriage as an institution.
- GREENE, Felix, **Visit to a Rural Commune**, Radical Education Project.
Includes references to women's conditions.
- *HINTON, William, **Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolt in a Chinese Village**, Random House, Vintage Trade Books (p), 1968.
Account of the revolution in one village, including new attitude to women and determination of the women to struggle for a new life. Very beautiful.
- *HORN, Joshua S, **Away with All Pests**, London, Hamlyn, 1969.
Medical provision in China, including contraception, anti-VD measures, opposition to hierarchy in medicine.
- *LANDY, L., **Women in the Chinese Revolution**, International Socialism pamphlet.
Criticism of limitations in the liberation of women in China from the perspective of the International Socialist group.
- LEVY, Marion J., **The Family Revolution in Modern China**, New York, Octagon, 1963, Atheneum (p), 1968.
Shows the strains on the traditional Chinese family before the Revolution.
- *LU HSUN (translated by Yang Hsien-Yi & Gladys Yang), **Selected Works**, Peking, 1960.
Collection of essays including some arguing for women's liberation, in a very wry tone. Currently out of favour. Worth reading.
- MAO TSE-TUNG, excerpts in **Marxism and the Liberation of Women**, Union of Women for Liberation.
You can follow up the references to read more of his writing.
- MAO TSE-TUNG, 'Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan', in **Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung**, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1954.
Mao's comments on the oppression of women.
- MUTUTANTRI, Barbara, 'Women in China', in **Eastern Horizon**, Sept.-Oct. 1968.
Article on position of women—official and rather boring.
- *MYRDAL, Jan, **Report from a Chinese Village**, London, Penguin (p), 1967.
Very interesting account of the effect of the Revolution on women.
- O'BRIEN, Jo, Review of *Birdless Summer*, in **Socialist Woman**, July—August 1969.
Very moving description of a novel about a woman who is half Chinese/half European, and the position of women before the Revolution.
- ORLEANS, Leo A., 'Evidence from Chinese Medical Journals on Current Population Policy', in **China Quarterly** No. 40, Oct.—Dec. 1969.
- PEI-KU HUNG, 'A Girl's Herding Team', in **China Reconstructs**, Vol. 18, No. 9, Sept. 1969.
Shows young girls still have to struggle to do jobs which are traditionally seen as unfeminine.
- Red Detachment of Women**
Exists as a comic book and as a book of photographs of the ballet.
- RUSSELL, Maud, 'Urban People's Communes in China', New York, **Far East Reporter**.
Account of communes and their effect on women's lives.
- SALAF, Judith Weitner & MERKK, Judith, 'Women in Revolution', in **Berkeley Journal of Sociology**, 1970.
Argues that inequality of women which still remains relates to military inequality.
- *SNOW, Helen Foster, **Women in Modern China**, The Netherlands, 1967.
This is the best long general account in this list on women's position in China before and after the Revolution.
- STRONG, Anna Louise, **The Rise of the Chinese People's Communes**, Peking, 1964.
Communes and their effect on women's position.
- 'Throw the Buying and Selling Type of Matrimony into the Rubbish Dump of History', **China in the News**, 11 January 1971, China Reprints, SACU.
- WITKE, Roxanne, 'Mao Tse-tung, Women and Suicide in the May Fourth Era', **China Quarterly**, July—Sept. 1967.
Early interest of Mao in women's liberation. Role of school-girls in anti-imperialist movement early in the twentieth century.
- The Women of China, **Red Papers** No. 3.
Brief account of liberation of women in China.
- YANG YUN YU, **Report of the Struggle between Two Lines at the Moscow World**

Congress of Women, Peking, 1963.
Criticism of ideal of Soviet motherhood.

ZELL, Ann, **Early Beginnings of the Development of Working Class Institutions in China**, M. Phil. thesis, University of London, 1970.
Incipient organising of women workers in early twentieth century.

12. Imperialism and women's liberation as part of national liberation

General

- BOSERUP, Esther, **Women's Role in Economic Development**, London, Allen & Unwin, 1970.
General account of women's position in developing countries.
- FANON, Frantz, **Black Skin, White Masks**, London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1968, Paladin (p), 1970.
Psychology of colonisation, similarities with women's oppression.
- KELLY, Mary, 'National Liberation Movements and Women's Liberation', **Shrew**, December 1970.
Relation between women's liberation and national liberation struggles. Common origin of oppression. Distinguishes between oppression and exploitation.

