



Werewolves, Wolves and the Gothic

Edited by

Robert McKay and John Miller

GOTHIC LITERARY STUDIES

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*Wicked Wolf-Women and Shaggy
Suffragettes: Lycanthropic Femmes Fatales
in the Victorian and Edwardian Eras*

JAZMINA CININAS



At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, Gothic literature saw a flourishing of fair-haired, light-eyed and exotically-accented lady lycanthropes, their blue-blooded penchant for white furs matched by a cold-blooded thirst for victims – preferably husbands, lovers or children. Fuelled by paranoia surrounding the Suffrage movement, the new female werewolf absorbed misogynist anxieties surrounding the largely middle- and upper-class New Woman, sharing reputations for destroying families and long-standing social and domestic hierarchies founded on gender. Elements of Darwinian evolutionary theory bolstered chauvinist contentions that men were more evolved than women on the basis that the latter were closer to the animal kingdom, echoing broader Western conceits of ‘natural’ racial supremacy and ‘advanced’ humanity over colonised peoples. The first two decades of the twentieth century also ushered in the Golden Age of Postcards, and with it a torrent of visual imagery that simultaneously reflected and influenced shifting perceptions of the women’s suffrage debate on both sides of the Atlantic. This chapter traces the flowering of a new breed of privileged female werewolf from Northern Europe in popular literature during the Victorian and Edwardian eras (1837–c.1918), set amongst the broader context of the Suffragette movement’s interrogation of conventional gender roles.

Historian Janet Pérez identifies the 'original flowering of the Gothic' in late nineteenth-century Spain as coinciding with a time of 'massive social reorganization' and 'profound disruptions of gender relationships', part of broader social reconfigurations throughout Europe and beyond.¹ In 1848 alone, over fifty countries in Europe and Central America were affected by a wave of revolutions aimed chiefly at overthrowing old feudal structures in favour of more democratic governments. Rapid advances in scientific discovery and invention spurred the Industrial Revolution and new employment opportunities, not only for the traditional male workforce but also for women and, notoriously, children, bringing into question traditional domestic and economic structures. The Victorian era saw Britain at its most powerful, but also its most conservative, with a tightening of social norms around morality and gender roles. Indeed, it was not until 1868 that women were expressly prohibited from the polling booths of Britain after a court ruled that 'every woman is personally incapable of voting'.² At the same time, Darwinian theories of evolution questioned the very integrity – and boundaries – of humanity itself. Amid this climate of political and social and domestic turmoil, the fluid, shape-shifting figure of the werewolf re-emerged in literature and the popular consciousness, having lain largely dormant since the medieval romances.³ This time, however, lycanthropy boasted rather more oestrogen.

British Royal Navy officer Captain Frederick Marryat provides an early prototype for the privileged and predatory white female lycanthrope in his serialised supernatural adventure tale *The Phantom Ship* (1837–9), specifically in chapter 39 which has subsequently been excerpted and retitled *The White Wolf of the Hartz Mountains*.⁴ The title protagonist – the Hungarian-Transylvanian Christina – is described as a twenty-year-old beauty with a 'silvery' voice, 'dressed in a travelling-dress, deeply bordered with white fur, and [wearing] a cap of white ermine on her head'.⁵ The latter explicitly marks Christina's privilege, ermine being a fur that was once reserved for royalty, while her predatory, lupine nature feeds into broader nineteenth-century denunciations of the aristocracy and its perceived depredations.⁶ Christina's nationality supports this reading, with Hungary (then part of the Austrian Empire) still nine years away from abolishing serfdom when Marryat's tale was published.

Given that Marryat counted Charles Dickens amongst his literary circle, it is reasonable to assume that such motifs were not simply literary devices used for dramatic effect, but part of a broader critique of the social (im)morality and (ir)responsibility of the privileged classes such as can also be found in Dickens's works. Christina kills her new husband, himself guilty of murdering his first wife and her lover, a local nobleman, after finding them in bed together. The nobleman's unscrupulous pursuit of a married woman offers a further indictment of the moral degeneracy of the aristocracy. Christina's murder of her (not entirely innocent) husband and infanticide of two of her (innocent) stepchildren broadens the prototype of the privileged female werewolf to include 'bad' mother, a model that was to become a defining feature of Suffragette-era lycanthropy in the decades that followed.⁷

It is notable too that Christina commits her atrocities as a woman, despite the wolf guise being available to her. When her husband (the narrator's father) discovers Christina devouring the corpse of his daughter, Christina is described as 'not a wolf, but his wife, in her night-dress, on her hands and knees, crouching by the body of my sister, and tearing off large pieces of the flesh, and devouring them with all the avidity of a wolf'.⁸ Christina does not transform into a wolf until after she is dead, reversing the familiar order of the post-mortem lycanthropic reveal, and presenting the wolf – not woman – as Christina's true form. Marryat's template for the female werewolf sees the domestically defiant woman as traitor not only to her sex but also to her species, predicting social-Darwinist debates a generation later surrounding the integrity of the human species and women's place on the evolutionary ladder. Such thinking is also evident in the iconography of hybridity that permeated the visual arts at the time. Bram Dijkstra argues that the hybrid sphinxes, chimeras, harpies and other bestial female bodies favoured by the symbolist movement of the 1860s–1880s not only exploited clichés of witchcraft and vampirism to argue woman's moral degeneracy but also forged derogatory links between women and the animal world in order to illustrate women's supposed physical, mental and moral inferiority to men.⁹ Quoting writers such as the German zoologist Carl Vogt, who declared in 1864 that 'whenever we perceive an approach to the animal type, the female is nearer to it

than the male',¹⁰ Dijkstra argues that bestial female bodies in the fine arts are symptomatic of a 'war on woman'.¹¹

Artists such as Gustave Moreau and Félicien Rops contributed to a misogynist artistic tradition of demonic femininity, fuelled by burgeoning male anxieties in the face of the Suffrage movement and bolstered by chauvinist elements within Darwinian theory that saw women as lower on the evolutionary ladder than men. For example, Darwin declares that 'the chief distinction in the intellectual powers of the two sexes is shown by man's attaining to a higher eminence, in whatever he takes up, than can woman – whether requiring deep thought, reason, or imagination, or merely the use of the senses and hands'.¹² Even where Darwin concedes feminine advantage, such as in her 'powers of intuition, of rapid perception, and perhaps of imitation', he immediately counters with 'some, at least, of these faculties are characteristic of the lower races, and therefore of a past and lower state of civilisation'.¹³ Darwin's summations served to bolster nineteenth-century discourses that associated the female body with retrograde nature and matter 'which can assume any shape'¹⁴ (echoing the female lycanthrope's bestial regression and shifting form) while aligning masculinity with the 'evolved' realms of culture, the mind and transcendence.¹⁵

Chantal Bourgault du Coudray observes that chauvinist hierarchies within Darwinist theory were also transcribed onto literary figurations of the werewolf, noting that the psychologically anguished werewolf was most likely to be portrayed as male, whereas the corporeally transforming werewolf was usually female, bestowing a superior morality upon the male werewolf compared with his female counterparts.¹⁶ It is certainly true that neither Christina nor the female werewolves who later joined her during the Suffragette era felt any remorse for their murderous actions, nor any anxiety or distress at their 'degeneration' into beastly form.

