

# THE HIDDEN IMPACT OF WOMEN ON THE AGRI-FOOD SECTOR IN ENGLAND, 1920-1960

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*Figure 1: Amelia King*



Source: ('Amelia King and the Land Girls of Frith Farm', 1945)

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Figure 2: Acknowledgments



Declaration:

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

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## ABSTRACT

This study identifies the 'typical' employment barriers women faced within the Agri-Food sector from 1920-1960 in England, along with how they worked within (and around) such barriers to create unique opportunities to provide localized change through education, social networks, Government policy, and public opinion. The most prevalent barriers being identified as legal constraints, a miss-match between education and employment, and public identification of feminine versus masculine spheres of influence.

A review of the historiography of women in the Agri-Food sector and literature surrounding the chosen case-study social networks (the Women's Land Army and Women's Institutes) indicates that the inclusion of Food and Nutritional Sciences has been relatively ignored, something this study begins to address. The thesis considers the use of a more inclusive gender critical framework for Mixed Methods researchers combining material culture analysis, critical gender historical analysis, ethnography, and a unique cookery book literary discourse analysis to compare the structure and function of the networks, their relationships with the State, and public perception across time.

The results showed that women's social networks that worked independently from Government oversight, yet partnered with the State on specific societal needs, enacted the most employment opportunities and changes in public opinion during the study period. We also found that such opportunities were greatest in the Distributive Trades and Food sector, compared to the Agricultural sector. However, we also found that there is a discrepancy in Government funding of education for women in the Agri-Food sector, and that historical (and current) promotion of women in higher education (university degrees) does not correlate to employment trends. Likewise, we found that there is a higher intergenerational knowledge transference around food and nutrition within social networks than without, and that such knowledge has dropped drastically over time.

The contribution of women's social networks in the larger scheme of Agri-Food employment, while hitherto largely overlooked, we found to be a primary driver for the removal of employment barriers. As such, from an employment perspective, the promotion of gender critical policies that promote such networks, especially around workforce development and rural development need to be considered when designing future Agri-Food sector policies.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AEA	Agricultural Education Association
A-Level	Advanced Level (Secondary Education)
ATS	Auxiliary Territory Service
AWU	Annual Work Unit
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BBC	British Broadcasting Company
BCA	Berkshire College of Agriculture
BIA	Berkshire Institute of Agriculture
BOA	Board of Agriculture
BOAF	Board of Agriculture and Fisheries
BOE	Board of Education
BOT	Board of Trade
BSc	Bachelor of Science
CA	Certificate in Agriculture
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEBs	Census Enumerator's Books
CEDAR	Centre for Dairy Research
CHA	Comparative Historical Analysis
CWAEC	County War Agricultural Executive Committees
DA	Diploma in Agriculture
DAS	Diploma in Agricultural Sciences
DCA	Discourse Analysis
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
DORA	Defence of the Realm Act
F2F	Farm to Fork
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FC	Food Controller
FCC	Food Control Committees
FEC	Further Education Commission (like Higher Education Commission)
FGI	Food Group Indicators
FI	Farm Institute
FIGS	Factors Influencing Gender Structures
FIRMS	Factors Influencing Recipe and Menu Selection
FNS	Food and Nutritional Science
FVC	Food Vigilance Committees
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GWG	Gender Wage Gap
HDA	Historical Discourse Analysis
HDDS	Household Dietary Diversity Score
HE	Higher Education
HRD	Human Resource Development



IFF	Intersectional Feminist Framework
LAS	Literary Analysis Score
LCC	London County Council
LEA	Local Education Authority
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bi, Trans, Queer, Plus
LNSWS	London and National Society for Women's Service
LSA	Land Settlement Association
LSE	London School of Economics
MAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
MCA	Material Culture Analysis
MERL	Museum of English Rural Life
MMB	Milk Marketing Board
MMR	Mixed Methods Research
MO	Mass Observation
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOF	Ministry of Food
MP	Member of Parliament
MSc	Master of Science
NAAFI	Navy, Army and Airforce Institution
NAAS	National Assessment and Accreditation System
NAS	National Agriculture Advisory Service
NCA	National Certificate in Agriculture
NCFS	National Certificate in Farm Secretarial
NCH	National Certificate in Horticulture
ND	National Diploma
NDA	National Diploma in Agriculture
NDD	National Diploma in Dairying
NDH	National Diploma in Horticulture
NDI	National Dairy Institute
NDP	National Diploma in Poultry
NF(YFC)	National Federation of (Young Farmers' Clubs)
NFS	National Food Survey
NFU	National Farmers' Union
NFWI/WIs	The National Federation of Women's Institutes
NUAW	National Union of Agricultural Workers
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
OD	Organizational Development
ONS	Oxford Nutritional Survey
PBIS	Points-Based Immigration System
PDA	Political Discourse Analysis
PHS	Royal Horticultural Society

QUAL	Qualitative
QUAN	Quantitative
RAF	Royal Air Force
RASE	Royal Agricultural Society of England
RDE	Rural Domestic Economy
RSE	Royal Society of England
SAPD	School of Agriculture, Policy, and Development
SBR	Science - or Evidence - Based Research
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math
T&D	Training and Development
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UoR	The University of Reading
VLCS	Vacant Land Cultivation Society
VOC	Vocational Training
WAAC	War Artists' Advisory Committee
WAAF	Women's Auxiliary Air Force
WAEC	War Agricultural Executive Committee
WDDS	Women's Dietary Diversity Score
WFGA/U	Women's Farm and Garden Association/Union
WLA	Women's Land Army
WR(E)NS	Women's Royal Naval Service
WTC	Women's Timber Corps.
WWI and WWII	World War One and Two

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Notes on style:

1. The Women's Land Army and Timber Corps. were often referred to in both popular media and official documentation as 'Land Girls' and 'Lumber Jills.' Whilst there is some argument that such terms could be derogatory in nature as per feminist theorists, the terms are used within this study to maintain the affection shown by the women when referring to themselves within the oral and written histories.
2. When referencing to wage rate or consumer price indexes and costs, denominations of currency in force during the period are used and refer to pounds (£), shillings (s.) and pence (d.), where £1 = 20s. and 1s. = 12d. Likewise, measurements are in feet and inches, rather than metres (39.37 inches = 1 metre.)
3. Transcriptionist for the interviews was Carolyn Ward, CJW Transcribing, [carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com](mailto:carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com).



## INTRODUCTION

This introductory chapter provides a context for the identification of ‘typical’ barriers women faced within the Agri-Food sector from 1920-1960, along with how they worked within (and around) such barriers to create unique opportunities to provide localized change. Women in the Agri-Food sector are a traditionally underrepresented labor group in the U.K. and often passed over in favor of ‘primogeniture’ or male inheritance. However, during World War One and Two, women were the second largest labor group available that could be mobilized into an effective workforce capable of mitigating market shocks caused by the wars. Likewise, women were the traditional home-maker, primary purchaser of food stuffs, and cooks during this period, with many still in this role in modern times. As such, this thesis utilizes women as a case-study group to evaluate the intersection of government policy, rural development, Agri-Food education and employment, and the commodification of housework – such as purchasing and cooking – to evaluate the short- and long-term effects of such policies and their potential effectiveness for current periods of transition and market shocks. This Chapter includes a review of the historiography of women in the U.K. Agri-Food sector with an emphasis on ‘farm women,’ the social commodification of housework, and educational scholarship. A brief commentary on the use of WWII as a proxy for future market shocks, the theoretical structure of this thesis, and its research objectives and questions. Finally, a summary of the contents of the following Chapters is provided.

## AGRI-FOOD EMPLOYMENT DURING PERIODS OF ECONOMIC UNCERTAINTY

Agri-Food employment forms the backbone of a country’s economy and food self-sufficiency. In the U.K., the Agri-Food sector accounts for 4 million people as of 2021, or 13% of all employees, and provided over 61% of the food eaten in the United Kingdom, contributing over £115 billion to the country’s economy (Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs, 2022a). The Agri-Food sector encompasses 6% of the national Gross Value Added (GVA or the measure of the value of the goods/services produced), with agriculture accounting for 11% of those employed and 9% of the sectors’ GVA. Food manufacturing, food wholesaling, and food retailing – collectively known as the distributive trades – accounts for 46% of the labor and 67% of the GVA, while food non-residential catering (i.e., restaurant work) accounts for 44% of the combined labor and 23% of the GVA (Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs, 2022a).

These numbers highlight the importance of looking at the entire sector when evaluating short and long-term policy changes, economic impacts, and gender relations strategies. They also highlight two glaring

issues when faced with economic uncertainties surrounding global changes, such as BREXIT and the COVID-19 pandemic: **employment and access**. While BREXIT's main issues surrounded immigration for agricultural laborers, the COVID-19 pandemic initially showed a demand shock from panic buying and degraded nutritional security due to economic fallout from layoffs (King *et al.*, 2021; Walsh *et al.*, 2022). Such disruptions of services highlight the key concept of workforce development, that is, the enhancement of regional stability through increasing human capital versus industry expansion, which shall be the focus of this thesis (Elson, 1993; Jain, 2017; Martin, Lord and Warren-Smith, 2017).

These issues are underscored by the Agri-Food sector being traditionally reliant on what the public and the U.K. points-based immigration system (PBIS) consider 'low-skilled or manual workers,' which include line-cooks, farmworkers, and grocery clerks (King *et al.*, 2021). The intent of the PBIS was to limit outside workers and increase British workers to take over such manual labor positions, however, neither the farmers nor the British workforce has shown an inclination to do so (Nye, 2016; Davies, 2019; Nye and Loble, 2021). In fact, Davies (2019) maintains that the current obliqueness of the U.K. Agri-Food supply chain lends itself to worker exploitation through sub-contracted employers, gang-masters, and work agencies, increasing concerns over labor relations; something found within the historical data during a similar period of concern – World War II.

While the initial research question of this thesis was a historical analysis of women's impact on agriculture in England from 1920-1960, during the second year of the research, COVID-19 occurred, changing the structure of the inquiry, and showing clear parallels to the period under review. As such, we will briefly be pointing out which modern issues we found that ran parallel to the historical data. While the links to BREXIT and COVID-19 are not the focus of this research, their inclusion was selected to showcase how such historical data could potentially be used by researchers to estimate the impact of similar policies/social changes within a modern context. Here, we are focused on identifying what practices found in the historical data made the most impact on women as producers and consumers of food during the case-study period, along with which policies were being put in place that could mitigate market shocks, female Agri-Food employment, and food security issues.

Within the Agri-Food sector, Nye and Loble (2021) have shown that horticulture and general (arable) cropping, which account for the largest number of both regular and casual workers, are often plagued by high-turnover rates, which are exacerbated when outside labor is restricted, either by trade policy or by travel concerns. We also find that trade and employment policies impact genders and minorities differently (Wrench and Modood, 2000; Noon and Hoque, 2001; Couch, Fairlie and Xu, 2020). A large

portion of research focusing on BREXIT, and we predict, during COVID-19 as well, evaluate trade negotiations with immigration policies as addendums to the primary research topic, such as the effects of migration on capital (Dustmann and Frattini, 2014; di Giovanni, Levchenko and Ortega, 2015; Valverde and Latorre, 2020; Angioloni *et al.*, 2022). Comparatively, while this type of research is useful when discussing multi-national policies, it does little when a country has a limited capacity for international trade or the movement of labor, such as during a period of lock down or a World War, and while this thesis will focus on women as its key case-study group, future research into other marginalized communities would be beneficial to establish patterns of potential exploitation and variations on employment obstacles. Therefore, this thesis' primary research question seeks to identify the 'typical' barriers to women in the Agri-Food sector in England from 1920-1960 and the opportunities for them to provide localized change in those fields, but with the goal to assist in creating a plan for an inclusive, yet secure, environment for workers, all while maintaining enough flexibility within employment policies to withstand future market shocks such as BREXIT and COVID-19.

## LITERATURE SURROUNDING THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF WOMEN IN THE U.K. AGRI-FOOD SECTOR

Historical agricultural research has traditionally fallen into one of four subfields – economics, social anthropology, history, or rural sociology with women's contributions being marginalized within them. Women as a distinct sub-field within agricultural research does not occur in the broader literature until the popularization of women's and gender studies in the 1970s following in the footsteps of earlier feminist scholars (Stimpson *et al.*, 1975; Wiegman, 2002; Bird, 2003). Because of this, it is useful to evaluate three distinct periods of research – historical research (research occurring 'at the present' within the research period, i.e., research *about* 1930 written *in* 1930), modern research about the historical period (for example, articles written in the 2000s *about* 1920), and modern research about the current period (2020s articles *about* the 2020s). For our purposes, we will classify them as 'past research,' 'historical research,' and 'contemporary research.'

Most of the research leading up to the 1920s-60s focused less on women involved in agriculture and more on the family farm as a business, with women being noted as supportive roles to the principal farmer (a male) or as potential new inroads within the debate over women in the agricultural sciences in academia (Howitt, 1844; Munton and Marsden, 1991; McElwee, Smith and Manning, 2021). Even in those fields where women dominated – dairy, poultry, horticulture – or discussions over government

food schemes relating to the health of the family, women were rarely mentioned in research articles<sup>1</sup>. When we do see such discussions (often found within the women's suffrage movement and opportunities for agricultural professionalization), they are brought up by the women themselves and focus on access to higher education for women as well as a preference for women to take on positions within the lighter branches of agriculture<sup>2</sup> (Boucherett, 1860; Davies, 1866; Bradley and La Mothe, 1903). Women's education, and the potentials for employment because of it, are the primary focuses of such research until WWI.

During and post-WWI, we see a shift in the narrative to women's contributions to the war effort, mostly as a discussion on why they are important while the men are away and how to move them back into the home once the men return (Abbott, 1917; UK Parliament, 1920; *Daily Express*, 1927; *Newcastle Daily Journal and North Star*, 1928). Newspapers and magazines become the center of such debates, while journal articles focus on rural infrastructure and development, new scientific methods, and the economy surrounding farming as a business (Golding, 1937; Ashby, 1939; Hunter, 1939; Orwin, 1939; Venn, 1939). This format is consistent throughout WWII and the early 1950s. From the mid-1950s onwards, the discussion shifts almost entirely to agricultural policy around State support to farmers initiated in the 1930s. Gardner (1983), who popularized the term 'transfer energy' in regards to the redistribution of resources from the producer to the consumer and society, was continuing a line of reasoning from Ashby (1939) to Josling (2008) and is a line that this research continues (albeit with a few notable changes around localized food culture and access). However, none of the above highlight women's contributions, either as a member of the workforce, or the household.

## WOMEN'S AND GENDER STUDIES IN THE AGRI-FOOD SECTOR IN ENGLAND

Historically, women play a significant role in Agri-Food production, yet their contributions have been relatively obscured prior to the 1990s (SOFA Team and Doss, 2011). Sheridan (1990), Harris (2000), Todd (2004), Verdon (2009), and Sayer (2013) being some of the most notable within gender studies in their recognition and reflection on women's farm work in England during World War One and Two, though they do tend to focus on the impact to urban dwellers (WWI and WWII). Such agricultural/war work

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<sup>1</sup> This only applies to agriculture. Women in the domestic sciences were treated differently and will be discussed separately.

<sup>2</sup> As noted and promoted by Edith Bradley and Bertha La Mothe in 1903, the lighter branches of agriculture are those most suitably attributed to women and consist of horticulture (mostly market gardening and fruit growing), dairying, poultry keeping, and bee-keeping (Bradley and La Mothe, 1903).

often falls within debates around contextual history. That is, the 'hidden' histories often obscured within the archives and histories of agriculture or domestic economy (Berg, 1991; Timmer, 1995).

Contemporary research into women's involvement in agriculture has been sparse and started in earnest in the 1970s under the fields of agricultural economics, gender, and rural studies, and focuses mostly on employment and wages or public perception to gauge equality. Few focus on how knowledge, and its transference between generations, occurs outside formalized education, especially in the field of domestic science or cookery (Ferguson, 1975; Smith, 1981; Gould, 1987; Riley, 1987; Sheridan, 1990; Prugl, 2003). Additionally, "popularised feminist discourse has devalued daily cooking and implicitly defined it as work that reinforces women's second-class status.... [they have not] integrated cooking in the kitchen" (Stovall, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger, 2015). This debate over food science (including food's creation, nutritional understanding, purchasing, and consumption) found strong sentiments regarding anything beyond the pathological issues arising from either over- or under-consumption by women, leaving the relationship between women and food to be slotted into feminist arguments of domesticity and oppression, not the actual practice of cooking (Avakian, 2005; Avakian and Haber, 2005; Pace, 2020). Such issues were also found when looking at cooking and consuming food and agricultural or nutritional studies, marking it as a glaring gap in the proffered literature.

For agriculture, Dewey (1974) and Martin (1981) initiated research into the peasant proprietor as an alternative to capitalist agricultural norms that Gasson (1988) used to flesh out the role of individual family members within the family farm structure. Todd (2004), Verdon (2009), and Sayer (2013), all continue this line of reasoning, with Todd and Verdon focusing on women's entry into employment in the Interwar period, mostly through domestic servanthip (including cooking and farmyard labor), and Sayer noting how such entry within poultry keeping was especially influenced by government policies and social convenience (Todd, 2004b; Verdon, 2009; Sayer, 2013a). Likewise, their research into wage concerns and education are also directly linked to government policies and employment access (Howkins and Verdon, 2009; Kirke, 2016).

While contemporary research focuses predominantly on farmer's wives or the farm household, there has been less research into the over-lapping fields of female farm laborers and the distributive trades linking agriculture and food production (Sayer, 1993; Farhall and Rickards, 2021). Hammond's (1962) extensive inquiry into food administration and control rarely mentions women, even though he goes into sometimes exhaustive detail over specific government concerns and political linkages, however, when taken in conjunction with female grocer and lorry driver accounts, both contemporary and

historical, his research shows a heavily gendered bias within the ethnographic data that does not partner with government efforts (Hammond, 1962; Vickers, 2011; Hey, 2016; Hopkins and Davidson, 2022). Hopkins and Davidson's (2022) work especially showcases some of the discrepancies found within gender and gendered labor studies between public mythos and personal perspectives (through oral history, written journals, and media reports), and one that we saw noted in relation to the Women's Land Army and the Women's Institute (our two case-study social organizations).

Often the questions around taking a gendered approach to such research are the same. For example, Todd, Verdon, and Sayer all look at women's employment during the Interwar period, however, their methodologies differ. Sayer (1993) uses industry specialist publications and the farming press to discuss women in the poultry sector and evaluates the British Egg Marketing Board in regards to the Agricultural Development Bill of 1939, while Verdon's use of women's periodicals and media sources argues for their inclusion in contemporary research, not just for what is written or portrayed in the presented imagery, but for what is not. She uses Bingham's argument that such materials are a "contested arena where a range of opinions and images compete," and that the inclusion of historically under-represented material analysis within gender studies should be opened to the larger historical community (Bingham, 2004; Verdon, 2010).

Such object analysis is one of the key aspects of this research with gender playing two primary roles: the first being the intended use of the item (is it made for a specific gender) and the second being the creation of the item (were specific materials or methods created by a certain gender). An additional aspect is how we interpret the item and explain that interpretation (Daybell *et al.*, 2020). As Hodder (2000) argues, "the use of space and material culture analysis can enable the exploration of 'multiple voices,' particularly those that are less privileged" and, we would argue, those outside the traditional patriarchal dialogue, such as rural women. For example, clothing is often used to quantify time, place, and social standing, reinforcing specific memories or ideals and can assist in classifying if a specific group was consumer-driven or not and, when combined with textual evidence, tells us why (Grassby, 2005).

Cotter (1997) takes this one-step further, by applying literary discourse analysis to cookery books themselves, bridging material culture analysis and the more traditional literary fields to establish how people communicate and how such items may be used to reflect upon a specific sub-group' "social mores and expectations of its times." As feminist theorist and activist Charlotte Bunch wrote in 1979, "a solid feminist theory would help us understand present events in a way that would enable us to develop the visions and plans for change that sustain people engaged in day-to-day political activity." This is the

line of reasoning this research takes when evaluating political aspects of the historical data. Likewise, while most feminists ignore or use derisive language around domestic duties as being subservient or demeaning to women, the very act of cooking during a war becomes a form of political activity simply from an access and policy standpoint, making its inclusion in this research a necessary aspect of such a period of transition (Jordan, 1991; Hunt, 2010; Stovall, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger, 2015; Parker *et al.*, 2019). The acceptance or dismissal of government regulations, of altering one's diet to better fit into the majority culture, and of the pragmatic nature of women trying to feed their families, all takes on a political agency, whether large or small, and is the reason we have chosen this format to identify the type of agency women had. On the other hand, Todd's work shows the typical census data, but her use of national and local records highlights the often-confused nature found within the reports (Todd, 2004b). To offset these issues (and highlight a few new ones), she includes 'personal testimonies' from published anthologies and transcribed interviews, a format this research emulates along with Verdon's, and Sayer's material culture analysis and Avakian and Cotter's interest in women's relationship to food, the inclusion of food related writings, and the sociocultural analysis of food as a cultural identifier (Cotter, 1997; Avakian and Haber, 2005; Verdon, 2012; Sayer, 2013b).

## ESTABLISHING WOMEN AS SEPARATE ENTITIES IN AGRI-FOOD RESEARCH

Agricultural research often (hopefully unknowingly) promotes masculine themes - the most common being that the 'farmer' is almost always male and that any associated women are relegated to the household and domestic sphere. Pini (2005) used feminist post-structuralist theory to look at how different farm tasks often had gendered identities and what strategies women used to negotiate these roles to undertake more 'masculine' tasks in contemporary Australian farming. While her respondents reframed their own narratives to be 'business partners' with the males on the farm, the reality of such narratives is often limited. Farms, especially small, family operated farms, are often seen as less 'professional' entrepreneurship options, and women, less than their male counterparts. Bock (2004), Sayer (2013b), and Verdon (2012) argue that such differentiation is why many farm women (both historically and in contemporary settings) end up multi-tasking, running part of the farm and outside enterprises. However, Bock (2004) cautions that many rural development policies are not well suited to such approaches, limiting female potential capital. Women farmers, it is argued, have three primary categories in contemporary research: female farm owner, female tenant farmer (renter), and the female farm manager (bailiff), with 'farm women' being traditionally used as a descriptor of both working women and migrant female laborers (White, 2016; Fairbanks and Haakenson, 2017).