Algeria

- FANON, Frantz, **A Dying Colonialism**, London, Penguin (p), 1970.
Evolution of women in national liberation struggle.
- FANON, Frantz, **The Wretched of the Earth**, London, MacGibbon & Kee, 1965, Penguin (p), 1970.
General analysis of third world predicament. Includes some references to women's position.
- FYTTON, Francis, 'Manifestation', **Stand**, Vol. 6, No. 3.
Story based on reality of French police brutality to an Algerian girl militant.
- RABET, Fadela m', **La Femme Algérienne**, Paris, 1968.
See next item.
- RABET, Fadela m', **Les Algériennes**, Paris 1969.
Both books describe what the Algerian revolution did for women, and the subsequent retreat back to Muslim traditionalism.
- VANDVELDE, Helene, 'Condition Feminine: L'Emancipation est Freinée par le Conformisme Social', in **Le Monde**, 24-25 January 1971.
Article on women's position now.

Cuba

- *BERMAN, Joan, 'Women in Cuba', in **Women: a Journal of Liberation**, Summer 1970.
General account of recent situation.
- *CAMARANO, Chris, 'Cuban Women', in **Leviathan**, May 1970.
Ditto.
- CASTRO, Fidel, **Women's Liberation: The Revolution within the Revolution**, The Santa Clara Speech, 9 December, 1966, New York, Merit pamphlet, 1970.
Castro stressing the need for women's liberation.
- GUEVARA, Che, **Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War**, London, Allen & Unwin, 1968, Penguin (p), 1969.
References to women guerrilla fighters.
- KENNEDY, Mary, 'Cuban Women', in **Shrew**, December 1970.
Based on interview with two Cuban girls in London.
- LEIGH, Bessie, 'Woman's Place in Cuba', in **Comment**, Vol. 7., No. 47, 22 November 1969.
- LOCKWOOD, Lee, **Castro's Cuba, Cuba's Fidel**, New York, Macmillan, 1967, Random House, Vintage Trade Books (p), 1969.
Includes Castro on homosexuality. See Come Together No. 8 (Gay Liberation Front newspaper) for a more recent assessment of Cuban attitudes.
- *SUTHERLAND, Elizabeth, **The Youngest Revolution**, London, Pitman, 1970.
This book is a very detailed account of life in Cuba, sympathetic but critical: it includes a chapter on women, young people and blacks.

Laos

'Heroic Women of Laos Fight U.S. Aggression', *Women's Liberation*, 1971.

Mozambique

DUFFY, James, *Portugal in Africa*, London, 1962.

References to the position of women.

Statutes and Programmes, Frelimo, July 1968.

Official attitude of Frelimo.

*MACHEL, Josina, 'The Role of Women in the Revolution', in *Mozambique Revolution*, October 1969.

*MONDLANE, Eduardo, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, London, Penguin (p), 1969.
Some references to the involvement of women.

Palestine

*MALVI, Rosalind, *Women in Palestine*, unpublished Women's Liberation Workshop paper, Autumn 1970.

Account of women's condition and part in liberation movement based on a visit in 1970.

*'Palestinian Women', in *Hysteria*, November 1970.

Account of women's part in liberation movement.

Vietnam

*WEEKS, Charlotte Bunch, 'Asian Women in Revolt', in *Women: a Journal of Liberation*, Summer 1970.

General account.

*DAVIN, Anna, 'Women in Vietnam', in *Shrew*, December 1970.

Report of women's situation in 1970, based on talk by Vietnamese representatives. Shows ingenious resistance of peasant women.

GELLHORN, Martha, 'The Vietcong's Peacemaker', in *The Times*, 27 January 1969.

Interview with Mme. Binh about her life.

HO CHI MINH, *Selected Articles and Speeches*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1969.

Includes marriage law banning polygamy.

Off Our Backs, 26 June 1970 & 14 December 1970.

Two articles describing a visit to North Vietnam and a meeting with South Vietnamese women in Budapest.

***Vietnamese Women**, *Vietnamese Studies*, Hanoi, 1966.

Background on women's position under colonialism. Resistance against the French and U.S. Legislation in the North. General economic and social position now.

13. Origins of the women's liberation movement†

America

CLEAVER, Eldridge, Interview with John McGrath, *Black Dwarf*, 7 March 1970.

Describes women's struggle in Panthers to get the right to vote and have a flat where women could go without men.