It is perhaps unsurprising that the first scholarly study of lycanthropy, a phenomenon inherently embedded in the violation and transgression of human and animal boundaries, should be published in an age still flush with the social and cultural implications of evolutionary theory. Published in 1865, Sabine Baring-Gould's *The Book of Were-wolves* defined werewolfism as: 'The change of a man or woman into the form of a wolf, either through magical means so

as to enable him or her to gratify the taste for human flesh, or through judgment of the gods in punishment for some offence. This is the popular definition.'¹⁷ The use of the word 'popular' is significant, as is the specific identification of both sexes, suggesting that, in the mid-nineteenth century at least, there was no general consensus amongst the populace as to werewolf gender one way or the other (in contrast to the current popular perception of werewolves as predominantly male), and that the threat of moral and physical corruption applied to the human species as a whole.

Even so, while male werewolves certainly feature in the compendium of lycanthropic history, folklore and legend, what is striking is the number of female werewolves that Baring-Gould identifies. Indeed, in his chapter 'Natural Causes of Lycanthropy,' Baring-Gould provides examples of exclusively feminine manifestations of werewolfism, citing several instances of cannibalism wherein a pregnant woman's 'abnormal condition of body' allegedly caused her to temporarily take leave of her senses and develop a desire for the blood of either her husband or her child.¹⁸ Ironically, being 'in the family way' was perceived to be the very condition that triggered a woman's murderous impulses and which made her a threat to her family, notably at a time when her own body was 'corporeally transforming' to accommodate her pregnancy. Baring-Gould relates the tale of a pregnant Greek woman who, in the summer of 1845, murdered her husband in order to eat his liver, and also identifies a deranged woman of Unterelass who killed her fifteen-month-old son and stewed his legs with cabbage in 1844.¹⁹ Baring-Gould concludes that 'the cases in which bloodthirstiness and cannibalism are united with insanity are those which properly fall under the head[ing] of Lycanthropy', effectively pronouncing women as more susceptible to the forms of lycanthropy that result from mental feebleness.²⁰ Emphasising pregnant women as compulsively carnal and irrational bolstered chauvinistic conceits that women were lower on the evolutionary ladder than men. Other 'bad mothers' to make it onto Baring-Gould's roll call of female werewolves include five French women – Thievenne Paget, Clauda Isan Prost, Clauda Isan Guillaume and Isan Roquet – who were persecuted for witchcraft and infanticide in the Early Modern era, while mental feebleness was attributed to Perrenette and Antoinette Gandillon's lupine bloodlust in the same

wave of werewolf persecutions. Amongst the supposed ingredients of werewolf salves, Baring-Gould includes fat from a murdered child and also expressly links infanticide to an incident of female lycanthropy in Armenia.

A degree of attention is devoted to 'Elizabeth ___', a thinly veiled reference to the notorious Hungarian Countess Erzsébet Báthory, who has become synonymous with depraved aristocracy amidst legends of her bathing in the blood of more than 600 virgins for cosmetic benefit. King Siggier's mother in the Norse epic *Völsunga* saga offers another example of an aristocratic female werewolf with murderous intent, in legends that see the wearing of fur effect the transformation into animal form. The thirteenth-century *Völsunga* saga is notable within Baring-Gould's text not only for its ancient portrayal of female lycanthropy, but also for offering a rare example of a literary or fictional female werewolf. By and large, the examples Baring-Gould cites are of real women, or at least purportedly real women, legitimising the threat of female lycanthropy by extension.²¹

It is worth mentioning an important model of sadistic femininity that was in circulation in the Victorian era, one that infamously linked cruelty with a woman in an animal pelt – the *Venus in Furs*. Written by the Austrian Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, the 1870 novella *Venus im Pelz* chronicles the increasingly depraved relationship between Severin von Kusiemski and the aristocratic Wanda von Dunajew.²² Severin pleads with the initially reluctant Wanda to make a slave of him, subjecting himself to increasing humiliation and physical abuse as she – dressed in furs at Severin's request – gains enthusiasm for her role. The novella is modelled on von Sacher-Masoch's relationship with Fanny Pistor and his own psychosexual fascination with cruel, domineering women in furs, the author and his text gaining such notoriety as to give rise to the term 'masochism'.

What seems on the surface to be a misogynist warning to all men that they should indulge women and ignore the fairer sex's inherent cruelty at their own peril takes on a more complex hue when one takes into account von Sacher-Masoch's sexual leanings and fantasies. Further, he was a proactive supporter of women's suffrage in his role as editor of a progressive monthly journal: *Auf der Höhe. Internationale Review* (*At the Pinnacle. International Review*), that regularly included articles on female emancipation and education.

(Given his sexual predilections, one might speculate whether his support was driven by genuine desire for female suffrage, or fantasies of a society governed by dominatrices.) At the very least, *Venus in Furs* capitulates in its depiction of Wanda and women. Severin declares: 'All of a sudden I saw with horrible clarity whither blind passion and lust have led man, ever since Holofernes and Agamemnon – into a blind alley, into the net of woman's treachery, into misery, slavery, and death', picking up the thread two pages later with 'woman, as nature has created her, and man at present is educating her, is man's enemy'.²³ Yet he immediately counters with the declaration that woman can only be man's 'slave or his despot, but never his companion. This she can become only when she has the same rights as he and is his equal in education and work.'²⁴ Given von Sacher-Masoch's own noble lineage, it is arguable whether *Venus in Furs* was as effective at advancing the emancipation of women as it was at reinforcing tropes of aristocratic depravity.²⁵ Either way, it certainly reinforced Marryat's template for female lycanthropy, that is, a privileged woman whose wearing of fur signalled a radical break with conventions for female morality and power, and who was inclined to dominate her male suitors.