Modern researchers (both historically and contemporarily focused) tend to highlight female farmers in developing countries (Hovorka, 2006), and when linked to gender studies (Todd, 2004b), the discussions follow entrepreneurial or market access and legal policy concerns (Gazeley, 2006; Becker, 2015), not the shifting dynamics of the impacts of female labor on the industries they are accessing in conjunction with the interest in masculine discourses in business management (Heath and Tan, 2020). Here the concerns follow gender competence and inherent traits from a human resources perspective, and when placed within the agri-business field, conversations over women needing to adopt more masculine traits to be seen as 'one of the guys' prevails (*see* Chapter 1: Mapping Rural Women) (Martin, Lord and Warren-Smith, 2017). At the same time, the persistence of traditional male-dominated family inheritance within the U.K. agricultural sector, known as primogeniture, and farming's association with land ownership, often overshadow the contributions of younger sons and daughters (Habakkuk, 1994). And while women and girls from farming backgrounds may be offered access to land through inheritance upon marriage (a situation that is still rather limited in scope), other cultural capital through rural community marriages (known as endogamy), labor relationships, and community involvement tend to bind communities together more strongly through a common social structure or identity (Gasson *et al.*, 1988; Miles, 2005).

Primary strategies in agricultural economic history for tracking these items are records of sales, census demographics, and ethnography research. Additionally, wills and contracts, pay ledgers, and farm accounting books are all potential sources for correlating data (Leicester University, no date; Buckley, 1917; Berkner, 1975; Worsnop, 1990; Heley, 2010; Verdon, 2010; Taylor *et al.*, 2012; Chen *et al.*, 2020). The problem with all of these is access. Census demographics are often the easiest to come by, in the case of this thesis, through the University of Portsmouth's Vision of Britain online census records. However, the reports are inconsistent in their format, terminology, and scope (*see* Chapter 2: Methodology). The only recourse is to 1) ignore them completely, 2) use them for overarching trends to create a generic baseline for comparison, or 3) use them in conjunction with other records to either invalidate or validate their findings (Taylor *et al.*, 2012). In this research, we used options two and three, following along with Verdon, Sawyer, Todd, Burchardt, Arnall, and Nakagomi, by incorporating smaller county records, educational records, ethnography interviews/transcriptions, and material culture.

Another key theme in the modern historical literature is household labor and the links to off-farm work (Kelly and Shortall, 2002). For those farm women producing items for sale on the market, their entry into the distributive trades - manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing (typically in food or craft goods) –



was limited to their entry into trade unions, access to a larger market, location to sell their goods from, and consumer purchasing power (Higgs, 1995; Gamber, 1998). Historically, women handled much of the small-scale retail sales in England (around 30% for female entrepreneurs between 1851-1911, compared to 7-13% listed as employers and 5-14% non-farm employers for the same period in England) (van Lieshout *et al.*, 2019). The records often pull from the census data, which has numerous inconsistencies (see Chapter 2: Methodology) including terminology and lack of reporting. Many historians, such as Todd pull Trade Union records to supplement the data, though this is not without concern as these records also have gaps (Savage, 1988; Todd, 2004b, 2004a). While the wives of retailers and merchants, like those of farmers, also handled most of the unpaid labor related to the business (book keeping, organization, etc.) (Wood, 1981).

Discursive narratives around the invisible nature of such work (Sachs, 1983), the role women play in supporting their farm husbands (Brandth, 2002, 2019), the role of the family unit (Gasson *et al.*, 1988), and how such duties often blur the line between work and family are common (Smith, 2014; De Rosa, McElwee and Smith, 2019). Whatmore (1991) is one of the most pervasive in the discussion around passive domestic housework and the association with the common perception of what a farm wife, mother, daughter, and laborer is. The 'Farmer's Wife' is an interesting social construct, one which is both integral to the farm business (managing farm accounts, book-keeping, and paperwork) and seasonal work (such as handling small animals and labor during sowing and harvest) (Gasson *et al.*, 1988; Kelly and Shortall, 2002; Martin, 2014; Smith, 2014). Such work is often unpaid, semi-vocational work (Verdon, 2002). The family farm, like agriculture, is hard to define. One such method is to differentiate by labor units, where at least one Annual Work Unit (AWU) is defined as family then becomes 'family labor,' with supplemental restrictions added as needed per the research's drivers. These could be based upon the share of family labor, on ownership and control of farm operations (including succession within the family), or the legal or financial risk to the family itself should the farm fail (Kostov and Davidova, 2021). Women are often listed as half an AWU, showing a trend to limit their impact on farms' potential (Kelly and Shortall, 2002; Bock, 2004; Kostov and Davidova, 2021).

The focus on the family as a measure of analysis in the literature is one such pitfall in this type of research. De Rosa *et al.* (2019) warns that focusing on the family unit often excludes the overall position of the farm into the wider supply chain, overemphasizing the impact of such enterprises and the biological, nuclear family predominant in idealized Western media/discourse. Here, the focus is on entrepreneurial enterprise, and though most of the literature started in the early 2000s (Meredith,

2006; Peoples, 2006; de Wolf, McElwee and Schoorlemmer, 2007; De Rosa, McElwee and Smith, 2019), current research has discussed the transferable skills and innovations (Sachs, 2018) that women bring to farm management and potential off-farm work (De Rosa *et al.*, 2021). De Rosa *et al.* (2021) used questionnaires administered to 300 female farmers in Italy, while Sachs' (2023) analyzed articles relating to women, gender, and agriculture in the journal *Agriculture and Human Values* from 1996-2022. Enns and Martin (2015) analyzed women's roles in agricultural education by evaluating 355 photographs showing female teachers and students in the *Agricultural Education Magazine* from 1929-1969. Each of these had the benefit of highly specialized items in a very specific journal or locale, they did not integrate the information with other forms of inquiry, such as using them to off-set the census data. This gap was one of the reasons for the inclusion of material culture analysis into the demographic data that we use in this research. Similarly, a common theme in these articles is the changing structure of their locales socio-cultural values, increase in farmers daughters and women in the agri-food sector, and entry into agricultural colleges for farm business management (Smith, Manning and Conley, 2019). While these methods give valuable insight, there is growing concern that focusing on farm wives who move outside the stereotypical domestic sphere are painted with a masculinized brush, legitimizing the unequal gender relations between males and females (Saugeres, 2002). We will continue this line on inquiry in Chapter 1 looking at female workforce development trends and concerns within the Agri-Food sector.

## REDEFINING FEMALE IDENTITY THROUGH RURAL COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Rural life often revolves around community engagement, or at least, one's perception thereof. When this perception is applied to a specific historical theme, such as domestic life, there is the concern that such perceptions will fall victim to a form of nostalgia that could alter the reality of the historical narrative. Such is the case in our modern collective interpretation of WWII (Somerville, Smith and McElwee, 2015; Gieling, Vermeij and Haartsen, 2017; Evans and Bussey-Chamberlain, 2021). In recent years, there has been an increased interest in female employment and home life during WWII due to docudramas such as 'Land Girls' (2009-2011; which featured the Women's Land Army), 'Call the Midwife' (2012-current; WWII nurses), 'Home Fires' (2015-2016; regarding the Women's Institute (WI)), and 'Housewife, 49' (2006; the story of Nella Last, a Mass Observation (MO) participant and Women's Voluntary Service member). For women involved in the Agri-Food sector, Land Girls, Home Fires, and Housewife, 49 are especially important. The Women's Land Army (WLA) is one of the more popular discussion points regarding female farm laborers during WWII, though the organization has been

relatively ignored by the wider academic research community (Carpenter, 1997; Bullock, 2002; Anderson, 2014).

A Scopus search<sup>3</sup> using the key words “Women’s Land Army” produces only eleven results covering both World Wars and ResearchGate shows less than thirty. Many of the items listed are in fact chapters from semi-autobiographical or remembrance books such as *The Women’s Land Army* (Powell and Westacott, 1997), *They Fought in the Fields* (Tyrrer, 1996), *Land Girls* (Mant, 2012), and *Lumberjills* (Foat, 2019). A few are reproductions of ‘official’ histories such as *The Women’s Land Army* (Sackville-West, 2016) or the *Land Girl: A manual for volunteers in the Women’s Land Army* (Shewell-Cooper, 2011). In fact, the official history as listed in Vita Sackville-West’s *The Women’s Land Army* (1944) is only a partial history, as the organization continued until 1950 in an official capacity and several Land Girls were employed until the mid-1950s (Reynier, 2020). Similarly, both the style and the heavy use of quotations detracts from the story and, as Twinch (1990) deduced, the document reads more as a verbose “recruiting document” than an actual history.

However, the historical accuracy of such docudramas is questionable, and in ‘Land Girls,’ more emphasis is placed upon the modern public perception of the loose moral standing of the women, than the actual contributions to the war effort and farm labor; a popular derogatory phrase applied to the women being ‘backs to the land.’ In the autobiographical reminiscences of the Land Girls themselves, labor tasks of on-farm work are often described in passing or as humorous anecdotes, and while on occasion accidents are described, the horrors of the war are not. Such idealized nostalgia leads to a skewed perception of the actual experiences and, for feminists, the concern lies in the idea of a ‘sisterhood’ pre-neoliberal co-option by ‘outsiders’ (Evans and Bussey-Chamberlain, 2021).

One of the authenticity concerns in this research was ‘feminist nostalgia’ coloring the perspectives of both current and past researchers (Hemmings, 2011; Funk, 2013; Kubal and Becerra, 2014; Banet-Weiser, 2018; Evans and Bussey-Chamberlain, 2021). “The fantasies of the past, determined by the needs of the present, have a direct impact on the realities of the future” as Boym (2007) writes. The wistfulness of remembrances while dealing with current issues was one of the concerns that arose during the COVID-19 pandemic. As social media focused on allotments and food banks, parallels with WWII were easy to see, but did not necessitate a focus on the true hardships those living during the war faced.

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<sup>3</sup> Performed in 2019.

Rottenberg (2014) states that such “a feminism ... recognises gendered inequalities but disavows the social, cultural and economic forces that produce this inequality; essentially converting structural analysis into individual problems”. The current fascination of these docudramas then, typify such a concern, as their key messages are more about perpetuating the myth of the ‘sisterhood’ than by examining the actuality of women’s lives during this period. It can be argued however, that docudramas are, by definition, for entertainment purposes and that:

both docudrama and documentary-cum-re-enactment lead the spectator to form non perceptual beliefs about some real events but the former does so via pictorial imaginings about events in a fictional world, whereas the latter via pictorial beliefs about reconstructions in the actual world. A docudrama presents reconstructions as if they were freestanding events, whereas a documentary-cum-re-enactment presents reconstructions for what they really are. That is why a documentary-cum-re-enactment is not fiction in spite of resorting to reconstructions whereas a docudrama is fiction in spite of concerning real events (Terrone, 2020).

These docudramas, then, while concerning real events, are in fact, fictitious in nature. However, it is clear from the perpetuation of such a mythos, that the general public does not necessarily understand the difference and as such, care needs to be taken when positioning them to the public. For this research, the perpetuation of the image of the WLA as young, flirtatious women and the Women’s Institute (WI) members as hard-working middle-aged housewives, can be found in both the historic and current mass media, especially in the Government propaganda pieces of the ‘40s and ‘50s (we will discuss their influence and ways around their inherent bias in Chapter 2: Methodology). This propaganda was twofold, the first being to increase women’s engagement in the organizations themselves and the second, to get the public to accept the organizations as part of society’s needs to win the war effort and hover somewhere between the Gender/Patriarchal Structural Level and Social-Interactional Level’s Social Networks/Social Institutions of our Theoretical Framework (see below and Chapter 3: Social Organizations).

Public perception and government policies often went together during the study period. For structural development theorists, such as Ardener (1975), Smart and Smart (1978), Wilson (1980), and Alesina, Giuliano and Nunn (2013) the subordination of women is attributed to traditional gender-specific practices found within the agricultural sphere, such as heavy manual labor versus lighter, more detail-oriented work. The combination of the ‘acceptable’ food aspects of nutritionists and cooks and the

'unacceptable' nature of agriculture in the broader sense, creates an odd dichotomy that comes across in the confused nature of the historical literature. As Noordenbos (2002) explains, gender theories in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century stated that "women belonged in the private sphere, in which personal relations, feelings, and emotions were the most important, while men belonged in the public sphere, in which rationality and objectivity were most highly valued. Women who crossed the boundary between private and the public ran the risk of losing their femininity and becoming masculine." Such theories persisted within certain fields, most notably the sciences. Women were barred from entry or graduation from higher educational centers such as Oxford (until 1920) and Cambridge and the Royal Society of England (RSE) until the 1940s<sup>4</sup>. The limited access to higher education is one such way that women's capacity and capabilities was stymied by public perception (Martin, 2008). The WI's push for women into the sciences in agriculture and higher education in general, is the main reason for their selection in this research (see Chapter 3: Social Organizations). While the WI's primary focus was on rural infrastructure, employment, food, and rural culture, their encouragement for women to stand for local government, the push for their members to get and hold the right to vote, and for female employees to unionize were activities that gained members' notoriety and, in some instances, infamy, in the political arena.

Such social organization political leanings have been argued to be "radical in origin" (Verdon, 2010). Verdon (2010) states that they "promulgated a brand of conservative feminism, enabling women to take part in public activities beyond the home that did not fundamentally challenge traditional gender roles." In this way, they reinforced the acceptable nature of female standing while pushing for increased access to political venues. The mostly middle and upper-class membership of the WI meant that activities and political leanings reflected the member's backgrounds. Course offerings by WI branches focused on homecrafts, small business market opportunities and home food production and processing, and centred around social activities such as tea and lecture series where rural women could engage with each other. The WI's scope was not designed to change the structure of the women's lives as such, but to encourage a cooperative community for them to become a part of. As such, one can argue that the WI went beyond its initial scope to become a leading voice within the rural community for women that is still active to this day, especially in regard to the promotion of women within local government.

The degree of social change female employment during the war sparked, however, is under debate. Traditionalists such as Marwick (1975) suggest that the confidence and experience gained during WWII

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<sup>4</sup> The first female Fellow to the Royal Society was elected in 1945, while Oxford awarded degrees to women in 1920 and Cambridge in 1948 (Roberts, 2022; The Royal Society, 2022; University of Oxford, 2023).

enhanced the social standing of women that continued during the post-war years, while on the other hand, revisionist feminist theorists proposed that it was only during the war itself that women experienced societal standing of equivalency with their male counterparts, and that post-war, these opportunities were revoked by the British Government (Carruthers, 1990). As we will see in Chapter 1: Mapping Rural Women, the Government's conscription of women and registration at the various Employment Exchanges was the most effective employment strategy, especially for agricultural labor. However, one aspect often overlooked in such narratives, Carruthers (1990) argues, is the role of propaganda in the mobilization of female workers during and post-war. Propaganda, which fell under the Ministry of Information, plays an important part in our modern interpretation of events during WWII, but less of a role during the actual war (see Chapter 3: Social Organization). Interpreting history itself is quite cumbersome and often involves asking what the purpose of studying a specific historical aspect is for modern researchers. To evaluate the validity of historical inquiry, we must establish the goals from a modern perspective first, a concept found in Comparative-historical analysis, which we will discuss in the next section in more detail.

### A CASE FOR COMPARATIVE-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS: WWII VERSUS NOW

The question of why we should study history and the influence it has on the future can be found in the concept of comparative-historical analysis (CHA). CHA seeks to explain fundamentally important historical outcomes to visualize and conceptualize concepts beyond the initial period and location through a specific set of methodological and theoretical tools – a) within-case and comparative methodologies, b) social scientific insight defined by specific epistemological stances, and c) an aggregate unit of analysis. In the case of this research, the within-case method refers to the determinants of a particular phenomenon (narrative analysis, pattern matching, and tracing the mechanisms linking two related phenomena) (Lang, 2012). Here we use the determinants of education, politics, and employment, to analyze the phenomenon of women in the Agri-Food sector. The within-case methods are the 'historical' aspect of a comparative-historical analysis. The use of women in WWII, for example, is our 'historical' within-case element.

Epistemology refers to the type of philosophical treaties the research follows. There has been debate over whether any type of understanding is possible within the social sciences because of the inherent biases in place in the researcher's own mind and the complexity of social science works, however, such a postmodernist outtake is, in itself, a bias and hindrance in social science research due to its anti-methodological construct (Lang, 2012). Since CHA is focused on causal inquiry, and is epistemologically

distinct from postmodern works, the two research traditions should not be utilized together. This is why we follow a post-positive triangulation which acknowledges that the researcher's experiences influence what they observe and impacts what they conclude, and that any data analysis must consider both quantitative and qualitative methods to be valid approaches to a holistic interpretation of the research (see Chapter 2 for more information on how this view point fits into the specific analysis methods chosen) (Fischer, 1998; Lang, 2012; Wikipedia, 2020).

The final part of CHA refers to the unit of analysis. Traditionally, CHA uses multiple individuals (or groups) to produce patterns within social relations from a structural view (Lang, 2012). This big picture holistic viewpoint includes states, social movements, classes, economies, and other macro-level socio-cultural concepts. These, in turn, are then compared to large processes, allowing the researcher to make huge, sweeping comparisons. However, modern researchers like Max Weber (2012), press for CHA to include the individual in their research, showcasing individual-level action as well as structural (Lang, 2012; Eliaeson, 2016). The key with the integration of both levels is that the individuals used as the focus need to be part of a larger structure, or the research becomes much more biographical in nature and loses the macro-scale. A good balance is a meso-level analysis that either looks at populations that fall between the two levels, or that are chosen to reveal connections between them. In our analysis, we look at all three. The U.K. national demographic data is our macro-level (Chapter 1), the three case-study counties (Chapter 1), Women's Land Army and Women's Institutes (Chapter 3) become our meso-level, and our specific interviews/key women (Chapters 3-5), become the micro-level. Likewise, we have three policy-levels (local, national, and international; Chapters 4 & 5) that we use in our thematic format described in the next section.

The final output of CHA, then, is the exploration "whether past events and processes have something to teach us about the future," forcing the comparative-history researcher to generalize to some extent, what they have learned and what we could potentially take from it (Mahoney, 2009). There is also the concern over making the case too specific, making the often-causal patterns unable to be moulded into the current period, or recognizing the influences of the macro contextual variable changes due to advancing technology or changing ideologies (Chapters 5 & 6) (Mahoney, 2009; Sorrell, 2018; Bernhard and O'Neill, 2021). Though there is a case for the predictive potential of such work, we limit the scope of our 'potential learnings' to the larger sweeping concept of market shocks caused by a global lockdown on the movement of people and goods where the country in question has no connected trading partners (Chapter 5). As such, the same inquiry where potential partners share a boarder, would

potentially need alternative or additional variables to study. These constraints are the reason for general comparisons with BREXIT and COVID-19 and not a full analysis of the issues surrounding both.

As noted, WWII (and the period directly leading up to and after it), was chosen for the historical time period of this research. This was due to the changing pattern of communities as young people moved out of the country to find employment (Chapter 1), the increased rates of female employment (Chapter 3) and education (Chapter 4), the changing structure of both agricultural and food production and consumption methods (Chapter 5), changing understanding of the science and technological advancement behind both sectors (Chapter 5), government control and policy changes (Chapters 3 & 5), and the limiting factors in workforce development surrounding a world war (Chapter 1) (Ministry of Food, 1961; Bullock, 2002; Verdon, 2002; Burchardt, 2012; Beard *et al.*, 2014; Smith, 2016). Finally, the current context of this research was the period post-Brexit (the withdrawal of the U.K. from the European Unions' trade partnership and Common Agricultural plan) and, in the second and third year of the research, COVID-19, a global pandemic that caused mass layoffs, deaths/hospitalization, and limited international movement of goods and workforce labor. Likewise, Agri-Food in the current period is undergoing a period of science and technological advancement, and limited food resources have changed the relationship between people and their food. Finally, demographic data showed migration pattern changes as people moved out of the cities and back home to their families or into different accommodations due to health and employment options, all similar to WWII (AHDB Horizon, 2017; Helm, 2017; Valverde and Latorre, 2020; Couch, Fairlie and Xu, 2020; Maria del Rio-Chanona *et al.*, 2020; OECD, 2020; Valle, 2021; Hill, 2021; King *et al.*, 2021; Lloro, 2021; Niala, 2021; Barrett and Rose, 2022; Walsh *et al.*, 2022). The comparison between the two, we posit, should provide us with valuable commentary on what types of social and political items were in play and how a large subgroup composed of both an individual and structural level, was influenced by and affected policy development at a national level as well as localized social change.

## FACTORS INFLUENCING GENDER SOCIALIZATION AS A THEMATIC FORMAT

Establishing where the various relationships fall requires the use of complex methodological underpinnings, which we shall discuss in Chapter 2: Methodology in more detail, however, simply put this thesis utilizes a concurrent, mixed methods, post-positivist triangulation of material culture analysis to identify the influence of women on the Agri-Food sector in England during a period of economic shock (1920-1960). A systematic review of key academic literature was first performed to identify what was known and any gaps within the literature for future study, and to develop a concise conceptual



understanding of the topic. The examination of official reports, newspapers, journals, societal documents, and physical archival materials, developed critical questions about women involved in the Agri-Food sector.

The following chapters, which shift the narrative between different scales and bring the rural community into such diverse settings as scientific laboratories and urban homes, demonstrate that urban governance directly impacted rural community structures and involved several public and private actors. Such interactions have been posited by the FAO's Multi-Level Framework of Influences Impacting Gender Socialization and Rural Embodiment of Agricultural Work, which formed the basis of this thesis' conceptual framework. While the original FAO framework was designed to discuss the interactions and influences of agricultural labor only, this thesis posits that it can be expanded into other avenues of gender relationships, since, at its base, it delineates society by 1) an individual's mental and physical aspects, 2) societal attitudes, interactions, and beliefs, and 3) differences and practices in education, labor, social, and political participation.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The FAO design holds three key interaction levels: individual, social-interactional, and structural. These, in turn, can be categorized by the physical and biological capabilities of the individual, the attitudes and beliefs of the society, and the opportunities and restrictions placed from social and political organizations. When combined with Huws' (2019) list commodifying domestic labor, both as perceived internally by the person and externally by society's perceptions of that person, the FAO framework offers an opportunity to bridge economic, social, and political actors. Huws' classifications fall predominantly within the Structural and Social-Interactional levels of the FAO framework, as the Individual level is focused more on biological and mental capabilities of the individual than their labor potentialities. It can be argued however, that the Individual level, when discussed from society's interpretation of differences in attitudes and beliefs, skills, and behaviors, can similarly utilize the classifications<sup>5</sup>.

We posit that all six of Huws' categories fall within the Social-Interaction level with certain labor typologies being more pronounced within certain domains. Subsistence labor, which involves unpaid work performed outside the market to provide for the family or community, and can include physical tasks, such as cleaning, cooking, harvesting, tending to livestock, or cultural aspects such as participating

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<sup>5</sup> This will be discussed in more detail within the training section of Chapter 4: Education.

in community activities and assisting neighbors, would fall more within the Family, Neighborhood, and Social Institution domains. These are due to the cultural capital a woman provides the community directly influencing her standing within that community (see Chapter 1; children validating community acceptance). Likewise, public service labor would offer paid or unpaid labor through activities with social institutions such as the WLA (paid) or WI (unpaid) while consumption work would be unpaid labor necessary to access goods and services from the marketplace. An example of this type of labor would be the time and cost it takes to transport or process goods purchased or time to be trained in specific service industries. One example, might be the collection of hedgerow fruit which would then be processed at a WI canning center which would, in turn, be sold to the neighborhood community.