DIXON, Marlene, 'On Women's Liberation', in *Radical America*, Vol. 4, February 1970.

Describes pressure from feminists on women in the left. Hostility to women's liberation from the left.

HANISH, Carol, 'Hard Knocks', in *Notes from the Second Year*, New York, Radical Feminists, 1970.

Describes difficulty of arguing for women's liberation within the radical movement. And see, generally, Notes from the Second Year.

KELLY, Gail Paradise, 'Women's Liberation and the Cultural Revolution', in *Radical America*, Vol. 4, February 1970.

Description of tendencies in recent U.S. radical movement and connection to women's liberation.

† See also books in Section 1.

- MELLOR, Cathy & MILLER, Judy, 'What we think is happening', in *Women: a Journal of Liberation*, Winter 1970.
Article on what groups around Baltimore were doing in 1970.
- PIERCY, Marge, *The Grand Coolie Dam*, Boston, New England Free Press, 1970.
Witty description of women's liberation and the reactions of men on the left.
- SALO, Marcia & McAFEE, Kathy, 'The Caucus Race and a Long Tale', in *Leviathan*, May 1970.
Women's liberation and the left.
- 'Young Lords' Position Paper', in *Socialist Woman*, May–June 1971.
Specific oppression and difficulty of Puerto Rican women.

Britain

- Black Dwarf, 10 January 1969 & 5 September 1970.
- MITCHELL, Juliet & DELMAR, Rosalind, 'Women's Liberation in England', in *Leviathan*, May 1970.
Very brief. No history written yet.

France

- *'Liberation des Femmes Année Zero, Partisans, July–October 1970.
Translation of U.S. pamphlets and a lot of French material. Very interesting.
- 'Paris: the First Public Meeting', in *Black Dwarf*, 5 September 1970.
How the movement started in France.
- WITIG, Monique et al., 'Combat pour la Libération de la Femme, in *Idiot Internationale*, No. 6, May 1970.
Criticism of men on the left.
- 'The Women's Liberation Movement in France', in *Shrew*, December 1970.
What they've done.

Germany

- Pelagea, Berliner Materialien zur Frauemanzipation.
Women's liberation journal from Berlin.

Holland

- WALTERS, Margaret, 'Dolte Mina and the Dutch Dilemma', in *Shrew*, December 1970.

Ireland

- HOLLAND, Mary, 'Women's Lib Pill Train to Dublin', in *The Observer*, 9 May 1971.
Article on the attempt to get legal contraception in the South.
- Irish Women—Chains or Change, Irish Women's Liberation Dublin Founding Group.
Pamphlet describing discrimination against women.
- 'Ireland', in *Women's Newspaper*, No. 3, 5 June 1971.
Meeting in Ballymun. Women in jail in the North.
- McCAFFERTY, Nell, 'Where Angels Fear to Tread', in *Irish Times*, 17 June 1971.
Exposure of exploitation of girls working for nuns.

Northern Ireland

- 'Sa oirse Na mBan', in *Socialist Woman*, May–June 1971.
Women in the I.R.A.

Italy

- Donne di Tutto Il Mondo, Gruppo Femminista di Milano, 8 March 1971.
Manifesto.
- 'An Open Letter to Our Sisters Abroad', in *Italian Women*, March 1971.
Duplicated sheet telling how the groups started. A shortened version is in Women Now, Vol. 1, No. 2.
- 'Revolution or Aspirin', in *Socialist Woman*, May–June 1971.
Survey of women's conditions in Borletti factory.
- Rivolta Femmine, 1970.
Manifesto of one of the earliest groups in Italy.

14. Gay Liberation

- Gay Liberation, New York, February 1970.
Pamphlet describing the origins and ideas of Gay Liberation.
- DAMON, Mary, 'Open Letter to the Women's Movement', in *Women: a Journal of Liberation*, Summer 1970.
Problem of gay women relating to women's liberation.
- GRAHN, Judy, 'Lesbians as Bogeywomen', in *Women: a Journal of Liberation*, Summer 1970.
- 'Radical Lesbians: the Woman-Identified Woman', in *Women: a Journal of Liberation*, Summer 1970.
- Come Together, paper of the GLF in England.
No. 7 contains articles on the specific situation of gay women.
- SHELLEY, Martha, 'Notes of a Radical Lesbian', in Robin Morgan (ed.), *Sisterhood is Powerful* (see Section 1 above).
- SHELLEY, Martha, 'Stepin Fetchit Woman', in *Women Win*, 1 January 1971.