The wicked white werewolf bride

Ravina, the title protagonist in Sir Gilbert Campbell's 1889 *The White Wolf Of Kostopchin*, follows the template set by Christina and Wanda von Dunajew in many respects.²⁶ Like Christina, the 'exquisitely fair' Ravina is discovered in the forest during a hunt for a white wolf, emerging from the foliage 'wrapped in a mantle of soft white fur, with a fantastically shaped traveling cap' and speaking 'with a certain tinge of aristocratic hauteur in her voice'.²⁷ Echoes of Wanda von Dunajew reverberate in Ravina's cool indifference in the face of Paul's increasingly pathetic attempts to gain her affections by acceding to her demands. Like Christina, Ravina commands the blind adoration of the widowed (though hardly sympathetic) Paul Sergevitch, culminating in a betrothal that costs him his life and very nearly the life of his daughter Katrina as well. Ravina likewise performs her homicidal deeds as woman, not

wolf. Her murderous intent is exposed while attempting to rip out Katrina's heart, at which moment 'the white fur cloak falling from its head and shoulders disclosed the pallid features of Ravina, a short, broad knife in her hand, and her lips discoloured with blood'.²⁸ Ravina's face is described as 'undergoing some fearful change, and the features . . . losing their semblance of humanity' while she is in the throes of murdering her suitor; nevertheless it is with her 'delicate hands'²⁹ that Ravina tears Paul's heart from his chest. Only in death does Ravina revert to 'a huge white wolf, lying stark and dead, with a half-devoured human heart clasped between its fore paws'.³⁰

Campbell's tale can be read as an attack on the aristocracy, and not just in his portrayal of Ravina's murderous cruelty. Ravina's 'family relic' – a wolf-claw necklace – recalls Erzsébet Báthory's family crest, which is made up of three dragon claws. (The latter have been mistakenly described as wolf teeth on occasion.)³¹ The contemptuous portrayal of the Russian-Polish-Lithuanian Paul Sergevitch as a disdainful, self-serving lord of the manor casts his eventual demise as comeuppance. Yet Ravina's inherently 'bestial' form, combined with her 'bad' mothering, her insistence that Paul bend to her will, her defiance of expectations for her gender, including her admission, 'Yes, I have had the imprudence to speak my mind too freely' also locate her within the tradition of the Suffragette-era werewolf.³²

White Fell, the title lycanthrope in Clemence Annie Housman's novella *The Were-Wolf*, joins the hirsute sisterhood the following year. White Fell conforms to the existing template of the Suffragette-era werewolf in having a penchant for white fur and the blood of children and would-be suitors. Like Ravina and Christina, White Fell's 'blue as the sky' eyes also offer the first visual clue of her future cruelty, as well as her true identity. When Housman writes 'White Fell's eyes passed over Christian without apparent notice, and turned bright and shining upon Sweyn', the implication is that he has been marked as her intended victim.³³ Telltale brightness is a recurring motif in a number of Victorian female werewolf narratives. Christina of the Hartz Mountains, for example, is described as having 'something about her eyes, bright as they were, which made us children afraid; . . . I felt as if there was cruelty in her eye; and when she beckoned us to come to her, we approached her with fear and trembling'.³⁴

Ravina of Kostopchin's 'steel-blue eyes'³⁵ are likewise recognised as inhuman, causing a shiver of recognition in the manservant and prompting him to warn his master that 'the strange lady is the image of the white wolf'.³⁶

The other-worldly blueness of the White Fell's and Ravina's eyes, in conjunction with Christina's 'flaxen, glossy and shining' hair, White Fell's long fair plaits and Ravina's 'long Titian red hair', reflect distinctively Victorian and Edwardian racial coding that largely locates female werewolves among the fair-haired races of northern and eastern Europe. As previously noted, Campbell positions Ravina's fictional Kostopchin in Russian-Polish Lithuania, a land of 'wild and fanciful narratives of wolves, witches, and white ladies'.³⁷ Christina is identified as Hungarian-Transylvanian, making her a compatriot of Erzsébet Báthory, while White Fell travels 'a hundred leagues' to arrive at the farm house of her Swedish victims, fixing her nationality somewhere within the Nordic or Baltic regions.

While Christina and Ravina both hail from regions that offer their authors licence to denounce feudal systems in foreign lands, a compounded xenophobia also appears to be operating around the figures of Ravina and White Fell, whose tales are loosely contemporaneous with the unpopular influx of Baltic immigrants to the UK in the early 1890s.³⁸ While many Balts were indeed fleeing serfdom or conscription to the Tsar's army, it should be noted that Sweden had granted women voting rights in local elections in 1862 while the Grand Principality of Finland (then part of the Russian empire) gave its country women municipal suffrage the following year, four to five years before British women enjoyed the same modest privilege. Finland went on to become the first country to grant universal suffrage to all its citizens in 1906, leading the United Kingdom by a remarkable twenty-two years. The exotic fairness of the Victorian-era female werewolves can hardly have been coincidental in the contemporary British landscape of contested women's suffrage.

It is productive to explore the figure of White Fell further in this light, particularly given that Housman was prominent in the women's suffrage movement, most notably through cofounding the Suffrage Atelier with her brother Laurence.³⁹ This printmaking and publication collective comprised a membership of women illustrators committed to providing support and opportunities for women in their profession,

while regular printmaking workshops focused on reproducing and circulating images quickly to a wide audience. This enabled the Suffrage Atelier to gain political agency and to positively influence popular perceptions of the Suffragettes through the dissemination of pro-suffrage imagery. It should be noted that *The Were-Wolf* appears to be the only text from the Victorian era that includes illustrations of female lycanthropy, first by Everard Hopkins in the December 1890 edition of *Atalanta* magazine, and subsequently by Housman's brother Laurence in the stand-alone novella of 1896. In such an environment it was impossible for Laurence to be unaware of the political implications of – and opportunities for – his own visualisations of female lycanthropy.