Servant labor, capitalist service labor, and capitalist production labor all fall within the social network and neighborhood as paid labor. Here, the production of specific labor provides either a good for consumption, a social benefit, or the physical labor itself (i.e., scrubbing floors). Employment agencies - such as employment networks, job advertizements, perception of importance of work, etc. – focus on a woman’s accessibility and the commodification (i.e., value) of such labor within these organizational structures and were where the largest constraints and opportunities lay. Such differentiation in labor typologies and influence on gender socialization is utilized throughout this research to identify connections between actors and formulate gender appropriate responses to policy gaps as a way to minimize some of the concerns raised by feminist scholars over the relatively simplistic nature of current economic models of household bargaining power (Elson, 1993; Agarwal, 1997; Doss, 2013; Quisumbing and Doss, 2021).

## CONCEPTUAL DIAGRAM AND ANALYTICAL ELEMENTS

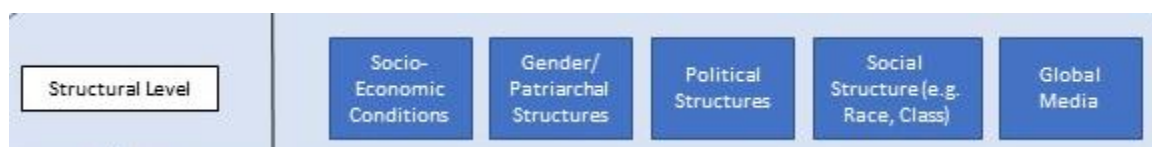
The inclusion of the FAO framework, Huws’ framework, bargaining power models, and labor typologies has been redesigned as FIGS: Factors Influencing Gender Structures (see Figure 7 below). The framework offers a scalability of local interactions to include a variety of social relationships, production methods, and the spatial organization between actors (i.e., firms and individuals) and structures (i.e., class, patriarchy, and government agencies) found within most economic sectors. This allows for the identification and incorporation of the social context to specific economic activities and then asked what types of connections those activities have and their influence on each other (Schoonenboom and Johnson, 2017; Noyes *et al.*, 2019). This multiphase/multilevel design combines ‘Transformative Design’ which shapes the interaction, priority, timing and mixing of the qualitative and quantitative strand and an ‘Embedded Design’ where a strand of one type of data is added to the other to enhance the overall

design across multiple levels of analysis (Caracelli and Greene, 1997; Creswell and Clark, 2007; Creswell, 2009). Quantitative and qualitative data are analyzed and presented separately using narratives, tables, matrices, etc. The results of which are then combined and reanalyzed to answer the overall research question being posed.

The identified connections are then intuited by the interactions of the individual elements in the system, which shows emergent behavior that cannot be seen simply by looking at the pieces. By viewing a sector as a whole unit, with the research or policy question being asked along each level of influence, policy makers identify invisible factors affecting employment and labor constraints. The first section of the framework shows three **Levels of Policy Scalability**: local, national, and international. These refer to the legal structures in place around policy development. For example, the marriage bar would be a national governance level whereas immigration policies would fall under international. The second section is the **Level of Influence**: structural, social-interactional, and individual. These cover political and social ideologies and laws, the relationships between the individual and their local social networks, and finally the personal aspects around physical and mental capabilities and self-efficacy. The Levels of Influence show vertical scalability, i.e., government laws are often reflective of social beliefs, which in turn can cause communities to react to divergent individual behaviors in highly negative ways (Izuma, 2017).

The third section is **Factors Influencing Gender Socialization (FIGS)**. These domains assess the level of gender interaction and how they are internalized and externalized. The main portion of FIGS are the Interaction Domains where most of the complexity occurs and where we may need to break down some of the sections for future use. At the Structural Level (Figure 3), Socio-Economic Conditions, which include our access issues (wages, employment, education, etc.) could potentially be subdivided to make it easier to classify concerns. Public perception in the form of Global Media is also a potential issue in this section. At the same time, we included household type within this section, as there is an obvious overlap with patriarchal structures, like how wages could be shared with political structures (ex. wage-equality policies). This overlap makes it necessary for a clear notation as to which issue we are looking at in each sub-category as we move through an analysis and review.

*Figure 3: Structural Level of FIGS framework*



The Social-Interactional Level shows the greatest complexity under FIGS, as it includes the labor typologies previously discussed (Huws, 2019). Here the focus is on how these typologies impact the individual/household, however, as we have stated that each level influences the other, a change in policy at the Structural Level (for example, equal wages), can affect interest in working, the availability of employment options, and household bargaining power (Agarwal, 1997; Doss, 2013). Huws' Paid/Non-Paid Labor Categories were found to be useful in reminding what type of influence each sub-category may have on wages, but was less useful when discussing social influences. A person's religious upbringing, for example, may subconsciously associate gendered norms due to interpretation of doctrine. These tasks, though not legally stipulated, may be social stipulated, and as such, may be reinforced by family, peers, and the local neighborhood. We saw such a subconscious bias in the division between Town and Country in the historical research with the inclusion of urban bred women only being acknowledged by their rural counterparts once they had assimilated, typically through child-rearing (see Chapter 1: Mapping Rural Women. As such, additional categorical overlays may need to be added or alternated to use the FIGS format with other occupational or location specific inquiries.

*Figure 4: Social-Interactional Level of FIGS framework*

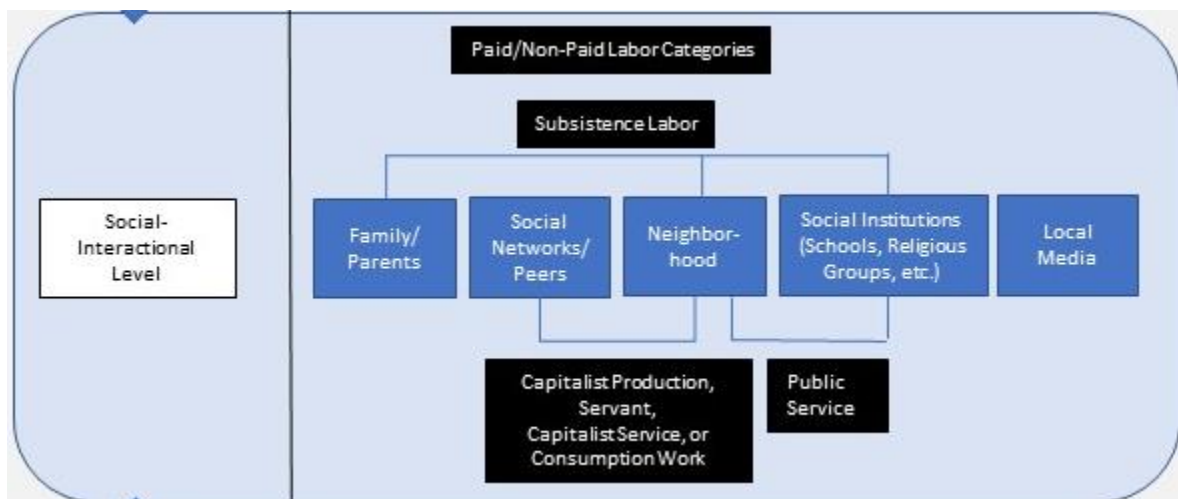


Figure 5, shows the Individual Level of the FIGS framework and the least used of the levels for this research. At the Individual Level, the inclination and physical capabilities of the person come into play. We can see the clearest example in the societal shift (Structural) regarding female cognition and motivation (Individual) regarding access to higher education (Social-Interactional/Structural) (see Chapter 4: Education) (Oram, 1996; Davies, 2013; Roberts, 2022). While mentions of arguments for or against women being employed in Agri-Food focused on these issues, from the women themselves, they

were less of a concern. Here, *who* is arguing needs to be clearly stated. A male arguing that females cannot physically handle a specific task, needs to be offset by a female voice either confirming or denying such claims to maintain an appropriate balance and a greater likelihood of factuality. With the set goal of this level being gender-based differences in attitudes, beliefs, skills, and behaviors, more development into potential avenues for non-binary classifications should be reviewed. A very simplistic example might be the use of non-gendered toilets instead of gendered ones. We will see some issues around this in Chapter 3: Social Organization with the discussion on toilet facilities for women farm laborers, and it may prove an interesting counter-measure for current gendered norms at the Individual Level of the FIGS framework moving forward. At this point, the Individual Level still has much to show, but it is our belief that the inquiry in question needs to be focused on this level especially.

*Figure 5: Individual Level of the FIGS framework*

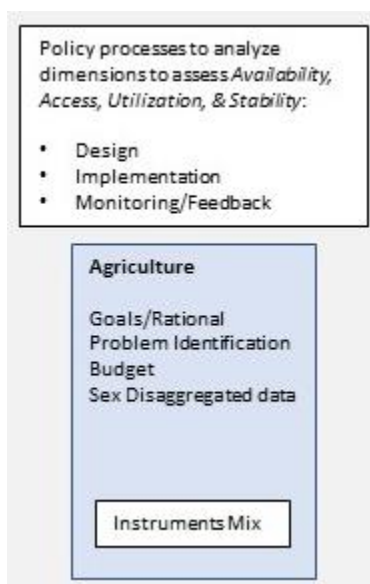


The fourth section refers to which **Policy Fields** this research will be accessing to establish the level of gender integration in Agriculture and Food and Nutritional Security. The goals, problem identification, budget, and sex disaggregated data follow the issues each subtopic has around women’s access, availability, utilization, and stability of employment within those fields, while the **Instruments Mix** refers to the methodology utilized. The policy entry points found within each subtopic would be one or more of the influencing factors and based on stakeholder interest (discussed during ethnographic interviews, for example) on key intervention areas (such as the Land Settlement Act) or through local actor engagement (such as the local WLA or WI data). The complexity found within such policy mixes (that is, “the interaction between policy instruments relevant for one objective in a specific space and time”) offers insight into the interactions and trade-offs actors deal with at any given time (Flanagan, Uyarra and Laranja, 2011; Milhorange and Bursztyn, 2018; Howland, Le Coq and Acosta, 2019). “The inclusion of gender considerations at different stages of the policy process and the ‘intersectionality and the structurally transformative focus of policies’” is referred to by reviewing the design and implementation, and through monitoring and feedback of the policies themselves (Krizsan and Lombardo, 2013). The problem’s identified being 1) women’s participation in employment and education within the policy fields, 2) what barriers were in place, 3) how did the government and social organizations attempt to

mitigate these barriers, 4) what was the result, and 5) which parts would work best for future policy development.

While we focused on Agricultural and Food and Nutritional Security policies, with sub-fields of agricultural and Food and Nutritional Science (FNS) education, the inclusion of different or additional policies could bring forth additional conclusions. Two of the items we did not focus on to a great extent, was the budget and monitoring/feedback aspects. We do discuss both, but in a more general form, focusing on who oversaw the budgets and some of the financing issues surrounding the educational component specifically. The monitoring aspect can be taken a few ways, first, through oversight committees (again, noted in both the agriculture and education sections), secondly, through Parliamentary debates, and thirdly, through public or mass media. The Women's Land Army (WLA) concerns over pay and employment noted in Chapter 3: Social Organizations is a good example of this. We do feel that this section is easier to implement on a smaller collection of policies and queries, but having them listed when reviewing larger datasets with a key work or bullet point methodology assists in tracking larger trends over time.

*Figure 6: Policy Fields in FIGS framework*



The fifth section discusses the **Gender Socialization Process** itself. Like the Level of Influence, the process follows how opportunities for employment incentivize females to enter the market place and assists public perception in normalizing such behavior. This, in turn, helps internalize what it means to be female and what women can do from a physical, mental, and emotional level. Finally, there are three **Outcomes** for a more inclusive gender structure. At the *individual level*, changes in attitudes and beliefs

are found internally and socially. At the *social level*, changes are found in gender-based practices, such as violence, age of consent, and household bargaining power. And finally, at the *structural level*, changes in the policy design itself including legal changes to employment and wages, educational access, political participation, and the identification of failures within government processes are all outcomes reviewed.

This fifth section covers the key points at each level, although we would caution that those items listed are general themes and not the edges of the potentials. For example, the Social-Interactional Level's outcomes state violence and child marriage, but these are the extreme issues that might occur. More subtle practices such as pressure on a woman to remain at home after childbirth could easily fall into this and the Structural Level's outcomes if associated with a government mandate like the Marriage Bar, while phrases like 'girls shouldn't do math' could be found in the Individual level or the Social-Interactional Level. The key for the outcomes then, is to evaluate what the research is showing, and then backtrack to see if there is a particular Factor that altered where the outcome fell.

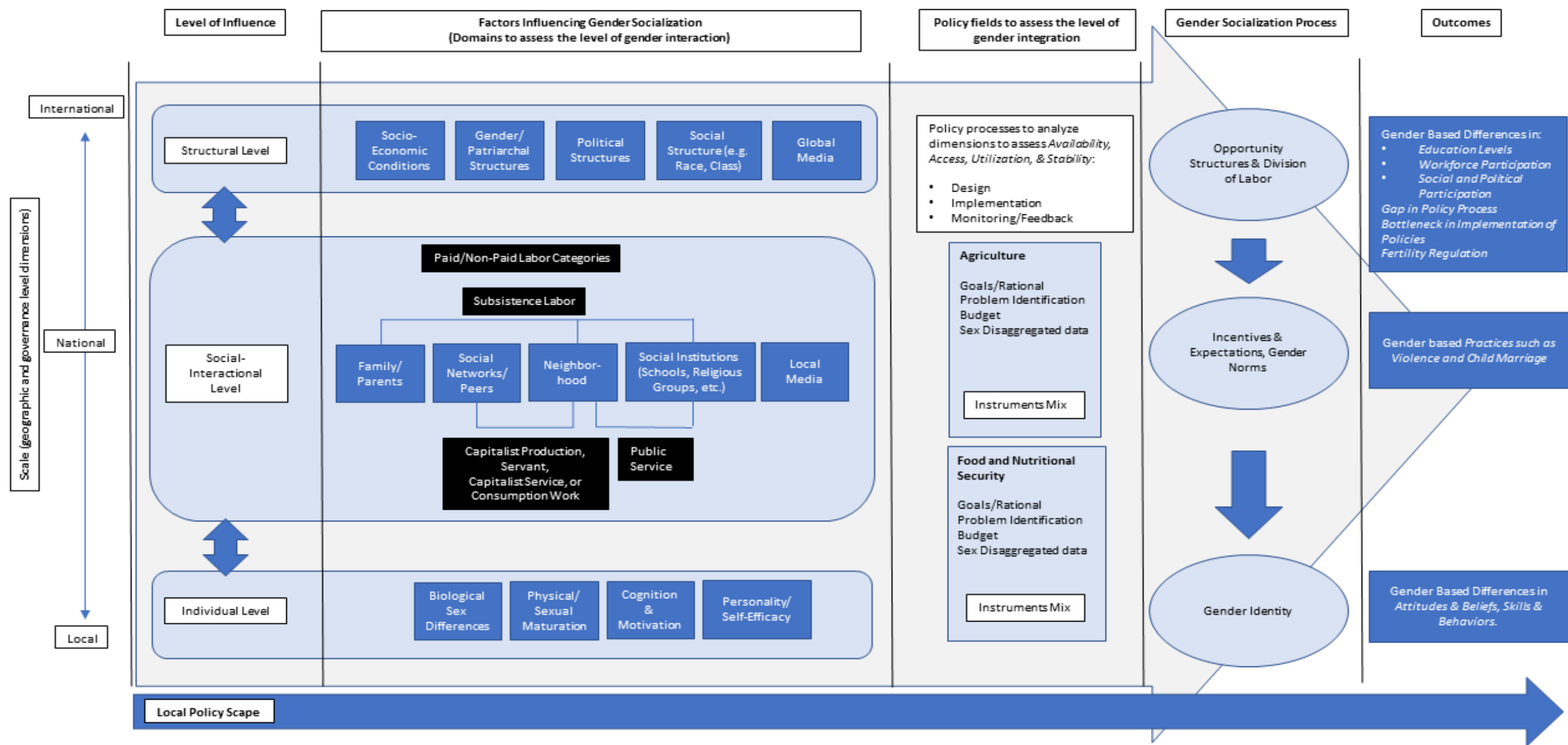
While we believe the combined framework offers the most inclusive format, it should be noted that *cooperative bargaining*, *collective bargaining*, and *noncooperative bargaining* are additional categories that come up in the related literature. These models cover the amount of outside welfare an individual would receive should they not be part of a household, the ability of all members of a household to share responsibilities, and if the household attains efficient allocation of resources between household members (Doss, 2013). All three fall, generally, within the Unitary Model, which does not consider social constructs such as employment relationships. Collective bargaining in business is used to discuss power relationships between employers and employees (mostly in regards to wage gaps, labor allocation, and performance structures) and we argue that it is the combination of these intra-household bargaining and employment bargaining models that offer the most thorough review of power relationships (Dickens, 2000; Lowe and Mckelway, 2019; Heath and Tan, 2020; OECD, 2020). Within the provided framework, such bargaining models would fall within the *subsistence labor* and *capitalist/servant/consumption* categories more often than the others.

This thesis, and the FIGS framework shown below, contributes to current Agri-Food economic understanding by producing a gender-inclusive outline to evaluate policy effectiveness for resilient employment access during a period of contention. The research also demonstrates that by reframing similar historical and political periods within a gender lens, one can establish which policies and social ideologies are the most useful for current and future concerns. In the wider context, the linkages offer a

unique insight into a rarely discussed sub-field of Agricultural Economics, Gender Studies, and Food and Nutritional Science.



Figure 7: Factors Influencing Gender Structures (FIGS) Framework Design



Notes: Derived from (FAO, 1996; Howland, Le Coq and Acosta, 2019; Huws, 2019)

## RESEARCH GOALS, OBJECTIVES, AND QUESTIONS

The goal of this thesis is to identify the ‘typical’ barriers women faced and the opportunities for them to provide localized change in the Agri-Food sector as a proxy for current barriers and potential market shock concerns. The following Chapters will show that in the wake of WWI, the rural agricultural community in England underwent political and social unrest and economic turmoil, and that it was a need for increased food production and economic viability of rural areas, that forced infrastructural, social, and political changes in the Agri-Food sector. Likewise, by evaluating such government infrastructure schemes, we found that it was due to growing governmental concerns over out-migration that led to a complex system of policies and funding utilizing women’s organizations such as the WI and WLA to mitigate such unrest and turmoil, especially around WWII.

The inclusion of women into the public sphere, in both traditionally male agricultural jobs and new scientific research fields, lends itself to a multi-layered analysis around legal standing and political agency, educational opportunities and needs, labor relations, and influence as economists and scientists; these last two being both government and industry jobs. At the same time, we will show that it was the power and influence women had surrounding consumer purchasing power that directly links them to the Agri-Food sectors’ market elasticity. ‘Market elasticity’ in this thesis refers to “the degree consumers or producers change their demand or the amount supplied in response to price or income change” (Hayes, 2022). By examining how the Agri-Food sector in England was influenced by the incorporation of women into the supply chain, it is the goal of this thesis to establish if a more diversified workforce, here the inclusion of women, offered market resilience to economic shocks, and if so, which aspects would be beneficial to current government policies for future shocks.

To achieve this goal, three research objectives were constructed. The first being to:

- 1) Identify and examine the historical and political aspects challenging female economic standing and employment in the Agri-Food sector by asking:
  - a. How did the addition of new educational programs open doors for women’s entry into, and progression within, the Agri-Food sector?
  - b. How did women’s social networks during the study period enable entry into the Agri-Food sector?
  - c. How did the professionalization of Agri-Food research (the organization, training, and funding) enable entry into, and progression within, the wider Agri-Food workforce for women?

- d. How were women's contributions to domestic Agri-Food labor researched, formalized, and imagined during the study period?

This was achieved by re-framing and re-evaluating government policies surrounding women's access to the Agri-Food sector as laborers, researchers, and consumers. We chose to limit the geographical portion of the thesis to England in general, and Cumberland, Westmorland, and Berkshire in specific, to explore the employment rates for women within the Agri-Food sector (*see* Chapters 1 & 2 for methodological selection discussions). We do this by first evaluating the past, historical, and contemporary literature in a systematic review around the changing structure of roles women played within the two sectors from a legal and workforce development standing. This is found in Chapter 1, which discusses how the political, economic, and historical records can be used to give a historical overview of women's legal standing in England and highlight the geographic discrepancies in Agri-Food policies and social organization membership to define acceptability and societal standing for women.

The second research objective is to 2) identify and analyze the intersectionality of women's social organization membership and the State in expanding and legitimizing women's positions within the Agri-Food sector by asking:

- a. How did government backing of certain social organizations alter the general understanding of female employment within the media?
- b. What role did agricultural education play in the legitimization of female farm ownership?
- c. To what extent did State funding to women's social organizations affect female Agri-Food employment?

To achieve this, a material culture analysis was performed evaluating journal and meeting minutes from members of the Women's Land Army and the National Federation of Women's Institutes; curriculum, and enrolment documents from key agricultural training programs; as well as clothing, imagery, and interviews with agricultural laborers/farmers and those women working in the distributive trades. A selection of agricultural policies and Ministerial debates were reviewed and a discourse analysis was performed on a selection of cookery books and government food pamphlets to evaluate the extent of their contribution to the inclusivity of female employment and the effect of such inclusion on economic viability (*see* Chapter 2 for a list of resources, methodologies, and specific analytical tools). This required a review of how education, policy, and scientific understanding intersects and the limitations education

and knowledge can have on political regulation and societal understanding/interpretation. To this end, Chapter 3 evaluates how female social organization membership influenced government policies in employment and education, while Chapter 4 takes a deeper look at the role of education in setting gender standards, how vocation training differed from university coursework, loopholes in the marriage bar for female researchers, and their role as civil servants. This chapter also discusses the way women's agricultural training and employment was discussed in the media.

The two research objectives provide the basis for an analytical review of the different instances where women's economic standing was promoted, and how the resulting market flexibility provided a buffer for economic shocks. Flexibility "refers to the ability of administrations and their principal decision-makers to operate in an environment that is characteristically fast-changing and also difficult to understand; to anticipate; and, consequently, to control effectively" (Dostál, 2002). Such rapidly changing situations are inherent to drastic market shocks such as a lock down or removal from normal trade partnerships. The third research objective uses the results of the first two objectives to approach the qualitative data.