15. Black women's liberation

- BEAL, Frances M., 'Double Jeopardy', in Robin Morgan (ed.), *Sisterhood is Powerful* (see Section 1 above).
- Black Panther Sisters Talk about Women's Liberation, Red Papers, No.3.
Discussion about the Party and women's liberation.
- 'The Black Woman in the Black Struggle', in *The Black Scholar*, Jan.-Feb. 1970.
Articles on Harriet Tubman, The Myth of the Black Matriarchy, Marriage and Fertility in Black Female Teachers, Black Woman on the Negro College Campus, Racism and Anti-Feminism. Rather academic, but a lot of information.
- 'The Black Woman', in *The Black Scholar*, December 1971.
Includes 'Reflections on the Black Woman's Role' by Angela Davis, 'Race Revolution and Women' by Shirley Chisholm, an interview with Kathleen Cleaver, and a very useful bibliography.
- BROOKS, Gwendolyn, *Selected Poems*, New York, Harper (p), 1963.
Black woman's poetry.
- CLEAVER, Eldridge, Interview with John McGrath in *Black Dwarf*, 7 March 1970.
- NORTON, Eleanor Holmes, 'For Sadie and Maude', in Robin Morgan (ed.), *Sisterhood is Powerful* (see Section 1 above).
- Poor Black Women, Boston, New England Free Press, 1970.
Black Unity Party's attitude to birth control and opposition.
- 'SNCC-Black Women's Liberation', in *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, Winter 1970.
Question of black women's liberation within the Student National Co-ordinating Committee, and specific situation of black women.
- 'Statement on Birth Control' by the Black Women's Liberation Group, New York, in Robin Morgan (ed.), *Sisterhood is Powerful* (see Section 1 above).
- WEATHERS, Mary Ann, 'An Argument for Black Women's Liberation as a Revolutionary Force', in *No More Fun and Games: A Journal of Female Liberation*, No.2, February 1969.
Complications of black women's oppression.
- WILLIAMS, Maxine & NEWMAN, Pamela, *Black Women's Liberation*, New York, Merit Pamphlet, 1970. Reprinted partly in *Socialist Woman*, November-December 1970.
Historical account of the nature of black women's oppression in U.S., with a criticism of men's attitudes in the black movement.

16. General

Some British Periodicals

Enough, Bristol Women's Liberation Group.

General.

IS Women's Newsletter, IS Women.

Claimants' union, unsupported mothers, work, women and revolutionary movement.

- Shrew**, London Workshop.
Done by each London group in turn. Personal descriptions, of childbirth, sexuality, upbringing of children, abortion. Discussion of sisterhood, small group, the family etc.
- Socialist Woman**, Socialist Women's Groups.
Main emphasis on work and economic oppression But also general articles, on China, Vietnam, Palestine, suffragettes.
- Women's Liberation**, Women's Liberation Front.
Mainly exploitation of women at work, anti-Industrial Relations Bill, anti-imperialism.
- Women Now**, Nottingham Women's Liberation Group.
Mainly directed at women outside the Movement.

Some American papers and anthologies

- Ain't I a Woman**
Hysteria
Leviathan
Off our backs
Radical America
Rat
Up from under
Women: A Journal of Liberation
No more fun and games
Notes from the first year
Notes from the second year, New York Radical Feminists.

Miscellaneous pamphlets and articles

- BENSTON**, Margaret, 'Political Economy of Women's Liberation', in **Monthly Review**, Vol. 21, No. 4, September 1969. Reprinted as a pamphlet by the Radical Education Project.
Important article on the family and the production of goods for immediate use.
- BRANT**, Marie & **SANTON**, Ellen, **A Woman's Place**, 1953, reprinted by Friends of Facing Reality Publications, 1970.
Pamphlet written by the Facing Reality group in the 50's, arguing for women's liberation.
- COMER**, Lee, **The Myth of Motherhood**, Spokesman pamphlet, 1971.
Discussion of recent sociological literature on motherhood. Very useful.
- DAVIS**, Angela, **If they come in the morning...** London, Orbach & Chambers (p), 1971.
Interesting section on the liberation of women.
- ENNIS**, Kathleen, 'Women's Liberation and the Revolutionary Party', in **IS Women's Newsletter**, No. 3.
Very interesting article on relationship between women's liberation and revolutionary party, organisationally and culturally. Connects Lenin and Gramsci on the party to women's liberation. It's a pity this is so short. But you can use it to develop your own ideas. See also Kathleen Ennis's paper given at IS Women's Conference, 1971 (not published).
- DUNBAR**, Roxanne, **Female Liberation as the Basis for Social Revolution**, Boston, New England Free Press.
- DUNBAR**, Roxanne, 'Who is the Enemy?', in **No More Fun and Games: A Journal of Female Liberation**, No. 2, February 1969.
Connections between women's liberation and revolution.
- FLEMING**, Suzie, 'Women's Liberation', in **Enough**, No. 3.
Different emphases in women's liberation from other political movements. Implications for organising against capitalism.
- GARDNER**, Jean, 'It's about patterns of repression', in **Bloody Woman**, Cambridge Women's Liberation Group, March 1971.
Women's liberation and the revolutionary groups, the family, problems of organisation and strategy.
- GORDON**, Linda, **Families**, Boston, New England Free Press.
Very useful summary of functions of the family in capitalism.