This also raises the question of whether Housman's casting of White Fell as a freethinking Nordic woman was driven by xenophobia or by emulation. Certainly, wistful admiration for White Fell's liberation from social conventions suggests itself in a number of passages, including Housman's description of her eponymous protagonist's unusual dress:

The fashion of her dress was strange, half masculine, yet not unwomanly. A fine fur tunic, reaching but little below the knee, was all the skirt she wore; below were the cross-bound shoes and leggings that a hunter wears. A white fur cap was set low upon the brows, . . . [leaving] unhidden long plaits of fair hair that lay forward on shoulder and breast, down to the ivory-studded girdle where the axe gleamed.⁴⁰

White Fell's costume offers a radical departure from the restrictive corsets and cumbersome petticoats and skirts that were the fashion for women of the day, offering the female wearer considerable freedoms, and not inconsiderable empowerment. White Fell's self-sufficiency is made evident in the following exchange:

'Alone!' exclaimed Sweyn, in astonishment. 'Have you journeyed thus far – a hundred leagues – alone? . . . Over the hills and wastes! Why, the folk there are savage and wild as beasts!'

She dropped her hand upon her axe with a laugh of scorn.

'I fear neither man nor beast; some few fear me,' and then she told strange tales of fierce attack and defence, and of the bold, free huntress life she had led.⁴¹



Figure 1: Laurence Housman, 'The Race', illustration for *The Were-Wolf*, 1896.

Laurence amplifies the subtle allusions to androgyny in his sister's text, entirely eliminating any clues as to White Fell's gender. Her blonde plaits are hidden altogether and her token skirt has been replaced by a furry bodysuit with tail and furry leggings that is more extension of her own body than garment. Housman may describe White Fell as possessing 'a frame so firm and capable that only bulk was lacking for equal strength' with the men,⁴² yet her brother's illustrations show White Fell as matching the men in height as well



Figure 2: Laurence Housman, 'The Finish',
illustration for *The Were-Wolf*, 1896.

as in breadth of shoulders and narrowness of hips. The female werewolf's lean, flat-chested, muscular figure mirrors that of the male protagonists most strikingly in 'The Race' (see Fig. 1). Indeed, in two of the illustrations, 'White Fell's Escape' and 'The Finish' (see Fig. 2), White Fell stands above the kneeling or prone male, assuming the visually dominant position. Curiously, however, there is no violence or intimidation in these images; even the image showing White Fell besting Christian is devoid of any obvious malice,

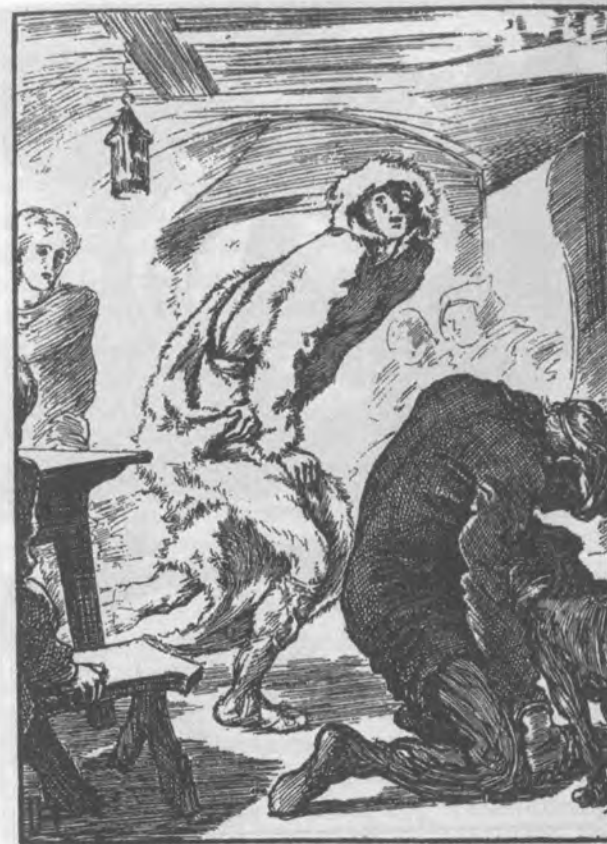


Figure 3: Laurence Housman, 'White Fell's Escape',
illustration for *The Were-Wolf*, 1896.

and she might just as likely be helping him to his feet as knocking him down. The she-wolf is depicted as neither temptress nor hag, achieving heightened physical agency without recourse to feminine wiles, allusions to witchcraft, or indeed monstrosity.

These portraits of White Fell do, however, depend on the masculinisation of White Fell as well as the loss of her sexual potency. Within Housman's text, the exotic, independent woman from the north captures the rapt fascination of Christian's brother, Sweyn,



Figure 4: Laurence Housman, 'Sweyn's Finding', illustration for *The Were-Wolf*, 1896.

and even their infant cousin, Rol, is unusually smitten; however, the body language between White Fell and her male protagonists in the illustrations is striking in its lack of sexual charge. Indeed, in both illustrations featuring Sweyn (see Fig. 3, 'White Fell's Escape' and Fig. 4, 'Sweyn's Finding'), his back is completely turned on White Fell, ignoring the woman with whom he is supposedly utterly besotted. The de-sexing, and de-sexualisation, of White Fell highlights the complexities facing the visual artist in depicting models

of womankind that sit outside conventions of the time. The complex challenges posed by social expectations for each sex must have been keenly felt by the Housman siblings, neither of whom married, choosing instead to live together as lifelong companions, and possibly defying other conventions for gender as well.⁴³

Laurence's final image for *The Were-Wolf* deserves further attention for its depiction of White Fell in death. In keeping with the Suffragette-era tradition, we see White Fell reverted to her 'true' wolf form. Clemence describes White Fell's lupine form as that of 'a great white wolf' and her 'great grim jaws' as having a 'savage grin'.⁴⁴ Once again, Laurence diverges from the text, depicting instead a diminished wolf with flattened, impotent muzzle – a depleted shadow of White Fell the woman. It is as though the wolf gained its physical and psychological potency from the woman, not the other way around. It is also telling that Clemence could not allow White Fell to survive in the end – a concession, perhaps, to a readership not yet comfortable with such empowered femininity.