The purpose of the objective being to:

- 3) Identify and analyze, through the role of cookery books, how women internalize scientific understanding for food selection:
  - a. What did the data reveal about the role of the State in influencing consumer purchasing power of food stuffs?
  - b. Knowing that organizations promote community values, what role do cookery books play in challenging or perpetuating scientific understanding?
  - c. What role do cookery books play in cross-generational transference of knowledge?

The third research objective uses cookery books as a proxy to indicate how women, as the primary food purchaser, understood government policy changes and scientific understanding of nutritional content. Chapter 5 takes four perspectives: a) women's roles in the Ministry of Food, b) the commercialization of home economy (including catering establishments, distributive trades, and consumer purchasing power), c) a cookery book analysis to discuss the intersection of gender, education, and access food, and finally, d) post-war dietitians and domestic science educators.

The cookery book selections were designed to establish what, if any, strategies were used by the State and by women's organizations to establish cultural norms under uncertain access to food and looked at

language as a way of establishing how such knowledge was transferred intergenerationally following the format of Cotter (1997), who remarks that a recipe is “‘locally situated’ as a community practice, and as a text that embodies linguistic relationships and implies within those relationships a number of cultural assumptions and practices”. Using the cookbooks, an indirect measure of State interference can be evaluated based on textual clues and then referred to the analysis of consumer purchasing power and social organization influence (see Chapter 2 for full methodological approach). Like the 1999 inquiry by Caraher, et *al.*, this research of 15 cookery books shows that women “still bear the burden of cooking for the household... [while a] large number of men...claim to have no cooking skills.” The inclusion of both literary analysis and the **FIGS** framework led us to creating **FIRMS**, a calculation to establish the leading **Factors Influencing Recipe and Menu Selection** and showcases both cooking and nutritional knowledge and dietary diversity (consumer access). Furthermore, this research highlights the importance of agricultural training programs for divergent employment policies.

Chapter 6 brings the research together in a discussion around the key findings from each of the research chapters to evaluate the potentialities of an intersectional approach to comparative historical analysis and how such could be used to establish mitigation techniques for future policy development. Likewise, a discussion around the ‘typical’ barriers for women in Agri-Food offers insights into current sector policies and practices. While a gender lens was used within the historical literary analysis (that is, a review of societies’ definition about masculinity and femininity but within the historical context of the time period it was created in), it is the “examination of the circumstances that produced the [item], such as cultural movements, political ideologies, and intellectual trends of the time” that allow us to evaluate how such items impacted society as a whole through the experiences of the individuals within the subgroup (National Library of Medicine, 2022).

Thus, the re-examination of the literature surrounding women’s employment status within the Agri-Food sector (objective 1) provides the broader perspective of employment policy gaps and solutions, while the review of women’s social organizations offer insight into educational drivers that influenced both employment and public (media/governmental) perception (objective 2). Finally, the analysis of cookery books offers a unique insight into consumer purchasing power and State influence over nutritional knowledge (objective 3). The intersectionality of such divergent data streams provides a framework for Agri-Food sector policy development by evaluating the relationship between the State, social organizations, and consumer purchasing power (see FIGS framework above).

## CHAPTER 1: MAPPING RURAL WORKING WOMEN (LATE 19<sup>TH</sup> – MID 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY)

Chapter 1 begins our discussion on the changing structure of roles women played within the Agri-Food sector by reviewing the key aspects of women's legal and employment rights with commentary on the trends of such found within the relevant literature. The focus being to establish a firm baseline for discussion during a period of rapid change and look at the challenges faced when doing historical research over a longer time period (we will discuss how the census reports showcase this in glaring detail in the Methodology section as well). This coincides with the Structural Level of the FIGS framework predominantly through the legal aspects that define or limit socio-economic conditions through gender/patriarchal structures, political structures, and social structures (networks). Female legal concerns were drawn from a variety of sources which beget part of the problem in establishing evidence of continuity as the various sources organized, reported on, and dictated the laws in different practical manners (such as access to women workers). However, the first realm of inquiry must be the Governmental legal regulations in place. These were pulled mostly from Parliamentary notes and feminist studies and backed-up with demographic data from the census reports (British Parliamentary Papers, 1905, 1919a; Reay Committee, 1908). Likewise, employment records were used to codify the primary employment opportunities for women and a review of rural studies, gender studies, and labor/employment records within economic studies were used (Leicester University, no date; Berg, 1991; University of Portsmouth, 2017d).

Key findings focus around the concept of 'suffrage,' how age restrictions for voting were inherently patriarchal in nature, and how available data was classist in nature towards the growing middle-class and elites versus the lower-working classes. We review what the demographic data for the three case-study counties as compared to national rates, tell us, and define urban, peri-urban, and rural landscapes, as well as who a 'female worker' was in the pre-war periods. This is used to identify what forms of agricultural production and employment options were available, and the change from domestic service to professionalization for female employment. Finally, we begin the conversation on how female identity can be redefined by social organization membership (networks) and its impact on employment entry, and where the more common delineators of class, ethnicity, and gender, are either incorporated or ignored by such networks. The baseline of which shows us that women employed in rural environs pre-WWI were mostly between the ages of 12/14-24, single and without dependent children, who were predominantly employed in the Domestic Service sector.

## A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE SURROUNDING WOMEN'S LEGAL STANDING, PRE-WWI

The primary period of study (1920-1960) was chosen due the changing structure of women's employment status, but to understand how things changed, we must first understand what was occurring at the point prior to that change. We must understand how many women were part of the workforce, where they were employed, what the legal status of such employment was, and the general opinion of their work. Once that is accomplished, we can then evaluate what changes occurred and how effective they were. At the same time, we can see what formats such research took and comment on the usefulness of the research methodologies.

Identification of women's legal standing and their ability to work in the Victorian period (1837-1901) has, historically, had two major problems: under-reporting in the census data and a classist bias towards the growing middle-classes. "Many historians," Sonya Rose (1988) argues, "have shied away from census data because of some serious shortcomings in the extent to which women's occupations are reflected in the enumerator's records." With the largest discrepancies found in the case of married women's work, the agricultural sector, and in some of the service occupations. Such work was dubbed 'invisible' to male observers and to the historical records in general (Horrell and Humphries, 1995; Horrell and Oxley, 2016). However, the actual explanation as to why or exactly where the issues within the census data occur, is less clear.

The first official census was taken in England and Wales in 1801, with the first, modern report run by the Registration Service occurring in 1841. This census was taken by hand and recorded by 35,000 male enumerators who went door-to-door with a set questionnaire. The 16 million people that responded reported on their own households and answered the questions themselves, which was difficult, considering the general high illiteracy rate at the time (Berkner, 1975; The National Archives, 2023). The report showed that most worked in domestic service, with a quarter-of-a-million people employed in cotton manufacturing. By 1851, demographic data such as age, marital status, relationship to head of household, and birthplace had been introduced. Additional questions were added over the years and refinements in tabulations showing changes in poverty and education levels per borough and county were added depending on government concerns. For ex. the 1891 census "introduced [a question] about the number of rooms in each household in response to fears of overcrowding in industrial cities"

(see Chapter 3 for a breakdown of how the census reports from 1924-1971 were used) (The National Archives, 2023).

Higgs (2016, 1995) states that most of the research reinforcing the census concerns over women's work being underreported in the Census Enumerator's Books (CEBs) cites his early works, with little additional research to explain or comment on the concerns. Reviewing the reports themselves shows several clear issues, which should have been easy to identify for researchers tracking over a larger period, including a lack of rural reporting, inconsistencies in terminology and enumerator questions, skipping periods of time, and lack of female responses during some periods (these issues will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2: Methodology). Higgs and Wilkinson (2016) comments that some locales, such as Lancashire, were very well documented in the CEBs, which may say more about the local Enumerator's thoroughness than the census questions themselves. Likewise, urban centers such as London, show a greater thoroughness than rural locations, most likely due to the ease of moving around and access to greater quantities of households in general. To offset such concerns, many researchers use supplemental data from household budgets and record books, Parliamentary papers, and autobiographies (Berkner, 1975; Taylor *et al.*, 2012; Lowder, Skoet and Raney, 2016). This research will follow this approach by utilizing government reports, census data and ministerial debates, including consumption analysis from the Food and Nutritional Surveys, in conjunction with textual evidence found in magazines, newspapers, journals and letters, social organization meeting minutes, educational documents, cookery books and pamphlets, WLA clothing, images and photography, and ethnographic interviews (see Chapter 2 for a complete list of materials and methodologies).

The primary driver of social change, according to sociologists, is the "alteration of mechanisms within the social structure, characterized by changes in cultural symbols, rules of behavior, social organizations, or value systems," including technological, economic, and political movements (Form and Wilterdink, 2022). We will discuss each of these in the following chapters, but to start with, one must look at the political aspect of the legality of women's rights and potentialities in the U.K. in the Victorian period to understand why certain issues were more prevalent during the study period than others, and why certain issues, such as education, were under fire in the popular press and media.

Legally, married women had fewer rights than they did when they were single at this time. They could not vote, sue, or own property, yet the increasing number of working women, and the spread of feminism within the educated middle classes, increased those voices pushing for women's suffrage



(Byles, 1985; Crawford, 1999). The Victorian concept of 'suffrage' was based upon a person's paid labor having a notion of property. Within the political sphere, only males owning property could vote before the 1832 Representation of the People Act. This initial push for women's rights was partially due to the low marriage rates in the Victorian period (13% of women over 35 in 1861 and 14.7% in 1901) (Auchmuty, 1975). These 800,000+ women were left without the customary financial support a husband or father would be able to provide, and with limited employment options, were left floundering until additional occupations, mostly in nursing, clerical, teaching, and the new distributive trades, became available (Auchmuty, 1975; Crozier-De Rosa, 2009; Opitz, 2014; van Lieshout *et al.*, 2019).

It is at this point, that some of the middle-class feminists took up the campaign for better working conditions for *all* women and where organizations such as female trade unions stepped in. It is important to remember that by the outbreak of WWI, roughly a third of Britain's women worked outside the home, often in the textile industry (Pyecroft, 1994). These women, which were typically of the lower-classes, were often removed from the feminist discussion, yet when they did enter discussions, they revolved around some of the key issues with female employment at the time: low wages, poor working conditions, and the inability to unionize all being at the forefront (Byles, 1985; Martin, 2008). The combination created the first successful equal-pay act for women workers as led by the Women's Trade Union League at the Trades Union Congress in 1888 (London Metropolitan University, 2019). This was fifty years after the first equal pay strike in 1832 and the 1835 comment that female collective action, often referred to as female militancy (a pejorative term and highly classist in nature), was "more menacing to established institutions even than the education of the lower orders" (Busby and Zahn, 2016).

The question of trade union membership in urban versus rural areas lends itself to two lines of reasoning, in urban centers, membership rates were higher simply due to the higher population numbers, but this also meant that collective action was more obvious, and that lock-outs of a particular industry were easier for unions to enforce since there were less non-unionized groups of workers in close proximity. On the other hand, rural unions were limited by the local industry, and for agricultural workers, the ability to travel to a different region either on their own or in worker-gangs, offered potential non-union labor (Howkins, 1992).

Women workers<sup>6</sup> were considered a primary threat to men's jobs, societal order, and the moral value of the nation (Berg, 1993). However, it was not all female workers, just the middle-class ones that were a threat. Domestic servants, laborers, and textile positions had mostly been female throughout the pre-industrial and industrial periods, and if women of the lower classes stayed in these positions (without unionizing), men had little to say about it (Berg, 1993). "In a speech to the Trades Union Congress [(TUC)] in 1875, the TUC's parliamentary secretary Henry Broadhurst urged Congress to 'bring about a condition where (our) wives and daughters would be in their proper sphere at home, instead of being dragged into competition for livelihood against the great and strong men of the world'" (Busby and Zahn, 2016). Despite the inroads collective organization made over the next two decades, by 1910 only 10% of the female workforce was unionized and Trade Union meetings, strikes, and negotiations often excluded women members (Busby and Zahn, 2016).

Literature of the period shows a sharp split between those feminists arguing for equal rights and pay from a 'natural division of labor' aspect (i.e., males are the breadwinners and women supplemental) and those that argued that women were being paid less because the work they did was different than a man's (often of lower skill) (Rose, 1988; London Metropolitan University, 2019). Rose (1988) argues that at its core, the debate was less about pay or work, and more about the changing concepts of masculinity. While Pinchbeck (1981) suggested that prior to the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act's assumption that families were composed of two parents, with the father as the primary/sole wage earner, the reality was that any member of the family that could work, did, with the wives and children's wages being expected to be high enough to support themselves and that, in agricultural families, their jobs would have been used to pool resources for the family to subsist on. Here, Berg (1993, 1994) suggests that women's roles were more important than previously considered, and that as such, they maintained a higher status within the family than previously thought. Her use of productivity and employment charts in the manufacturing sector provided by Crafts (1985) and Wrigley (1988) and the parliamentary papers report of the Factories Inquiry Commission shows the variety of reports that can be used, however, at no point in her research does she state her methodological format or her primary sources, leaving one to wonder if she merely culled data from previous materials to suit her argument. Either way, it can be argued that such 'family wages,' and the amount of money a child would have been able or expected to earn would have been subjected by the various laws, family circumstances, employment availability, etc. and that, as such, their earning potential would be limited; the likelihood

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<sup>6</sup> As were immigrants.

being that children would have been unpaid additional labor to the working family members in most instances (Seccombe, 1986; Verdon, 2002; Toms and Shepherd, 2017).

Following the concerns over equal pay and trade unionization, voting laws also feature heavily in the literature (Billington, 1982; Byles, 1985; Delap, Ryan and Zackodnik, 2006; Heilmann and Sanders, 2006; Martin, 2008; Bertocchi, 2011). It was not until the 1918 version of the Representation of the People Act, that women received the right to vote as well as hold political office as a Member of Parliament (MP) (du Cann, 2018). However, there were a few caveats. First, women over the age of 30 had to meet a property qualification. They needed to be householders, the wives of householders, or occupiers of property with an annual rent of £5 and graduates of British Universities (~8.4 million women). At the same time, the Act abolished many of those same restrictions for men, dropping the required age to 19 for active military personnel and 21 for non-military men (Busby and Zahn, 2016; British Library Learning, 2018; Collinson, 2018; UK Parliament, 2020).

In 1918, MP Lord Cecil, admitted in Parliament:

Everybody knows quite well why the age of thirty years was fixed as the age at which women could vote. It had nothing to do with their supposed capacity or incapacity between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one. That limit was adopted in order to meet the objection to the extension of the franchise without some limit of the number of women voters. That is perfectly notorious, and there is no secret about it. That is the reason why the age limit of thirty was introduced, in order to avoid extending the franchise to a very large number of women, for fear they might be in a majority in the electorate of this country. It was for that reason only, and it had nothing to do with their qualifications at all. No one would seriously suggest that a woman of twenty-five is less capable of giving a vote than a woman of thirty-five (Collinson, 2018).

Militant and constitutional suffragists paused activities at the outset of WWI in 1914 in a bid for everyone to do their part for the war effort and Parliament, at the end of the war 'rewarded' their efforts by enacting the 1918 Act, according to Kent (1988). However, the political and social moment popularized in the pre-war years never regained the same momentum, and by the 1920s, the line between feminist and antifeminist rhetoric was almost indistinguishable (Kent, 1988). According to Kent (1988), feminists of the time believed that sexuality was a cultural construct and that masculinity was associated with sexual aggression and femininity with victimization. On the other hand, antisuffragist women, while agreeing with male aggression, believed it to be less of a social construct and more of a

biological imperative, and therefore an immutable fact of nature. It is from this group, she argues, that the ideology of separate spheres grew, though we can see the logical progression from the earlier debates around division of labor and wages (Kent, 1988).

The question of gender equality now fell less around the necessity of women working to contribute to the 'family wage' and more on the perceived interest and capability by women to do such work, which makes little sense, since they had obviously been capable of such labor during the Industrial Revolution. It is at this point that the classist nature of 'female work' shows up in sharp detail, as women in the lower-classes had been the primary labor of the textile and ceramics sectors for years (Berg, 1991; Gershon, 2016; Horrell and Oxley, 2016). In fact, it was the growing concern over the middle-classes rates of employment that pushed the modern concept of gender division into mainstream social theories (Gente, 2001; Crozier-De Rosa, 2009; Horrell and Oxley, 2016).

Gender theory itself focuses on "how specific behaviors and roles are given gendered meanings, how labor is divided to express gender difference symbolically, and how diverse social structures – rather than just families – incorporate gender values and convey gender advantages" (Ferree, 1990; Hess, 1990). If we combine this definition with Kent's discussion on separate spheres for women's employment and labor, we find that the issue was less about women in the workforce, and more about the influence they could have on the sectors themselves, a trend also found in women's trade union membership discussions. An example of how separate spheres influenced politics can be found in women's involvement with school boards of governance, or policy and trade discussions around free-trade, poor-laws, and slavery, all of which were considered acceptable for women to be active politically in, *if* the women were discussing humanitarian issues such as living conditions while leaving the actual economic discussions to the men (William Sr. and Chadwick, 1834; Digby, 1974; Billington, 1982; Harrison, 1986).

Such discussions were often the political frame around suffrage movements, trade union membership, and general employment concerns, especially in the wake of WWI, where women had access to job markets previously bared to them. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), stated in 1925 that "there was not a paper in Great Britain that by 1916-17 was not ringing with praise of the courage and devotion of British women in carrying out war work of various kinds" (Fawcett, 1976; Kent, 1988). However, Parliament was more concerned with potentially sparking a renewal of the often-violent militancy found in the pre-war years, and that such,

following the losses of men during WWI, might lead to outright civil unrest if some provision was not made. This was the point where the Votes for Women campaign finally found a version of approval within the Government. The Marquess of Crewe stated the concern quite clearly when he noted that “it would have been of no surprise to us, the members of the Government of that day, if any one of our colleagues in the House of Commons who had taken a prominent line either for or against the grant of the vote to women had been assassinated in the street” (Rosen, 1974).

The restrictions placed on women voters— age, property, educational status – limited the number of voters to those women in the middle and upper-classes and to those who were householders or the wives of householders. Such political structure changes dovetail into concerns over gender/patriarchy, and social structures as listed in the FIGS framework. By allowing women the right to vote, but with caveats that limited the exact numbers of women to those of the upper and middle-classes, the current social structure was not threatened with collapse, and the patriarchal system was kept in place. As we will see in the following chapters, such restrictions limited many rural women, who were tenant farmers or the wives of tenant farmers due to their renter status, and women in general, who were often refused entry to the British University system, thus creating a stark split between the classes once more. The belief that women’s rights could be taken away at any given moment was of major concern to the women’s movement’s leaders, such as Fawcett, who took a cautionary approach to further political activities. Work, and a women’s ability to maintain it, became the focus for such concerns within political debates from the 1920s on. However, the argument for women to return to the home, instead of working outside it, was less about female capabilities and more about the Government’s concerns over population, a concern that was repeated in the wake of WWII (Kent, 1988; Davis, 2014; Atkinson *et al.*, 2017).

## FEMALE DEMOGRAPHICS IN THE CENSUS DATA: CASE STUDY COUNTIES VS. NATIONAL RATES, POST-WWI

The first question when reviewing any historical period is to understand what the group or location under review consists of. In the case of this research, our case study groups are 1) women employed in agriculture or food, and 2) reside within the counties of Berkshire, Cumberland, and Westmorland. These pieces need to then be compared, both to each other and to the larger geographical region under review, here, England. As such, the first data to be reviewed, needs to be the available census data, and even though the reports of the period are problematic in some instances, they do provide a starting

point for inquiry into both national and regional issues. England, a predominantly urban nation, boasted 93% of its population as living or working in an urban environment by the 1920s, even though the Liberal Party's focus in the years preceding WWI were on rural infrastructure, agricultural production, and employment (Griffiths, 2018). Developing rural reconstruction programs intersected with the larger narrative around national economic wealth and quality of life, with the village as the model community in its idealized form (Griffiths, 2018). However, amenities were slower to be incorporated in the countryside and fell under the purview of the local councils for government and financial reform. The Interwar period, dominated by unemployment and agricultural depression, was often discussed as the primary reason for the out-migration of the mostly young and single rural populace in both the period and current rural history literature (Hill, 1994; Green, 1999; Verdon, 2002; Todd, 2004b; Burchardt, 2012; Leibert and Golinski, 2016).

At this point, it is useful to look at general population demographics before evaluating employment opportunities in the Agri-Food sector. Three case-study counties were chosen to evaluate smaller population and employment demographics in addition to national rates across England itself; these being Cumberland and Westmorland in the North-West and Berkshire in the South-East. The selection of the counties was decided upon due to proximity to London and economic activity in the counties as:

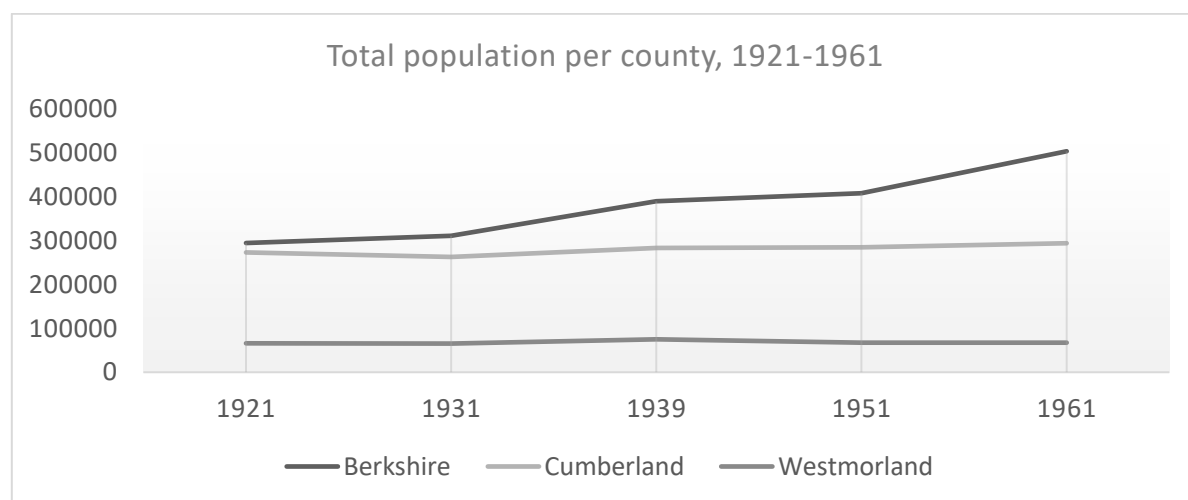
the industrial prosperity of the 'north' began to change markedly in the 1920s and 1930s. This was the start of a long-term decline in the fortunes of major manufacturing sectors, and a shift in location patterns to favour the Midlands and southern regions of the country among growing light industries and service sector firms. It was also during the 1930s that regional policy measures first began to be introduced with the 'Special Areas Act' providing assistance for the high-unemployment areas of South Wales, North East England and Western Scotland. In effect, there was a reversal of the relative prosperity of northern and southern regions of Britain which has persisted to the present day (Bachtler, 2004).