- An Introduction to the Women's Liberation Workshop**, London, Women's Liberation Workshop
Contains basic information on status of women, a brief history of the workshop's growth and organisation, and an article on the small group. Also has a short bibliography of books and articles. Very useful for people who are just getting interested, or for people who are going round talking about women's liberation.
- JACKSON, Sonia, **The Illegal Child-Minders**, Cambridge, Priority Area Children.
Lack of nursery facilities forces mothers to leave children with child-minders. Enforcement of the law is impossible. This is a study of West Indian mothers, but the problem is a general one. Unfortunately expensive.
- KENT, Jill & Pendarell, **Nursery Schools for All**, London, Ward Lock Educational, 1970.
Includes historical account of nursery facilities and bibliography. Effects of Plowden. different kinds of services which exist.
- McAFEE, Kathy & WOOD, Myrna, 'Bread and Roses', in **Leviathan**, 1969. Reprinted as a pamphlet by New England Free Press; and by Agit-Prop, 1970.
Connections between consciousness and material conditions. Revolutionary potential of women's liberation.
- MAGAS, Branka, 'Sex Politics: Class Politics', in **New Left Review**, No.66, March–April 1971.
Review of Greer, Millett. Relation of feminism and marxism raised.
- MITCHELL, Juliet, 'Women: The Longest Revolution', in **New Left Review**, November–December 1966. Reprinted as a pamphlet by New England Free Press.
Structures of female oppression. Among the very earliest writings from the point of view of women's liberation. Developed in Juliet Mitchell, Woman's Estate (see Section 1).
- MITCHELL, Juliet, 'Why Freud?', in **Shrew**, December 1970.
Historical importance of Freud.
- MORTON, Peggy, 'A Woman's Work is Never Done: Notes on the Family under Capitalism', in **Leviathan**, May 1970.
Criticism of Benston (see above). Particular importance of family as socialising agency in advanced capitalism. Related to importance of consciousness industry. Problems of organising effectively in women's liberation against capitalism.
- PABLO, Michel, **The Liberation of Women and Other Essays**, Sydney, Comment Publishing Co.
Written at the beginning of the sixties. Interesting for the ways he anticipates ideas of the movement.
- PORTER, Marilyn, 'Paradox: The Plight of the Happily Married Woman', in **Enough**, No. 3.
The family and marriage. Argues that the present set-up traps men as well as women.
- REED, Evelyn, **Problems of Women's Liberation**, New York, Merit pamphlet, 1969.
Accepts ideas of earlier evolutionary anthropologists about early stage of matriarchy.
- ROWBOTHAM, Sheila, **Women's Liberation and the New Politics**, Spokesman pamphlet, 1971.
Stresses relationship between women's liberation and consciousness.
- ROWTREE, Micky & John, 'More on the Political Economy of Women's Liberation', in **Monthly Review**, Vol. 21, No. 8, January 1970.
Response to Benston (see above).
- SANDER, Helke, Speech at Frankfurt Conference, 1968 (unpublished). Quoted in Sheila Rowbotham, **Resistance and Revolution**, to be published in 1972 by Allen Lane.
Attitudes of men on the left and kinder laden.
- SANDER, Helke, 'Project: Company Kindergartens', in **Radical America**, February 1970.
Strategy of demand for changed nursery facilities.
- Authoritarian Conditioning, Sexual Repression and the Irrational in Politics**, Solidarity pamphlet, No. 33, 1970.
Family conditioning; Engels, Freud, Lenin, Reich. Very useful summary of background to controversy about anthropology. Read in connection with Evelyn Reed (see above). Section on the Russian experience which draws on Wilhelm Reich, The Sexual Revolution (see below).