The golden age of the Beastly Suffragette

Despite the sparsity of visual representations of female lycanthropy in the Victorian and Edwardian eras, there was no shortage of imagery depicting men and families at the mercy of women who refused to conform to social conventions for their sex.⁴⁵ Fears surrounding the New Woman are reflected in the large number of anti-Suffragette images that were in circulation at the time, courtesy of the 'Golden Age of Postcards' which saw the sending and collecting of postcards reach fever pitch in Europe and the United States. Fred Bassett, the senior librarian of Manuscripts and Special Collections at the New York State Library, writes that the Golden Age of Postcards

... saw postcard collecting reach a zenith of staggering proportion . . . Official U.S. Post Office figures for the year ending June 30, 1908 revealed that approximately seven hundred million postcards had been mailed in this country. By 1913 the total number mailed had increased to over nine hundred million, and, by this date, the craze was reportedly on the decline!⁴⁶

Exact timeframes of the Golden Age vary from writer to writer, although most locate the age loosely around the first two decades of the twentieth century. Jack Davis, for example, defines the Golden Age as the years between 1898 and 1915 in his chapter 'Unpublished Sets by the Detroit Publishing Company'⁴⁷ while Susan Brown Nicholson gives a slightly broader timeframe of 1893 to 1918 in her *The Encyclopedia of Antique Postcards*.⁴⁸ Conversely, Bassett gives a compressed timespan of 1905 to 1915, albeit he is dealing primarily with the phenomenon in the United States.

The social impact of postcards should not be underestimated and has been compared to the current influence of the internet.⁴⁹ Picture postcards became a key form of visual entertainment and cultural exchange that extended beyond holiday souvenirs to include comics, advertising and politics, with both sides of the suffrage debate availing themselves of the postcard's ubiquity and popular influence. Print-making studios and print workshops came to play a key role in the construction and dissemination of a public visual vocabulary of women at a time when gender roles and notions of femininity were hotly contested.⁵⁰

The fear that women's suffrage would result in the erosion of conventional gendered norms proved especially stubborn, amongst women as well as men. The Southern Woman's League for the Rejection of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment (initially introduced to Congress in 1878 with the aim of prohibiting denial of the vote to United States citizens on the basis of sex) explicitly expresses this fear in their anti-suffrage pamphlet. Beneath an image of a henpecked rooster and the subtitle: 'A Vote for Federal Suffrage is a Vote for Organized Female Nagging Forever', the league warns: 'WOMAN SUFFRAGE denatures both men and women; it masculinizes women and feminizes men' (original emphasis).⁵¹ The pronounced androgyny of Laurence Housman's White Fell becomes particularly loaded in this climate, and even Clemence's softer reference to White Fell's garb as 'half masculine' reverberates more defiantly amidst the flood of anti-suffrage postcards depicting women wearing trousers.⁵²

In 1909, New York's Dunston-Weiler Lithographic Company produced a particularly lavish series of twelve anti-suffrage postcards, for which it has become best known.⁵³ The postcards depict a series

of coquettish, well-to-do Suffragettes engaged in the 'scandalous' pursuits of buying votes with bribery or kisses, smoking and wearing trousers (including one instance of a policewoman brandishing a rolling pin), while the husband is left at home, literally holding the baby. In her analysis of the Dunston-Weiler *Suffragette* series, Catherine H. Palczewski argues that prevailing ideology saw postcard manufacturers create a public image of the Suffragette as a figure of ridicule, consequently lending their support to anti-suffrage forces by default.⁵⁴ Husbands with families were presented as most vulnerable to the woman's quest for voting rights, suffering not just abandonment and neglect as a result of the mother's 'misguided' determination to engage in a life outside the domestic sphere, but emasculation as well. Husbands were regularly depicted as exhausted from and ill-suited to the relentless, demeaning drudgery of housekeeping and childrearing while the wife smoked cigars and played cards in 'women only' clubs, without any apparent irony or consciousness of double standards.⁵⁵

American anti-suffrage cards may have ridiculed the Suffragette, but as Kenneth Florey notes, she was generally spared the sometimes breathtaking savagery of the English postcards.⁵⁶ The latter regularly depicted the Suffragette as an ugly spinster, a bully and occasionally as a hideous abomination, as not only naively misguided but downright dangerous. One postcard produced by Bamforth & Co. Publishers of Leeds shows a man on his knees cleaning the carpet while his wife towers over him, twisting his ear, above the caption 'My wife's joined the Suffrage Movement (and I've suffered ever since)'.⁵⁷ Not that Americans were entirely immune to such sentiments. Wanda von Dunajew appears to have been channelled for the *Early Training* postcard from Series No. 5024 by G. D. & O. New York and London, circa 1910, on which a haughty young girl wields a whip and reins, one foot on the back of a forlorn young boy, the other on his head. The boy is on his hands and knees, a horse's bit in his mouth and a tear in his eye. This is no embodiment of masochistic desire, but rather the artist's warning to the current generation of men that allowing their wives to vote opens the way for future generations of men to be bullied by the capricious whims of the female sex.⁵⁸



Figure 5: 'Origin and Development of a Suffragette', Millar & Lang Ltd. Art Publishers, c.1908. From the suffrage collection of Dr Kenneth Florey.

Another contemporaneous postcard, produced by the Glasgow- and London-based Millar & Lang Ltd. Art Publishers as part of their National Series, depicts a sequence of images reminiscent of lycanthropic transformations (see Fig. 5). Published circa 1908, the postcard traces the trajectory of a pretty young woman with biologically instilled maternal instincts as she forsakes marriage and motherhood to transform into a claw-handed, hatchet-wielding harridan. In



Figure 6: Martin Anderson, 'We Want the Vote', Cynicus Publishing Company, c.1910. Museum of London collection.

another notable example, produced by the Scot Martin Anderson, for the Cynicus Publishing Company circa 1910, the Suffragette is not only devoid of femininity, but also of humanity (see Fig. 6). Anderson's 'We Want the Vote' postcard features a grotesquely simian hag with prominent, gap-toothed fangs, emphasising the Suffragette not only as threatening, but also as a retrograde human. The social Darwinism which had already placed women as lower

on the evolutionary ladder than men resurfaces and becomes amplified in this example, which suggests that a woman refusing to accept her 'natural' female role is at risk of forfeiting her claim to membership of the human race altogether. The darkened complexion and narrowed, Asiatic eyes are at odds with the largely white, middle-class Suffragette demographic, seeing Anderson exploit xenophobic paranoia of regression to 'lower' racial norms to amplify the supposed threat of the Suffragette.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the Suffragette movement in England had escalated to include more militant actions including arson, smashing windows and hunger strikes by imprisoned Suffragettes, the first incarceration taking place in 1905. The heightened tensions and animosity are reflected not only in the increasing hostility of the anti-suffrage postcards, but also in the heightened misogynist rhetoric in Elliot O'Donnell's anthology of lycanthropic lore, *Wewolves* [sic], published in 1912.⁵⁹ Like Baring-Gould half a century before him, O'Donnell had no difficulty imagining the werewolf as feminine, specifically naming Mère Maxim, Beatrice Cellini, Marguerite Gavestein, Countess Hilda Von Breber, Olga Kloska, Isabelle de Nurrez, Mad Valerie and Breda amongst the hirsute sisterhood. However, where Baring-Gould made some attempt at genuine scholarship and can trace his examples to external sources, O'Donnell's 'case studies' are his own literary inventions, despite his claims to the contrary. This makes his portrayal of female lycanthropy all the more telling.