Bachtler (1994) noted that the U.K. was one of the few "developed countries where historical regional unemployment rates would serve as good predictors of contemporary regional disparities" and that, as such, this analysis would benefit from tracking both population and economy within the case-study counties. The inclusion of Berkshire, the researcher's home base during the study, is the primary thread throughout our inquiry, and as such, will be the comparison point between Cumberland, Westmorland, and England in general. This was due to Cumberland's primary economic industry being historically

focused on iron, coal, and shipbuilding, while Westmorland and Berkshire focused on agricultural production (Bailey and Culley, 1805; Orr, 1918). Likewise, Berkshire's proximity to London (the economic center of the country) offers an interesting view of migratory patterns that counter those of the North-West, with the former showing higher rates of outmigration and the later higher rates in internal migration. Berkshire also happens to be the location of the Museum of English Rural Life (MERL), the primary research center for this thesis, and the key agricultural education center for the Women's Institutes (WI).

In Figure 8 below, we see the total population per case-study county over the study period. In all cases, an increase occurs during WWII, though the greatest changes occurred in Berkshire with a final gain in population of over 200,000 (or a 58% increase from 1921). Such gains are generally attributed to the evacuation from London and increases in agricultural employment (Burchardt, 2012). Westmorland's total population stayed relatively even, and Cumberland showed a small dip rather than a rise in population (Burchardt, 2012; University of Portsmouth, 2017b). The numbers from the north are generally attributed to internal migration between districts and a small increase in war work in the coal and mining industries (University of Portsmouth, 2017b).

*Figure 8: Total population per case-study county, 1921-1961*



Source: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

Population demographics in Berkshire pre-WWI, show a predominantly rural county, with only five towns exceeding 5,000 people (Reading being the largest at 72,217 in 1901). However, the proximity of the county, especially East Berkshire, to London and its sprawling sub-urban communities, provided greater opportunities for both urbanization and counter-urbanization; that is, the movement of

individuals from rural areas to city-centres and vice versa. While the county saw a population growth of roughly 74% between 1901 and 1951, the eastern half of the county, those areas closest to London, saw a marked growth rate compared to the western half (Burchardt, 2012). The census reports can be broken down by Rural District (RD), which shows a net migratory gain of 69% over the 1921-1951 period, though tracking where migrants were moving from is limited due to the lack of previous address in the census reports prior to 1961 (Burchardt, 2012).

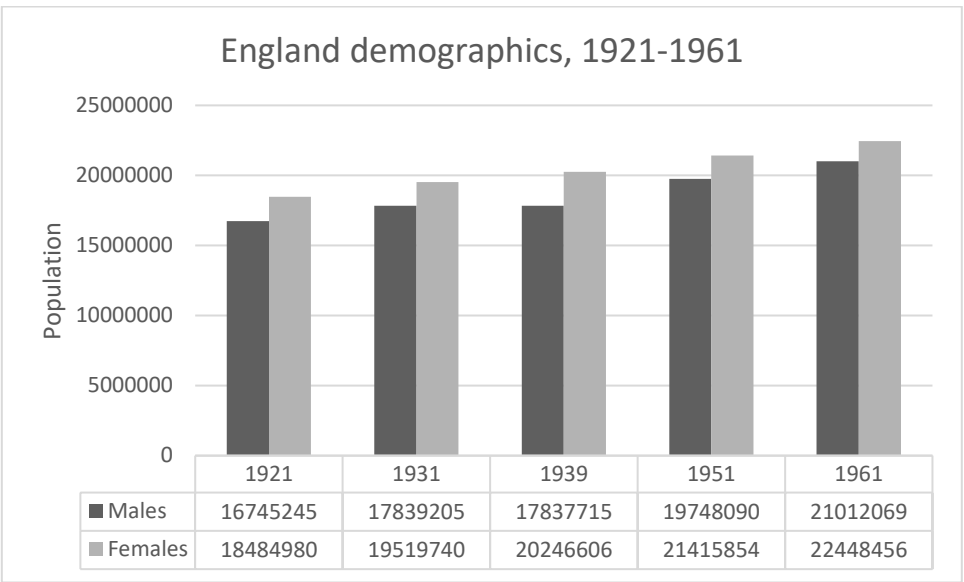
Burchardt (2012) also discusses commuting and the impact on such to the various rural districts. While the eastern and central portions of the county showed the greatest numbers “ranging from 20% in Abingdon RD to over 50% in Wokingham RD” in 1921; by 1951, at least 20% of all rural districts showed commuting for work outside their district of residence. The limited data of the census reports, however, does not give very clear results as to where these commuters are working, although the 1951 census provides the most data with “559 London commuters from Wokingham, 481 from Cookham, 351 from Easthampstead, 328 from Windsor and 213 from Bradfield” (Burchardt, 2012).

In 1937, the rural population in England shows that, though roughly 8 million people lived in a rural environment. The density was only 154 people/sq. mile versus urban centres where the number was closer to 4,800 people/sq. mile meaning most of the countryside was empty and ownership rates show that large swaths of that land were held by relatively few (Habakkuk, 1994). Likewise, the general population of such rural communities had been falling steadily since 1891 when the population was roughly 28% of the total population compared to 20.7% by 1921 (University of Portsmouth, 2017d).

We can see the total population in England divided by gender below in Figure 9. In all instances, females outnumber males, however, the rates are still very close, with the largest distance in 1939 with 2,408,891 more women. The average difference between the genders throughout the study period is 1,786,662. As such, we can assume that the larger decrease in males in 1939 can be associated with WWII service numbers, which would have stabilized slightly by 1951.



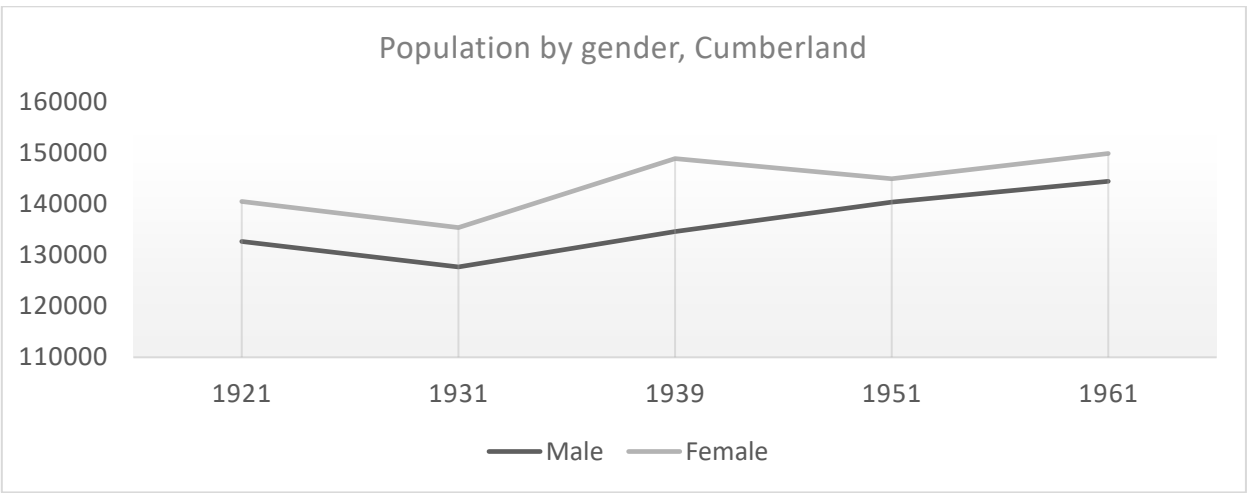
Figure 9: England demographics, 1921-1961



Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2023)

Drilling down into the gender divide per county, we see the largest difference between male and female populations in Cumberland (Figure 10), with a general dip in 1931 of 4% for women, followed by an increase of 7% eight years later.

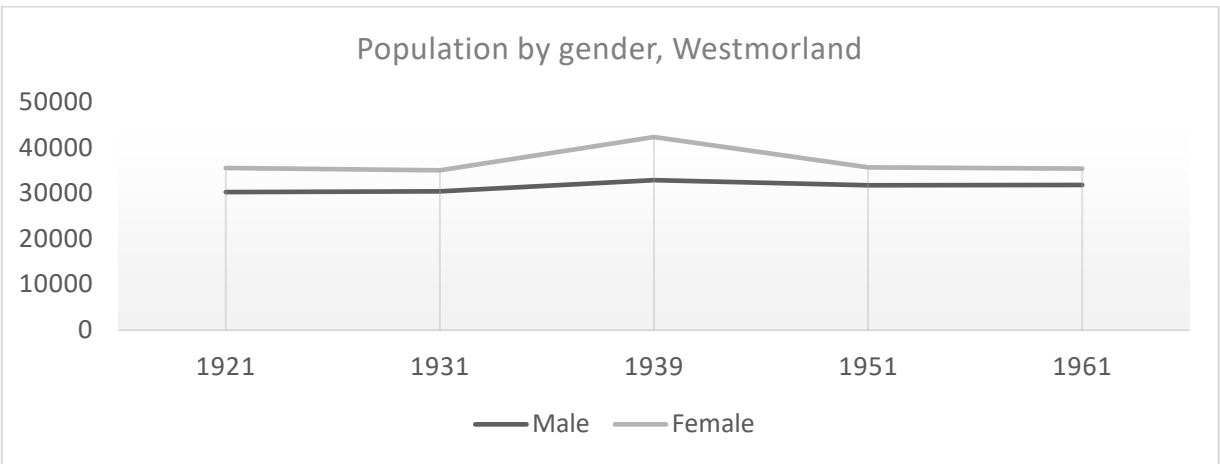
Figure 10: Population by gender, Cumberland, 1921-1961



Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

Westmorland's population numbers are much more consistent (Figure 11). A spike in female rates only occurs during the war period shows that at its height, females accounted for 25% more than their male counterparts in the county.

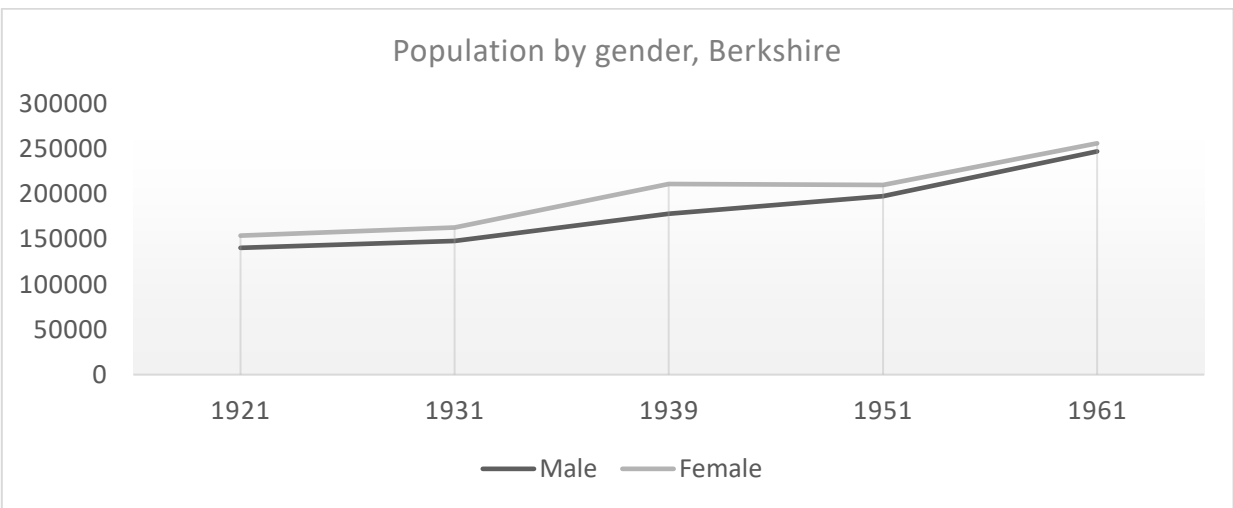
Figure 11: Population by gender, Westmorland, 1921-1961



Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

Finally, for Berkshire, both male and female population numbers rose over the period with a total population in 1961 of 504,154 as seen in Figure 12. The difference between male and female population demographics were the closest of the three counties and shows a trend towards a higher percentage of migration into the county than the others, most likely due to evacuees from London, as discussed in Burchardt (2012).

Figure 12: Population by gender, Berkshire, 1921-1961



Source: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

## DEFINING URBAN, PERI-URBAN, AND RURAL LANDSCAPES, HISTORICAL VS. MODERN

As we can see from the preceding section, population and migration patterns are affected not just by employment opportunities, but by access to urban centers, with a greater amount of external migration occurring in Berkshire due to its proximity to London than in Cumberland or Westmorland. As such, it is

useful to understand the difference in urban and rural environments, including how their definitions change over time - mostly based on societal and political need. The modern definition of rural, according to the Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs (DEFRA) (2017), defines areas that “fall outside of settlements with more than [a] 10,000 resident population... [and that] the classifications are based on populations and settlement patterns, not on how much countryside there is.”

This modern definition of rural, however, does not give a complete picture when looking at rural communities within a historical context as discussed in Rural History Studies (Burchardt, 2012). Different countries will, of course, have different needs and historical reasons for their rural/urban definitions. In the instance of our case-study country, England, the definition of rural in the 1920s-60s harkens back to the Medieval and Tudor period and the organizational structure of large landowners and their manors (Dampier-Whetham, 1927; Habakkuk, 1994). Most large landowners did not manage the day-to-day physical aspects of their farms, they rented to tenants or employed bailiffs whose duties were contractually obligated, either by direct hire (bailiffs) or through tenure (for a stated number of day's labor and then through copyhold rents). The rights and responsibilities of this tenureship were enforced through the Manorial Court and acquired the force of law (Dampier-Whetham, 1927). The courts were governed by a combination of the manorial lord or his steward, freeholders, and copyholders who were directly linked to the manor in question<sup>7</sup>. This shows the beginning of the organizational and legal aspects of a rural community and terms of ownership still in use today.

In between these manors lay the parish church. Often a single church managed the spiritual needs of multiple manorial holdings. The community that looked to a specific church was then defined as the parish community and each parish community had its own perceived identity owing to the religious, economic, and cultural aspects specific to it. As agrarian society shifted from village to boroughs the description of *rural community* took hold and gave us the interpretation often found within the historical research (Dampier-Whetham, 1927; Neal, 2013).

To define ‘rural’ in both a historical and modern context, we refer to Mingay (1989), whose localized Human Geography Approach describes the land or locality that exists outside of an urban or built-up environment. This gives the physical boundaries of the *place* rural that includes both the historical parish and modern borough context, but does little to examine the *cultural* rural. For a cultural

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<sup>7</sup> A Freeholder is the person or organization that owns the land while copyholders hold the title deed, which they could sell or pass on only with the permission of the landholder. Copyhold is like modern condo ownership, where the ‘owner’ can sell the condo only with the permission of the building’s Housing Authority.

understanding, we look to Halfacree (1993) who states that culture must include four aspects of economic productivity including utilization of natural resources<sup>8</sup>, the feeling of the place, and local belief structure. This incorporates the societal, cultural, and economic aspects found in both the historical and modern definitions of Rural History Studies, Agricultural Economics, and Rural Sociology and helps to contextualize the driving need for more intersectional research.

Since economics and culture alone do not define a government zone, we must refer to the historical literature to understand how the transition from parish (historical) to borough (modern) occurred in a bid to explore what rural community meant during the study period. Habakkuk (1994) argues that during the Interwar period (1918-1922) politics may have played a very real role in the re-design of the countryside through estate sales leading to population migration out of the region. This argument is backed by land sale records, which show that an estimated one-quarter or more of the land changed hands in England and Wales at this time. The reasons behind this vast increase are divergent, from estates purchased for limited or tourist use (Griffiths, 2018), no living heirs being present, continuations of plans made before WWI (Burchardt, Doak and Parker, 2020), and even to a wave of hysteria that gripped the landed gentry after WWI (Habakkuk, 1994). From a legal standpoint, the Finance Act of 1919 did increase the estate duty tax from 12% to 20%. This financial burden, coupled with renovation costs to estates damaged or neglected during WWI, caused financial hardship when combined with rising labor rates and falling agricultural returns (Habakkuk, 1994). This last point is important since most of the land was owned by a small amount of the population, namely, the landed gentry<sup>9</sup>.

Additionally, the “[l]ack of educational and employment opportunities for the sons and daughters of farmers was seen as the basis for continued out-migration in the 1920s and 1930s. Although the rural population was actually beginning to increase in the interwar period” (Verdon, 2009). Here, one must pause to discuss the difference between out-migration and internal-migration, since both were occurring in rural communities and are the key take-aways from Burchardt’s (2012) work. Out-migration saw the movement of a population to another area in a different county, such as moving from Carlisle

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<sup>8</sup> The four aspects are: super-productivism (a ruthless exploitation of natural resources), consuming idylls (rurality as a resource for leisure and pleasure), effaced rurality (an annihilation of rurality altogether), and radical rurality (an active production of environmentally friendly locales, land-based activities, and eco-centric beliefs).

<sup>9</sup> Proportionately, the upper classes represented the wealthiest Britons and while prior to WWI they represented only 5% of the population, they owned 87% of the national wealth. Comparably, 90% of the population owned only 8% of the wealth (Gente, 2001). To mitigate the costs of the new National Insurance System (1911), the navy, and other tax funded services, new death duty taxes were instigated which stated that any deaths occurring after July 31, 1919 saw their estate duty tax rise from 12% to 20%. This led to many estates being sold to pay the tax.

(Cumberland) to Reading (Berkshire). Whereas, internal migration would refer to population movements within a county, such as from Whitehaven to Carlisle (both within the geographic region of Cumberland, but from a rural area to a more urban centre). Counter-urbanization then, was the leading cause of population growth in Berkshire, while Westmorland and Cumberland in the north-west had more internal migration.

The creation of the Rural Community Council in October 1920 brought forward the underlying belief that “the village held the potential for the creation of true community in a way not possible in urban areas...by virtue of its small size” (Burchardt, 2011). The definition of rural from a historical and rural studies viewpoint then, became a small community which was defined not by an agrarian or industrial economic base, but by the ability for community involvement and a democratic freedom for inclusion into village life regardless of “sex, class, or political opinions; and controlled by a representative committee” (Burchardt, 2011). One can very easily compare this belief to the socialist or communistic co-operative approaches found in much of the literature in the 1920s such as the works by Sir Horace Plunkett (Stewart, 2011), T.H. Green (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020), W.G.S. Adams (Adams, 1915), and the Liberal Land Committee (Liberal Land Committee, 1929), all of which had extensive impact on rural policies at this time.

As such, the concept of rural community held that there should be a sharp split between the strengths and authenticity of village traditions and those found in urban centres as we see in Halfacree’s definition. This focus on a perceived difference between the cultures of urban versus rural can be found in the perception of women in the country versus their ‘Townie’ counterparts; partially due to policies and partially due to education and employment opportunities. As we will see in Chapter 3, ‘Countrywomen’ seemed to be classed in the media and period writings as either uneducated-laborers or elitist-land owners, whereas ‘Townies’ were personified as the elitist ladies and their companions or the growing middle-class hairdressers, dressmakers, and secretaries who had more time and money to care about fashion, entertainment, and leisure. While these two groups did not compete directly against each other, there was a definite stigmatization of being from a rural landscape. “There was a time when the ‘country cousin’ on her rare visits to the Metropolis, was considered a subject for slightly scornful amusement by her London sister” (A Countrywoman, 1937). In this single sentence we can find an urban bias in the term ‘Metropolis,’ which holds a glamorous image of the big city, with lights and amusements, while the country is considered a backwards, slower locale. It is these subtle biases one must be aware of in the language found within historical records.

Though this issue is not at the top of modern concerns, the debate over land use to define rural communities is. As Burchardt, Doak, and Parker (2020) explain, “post-Brexit U.K. policy is driven by [the] principle that public funding should be restricted to the provision of public goods... [and that] agricultural support...is to be guided by...[the] production of food...in an environmentally sustainable way.” This focus for farmers to both produce food and be environmental stewards alters the goal of the rural community. Instead of a place of small-scale (non-industrialized) economic production, we are expected to see it as a place of intrinsic public value through the idealized aesthetics of the environment while still maintaining the economic aspects. This ‘ideal vs idyll’ debate shows that the lens of public policy is urban-centric in nature and is one of the concerns when discussing holistic rural policy development (see more in Chapter 3).

Creation of such a holistic definition of rural has been equally slow. Researchers such as Muilu and Rusanen (2004) tend to define it by similar economic and cultural aspects, while others narrow their definition to locations of high vulnerability to economic shocks due to industry specialization, larger discrepancies in ages (more younger and older residents), or their distance to urban centres (Hart, Larson and Lishner, 2005). Still others focus strictly on population or on the form of local governance (Pateman, 2011). On the other side of the fence, we find urban studies with researchers such as Scott and Storper (2015) who list that to be an urban centre one must:

have a varied and contrasting economic base...infrastructural endowments and...complements of rich, poor, and middle-income people ... a society that allocates resources through markets... racial and ethnic variations [that] have a powerful impact on neighbourhood formation, [and that] political authority and power...have strong implications for the dynamics of local political contestation.

Peri-urban, or sub-urban, areas then, are “zones of transition from rural to urban land uses located between the outer limits of urban and regional centres and the rural environment” (UNESCO, 2014). Considering that in 2007, it was estimated that there were over 30 different definitions of rural in use across the U.K. alone (Pateman, 2011), one can create a rural community checklist that would offer the main points from each of the aforementioned research fields. An additional condition of ‘Agri-Food’ as the primary economic sector\* would offer further specification applicable to this research topic (Mingay, 1989; Halfacree, 1993; Cloke, 2006).

**Rural Agri-Food\* community checklist:**

- Similar economic activity
- Similar cultural practices
- Strong local identity
- Cultural identity is more important for resource allocation than 'market access'
- Small geographical boarder outside built-up environs (modern U.K. <10,000 in population)
- Access to inclusive and representative political organization
- Primary economic activity is classed as 'Agri-Food'\*

These points allow for both a defined physical environment as well as social representation of the concept of rural community and involves the relationships, social conventions, regional practices, beliefs, and institutions utilized in the rest of this thesis. They also follow the various formats found within the literature and bridge the sections found within the FIGS framework that we use throughout this research to limit our inquiries to rural, peri-urban, and urban.