- TAX, Meredith, **Woman and Her Mind: The Story of Daily Life**, Boston, New England Free Press.
On personal consciousness. Relates some of Laing's ideas (see below) to women's liberation.
- WEISSTEIN, Naomi, 'Kinde, Küche, Kirche' as Scientific Law: Psychology Constructs the Female, Boston, New England Free Press. Reprinted in Robin Morgan (ed.), **Sisterhood is Powerful** (see Section 1).
Bias in psychology against women.
- Why Miss World?, Women's Liberation Workshop pamphlet, 1971.
Account of Miss World and trial. Also shows economic significance of beauty industry in advanced capitalism.
- WINKLER, Irene, **Women Workers: The Forgotten Third of the Working Class**, Boston, New England Free Press.
Economic situation of women workers in industry.
- Women's Newspaper, No. 3, 5 June 1971.
Contains interesting article on tactics in women's liberation. Criticism of Biba bombing.
- 'The Woman Market', in **Up from under**, May-June 1970.
Economics of the beauty industry in capitalism.

General background books

Included here are books that are useful for working out the specific nature of the oppression of women; development of capitalism; and the problem of effective organisation.

- CLIFF, Tony, **The Employers' Offensive**, London, Pluto Press, 1970.
Not very much on women in industry. But very useful account of new tactics in conflict between employers and workers. Helps you think on to particular strategic problems in the organisation of women workers.
- COOPER, David (ed.), **The Dialectics of Liberation**, London, Penguin (p), 1968.
- COOPER, David, **The Death of the Family**, London, Allen Lane, 1971.
- DICHTER, Ernest, **The Strategy of Desire**, Toronto, Doubleday, 1960.
Book for market research industry. Useful as guide to new ways that capitalism is penetrating—or trying to penetrate—the human consciousness: particularly the consciousness of women.
- FREUD, Sigmund, **New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis**, London, Hogarth Press, 1962.
You can start here, but it's important to read more of what he wrote. You can find help in reading Freud in the discussion of his significance, and of the confusion he has created over female destiny, in the books by Figs, Firestone, Millett and Mitchell listed in Section 1. Useful also are Juliet Mitchell's 'Why Freud?' and Naomi Weisstein (see above).
- GRAMSCI, Antonio, **Oeuvres Choiesies**, Paris, 1959.
Brief section on sexuality and advanced capitalism. But this and the following two books are most useful for thinking in marxist terms about consciousness and culture.
- GRAMSCI, Antonio, **The Modern Prince and Other Writings**, New York, International Publishers (p), 1967.
See last item.
- GRAMSCI, Antonio, **Prison Notebooks**, edited by Quentin Hoare & Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1971.
Ditto.
- GUILBERT, Madeleine, **Les Fonctions des Femmes dans l'Industrie**, Paris, 1966.
Useful for information on effect of automation on women's work. But most useful for her method of looking at the situation of women workers in capitalism. Very different from both U.S. and British sociological studies. For more books actually on women's work, see Leonora Lloyd's Booklist, listed in the sub-section of bibliographies below.
- HALLAS, D., CLIFF, T., HARMAN, C. & TROTSKY, L., **Party and Class**, London, Pluto Press (p), 1971.
Chris Harman's article, particularly, is very helpful for trying to work out how women's liberation organising differs from marxist ideas about the revolutionary party.