While O'Donnell acknowledges that in some countries the werewolf 'is restricted to the male sex', he counters immediately that 'in others it is confined to the female'.⁶⁰ He also notes that in Russia and Siberia, female werewolves slightly outnumber males.⁶¹ Not content simply to acknowledge that female lycanthropy is as likely as male lycanthropy, O'Donnell goes so far as to declare that:

women are more desirous of becoming werewolves than men, more women having acquired the property of werwolfery through their own act . . . and when once women metamorphose thus, their craving for human flesh is simply insatiable – in fact, they are far more cruel and daring, and much more to be dreaded, than male werewolves.⁶²

As previously noted, Christina of the Hartz Mountains feels no remorse for her murderous deeds nor anxiety at her 'compromised' humanity, traits she passes down to Ravina and White Fell. These traits are also inherited by O'Donnell's 'decidedly chic' Mère Maxim, an amalgam of Victorian-era clichés of the predatory female werewolf, that is, an aristocratic beauty with disturbing eyes who inhabits the forest dressed in furs, practises pagan witchcraft, and takes especial delight in torturing and devouring love-struck men.⁶³ The final scene in which the hapless Henri Sansfeu is bound hand and foot while Mère, 'dressed with wonderful effect all in white', bares her teeth and digs 'her cruel nails deep into his flesh' reveals O'Donnell's debt to earlier tales of female lycanthropy as well as to von Sacher-Masoch's *Venus in Furs*.⁶⁴

Like the *Early Training* postcard and others of its ilk, the scene also stands as a warning to men of the dangers of submitting to the will of women, of granting them agency over their own destinies that can, O'Donnell implies, only come at men's bitter cost. The parallels between the rhetoric of the anti-suffrage postcards, in which granting women voting rights is presented as akin to male suicide through emasculation, and O'Donnell's warning that a woman who becomes a werewolf of her own free will is destined to develop an insatiable thirst for (male) blood, can hardly be coincidental, whether or not they were consciously employed.

The decidedly continental flavour of O'Donnell's roll call of lady lycanthropes sees his misogyny heavily infused with xenophobia, a recurring bedfellow wherever threats to the status quo are perceived. In the decade immediately following the publication of O'Donnell's *Wewolves*, the tide of shifting sentiment on the continent and beyond saw suffrage granted to women in Norway, Denmark, Canada, Austria, Germany, Poland, Russia, Estonia, Latvia, the Netherlands, the United States, Sweden and Lithuania.⁶⁵ It took a further six years before British women enjoyed the same entitlement to vote, demonstrating a particularly stubborn resistance to relinquishing existing power structures and gender hierarchies.

Eventually, the sun began to set on the Golden Age of Postcards – superseded by another visual medium, moving pictures – around the time that Suffragettes were becoming more militant in the

United Kingdom and the tide of female suffrage was beginning its sweep on the continent and beyond. Canada's Bison Pictures released the first werewolf film, a silent, black-and-white production called *The Werewolf*, in 1913. Given, as we have seen, the prevailing political, social, visual and literary climate in which women were demonised for defying the socially prescribed conventions for their sex, it is perhaps unsurprising that the title protagonist is a woman, (misguidedly) bent on wreaking vengeance against the dominant male population.

The Suffragette movement during the Victorian and Edwardian eras saw longstanding social conventions for women and gender hierarchies undergo intense scrutiny and re-evaluation on both sides of the Atlantic. Comprised largely of upper- and middle-class women, Suffragettes represented a unique threat to the status quo, one emanating from within the privileged ranks of white European society. Anxiety surrounding the erosion of gender divisions was bolstered by elements within Darwinist evolutionary theory that saw women as lower on the evolutionary ladder than men, a position they supposedly shared with darker-complexioned races of colonised nations. Print workshops and publishing companies were instrumental in shaping the debates surrounding women and gender through the production of a flood of visual imagery in the form of postcards that directly addressed the Suffragette cause and the contested position of women in European and American society. The Suffragette era also witnessed the emergence of a new breed of female werewolf in Gothic literature, one who was a particular threat to children and husbands, and for whom fur served as a symbol both of privilege and of regression to her 'true' bestial state. Fair-skinned, fair-haired, light-eyed, accented and cruel, the Suffragette-era werewolf embodies clichés of aristocratic depravity in feudal lands, but this is not the full story of her racial profiling. In her free-speaking self-sufficiency, her refusal to bend to the will of men, her anti-maternal instincts and, in the case of White Fell, her androgyny, the white she-wolf of the Victorian and Edwardian eras absorbed the fears, and possibly even the fantasies, surrounding the New Woman.

Notes

- 1 Janet Pérez, 'Contemporary Spanish Writers and the Feminine Neo-Gothic', *Romance Quarterly*, 51/2 (2004), 126. Viewable online at <http://www.doc88.com/p-943839912519.html>.
- 2 Paula Bartley, *Access to History: Votes for Women*, 3rd ed. (Tunbridge Wells: Hachette UK, 2011), p. 1860. The court ruled in response to a class action by 5,000 Manchester women claiming the right to vote on the basis of fulfilling property qualifications. It should be noted that land ownership and wealth qualifications effectively prevented many men from voting at the beginning of the Victorian era as well; however, reductions in property qualifications for men throughout the century were not matched with increased entitlement to suffrage for women.
- 3 Narratives of female lycanthropy had been in circulation in the interim, but these largely took the form of trial transcripts from witch hunts, notably Henry Boguet's *Discours exécration des Sorciers* of 1602, rather than works of literature or fiction. Medieval romances or lais largely featured male werewolves.
- 4 Captain Frederick Marryat's *The Phantom Ship* was originally serialised in *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, March 1837–August 1839. Chapter XXXIX first appeared in *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*, 36/2 (1839), 396–412 (viewable online at <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=hZ4FAAAAQAAJ&printsec>) and has subsequently been excerpted as *The White Wolf of Hartz Mountains* for inclusion in a number of werewolf anthologies. For an early example see Douglas Hill (ed.), *The Way of the Werewolf* (London: Panther, 1966). The chapter has also been published as a stand-alone text. See Captain Frederick Marryat, *The White Wolf of Hartz Mountains* (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing Reprints, 2004).
- 5 Marryat, 'The Phantom Ship: Chapter XXXIX', 402.
- 6 Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), p. 41. Merchant further elucidates that, in the Middle Ages, nobles of lesser wealth could wear all furs but ermine or miniver (ermine without the black tail), yeoman and artisans were restricted to lamb, rabbit, cat or fox while the poorest at the bottom of the social ladder were only permitted to wear sheepskin. See pp. 41–2.
- 7 I am indebted to Chantal Bourgault du Coudray's essay, 'Upright Citizens on All Fours: Nineteenth-Century Identity and the Image of the Werewolf', *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 24/1 (2002), 1–16, which first alerted me to a Suffragette-era werewolf type.