Lastly, we need a definition of gardens so we can differentiate between scales as they relate to food production. There are different versions, depending on context, from Ninez's (1987) backyard garden which includes the terms dooryard, urban, kitchen, home, and household garden, to Kimber's (2004) vernacular urban house-lot gardens. Here we take the adapted version from Kimber (2004) that Burgin (2018) uses which incorporates "common, ordinary gardens around the house, or substitutes for them, developed for production of useful, material goods ... for individual households". This definition was chosen as it incorporates both rural and urban food production gardens on small plots of land (including the farm's kitchen garden), but excludes the larger agricultural production aspects of a farmstead. We also will be limiting our discussion in Chapter 5 to only those gardens producing food for family or market, not flower gardens. Such gardens were often found in peri-urban landscapes. That is, areas located adjacent to cities or urban areas, i.e., transition zones between urban and rural locations (UNESCO, 2014).

## CHALLENGES AROUND THEORIZING AND ENUMERATING WOMEN WORKERS

Along with terminology confusion within the literature over rural, also comes confusion over what a female worker is. Historians examining 'women's work' pre-WWI have identified several challenges to identifying the impact of women in the historical records, especially around unpaid versus paid labor. Since Victorian society is often discussed in a class-based format, where a collection of general beliefs in the capabilities and rights of different groups stratifies the society, the historical literature in turn often codifies different sets of standards for each socio-economic level (Crozier-De Rosa, 2009). For example, recent research has shown that the traditionally held patriarchal view of the Victorian family (that being

a male dominated head-of-household where the wife did not work) may not be entirely accurate (Higgs and Wilkinson, 2016).

In fact, it has been found that despite the Victorian belief that women were ill-suited for sole-household management (or the employment that would allow for such), a surprising 45% of married or widowed women in London worked in 1901<sup>10</sup> (Crozier-De Rosa, 2009; Higgs and Wilkinson, 2016). Although, they too note the issues around the census reports. For example, certain positions within the employment census data are listed explicitly for females, such as 'Charwoman,' while others are more ambiguous in nature such as 'Inn, hotel servant.' Similar issues arise for women being listed as head-of-household when married. Here, a large discrepancy can be found within farm ownership rates, as well as the legal standing of some positions, such as 'crofter' which only allowed for the listing of one 'owner/head of household.' In such instances, the male was typically listed, even if the female was the one actually managing the croft or household (Higgs, 1995; Tindley, 2018; Campbell and Ewing, 2019).

There has also been a concentrated effort amongst historians to discuss middle-class women, while the working- or lower-classes have been marginalized. Higgs and Wilkinson (2016) are one of the exceptions, discussing how the level of poverty for the working and lower classes made it almost impossible to have the stereotypical Victorian family unit where the wife did not work. The "lady of leisure," as they explained, "was a middle-class ideal, not a working-class reality" (Higgs and Wilkinson, 2016). There are, of course, multiple reasons women would work and the type of work they did, some owing to the change in labor in general; for instance, the delineation of clerical positions from advancement-possible administrative duties (i.e., secretarial positions). These positions offered women entry into new businesses, but limited their growth potential within those fields (positions were often created with growth potential (advancement possibility to higher positions) or non-advancement potential). Men were placed within the advancement categories and were able to move up the ranks into higher positions while female workers were typically placed within limited fields (Hogg, 1967). So, while a male 'assistant' might eventually become a manager level, a female 'assistant' was reduced to secretarial work. Such issues arise within many of the industries noted in the census reports, and makes mapping women's employment potentialities difficult, but not impossible.

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<sup>10</sup> Accounting books from Norwich show averages of 51%, Ipswich 38%, Colchester 40%, Spitalfields 55%, Bethnal Green and Saffron Hill 47%, and Camberwell 34%. Taking the last four and averaging, we get an average of 45.75% (Higgs and Wilkinson, 2016).



## MAPPING AGRI-FOOD IN THE CENSUS DATA DURING THE STUDY PERIOD

Some of the issues also arose due to the naming convenience, as the employment census and occupational dictionary changed over time. For example, of the thirty-two orders of occupations from the 1921 census, women involved in 'Agricultural Occupations' could fall under one of eighteen subfields, whereas in 1951, there were only six (University of Portsmouth, 2017c). Likewise, women typically worked part-time, which did not have an occupational heading during the 1921 census, whereas in agrarian communities, it was often necessary for the entire family to work as laborers in some capacity. Yet the size and age of those very families limited the potential for the housewife to participate in a standard work day due to her familial and household responsibilities such as child care; a Catch-22 situation often discussed in the autobiographies of the period and which we shall refer to again in the following chapters (Summerfield, 1983; Kundanis, 1996; Bianchi *et al.*, 2000). Considering these issues, it is no wonder that the literature often debates upon various aspects of Victorian women's lives, be it their usefulness to society, their capabilities in the workplace<sup>11</sup>, educational prospects, or the role of men within the feminist movement (Bodichon, 1857; Boucherett, 1860; 'Science for Women', 1862; Greg, 1869; Zaborszky, 1985; Broomfield, 2001; Hamilton, 2001; Heilmann and Sanders, 2006).

In 1968, the employment census standardized industrial classifications. Of the 27 new sectors, four are useful for this research: Agriculture, Food, Distributive Trades, and Professionals. The latter two however, are shared between different industries, as a lawyer would be considered a Professional in the same way a horticultural research scientist would be. Therefore, the two primary sectors we will be discussing in further detail shall fall under Agriculture and Food, with limited discussions on the latter two (see Chapter 2 for more details of census data classifications).

We can see that the following industries employed over 100,000 women in England during each decade of the study period and are shown in comparison to their male counterparts; at no point do women outnumber men in Agriculture (Table 1).

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<sup>11</sup> Feminist scholars include Bodichon, Boucherett, and Cobbe while the anti-feminists include Linton and Greg.

*Table 1: Highest female employment sectors in England, 1921-1968*

<b>1921</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>1931</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Metal Workers	1,447,795	104,582	Textile Workers	300,261	571,857
Textile Workers	370,094	607,335	Textile Goods and Clothing	269,121	532,496
Textile Goods and Clothing	278,895	528,632	Commerce and Finance	1,389,376	570,668
Paper, Printing	164,605	108,570	Professional Occupations	333,543	365,805
Commerce and Finance	1,005,714	462,844	Personal Service	444,936	1,829,541
Professional Occupations	285,308	337,483	Clerks and Draughtsmen	766,982	566,628
Personal Service	325,894	1,582,957	Warehousemen	248,083	154,232
Clerks and Draughtsmen	544,357	417,267	Other and Undefined Workers	1,369,878	213,597
Warehousemen	216,542	127,416	Retired or Not Gainfully Occupied	1,289,993	10,031,196

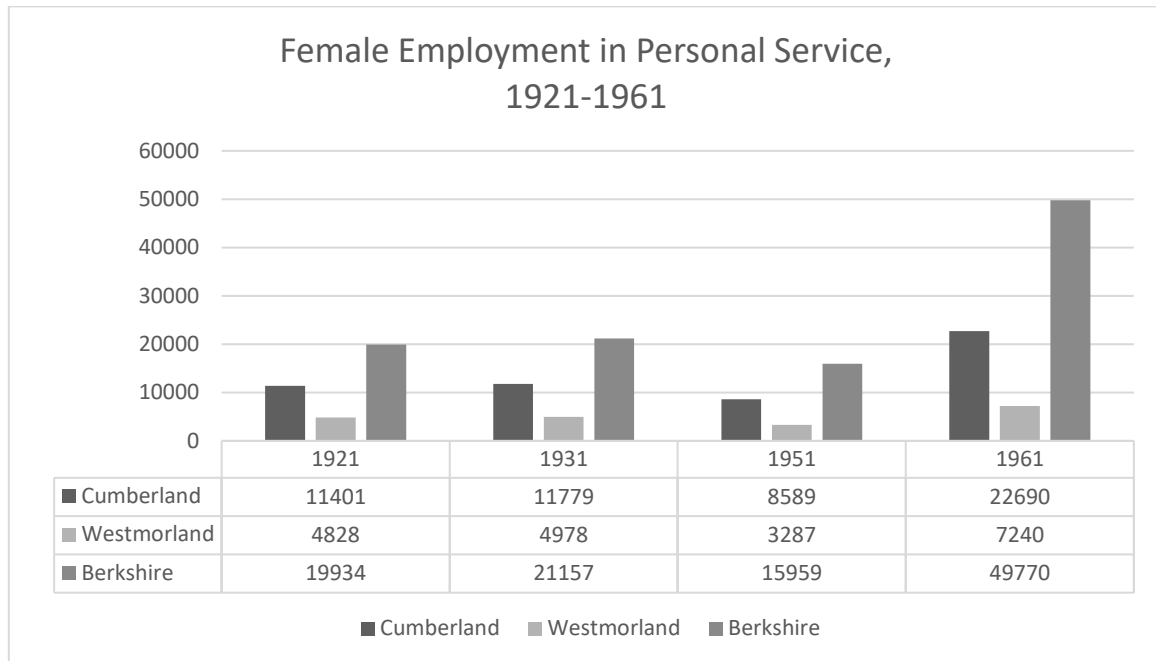
<b>1951</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>1968</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Metal Manufacturing, Engineering	2,147,760	190,561	Food	376,780	242,280
Textiles	195,746	357,023	Chemicals	292,270	120,630
Textile Goods, Dress	121,034	424,062	Mechanical Engineering	820,010	167,090
Transport	1,317,555	124,748	Electrical engineering	478,710	282,400
Commerce, Finance	1,166,545	715,552	Other Metals	379,230	155,430
Professional, Technical	676,871	492,723	Textiles	269,590	228,320
Personal Service	445,258	1,397,859	Clothing and Footwear	117,800	303,530
Clerks, Typists, etc.	824,964	1,225,063	Paper, Printing	371,530	174,090
Warehousemen, Storekeepers, etc.	335,333	176,780	Other Manufacturing	184,190	107,630
Workers in Unskilled Occupations	1,051,105	360,449	Transport	1,124,030	229,860
Retired or Not Gainfully Occupied	1,867,996	5,721,360	Distributive Trades	1,272,990	1,338,940
			Finance	429,910	433,890
			Professionals	899,230	1,579,420
			Miscellaneous Services	936,000	1,109,680
			Public Administration and Defence	960,770	395,530

Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017c)

The population and demographic records show that the largest employer of women was the domestic service industry with 24.3% of 18-24-year-olds employed in 1931. This was especially true in rural and semi-rural areas like East Sussex which held the largest concentration of servants (36.4% of under 18s and 30.8% of all women over 14) (Todd, 2004b). In Northumberland, for example, 685 girls aged 14-17-years were employed in 1921 in agriculture compared to 4,033 in domestic service. By 1931 that

number had dropped significantly in both categories to 287 in agriculture and 1,086 in domestic service (Todd, 2004b). Likewise, Personal service could range from housemaids to clerical assistants depending on the decade and was the largest employer of young, single women nationwide, as well as in the case study counties as shown in Figure 13. General employment was also down across the board, as the agricultural depression of the 1920s hit rural communities especially hard (Whetham, 1974).

*Figure 13: Female employment in personal service, 1921-1968*



Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b; Office of National Statistics, 2022b)

Notes: The 1961 census numbers were derived from the Office of National Statistics showing a 10% sample for employed persons over the age of 15 (Office of National Statistics, 2022a, 2022c, 2022b). The listed numbers have been multiplied by 10 to show the full estimated count per industry. Agriculture (not shown) was the third largest industry by numbers for women at 1,220.

In all three counties, we see the same trend as for population, an initial increase until 1931, then a drop in 1951, followed by another increase. The likelihood is that 1939 saw more drastic decreases than 1951, but without a census report from that year (see Chapter 2), we must refer to general population demographic data instead of employment data. Nationally, the economic depression from 1921-1931 affected all industries across the country, with a sharp uptick at the outset of the war and a smaller drop at the end of the war as employment shifted for female workers from domestic to factory work and then into the newer professional industries which accounted for teachers, secretaries, nurses, chemists, etc. (see Chapter 4). Employment for male workers increased steadily with no sharp drops after 1931

showing a continued preference for male workers (Smyth, 1983; Beenstock and Warburton, 1991; Crowe, 2019).

While each decade had its own issues to contend with in the three counties, the 1931 census shows the first real decrease in women's employment even though national rates show employment gains in all industries. This means we can extrapolate that the decrease shown in the earlier general population report was due to out migration, probably for employment purposes. Similarly, Cumberland and Berkshire's population rates follow a similar employment trend for women – a decrease in 1931 and 1951.

Unfortunately, the 1939 employment census inquiries were not carried out or are unavailable due to WWII, so we can only go by the cumulative reports showing the general populations, but we can deduce that increases were due to war work and migration due to evacuation (Todd, 2004a). We find that the data is less clear due to the inability to delineate between general domestic servants (indoor) and those related to food production for much of the study period. While the tables below do give a general overview of the variation in region and gender within each classification, the disparity in defining such classifications over time makes a direct comparison difficult. Because of this, in the 1931 census, we were only able to use the sub-section 'Domestic Servants (Indoor)' since there was no specific entry for Cooks. In 1951, the subsection 'Domestic Servants (Indoor)'- 'Cooks' and 'Kitchen hands' was available for reference. In Table 2, cooks and kitchen hands have been separated under the total shown for 1951 to show the difference between the two classifications. Likewise, males and females in each county are listed to show how the occupation title ambiguity can skew the data, as shown clearly in the 1931 numbers, which included restaurant workers, domestic servants, cooks, waiters, etc.

*Table 2: Employment numbers for Personal Service workers, 1921-1951*

	Berkshire		Cumberland		Westmorland		England	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>1921</b>	4148	19934	1536	11401	566	4828	339944	1676425
<b>1931</b>	1688	16657	264	8670	163	3778	78489	1332224
<b>1951 (total)</b>	561	3181	219	1701	85	562	51314	319530
<b>cooks</b>	347	1839	143	686	43	329	32135	121960
<b>kitchen hands</b>	214	1342	76	1015	42	233	19179	197570

Source: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

As such, for the purpose of this section, the 1951 census provides us with the most comprehensive comparison, as ‘cooks,’ ‘kitchen hands’ and ‘makers of food’ are all clearly defined and listed. In Figure 14, it was found that in Berkshire and Westmorland, the greatest employment is in the ‘cooks’ category while ‘kitchen hands’ just barely override ‘makers of food’ in Cumberland. Of the three, Berkshire has the greatest total numbers employed within the food industry, predominantly in the domestic service sector, while the distributive trades listed under Makers of Food show the lowest rates across the board. It is due to these different classifications that we discuss restaurant workers, professional cooks/kitchen hands, and domestic cooks/kitchen hands, as well as home cooks and grocery workers in Chapter 5.

Figure 14: Female employment numbers in 1951 in England and case study counties



Source: (University of Portsmouth, 2017e)

We found that there was no differentiation between the domestic and professional cook as it resides in the census reports, since the term is defined as “persons preparing food for consumption in public or private,” yet the socio-cultural perspective showcased in cookbooks often portrays “female chefs...as caregivers and domestic workers; [while] male chefs [are] linked to masculine traits such as having scientific knowledge, professional skills and hardworking success” (General Register Office, 1960; Chen *et al.*, 2020). This pervasive social imagery of food service workers is one of the key reasons we looked at how women were portrayed in the cultural media materials in Chapter 5.

At the same time, women were, on average, employed within the Professional fields at higher rates than any of the other three sectors nationally, including for Food and Nutritional Sciences (FNS) and Agricultural Sciences (see Chapter 5 discussing new scientific research options for female employment).

*Table 3: Employment demographics, England, 1921-1971*

<b>1921</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Agriculture	1,076,558	72,463
Food, Drinks, and Tobacco	184,658	97,985
Professional Occupations	285,308	337,483
<b>1931</b>		
Agriculture	1,024,786	47,078
Food, Drinks, and Tobacco	159,111	72,976
Professional Occupations	333,543	365,805
<b>1951</b>		
Agriculture	881,843	87,219
Food, Drinks, and Tobacco	141,363	81,083
Professional, Technical	676,871	492,723
<b>1968/71</b>		
Agriculture	407,650	90,190
Food	376,780	242,280
Professionals	899,230	1,579,420
Distributive Trades	1,272,990	1,338,940

Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

It is at the onset of WWII that we see a shift in both the gender and structure of employment numbers across industries as shown in Table 3 above. The working age for males fell between 16 and 64, and for females, between 14 and 59, both of which were in-line with the school leaving age at that time. Gowing (1972) explains in her distribution of labor force research, that women were often only considered as half-a-working-unit as compared to men. This aligns with the mostly casual or seasonal nature of women's work as described in the census reports and the discrepancy between wage rates between the sexes (Todd, 2004b; Hart, 2007; Culliney, 2017).

While there is no formal definition, the food sector covers all aspects of food production and sale, and when placed into the context of this chapter, we are referring to the production, sale, and utilization of food from the consumer perspective (i.e., the gardener, grocer, and cook) and those jobs associated with each task (Sadiku, Musa and Ashaolu, 2019). While such a definition might seem arbitrary, its

function is meant to cover the producers' and processors' sectors of the food industry which we shall discuss in Chapter 5.

Following this line of reasoning, we contend that the food sector should be argued from the perspectives of 1) food production for the household, 2) for communities' welfare, and 3) for the commercial public. While the household and community welfare aspects have typically been defined as feminine in nature (especially when one looks towards the domestic servants that worked in the home kitchen), the professional chefs found within the commercial public sphere were (and are) still predominantly men<sup>12</sup>. There is also the continued issue of classification confusion within the National Employment census data, as what classifies as 'food sector' changes over time (Hill, 1993; Higgs, 1995; Higgs and Wilkinson, 2016).

For example, in 1921, 'Makers of Food, Drinks and Tobacco' are listed as one category, while in 1931, the sections were broken up into three sub-sections, allowing us to limit our search to only 'Makers of Food'. The census data for 1939 was not available at all and the 1961 data was only available as part of the Standard Industrial Classification as defined in 1968 as part of the 1971 census reports (University of Portsmouth, 2017d). This broke down the classification into 'Food,' leaving the matter of drinks and tobacco production outside the purview of this research. An additional report by the General Register Office in 1960 does however break down 'Makers of Foods, Drinks, and Tobacco' into:

- bakers and pastry cooks,
- butchers and meat cutters,
- brewers, winemakers, and related workers,
- food processors,
- and tobacco preparers and products makers.

It also lists 'Service, Sport and Recreation Workers' in which restaurateurs, waiters and counter hands, cooks and kitchen hands are included (General Register Office, 1960; Chen *et al.*, 2020). It is interesting to note that bakery and pastry cooks are listed under Makers of Food while general cooks are listed under Service Workers. This is probably due to the end-product of a baker or pastry chef being a single use item available for purchase from a designated shop (such as a bakery or grocer) while a cook would be employed as part of a restaurant or in a domestic environment. So, while we know which types of occupations fell under each category, we do not know how many individuals were specifically employed within each category. To find a rough estimate, we can refer to the general employment records from

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<sup>12</sup> In 2013, the House of Commons found that only 18.5% of Britain's top chefs were female (Chen *et al.*, 2020).

each occupational classification as shown below for England and the three case-study counties in Tables 4-5.

*Table 4: Employment numbers for Food, Drinks and Tobacco workers, 1921-1968*

<b>Food, Drinks and Tobacco</b>			<i>From 1931 - 1961, only the sub-section "Makers of Food" was used.</i>					
	<b>Berkshire</b>		<b>Cumberland</b>		<b>Westmorland</b>		<b>England</b>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
<b>1921</b>	3295	670	979	1265	241	166	193482	100594
<b>1931</b>	1860	521	581	1006	144	163	140363	55570
<b>1951</b>	1457	400	705	932	172	182	124425	60879
<b>1968</b>	3440	1470	2780	2570	770	360	376780	242280

Source: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

*Table 5: Distribution of Labor Force of Working Age per '000's*

	<b>June 1939</b>	<b>June 1940</b>	<b>June 1943</b>	<b>June 1945</b>
<b>Working Population:</b>				
Men	14,656	15,104	15,032	14,881
Women	5,094	5,572	7,254	6,768
<b>Total</b>	<b>19,750</b>	<b>20,676</b>	<b>22,286</b>	<b>21,649</b>

<b>Group II Industries: including Agriculture</b>				
Men	4,096	3,902	3,686	3,7624
Women	587	716	1,341	1,429
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,683</b>	<b>4,618</b>	<b>5,027</b>	<b>5,191</b>

<b>Group III Industries: including Food and Drink</b>				
Men	6,387	5,373	3,430	3,368
Women	3,744	3,863	3,431	3,384
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,131</b>	<b>9,236</b>	<b>6,861</b>	<b>6,752</b>

Derived from: (Gowing, 1972)

Group II Industries (which includes Agriculture) and Group III Industries (which includes Food and Drink) were predominantly made up of women (Gowing, 1972)<sup>13</sup>. During WWII, the mobilization of women had a few qualifications. The main one being those girls under 19 (lowered from 20), women with husbands in the Forces and Merchant Navy, and women with household responsibilities, could not be transferred

<sup>13</sup> Group II covers agriculture, mining, national and local government services, gas, water, and electricity supply, transport, and shipping, i.e., broadly the basic industries. Group III covers food, drink and tobacco, textiles, clothing, and other manufactures, building and civil engineering, distributive trades, commerce, banking, and other service.



away from home for war work. This meant more single, part-time women were called upon to move about the country, especially for organizations such as the Women's Land Army (see Chapter 3).

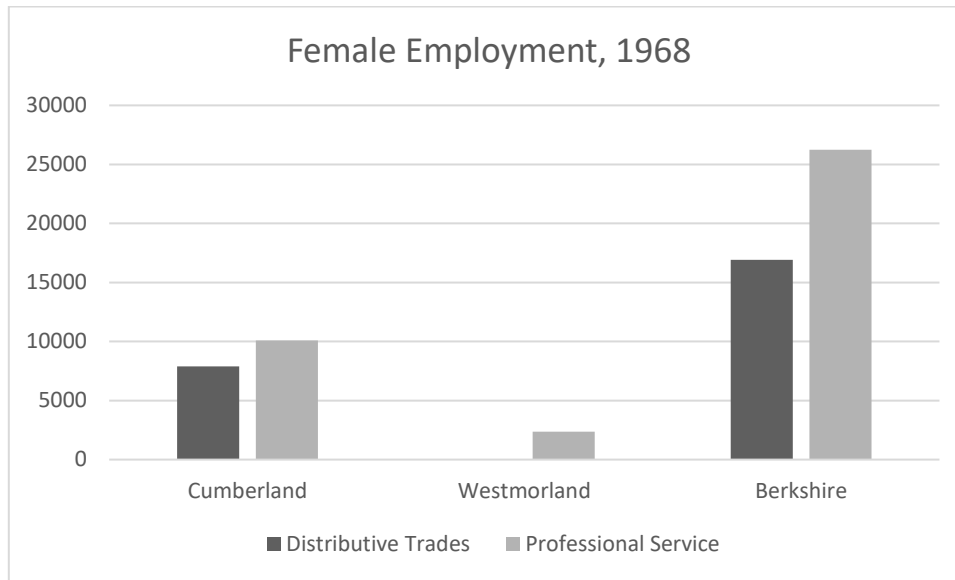
Conscription of unmarried women and childless widows (20-30 years old) was introduced in December 1941 - although women were allowed to choose between the Auxiliary Services (Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF), Women's Royal Naval Service (WREN), and the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS)), industry, and civil defence (Gazeley, 2008)<sup>14</sup>. By January 1942, the Employment of Women Order required women to obtain their employment through a Labor Exchange with women aged 20-30 required to undertake some form of National Service and older women required to register for civilian employment (from 1942-1943). However, by October 1942, the Ministry of Labor still listed a supply versus demand gap of nearly one million workers (Gazeley, 2008).