- KIDRON, Michael, *Western Capitalism since the War*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968, Penguin (p), 1970.
Information on economic developments.
- LAING, R.D., *The Divided Self*, London, Tavistock Publications, 1960, Penguin (p), 1970.
- LAING, R.D., *The Self and Others*, London, Tavistock Publications, 1969.
- LAING, R.D., *The Politics of Experience and the Bird of Paradise*, London, Penguin (p), 1970.
- LAING, R.D. & COOPER, D.G., *Reason and Violence*, London, Tavistock Publications, 1964.
- LAING, R.D. & ESTERSON, A., *Sanity, Madness and the Family*, London, Tavistock Publications, 1964, Penguin (p), 1970.
Family and personal consciousness.
- LUXEMBURG, Rosa, *The Accumulation of Capital*, London, Routledge, 1951.
Relation between capitalism and non-capitalist modes of production.
- MANDEL, Ernest, *Europe vs. America? Contradictions of Imperialism*, London, New Left Books, 1970.
Economic developments in advanced capitalism.
- MARCUSE, Herbert, *Reason and Revolution*, London, Routledge, 1968.
- MARCUSE, Herbert, *Eros and Civilization*, London, Allen Lane, 1968, Sphere (p), 1969.
- MASTERS, W. H. & JOHNSON, V. E., *Human Sexual Response*, London, Churchill, 1966.
Orgasms.
- MOTT, P. E., *Shift Work*, University of Michigan Press, 1965.
Effect of shift work on the family.
- REICH, Wilhelm, *Le Combat Sexual de la Jeunesse*, reprinted in *Git-le-Coeur*, Paris.
- REICH, Wilhelm, *The Sexual Revolution: Toward a Self-Governing Character Structure*, New York, Noonday (p), 1969.
- REICHE, Reimut, *Sexuality and Class Struggle*, London, New Left Books, 1970.
Very hard to understand; but worth reading slowly because he is trying to work out ideas which are very relevant for women's liberation. At times he is very over-ponderous and makes assertions about sexuality which are without any empirical evidence, but he raises questions nobody else has discussed. His book is interesting as an indication of the kind of discussions that took place in the German student movement immediately before women's liberation.
- SARTRE, J.-P., *Problem of Method*, London, Methuen, 1964.
This is the first part of Critique de la Raison Dialectique which is very long, in French and hard to understand. Problem of Method is very clear throughout and particularly relevant for women's liberation. Sartre discusses gaps in marxist theory of consciousness, in the micro-situations of family and personality.
- SARTRE, J.-P., *Saint Genet, Actor and Martyr*, London, W. H. Allen, 1964.
On Genet's work. Relevant for gay liberation, but also for women's liberation because he is concerned with how society is communicated to the individual. Interesting to compare with Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex (see Section 1).
- SULLEROT, Evelyne, *La Press Féminine*, Paris, 1963.
- SULLEROT, Evelyne, *Histoire et Sociologie du Travail Féminin*, Paris, 1968.
Rather superficial because it covers a very wide area; but very useful as a reference book on the changing circumstances of women's work in different countries. Also contains a useful bibliography.

Bibliographies

- ALTBAH, Hoshino, 'From Feminism to Liberation: Bibliographic Notes', in *Radical America*, February 1970.
- 'The Black Woman', in *The Black Scholar*, December 1971, Vol.3 No.4.
Includes very useful bibliography.
- CISLER, Lucinda, *Women: A Bibliography*, obtainable from the compiler.
- GORDON, Ann D., BUHLE, Mari-Jo & SCHROM, Nancy E., 'Women in American Society', in *Radical America*, Vol.5 No.4.
Includes extensive bibliography on American women's history.
- LLOYD, Leonora, *A Booklist for Women's Liberation*, London Socialist Women.
- PM3: *The Women's Movement—Where It's At!*, Florida Free Press.

Addresses (Revised)

Because groups and publications often change and move, as far as addresses outside Britain are concerned this list is almost certainly out of date at the moment of going to press. If you have difficulty finding something, try Rising Free, who have an archive of movement material as well as stocks of current publications. The London Women's Liberation Workshop, the Scottish Women's Liberation Workshop and Women's Books are now distributing women's literature.