- ⁸ Marryat, 'The Phantom Ship: Chapter XXXIX', 408.
- ⁹ Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). See especially chapter 9, 'Gynanders and Genetics; Connoisseurs of Bestiality and Serpentine Delights; Leda, Circe, and the Cold Caresses of the Sphinx', pp. 272–332.
- ¹⁰ Carl (aka Karl) Vogt, *Lectures on Man: His Place in Creation, and in the History of the Earth* (London: Longman Green and Roberts, 1864), p. 12. Viewable online at <https://archive.org/details/lecturesonmanhi00huntingoo>.
- ¹¹ Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, p. vii.
- ¹² See 'Secondary Sexual Characters of Man', chapter 19 of Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1871), p. 327.
- ¹³ Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, pp. 326–7.
- ¹⁴ The 'fiercely anti-feminist Otto Weininger', 1904, quoted (and described) in Chantal Bourgault du Coudray, *The Curse of the Werewolf: Fantasy, Horror and the Beast Within* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p. 54.
- ¹⁵ This is not to say that Darwin's theories went unchallenged in his day, nor that women were prepared to concede a 'lower' evolutionary status themselves. In her 1875 text, *The Sexes Throughout Nature*, Antoinette Blackwell refutes Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer's theories that evolution has resulted in male superiority over females in any given species, arguing that both sexes are equally subject to natural selection, therefore both must have evolved in tandem to play equal parts in ensuring the survival of the species.
- ¹⁶ Bourgault du Coudray, *The Curse of the Werewolf*, pp. 54–5.
- ¹⁷ Sabine Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves* (London: Senate, 1995), p. 8. First published in 1865 by Smith, Elder & Co. in London.
- ¹⁸ Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*. See especially p. 142.
- ¹⁹ Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*, pp. 143–4.
- ²⁰ Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*, p. 144.
- ²¹ Baring-Gould also lists an elderly Ossyrian she-wolf who was cited in an early thirteenth-century travelogue, a Swiss *louve-garon* from Lucerne, a farmer's wife in Caseburg, and cursed Polish wedding parties among his examples of female lycanthropy.
- ²² Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *Venus in Furs*, trans. F. Savage (London: Bookkake, 2007).
- ²³ Sacher-Masoch, *Venus in Furs*, p. 128.
- ²⁴ Sacher-Masoch, *Venus in Furs*, p. 128.
- ²⁵ Sacher-Masoch's mother, Charlotte von Masoch, was a Ukrainian noblewoman.
- ²⁶ Sir Gilbert Campbell, *The White Wolf Of Kostopchin* (London: Ward & Lock, 1886). Reprinted in N. Haskell Dole, F. Morgan and C. Ticknor (eds), *The Bibliophile Library of Literature, Art, & Rare Manuscripts: Vol. 18* (New York, London: International Bibliophile Society, 1904), 6064–93. Viewable online at <https://archive.org/details/bibliophilelibra18inte>.
- ²⁷ Campbell, 'The White Wolf Of Kostopchin', p. 6074.
- ²⁸ Campbell, 'The White Wolf Of Kostopchin', p. 6088.
- ²⁹ Campbell, 'The White Wolf Of Kostopchin', p. 6092.
- ³⁰ Campbell, 'The White Wolf Of Kostopchin', p. 6093.
- ³¹ In their chapter 'The Social Biology of Werewolves', W. M. S. Russell and Claire Russell claim that the 'E' in the Báthory coat of arms is constructed from a vertical jawbone intersected by three wolf's teeth, and also mention a legend in which Erzsébet was followed about by a she-wolf, reinforcing lycanthropic allusions. See J. R. Porter and W. M. S. Russell (eds), *Animals in Folklore* (Ipswich and Cambridge: D.S. Brewer Ltd, 1978), p. 166.
- ³² Campbell, 'The White Wolf Of Kostopchin', p. 6066.
- ³³ Clemence Housman, *The Were-Wolf* (Fairfield, IA: 1st World Library, 2005), p. 27. First published in *Atalanta* in December 1890.
- ³⁴ Marryat, 'The Phantom Ship: Chapter XXXIX', 402.
- ³⁵ Campbell, 'The White Wolf Of Kostopchin', p. 6083.
- ³⁶ Campbell, 'The White Wolf Of Kostopchin', p. 6078. The motif of the telltale eyes endures in contemporary cinema whereby a change in eye colour (usually to gold) signals the female werewolf's imminent change, often presenting even earlier than the fangs. The altered eyes have also come to signal a moment of self-realisation for the female werewolf herself, the point at which she recognises herself as potentially dangerous. For Serafina Pigot in Anthony Waller's *An American Werewolf in Paris* (1997), Frida Harris in Jacqueline Garry's *The Curse* (1999), Josie in *Dark Wolf* (2003), and Vivian in Katja von Garnier's *Blood and Chocolate* (2007) – all blondes, coincidentally – a shift in eye colour signals the moment the heroine recognises the wolf in herself, as well as the danger she now poses to her boyfriend. Vivian's lupine form also happens to be that of a white wolf.
- ³⁷ Campbell, 'The White Wolf Of Kostopchin', p. 6087.
- ³⁸ For example, over 4,000 Lithuanians had settled in Lanarkshire, Scotland by 1914. They arrived to a hostile local reaction, accused of stealing jobs and spreading disease, among other things. The Lithuanians were also routinely called Poles by the local Scots, which may explain Paul Sergevitch's hybrid nationality in *The White Wolf of Kostopchin*. See BBC, 'Legacies: Immigration and Emigration, 'Lithuanians in Lanarkshire''.