As Table 5 above shows, the six-years of WWII brought new areas of access for women into technological or scientific industries, but almost immediately after, there was a sharp push-back from the public for women to return to the home to take care of children and is generally attributed to a lack of jobs available for returning service members (Hussey, 1997; Bullock, 2002; Santana, 2016). This can be seen in the 1951 census reports, previously mentioned, which show the second primary decrease in female employment during the case-study period.

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<sup>14</sup> From July-December 1943, the Auxiliary Services were considered full, and no registrations were taken and women with children under 14 years old were not required to register.

Figure 15: Female Employment, 1968



Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

Note: There were no listings for Distributive Trades in Westmorland on the 1968 census.

By the 1968 census (Figure 15), Personal Services had been replaced with Professional Services, and Distributive Trades had been added showcasing the increase in middleman positions for the growing Post-War industries (Anderton *et al.*, 2011). Distributive trades listed women who acted as wholesalers or distributors between the industries and the retailers. We posit that this mid-level supply chain position is where middle-class women with higher skill sets (such as professional degrees or training) were slotted after the war (see Chapter 4) (Robinson *et al.*, 2017; Moss, 2019). In Berkshire, we see a much higher quantity of employed females in these distributive and professional sectors compared to the other two counties, which we can assume to be based on transportation needs to London and higher densities of shops in the south-east which correlates with population numbers (Berkshire Records Office, 1946; Wood, 1981). The three case-study county population and employment charts let us organize the rest of our research into distinct fields of inquiry, while the general England data helped to categorize the following legal and political sections.

#### A BRIEF HISTORY OF U.K. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND POLICY, MODERN VS. HISTORICAL

Now that we have an idea as to which employment sectors were key in the case-study counties versus national rates, and a base-line to the numbers of women employed in each, we need a better understanding of where the Government comes into play in regards to agricultural policies that may have affected such employment (Structural level), as well as the forms of production such labor may

take (Social-Interactional Level re: paid/non-paid labor) as per our FIGS framework. Currently, agriculture is just entering what is popularly being called its fourth revolution - defined by an increased focus on precision or technologically intensive high output, aka. sustainable production. As such, a marked debate over the actual number of changes in agriculture the U.K. has seen, their impacts on the general public, and those involved in the Agri-Food sector at large is now occurring offering an opportunity to include inclusive policy development into the overarching discussion (Barrett and Rose, 2022). Broadly speaking, there is a case for a period between 1520-1739, wherein agricultural production in the U.K. doubled, another large jump from 1800-1850, and the period post-WWII (roughly 1950 to the late 1980s) often referred to as the Green Revolution (Prothero, 1912; Thompson, 1968; Jackson, 1985; Overton, 1996; Allen, 1999; DeGregori, 2004).

Such production increases were due to the creation of the four-course rotation, a fledgling stockbreeding sector, and the inclusion of turnips and clover in the first, the popularization of mechanical mowers and reapers in the second, and genetic alteration and chemical fertilizers in the third (Hunter, 1939; Chambers and G.E. Mingay, 1966; Thompson, 1968; Overton, 1996; DeGregori, 2004). While the first revolution saw a population boom, and the second improved diets, the third set the stage for high input, high output agricultural production (this is the period this thesis discusses). At the same time, some form of agricultural policy can be found in the previous revolutions, agronomist A.W. Ashby (1939) argues that it was the establishment of the Development Commission in 1910 with its intention of government promotion of rural life and agricultural welfare that saw the beginning of the third<sup>15</sup> revolution (Kew, 2022). The Commission's implementation of smallholding policies and cooperative agricultural supply markets, along with the extension of tenant rights (1908) and improvements in breeding, agricultural education, and scientific research, including health and sanitation, he argues, were the key concerns of the various policy inquiries in the 1910s and 1920s (Ashby, 1939; Crowther, 1939; Fryer, 1939; Orr, 1939; Stapledon, 1939; Venn, 1939). These concerns in turn led to new understandings in nutrition, animal breeding, and the creation of the new field of agricultural economics, as well as others.

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<sup>15</sup> Ashby's notation of 'third' here contrasts with the more general notations by Jackson, Overton, and Allen all referencing the period of 1950-1980 as such. However, if one goes by the effects of the period (improved diets versus high input/high output), then his classification - which includes increased worker welfare and rights, health, sanitation, and education - makes sense.

Likewise, societal concerns were discussed, especially amongst social reformers of the day, regarding the poor quality of farm laborer housing, nutrition of rural families, and wages and earnings, especially at the outset of WWI (Schupf, 1974; Rossiter, 1980; Bailey, 1984; Cook, 2012). By 1917, agricultural policy changes set minimum prices for products and wages for laborers, which offered hope to the agriculturalists of the period, though they were quick to find that what was needed was not a price floor, but a price cap, something current economists found during the COVID-19 and BREXIT situations as well (Orwin, 1939; AHDB Horizon, 2017; OECD, 2020; Workie *et al.*, 2020; Valle, 2021). Likewise, the new technologies of fertilizers, breeding techniques, and mechanization, showed such increased yields that they lowered the number of farm laborers needed, causing a “reduction in the supply of labor, the increase in wage-rates, and the experience of wage-regulation and some conditions of labor,” off-setting the agricultural depression of the 1920s and 1930s for some and exasperating it for others (Ashby, 1939).

Additionally, WWII, which lasted from 1939 to 1945, saw the introduction of a Food and Supply Sub-Committee (1936), County War Agricultural Executive Committees (CWAECs), the reintroduction of the Women’s Land Army (WLA), agricultural productivity gains, changes in rural infrastructure, and scientific and technological initiatives that moved production, distribution, and consumption into the current age of high-input agriculture (The National Archives, 2022a). It also streamlined the supply chain moving food from farm to fork and increased social awareness on the previously ‘invisible’ people involved in such production (Harris, 1992). This thesis takes these key points and expands upon them, looking at how educational and material culture can be used to explain the noted policies and evaluate their effectiveness.

## HISTORICAL FEMALE AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT TERMINOLOGY, DUTIES, AND COMMUNITY LINKAGES

Though the total number of the population employed in agriculture was relatively small in comparison to other industries, the role the agricultural laborer played was vast<sup>16</sup>, especially during the lead up to WWII and during the war years when Britain’s food supply was under threat (Beard *et al.*, 2014). While out-migration during the Interwar years had drastically reduced the number of skilled laborers working the land; ultimately, conscription into the services did not help the labor shortage. One of the concerns

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<sup>16</sup> In 1931, the national census showed a total of 1,172,256 persons employed within agriculture in England and Wales. Of those, 55,683 were female, barely 1% of the total and together, agriculture accounted for only 6.2% of the total employed population and 14.7% of the rural economy (Golding, 1937).

during this period became rural infrastructure, which lagged its urban counterparts (Gould, 1987; Boyer and Hatton, 2002; Hart, 2007). Rural worker housing would become the crux of many of the Governments' employment schemes, including the Land Settlement Association, which we will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3 (von Braun, 1995; Arnall, 2021).

The lower employment rates were partially due to the repeal of the Agriculture Act in 1920, in which the House of Commons had decided Part 1 of the Act (that which guaranteed prices as a continuation of the Corn Production Act) would be withdrawn without the previously agreed upon four-year's notice to farmers. Likewise, the wages board, whose job was to regulate farm wages, was also removed and Agricultural Ministers were "authorised to revoke these sections of the Act at once, and to bribe the farmers into acquiescence by offering, for the current harvest only, a payment for each acre of wheat and oats, the total sum to be smaller than the expected deficiency payments for 1921-22 under the guarantees" (Whetham, 1974). This meant farmers were not only losing money on every acre of product, but that farm workers had to contend with a lack of employment in general, and where available, a decrease in salary in addition to higher prices on foodstuffs in the grocers due to lack of supply. This 'betrayal' and the subsequent decrease in employment opportunities can be seen in Figure 16, which shows a decrease of around 7% between 1921 and 1931, and a total of 16% for agricultural workers across the U.K. from 1921-1951.

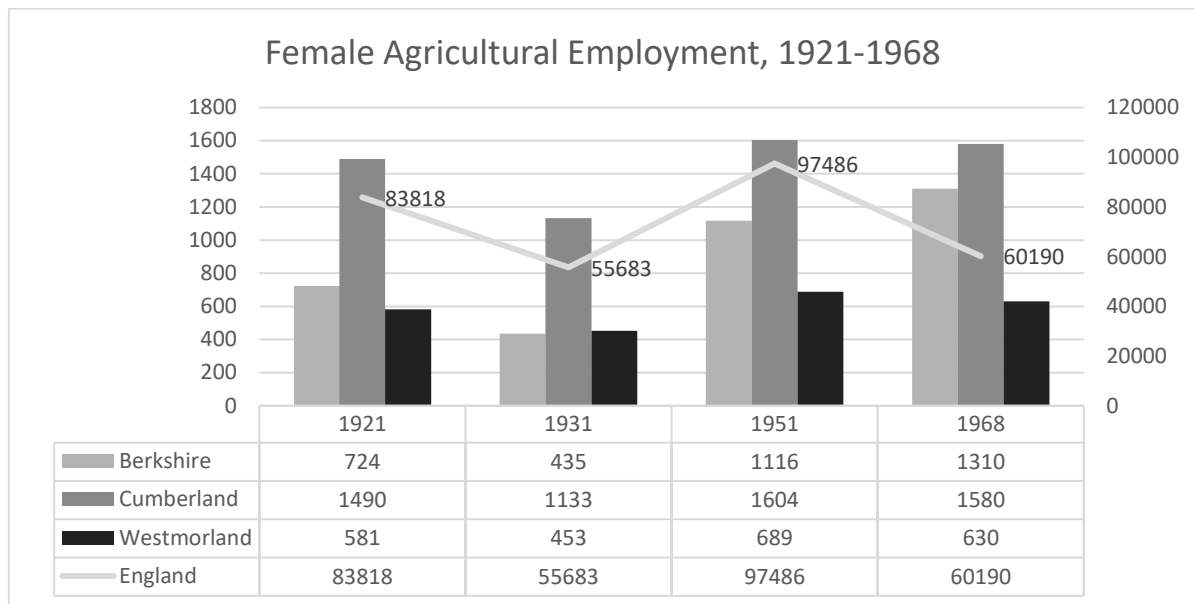
*Figure 16: Agricultural employment by gender England, 1921-1951*



Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

Between 1921 and 1968, the total number (male and female) employed in agriculture dropped from 1,255,115 to 467,840; a decrease of almost 63%. For women, the number is 28%; a trend that matches the county data below in Figure 17, although certain counties had higher proportions of female agricultural employment than others.

*Figure 17: Female agricultural employment, 1921-1968*



Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017d)

Westmorland, whose numbers were never higher than 700 employed women, had the smallest agricultural employment rates between the three case-study counties. This is interesting considering that Westmorland, a predominantly hilly and upland farming area, had the largest farms in regards to acreage. However, for animal grazing (not dairy), large numbers of employees are not needed as much as on arable or horticultural farms, where harvesting would necessitate more hands being on-site. Such was the case in Westmorland (Bailey and Culley, 1805; Crowe, 2007).

At the same time, Cumberland had the greatest total number of women employed, even though Berkshire had the greatest proportion of workers (male and female) over the period (grand total of 210,000 versus 55,675 in Cumberland and 23,933 in Westmorland) (University of Portsmouth, 2017d). This is partially due to the main economic activity in each county and the size of the counties from a population standpoint (Fairbank, 1939; Arnall, 2021).

In regards to wages, we find a discrepancy between the attitudes of farmers utilizing paid female labor and unpaid female family workers in the Northern counties. Namely, paid female laborers were

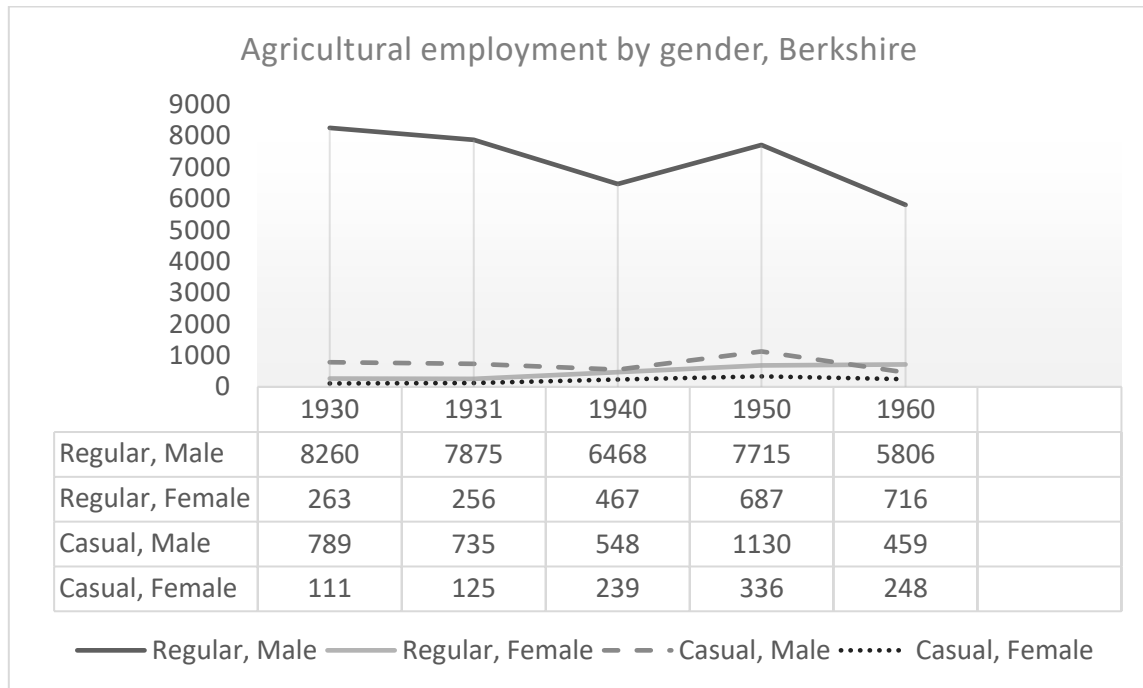
considered less desirable, even though the CWAECs and Women's Committees pressed that female labor was better than no labor and that "90% of farm labor could be done by women . . . though the more muscular work such as filling manure carts would require men" (*Kendal Mercury*, 1915; Crowe, 2008)<sup>17</sup>. While period literature limits female labor to less physical duties, in the practical sense, female farm servants participated in a variety of tasks and a young female servant could be found doing domestic work such as cooking, cleaning, and washing, or farm work such as tending small animals in the farm yard and working in the dairy (Verdon, 2017). Not all women were excluded from field work, as hoeing, picking of horticultural produce, loading dung carts, harrowing, and potato scrubbing were tasks that women were often called upon to complete (Verdon, 2009). Ultimately, tasks would have been delineated firstly by gender and secondly by availability of labor.

A look at the historical agricultural employment records (Figures 18-20) shows two primary trends: 1) men disproportionately outnumber women in full-time agricultural employment and 2) agricultural employment in general was decreasing over the study period. It has been inferred within the literature that women traditionally made up seasonal or part-time workers, which would not have been listed in the June census results. It has also been noted that higher rates of mechanization and low agricultural wage rates led to reduced employment needs by farmers and interest by laborers (Whetham, 1970; Bullock, 2002). Regular and casual female rates saw an increase post-1931, while male rates dropped in all three counties. This is most likely due to the general decrease in agricultural employment opportunities and the lower pay that women received for their work. The increase during WWII, and the corresponding decrease post-war, correlate to the national statistics as men returned from the war and new technologies were being introduced on farms. In Berkshire, we see that male workers still dominated agricultural employment, and that female labor was more closely aligned with casual male labor rates, while Cumberland and Westmorland's rates are almost identical in scope, if not in totals, and show the same trends between the counties; an interesting aspect considering Cumberland's higher percentage of mining industry (6,840 Cumberland vs. 530 Westmorland in 1961) and Westmorland's focus on agriculture (Office of National Statistics, 2022c, 2022b).

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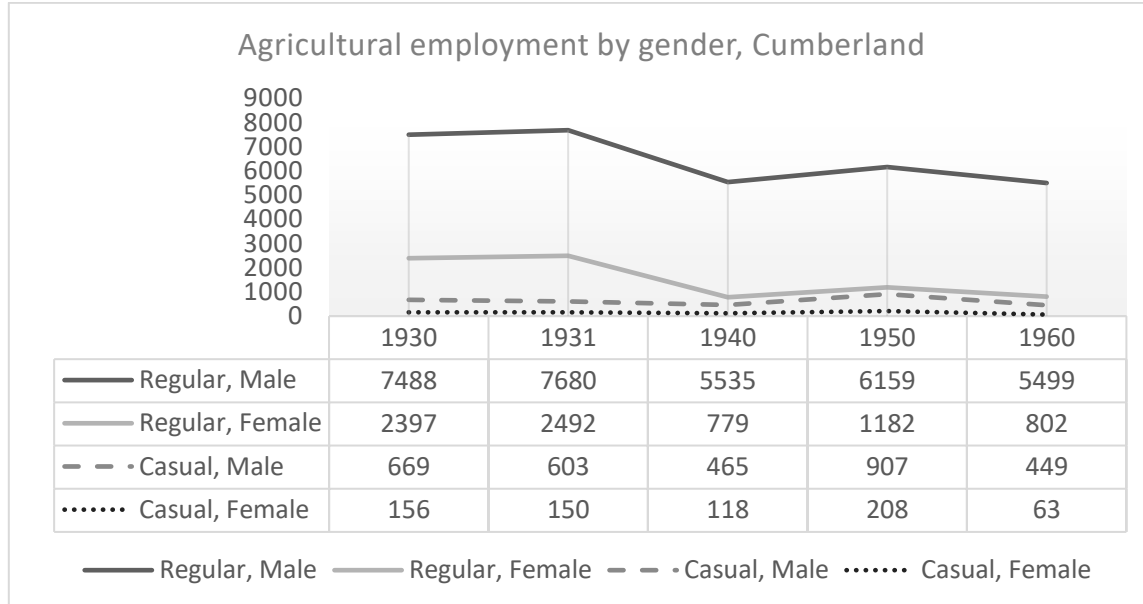
<sup>17</sup> Quoting Col. Weston MP County Committee.

Figure 18: Agricultural employment by gender, Berkshire, 1930-1960



Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

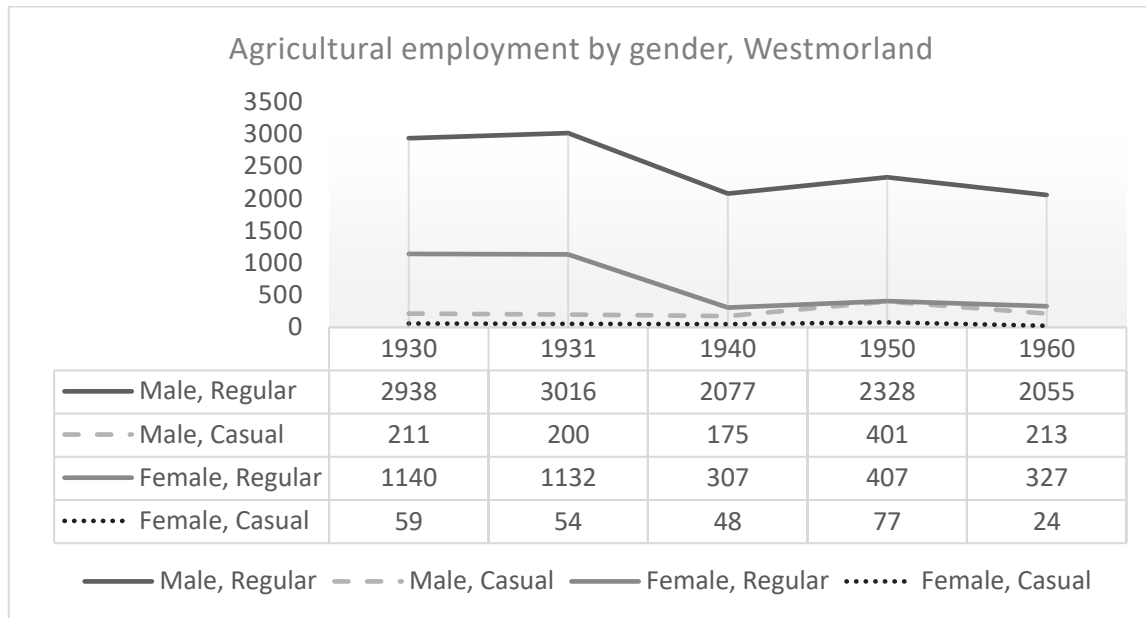
Figure 19: Cumberland agricultural employment rates by gender, 1930-1960



Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)



Figure 20: Westmorland agricultural employment rates by gender, 1930-1960



Derived from: (University of Portsmouth, 2017b)

Regional differences regarding female agricultural labor were predominantly owing to historical hiring traditions and variations in employment contracts between men and women. For example, in Northumberland, women were initially engaged as part of a hind's<sup>18</sup> contract, which stated that one woman (or boy) was bound to work whenever the farmer required it at a rate of "1s. a day in harvest, and 10d. a day at other seasons...while other females of the family received 10d. or 1s. a day generally, and 2s. 6d. in harvest" (*The British Farmer's Magazine*, 1842). The rate break was due to the hiring of an entire family for a contracted term (typically one year) and the non-cash benefits that the primary male laborer received for his families' labor. Mr. Grey (1841), of Dilston, explains that "each man....is provided with a cottage and small garden upon the farm, free of rent, for himself and family...[while] wages...are chiefly paid in kind...either in money, or partly in money, partly in grain." The goal of the hind system was to assist in supporting household economics by supplementing the low farm wages paid to males by offering their spouses or dependent sisters an opportunity to work periodically (Todd, 2004b). While the agricultural depressions of the 1920s and 1930s saw a decline in the hind system, the tradition shows that women were an integral part of the agricultural sphere as well as the agricultural community at large, although their labor was often undervalued when compared to their male counterparts.