- Agitprop*: Now closed – try Rising Free or other organisations cited above.
Ain't I a Woman: Women's Collective of Iowa, Box 1169 (or Jefferson Bldg., 301), Iowa City, Iowa 52240, U.S.A.
Black Dwarf: no longer published.
The Black Scholar: The Black Scholar Book Club, PO Box 908, Sausalito, California 94965, U.S.A. Obtainable from New Beacon Books, 2 Albert Road, London N.4.
Bloody Woman: no longer published.
Cisler, Lucinda: 102 West 80th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024, U.S.A.
Come Together: available from Rising Free.
Comment: 16 King Street, London W.C.2.
Enough: c/o Bristol Women's Centre, Basement, 11 Waverley Road, Bristol 6.
Friends of Facing Reality Publications: 1431 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48203, U.S.A.
Git-le-Coeur: La Commune, 28 Rue Geoffrey St. Hilaire, Paris 5, France.
Gruppo Feminist di Milano: Serena Castaldi e Maria Rosa Rizzi, Via G. Modena 28, Milan 20129, Italy.
Hysteria: Box 116, Cambridge, Mass. 02138, U.S.A.
IS Women's Newsletter: 6 Cotton Gdns., London E.2.
International Socialism: 6 Cotton Gdns., London E.2.
International Socialist Review: available from Red Books (see below).
Irish Women's Liberation Dublin Founding Group: 18 Fairbrook Lawn, Dublin.
Leviathan: 968 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California 94110, U.S.A.
London Socialist Women: see *Socialist Woman* below.
London Women's Liberation Workshop: 3 Shavers Place, Haymarket, London S.W.1.
Marxism Today: 16 King Street, London W.C.2.
Merit pamphlets: available from Red Books (see below).
Monthly Review: 116 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011, U.S.A. European subscriptions to Frances Kelly, 9 King Edward Mansions, 629 Fulham Road, London S.W.6.
New Edinburgh Review: 1 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LW.
New England Free Press: 791 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass. 02118, U.S.A.
New Left Review: 7 Carlisle Street, London W.1.
No More Fun and Games: 16 Lexington Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Notes from the First Year: New York Radical Women, 799 Broadway, Rm 412, New York, N.Y. 10003, U.S.A.
Notes from the Second Year: Radical Feminism, Box AA, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011, U.S.A.
Off Our Backs: PO Box 4859, Cleveland Park Station, Washington D.C. 20008, U.S.A.
Oxford Left: no longer published.
P.M.: c/o B. Broedel, 308 S. Macomb Street, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301, U.S.A.
Partisans: 1 Place Paul-Painleve, Paris 5, France.
Pelagea: 1 Berlin, 12 Savigny Platz 5, c/o Buchhandlung Rohrbein, Germany.
Pluto Press: 10 Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW1 8LH.
Priority Area Children: 32 Trumpington Street, Cambridge.
Radical America: 1878 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. 02140, U.S.A.
Radical Education Project: Box 561, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.
Rat: 241 East 14th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003, U.S.A.
Red Books: 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.
Red Papers: Bay Area Revolutionary Union, Box 291, 1230 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, California 94133, U.S.A.
Rising Free: 197 Kings Cross Road, London W.C.1. (phone: 01 837 0182)
Rivolta Femile: Maria Pia Cantamessa, Piazza di Sant'Egidio, Rome, Italy.

/ contd. over

SACU (Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding): 24 Warren Street, London W.1.
Scottish Marxist: Gallacher House, 69 Albert Road, Glasgow.
Scottish Women's Liberation Workshop: 31 Royal Terrace, Edinburgh.
Shrew: 3 Shavers Place, Haymarket, London S.W.1.
Socialist Woman: 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.
Solidarity pamphlets: 27 Sandringham Road, London N.W.11.
Spokesman: 43 Gamble Street, Forest Road West, Nottingham.
Stage 1: 21 Theobalds Road, London W.C.1.
Stand: 58 Queens Road, Newcastle upon Tyne 2.
Union of women for Liberation: 32 Newell Road, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.
Up from Under: 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012, U.S.A.
Women: a Journal of Liberation: 3028 Greenmount Avenue, Baltimore Md. 31218, U.S.A.
Women Now: Nottingham Women's Liberation Group, 3 Cobden Chambers, Pelham Street, Nottingham.
Women Win: 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012, U.S.A.
Women's Books: c/o Bristol Women's Centre, Basement, 11 Waverley Road, Bristol 6.
Women's Liberation: Women's Liberation Front, 58 Lisburne Road, London N.W.3.
Women's Liberation Review: 27 Deeds Grove, High Wycombe, Bucks.
Women's Liberation Workshop: see London Women's Liberation Workshop above.
Women's Newspaper: No longer published.

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The Family Allowance under Attack by Suzie Fleming

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Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle/Love and the New Morality

by Alexandra Kollontai

15p

These two essays contain an early and graphic description of how our personal life is shaped and distorted by capitalist society, and an appeal for recognition that changes in sexual morality taking place in Russia were part of the struggle of a class to take power. There is an Introduction by the translator, Alix Holt. First published, October 1972.

Women Workers Struggle for Their Rights by Alexandra Kollontai

16p

An account of the organisation of women early this century, in which Kollontai argues for the importance of separate women's organisations. The pamphlet includes an introduction to Kollontai's life by Sheila Rowbotham. Translated by Celia Britton. Third edition, with a new Preface, March 1973.

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by Theo Nichols & Pete Armstrong

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by Harold Rosen

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