- October 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/scotland/strathclyde/article_2.shtml.
- ³⁹ See Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866–1928* (London: University College London, 1999), p. 941. A selection of prints made by the members of the Suffrage Atelier is viewable at the Museum of London online Prints archive: <http://www.museumoflondon.prints.com/search/keywords/suffrage%20atelier>. Given that Laurence and Clemence share the surname Housman, I will refer to brother and sister by their given names where necessary to minimise confusion.
- ⁴⁰ Housman, *The Were-Wolf*, p. 15.
- ⁴¹ Housman, *The Were-Wolf*, p. 15.
- ⁴² Housman, *The Were-Wolf*, p. 33.
- ⁴³ Caryn Crossen notes that Laurence has been identified as homosexual, and although Clemence's sexual preferences remain unknown, the siblings' nieces and nephews called them respectively 'Aunt Laurence' and 'Uncle Clem', inverting the usual gendering of the titles. Caryn Crossen, "The complex and antagonistic forces that constitute one soul": conflict between social expectations and individual desires in Clemence Housman's *The Were-Wolf* and Rosamund Marriott Watson's "A Ballad of the Were-wolf" in Hannah Priest (ed.), *She-Wolf: A Cultural History of Female Werewolves* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 112–13.
- ⁴⁴ Housman, *The Were-Wolf*, p. 68.
- ⁴⁵ The white wolf's visual alignment with women does appear stubbornly entrenched, however, appearing on the covers of the September 1927 and December 1930 issues of *Weird Tales*, an American pulp fiction magazine specialising in fantasy and horror. Lupine ladies adorn at least six covers of *Weird Tales* between 1927 and 1938, their voluptuous, scantily clad forms leaving no doubt as to their gender, nor their predatory nature. The even split between blondes and redheads indicates that lupine femininity was still largely associated with the fair races of northern Europe in the decades following women's suffrage in the United States.
- ⁴⁶ Fred Bassett, 'Wish You Were Here! The Story of the Golden Age of Picture Postcards in the United States', Appendix C, Postcard Collection Essay QC16510, New York State Library, 26 March 2010. Viewable online at <http://www.nysl.nysed.gov/msscfa/pr/qc16510ess.pdf> [accessed 20 February 2016].
- ⁴⁷ In *Samuel L. Schmuicker: The Discovery of His Lost Art*, co-authored with Dorothy Ryan, (Montana: Olde America Antiques, 2001), p. 67.
- ⁴⁸ Susan Brown Nicholson, *The Encyclopedia of Antique Postcards* (Radnor, PA: Wallace Homestead Book Co., 1994), p. 196.
- ⁴⁹ See Catherine H. Palczewski, 'The Male Madonna and the Feminine Uncle Sam: Visual Argument, Icons, and Ideographs in 1909 Anti-Woman Suffrage Postcards', *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 91/4 (2005), 365.
- ⁵⁰ For further discussion, see Bourgault du Coudray who writes: 'Especially in the latter part of the century, the emergence of the New Woman, the "androgynous," and the women's Suffrage movement incited considerable alarm about sexuality, gender differences, and reproduction.' Bourgault du Coudray, 'Upright Citizens', 6.
- ⁵¹ *America When Feminized*, undated (c.1919–20), Brandon-Nashville printers, Josephine A. Pearson Papers, viewable at "Remember the Ladies!": Women Struggle for an Equal Voice', Tennessee State Library and Archives, <http://www.tennessee.gov/tsla/exhibits/suffrage/struggle.htm>.
- ⁵² Examples of these postcards are viewable at Stana, 'What will Men Wear When Women Wear the Trousers?', Part 1, Femulate (blog), 2 March 2010, <http://www.femulate.org/2010/03/what-will-men-wear-when-women-wear.html> [accessed 14 April 2013].
- ⁵³ As with many publishing houses from the time, very little information is available on the Dunston-Weiler Lithographic Company beyond their Suffragette series. The *Library of Congress Catalogue of Copyright Entries*, 5/4 (1910), issued in Washington by the Government Printing Office, does not list any other copyright registrations under Dunston-Weiler.
- ⁵⁴ Palczewski, 'The Male Madonna', 366.
- ⁵⁵ The pre 1910 *When Women Vote* series by AE & EW features one such example (viewable here: <https://womanandhersphere.files.wordpress.com/2012/08/washing-day-1.jpg>). Three elegant women sit around smoking, playing cards and eating chocolates. A work-worn man does the laundry while holding a bawling baby in the adjoining room. A text balloon lists the husband's working hours as 3 a.m. to 12 p.m. [sic], itemised as 'Monday. Washing Day, Tuesday. Darning, Wed. House-cleaning, Thurs. Scrubbing, Friday. Marketing, Sat. Work of any sort, Sun. More work' while his elegantly reclining wife complains 'Yes! My old man is a lazy old wretch.' The rest of the postcards in the series make it abundantly clear that AE & EW had absolutely no intention of exposing the double standards in this scenario. The emasculated house husband is a common theme of the anti-Suffragette postcards. An extensive collection of examples is viewable on Palczewski's Suffrage

- Postcard Archive. See especially the 'Feminine Men' archive at <http://www.uni.edu/palczews/NEW%20postcard%20webpage/Feminine%20Men.html>.
- 56 Kenneth Florey, 'Woman Suffrage Memorabilia: Suffrage Postcards', <http://womansuffragememorabilia.com/woman-suffrage-memorabilia/postcards/> [accessed 12 August 2015].
- 57 This postcard, along with others from the series, may be viewed under 'Bamforth' at Palczewski, Suffrage Postcard Archive.
- 58 Postcard viewable at 'Women's Suffrage, The Authentic History Centre', modified 12 July 2012, <http://www.authentichistory.com/1898-1913/2-progressivism/6-civilrights/2-women/index.html>.
- 59 Elliot O'Donnell, *Werewolves* (Hertfordshire: Oracle, 1996). Originally published as *Werwolves* (London: Methuen & Co., 1912).
- 60 O'Donnell, *Werewolves*, p. 2.
- 61 O'Donnell, *Werewolves*, p. 273.
- 62 O'Donnell, *Werewolves*, pp. 277–8.
- 63 O'Donnell, *Werewolves*, p. 119.
- 64 O'Donnell, *Werewolves*, p. 127.
- 65 Suffrage for Canada's indigenous population was not achieved until the 1960s. Similarly, Australia, which was a forerunner in women's rights, granting suffrage in 1902, did not grant its Aboriginal population suffrage until 1962.