<sup>18</sup> 'Hind' is a term for farm laborer as found in the northern regions of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and the other Border and Lake District counties of England.

While the hind system was predominantly utilized in the north of England, contract work was found throughout the country (Verdon, 2017). Hiring fairs were a large draw for both employers and potential employees. “The East Yorkshire constabulary reported that the fairs were attended by up to 13,000 men and 6,300 women in the 1860s” (Verdon, 2017). Female servants were hired on similarly to men’s contracts; however, termination of contracts was different, as females were required to give one-month’s notification, whereas men did not. For farmers, wages and contracts were set for one year (or for 6 months for laborers). Higher wages could be negotiated if the farm work was behind schedule (due to inclement weather, etc.) or if there was a scarcity of labor. Dwindling numbers of women laborers were frequently noted throughout the Victorian period as new, lower-labor positions (such as secretarial work) became available (Verdon, 2017). From the worker’s standpoint, a farmer’s reputation and how they engaged in the hiring process often became a key point in negotiations. Farmers who were “ill-tempered, rough in his manners, and above all, illiberal in his table”, often had problems securing labor (Verdon, 2017).

One lingering, if often overlooked, aspect of the 1880s Votes for Women campaign was the societal acknowledgement that women were no longer the property of their husbands or father. That they had the right to work and be paid for that work, and that their finances were their own to do with as they pleased found a primary voice within the 1870 Married Women’s Property Act; an act which basically gave them back the rights they had before marriage (British Library Learning, 2018). Female work at the time was largely considered subsidiary to their daily duties within the home. Often referred to as ‘pin-money’, pre-industrialization women’s work was often seasonal and part-time (Digby, 1974). As changes occurred post-industrialization and more women were pushed into the labor market a “negotiated outcome between the forces of capitalism and patriarchy” occurred relegating women into second-tiered, lower-paid labor (Digby, 1974). It should be noted, however, that the ‘negotiated outcome’ Digby describes is only applicable to middle- and upper-class women. Lower-class women (both married and single) had often been employed as factory workers (most notably in textiles), domestics, and laundresses, etc. due to necessity (Thorn, 2005).

Likewise, female farm servants were often listed as domestic or personal servants, instead of as agricultural workers, leading to an obscuring of the real work they were required to perform, minimizing their contributions to the Agri-Food sector, and over-exaggerating the importance of domestic service that we see in the census reports. National averages also obscure regional variations. In Cumberland and Westmorland, rural agricultural rates saw decreases around 38% in workers between 1871 and 1911

(British Parliamentary Papers, 1905, 1919b)<sup>19</sup>. Such a reduction worked for the benefit of those laborers, both male and female, that were available, with some wages increasing between 10s to 30s for the half year (*Westmorland and Cumberland Herald*, 1913b; Crowe, 2008). In addition to the hiring fairs in Penrith, Whitsun, and at Cockermouth in Cumberland, female labor was in such demand that the Labor Exchange was opened to female servants and farmers began advertizing in the local press and employment agencies (*Westmorland and Cumberland Herald*, 1913a; Crowe, 2008). Similarly, speakers at the Cumberland and Westmorland Chamber of Agriculture noted that lower wages found on farms in the south drew laborers they considered “physically unfit” and that higher wages were worth it if they produced the desired results in employees (*Westmorland and Cumberland Herald*, 1914; Crowe, 2008). Farm servants who lived onsite would have also been less costly to employ from a cash-only standpoint, as part of their pay would have been taken out in room and board. Village women who lived away from the farmhouse were often part-time or casually employed, while on-farm family members would have been engaged in farm work while they lived at home. Such familial labor would have changed the employment ratios if they had been taken into account (Crowe, 2008).

We find higher percentages of women employed in regions where tradition held firm, such as on the large, isolated, arable farms of the Northeast. These areas relied on the hind-system, a pattern that held throughout the 1920s and 1930s. On the other hand, the remote, small-farms in areas such as Southwest Wales relied on domestic servants for farmyard activities instead of hiring in (Verdon, 2009)<sup>20</sup>. A report from Cumberland and Westmorland from 1927 explains that:

It is common in the area to advertise for girls for the farm house who are capable of helping with agricultural work and ability to do so is expected of those who are engaged at the half-yearly hirings. Although it is not now quite so general as formerly for these workers to do work outside the house, their duties on most of the farms comprise all kinds of dairy work, including butter making and cleaning utensils, feeding calves, pigs and poultry, milking (frequently, however, confined to harvest time and other busy periods), helping with the hay harvest and

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<sup>19</sup> BPP 1905 highlights the higher wages paid to workers in the pastoral regions of the north as a result of the competition for labor from industry.

<sup>20</sup> Such activities would have included dairy work, stock rearing and yard work which accounted for 36.6% (1921) and 20.7% (1931) in Northumberland vs. 5.7% (1921) and 2.3% (1931) in Hereford (Verdon, 2009).

with thinning of crops. Agricultural operations may occupy as much as half their total hours of work (Verdon, 2009).

The term 'girl' is used extensively in the period literature. This is due to the typical school leaving age for young women prior to 1921 being set at 12-years-old, and 14-years-old thereafter (Todd, 2004b; Nakagomi, 2016). Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, almost half of the female workforce (45%+) was around 24-years old and single due to the convention of limiting female employment to unmarried, childless women. Considering that the average age of a women's first marriage during this period never fell below 25-years old, it helps to explain why the average working age was just below it (Todd, 2004b). This meant the average female worker was younger than her male counterparts, which limited her opportunities to more manual work, such as domestic service, and set the cultural image of a female worker as young and untrained.

Another impact on labor was farm mechanization. The first economic research into cost analysis on farms occurred in 1913, with economists just starting to understand that the costs associated with tasks such as animal fattening were often offset by their production of manure for cereal crops. However, the heavy financial investment by farmers for the new mechanized farm equipment and chemical fertilizers of the period were not consistent with agricultural wages, making the expenditure of capital ill-advised for many farm owners and managers (Orwin, 1939). This may have been one of the reasons the Board of Trade Labour's *Gazette* showed an estimated 66,000 women replacing men in agriculture between July 1914 and 1916 (130,000 total employed females) (Board of Trade Labour, 1916). While this number was predominantly due to male conscription during WWI and general labor shortages, another aspect could have been the lower wages paid to females, which meant a farmer's budget could go further during a period of unrest (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1916)<sup>21</sup>.

Regulation of wages was first implemented by the Corn Production Act of 1917 and was put into place to manage production levels on British farms, although this particular Act had its own internal constraints and was abolished in 1921 and then reinitiated in 1924, coinciding with the agricultural depression of 1920-21 (Dale, 1939). These government regulations during and post-WWI attempted to alter traditional farming practices to enforce more regulatory controls over farm management and its composition, as well as the wages of its labor force. The first being the Agricultural Wages Board of 1917, which set the minimum agricultural wage at 25s./week for males and averaged 23s./week for

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<sup>21</sup> This report is interesting as it discusses the U.K. in regards to trade agreements and global contexts.

female agricultural workers (Mejer, 1951; Howkins, 2003)<sup>22</sup>. Such wages were nationalized in 1921 for farm labourers at £2 6s. 0d./week for adult men working 50 hours in the summer and 48 hours in the winter, but this too was not equal across the country and some regions set both the rate and working hours annually. By 1923, the rate was reduced in some regions to £1 4s. 7d./54 hours work week. Strikes occurred in regions such as Norfolk with an eventual compromise of £1 5s. 0d./50 hours, with 6d./hour overtime between 50-54 hours/week and double-time for rates over 54 hours/week (Thrisk, 1978).

For women in agriculture, pay rates were considerably lower than other industries, however, where a minimum rate for men had been previously set, they were equivalent and on average (Crew, 1989). During the sixteen years following the Agricultural Wages Regulation Act of 1924, there is a clear increase in earnings of agricultural workers (up to 40%). Contrarily, rising employment rates did not correspond to rising wages, as the average agricultural laborer was still only receiving 28s. vs. 57s. as averaged across the other industries in 1924. The combination of low wages, long working hours, hard physical labor, and low social standing made female agricultural employment less desirable than town or city jobs. Researchers like Verdon (2009) and Culliney (2017) suggest that coupled with the agricultural depressions in the 1920s and 1930s, such low wages led to much of the migration of the rural young to urban centres. This is countered by Burchardt (2012), who argued that middle-class counter-urbanization may have offset these rates, at least regarding the shift away from rural agricultural economies, and contends that as established middle-class families spread out to the new peri-urban areas in between the city centers and the rural communities, they often sought to promote the local image and, though they personally maintained connections to urban centers, they pushed for a more localized meaning of gentrification within their new communities. One must question though, if such gentrification was to the benefit or detriment of the communities themselves and how valid is an outsiders' construct of local identity?

Unfortunately, Burchardt does not have an answer to such questions, but Little and Austin (1996) discuss how women might fit into this question. They argue "that the rural idyll is instrumental in shaping and sustaining patriarchal gender relations" and that it incorporates, both consciously and unconsciously, "strong expectations concerning aspects of household strategy and gender roles and consequently impacts on the nature of women's experience within the rural community" (Little and

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<sup>22</sup> Wages were raised to 46s. a week by the mid-1920s for male laborers. From 1925-1939 the average rate for female laborers was between 5d. to 6d. per hour with 48 hours in winter and 54 in summer on average equalling 20-27s./week.

Austin, 1996). In their estimation, a woman's connection to *family* and *community* are the two primary drivers of their understanding of and inclusion in the rural community. Family life seems to be distinguished by freedom and safety, yet the reality is that oftentimes the isolated nature of rural homesteads minimizes such activities. Likewise, women's capacity for work outside the home is dependent on non-existent childcare options, the ability to get to the workplace, and the perception that other members of the communities might have of them leaving their families to work. "It would be a bit isolating here without kids. Everything is organised through kids ... children give you a legitimate presence in the village (East Harptree resident)" (Little and Austin, 1996). From the community aspect, the traditional perception of a rural community as 'friendly,' 'supportive,' and 'caring' was the key differentiation between rural and urban life. The community had a clear identity which encouraged, sometimes to the point of exclusion or violence, a specific set of traditions and activities by the populace and that not participating in such activities could end in an individual or families' exclusion from community life:

...the relationship between women's involvement in social/fund-raising activities and the rural community [follows t]heir participation... [and] was encouraged partly by the scale and accessibility of the activities, but more importantly through the belief that not only was it expected of them as members of the community, but that it was also part and parcel of what 'rural life was all about' (Little and Austin, 1996).

Such 'localism' involves an inherent distrust of anyone perceived as being 'other' or outside the community. Some have argued that any marginalization is therefore due to this perception, while others have argued that, especially for those of a different ethnicity, it is simply racism (see Chapter 3) (Garland and Chakraborti, 2006). Here, the discussion focuses on the "compelling pressure towards conformism" found within the more traditional communities (Giddens, 1994). Whether this 'othering' has a time limit, remains to be seen.

Legislatively, the depression of the 1920s was compounded by the collapsing 'staple industries' (textiles, iron and steel, ships, and coal) found within the peripheral counties of the north and Wales. Additional shifts in trading patterns from the Atlantic towards Europe and the growth of manufacturing, engineering, and consumer goods in the south and east, and service activities such as commerce, banking, finance and the Government, increased rural depopulation and under-development as labor

moved from rural communities to urban centers and led to overpopulation in these areas during WWII (Bachtler, 2004).

## A DISCUSSION AROUND FEMALE WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT TRENDS AND CONCERNS WITHIN THE AGRI-FOOD SECTOR

One of the key take-aways from the historical and modern records is the rather limited scope for potential new entrants. The rising cost of land and expenses often limits new farmers, and the scope of their required labor and knowledge is still rather oversimplified in the research (Leveson-Gower, 2023). Therefore, it is necessary to expand upon our comprehension of the Farm to Fork (F2F) mentality, and the potentialities for the Agri-Food workforce itself, if we are to enact long-term change. The limitations of women's potentialities to work outside the home is made more difficult in rural environments, where employment options are few and far between for both males and females (Todd, 2004a). As mentioned, modern historical literature shows that women often had to find work arounds to such limitations. Hovorka (2006) and Galiè *et al.* (2015) describe how smaller livestock can be kept closer to the house allowing women to manage poultry, pigs, and small dairy animals without the need for large tracks of land, something the historical literature backs up (Bradley and La Mothe, 1903). Local community plots, such as allotments, also offer easier access to the market place, the assistance of neighbors, and residential supply chains, limiting storage, refrigeration, and processing spaces (Buckingham, 2005; Diver, 2020). Livestock too is a key issue in the literature, although in many contexts, the animals are acquired through non-market channels of inheritance, gifts, and development projects (Westholm and Ostwald, 2020). This is more likely in developing countries, with smaller livestock enterprises being purchased by the women themselves in the U.K. context (Campbell and Ewing, 2019).

Though the modern historical literature has often discussed the uneven wages rates for women, and their place within the agricultural workforce (including their marginalization when male labor rates were high), this in-between role of distribution remains less well explored (Hogg, 1967; Wood, 1981; Fallon and Lucas, 2002; Howkins and Verdon, 2009; Sharpe, 2020). Likewise, the inclusion of consumer purchasing power and specifically female purchasing power, has been limited to specific consumer goods or regions, mostly decorative goods found within probate records (L. Weatherill, 1988; Shammass, 1990) or around the concept of public-private spheres and with a distinctly feminist slant (Abbott, 1917; Byles, 1985; Rose, 1988; Matthew Hilton, 2002). Here the question revolves around trade union

activities, the politicalization of certain goods and services (free-trade being one), and safety (mostly around fraudulent items or harmful chemicals) (Howe, 1997; Hunt, 2010; McMahon, 2011).

## SOCIAL REPRODUCTIVE LABOR AND THE COMMODIFICATION OF HOUSEWORK

We have mentioned paid and unpaid labor briefly and will return back to it in Chapter 5, but the discussion around social reproductive labor and the commodification of housework needs to be brought up at this point due to modern concerns within gender mainstreaming. Many current political structures in the U.K. include some form of gender mainstreaming – that is, placing the responsibility of equal opportunities on all peoples and organizations – using Human Resource Development (HRD) practices. HRD was originally founded for employee advocacy, with its primary role being to facilitate humanistic development and change within an organization. Yet current HRD practices are coming under increasing criticism for forcing a capitalistic and masculine rationality and therefore reinforcing the patriarchal hegemony it was originally designed to challenge (Knörr, 2005; Bierema, 2009; Singh, 2019; Callahan and Elliott, 2020).

The definition of HRD, “a process of developing and unleashing human expertise through organization development (OD) and personnel training and development (T&D) for the purpose of improving performance” has been criticized as being white male dominant (Swanson and Holton III, 2001). The main argument being that employees are encouraged to promote traits often associated with males, those being aggressive, assertive, controlled, objective, and strong. The most notable training for these traits being in the fields of sales, marketing, and politics, and found most frequently within performance reviews by HR managers (Knörr, 2005; Bierema, 2009). The other side of this argument is that feminist traits would fall under emotional experiences such as sensitivity, connections with others (i.e., networking), practicality, and idiosyncrasies (Code, 1993; Bierema, 2009). While it is not the intent of this research to argue for or against this interpretation, the researchers’ own experiences as an HR Manager in the United States leads us to acknowledge that current HR practices in the Western World often have double standards of what is appropriate behavior in the workplace (Johansson, 2019).

The commodification of workers, which values the output of labor only, additionally subjugates those ‘feminine’ traits and limits the value of the worker to their output, not only dehumanizing them, but making it easier for companies to replace them without thought. As such, the rise of women’s paid labor and the commodification of housework, is one such way to evaluate HRD from a historical perspective. This ‘social reproductive labor’ is known to be “shaped and reshaped in a complex interplay between



economic, social, cultural and technological factors” (Huws, 2019). Huws (2019) proposes six different paid vs. unpaid labor typologies, those being subsistence, servant, capitalist service, public service, capitalistic production, and consumption work which are incorporated into the FIGS framework, and which are described below in Table 6:

*Table 6: Paid vs. Unpaid Labor Typologies*

	<b>Types of Labor</b>	<b>Actors</b>	<b>Paid/Unpaid</b>
<b>Subsistence Labor</b>	Performed outside the market that produces direct use values for the household and community, i.e., cleaning, cooking, harvesting, tending animals, teaching children, participating in socio-cultural activities.	Family, Social institutions, Neighborhood	Unpaid
<b>Servant Labor</b>	Labor that is directly employed by an external household structure, such as cleaning, cooking, childcare, or on farms, as harvesting, or husbandry for hotels, private residences, or farms.	Social networks/peers, Neighborhood	Paid
<b>Capitalist Service Labor</b>	Labor for companies aiming to make a profit from selling their services.	Social networks/peers, Neighborhood	Paid
<b>Public Service Labor</b>	Labor for companies who provide value service (not-for-profit). These often include the Government, religious bodies, charities, and other Non-Government Organizations (NGOs).	Neighborhood, Social institutions	Paid
<b>Capitalist Production Labor</b>	Labor for companies aiming to make a profit on labor-saving devices that replace subsistence labor (i.e., dishwashers).	Social networks/peers, Neighborhood	Paid
<b>Consumption Work</b>	Labor performed to access goods and services from the market.	Social networks/peers, Neighborhood	Unpaid

Note: Derived from (Huws, 2019)

The focus on paid vs. unpaid, especially around the gendered division and distribution of housework, has long been a favorite of social scientists. Bianchi *et al.* (2000), Mannino and Deutsch (2007), and Braun *et al.* (2008) discuss how household labor is still predominantly divided by biological sex and how current changes in the labor market mean women are spending less time in the house than they were in decades past. Erickson (2005) takes this a step further and looks at how gender affects, and is effected by, emotional aspects and the difference between male and female constructions of self from a gender perspective, while Docka-Filipek and Stone (2021) suggest periods of transition, such as the COVID-19

pandemic, exacerbate women's mental load when contending with housework, family, and employment constraints. Berk (1985) and Ferree (1990) take a gender constructionist<sup>23</sup> approach to gender identities and Brooke (2001) looks at the division of labor regarding class. In addition, Barker and Burrige (2013) look at health claims in women's magazines and Sparks (2017) looks at the rise of FNS in interwar colonial British Africa.

Winkler *et. al* (2009) notes that the smaller tasks of household management, such as paying bills, is more equitably distributed than the larger tasks, such as cleaning and cooking. "[S]ocial historians interested in gender issues", Neuhaus (1999) quotes from Joan Wallach Scott, "[want] 'to understand the operations of the complex and changing discursive processes by which identities are ascribed, resisted, or embraced, and which processes themselves are unremarked, indeed, achieve[d by] their effect because they are not noticed.'" This leads into the four main dimensions of food security as prescribed by Howland, Le Coq and Acosta (2019): availability, access, utilization, and stability being the main ways that female empowerment and agency are shown through a woman's ability to make strategic choices around these resources. This link between food security and personal efficacy is one of the key reasons this research looks at employment, education, and nutrition, and why we focus on availability of resources, access to education and employment, utilization of available items, and how all of these impact or mitigate market shocks.

## FEMALE EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP TRENDS

There are three types of access specific to women in Agri-Food: access to employment (Chapters 1 and 3), access to education (Chapter 4), and access to food (Chapter 5). Women's access to education in the U.K. has been of particular interest to Victorian and Edwardian scholars. Much of the research describes the differences in policy development, class differences, etc. (Sharp, 1971; Marphatia and Moussié, 2013; Opitz, 2013; Nakagomi, 2016; Carpenter, 2021), however, the most interesting discussion around the changing structure of the U.K. educational system comes from Müller, Ringer, and Simon (1987) who compared the systems found in Germany, France, and England over the period from 1870-1920. In their opinion, the period showed an increased association in the relationship between vocational training and higher education (HE), though they denied that such change was brought about due to economic need, instead citing social justice as the primary cause. In this way, they argued that it was the social

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<sup>23</sup> Gender constructivist states that certain behaviors being applied to specific genders is a social construct; ex. boys play with trucks, while girls play with dolls.

reproduction and cultural capital that the entrants into the system had in addition to the higher educational credential that offered better access to higher occupational and social positions and perpetuated social hierarchies.

In their opinion, three primary features, 'systemization,' 'segmentation,' and a 'generalist shift in trade schools,' showcased the most prominent changes over this period. *Systemization*, developed by Müller, discussed the eventual merger of smaller schools into larger, more structured, and very hierarchical institutions. Such institutions followed a top-down approach, especially in funding access. Ringer's concept of *segmentation*, further split the institution into 'tracks,' where both the curriculum and those students who had access to them, were differentiated by social class. Departmental division alone was not enough, but by attaching social classes to the departmental access, a clear social difference was attained. On the other hand, Ringer also discusses how a *generalist shift* in vocational programs in existing schools or, more commonly, in separate technical institutions, was attained by increasing course requirements to include a more well-rounded educational requirement. This was mostly due to teacher and parent requests.

Simon's research into systemization and segmentation in England specifically focused on the 1850s and 1870s Educational Acts (see Chapter 4). He noted the prevalence in 'classical' education for the upper classes and how industry influenced the curriculum of the 'modern' lower subjects. Likewise, he noted how school leaving age was tied directly to the quality of the school and the movement of students into universities (First class schools, leaving age 18), business and professional careers (Second class schools, leaving age 16), and vocational careers (Third class schools, leaving age 14, primarily for the sons of small farmers, shopkeepers, and artisans). The key concern with their research was the almost exclusive look at boy's schools. While 'systematization,' 'segmentation,' and a 'generalist shift' are most assuredly able to be applied to female education, designing a theoretical framework along one gender does limit the intricacies of the research material (Martin, 2008). Although our research found that all three primary features were incorporated into co-educational programs around Agri-Food in the U.K. (Chapter 4).

Such limitations were one of the drivers behind feminist scholars focusing on the hidden history of women by looking at their experiences as a direct opposite of mainstream (male) history according to Tosh (2006). By the 1980s, a shift moving away from 'women's' studies to 'gender' studies occurred. Women were not a separate category, but an intricate commentary on class, race, culture, and religion,

and the story was not complete until the relationship between males and females, and masculine and feminine could be discussed in an inclusive whole. Discussions over gender as “an invitation to think critically about how the meanings of sexed bodies are produced, deployed, and changed” became the primary way gender historians formatted their inquiries and commentary over hidden prejudices and assumptions within historical dialogues (Joan W. Scott, 2008; Nakagomi, 2016). Something this work continues.

Debates around gender and war work, and the intersection of State interests with societal needs, brought the invisible nature of farm wives and daughters to the forefront when discussing the limitations of familial succession, as well as women’s roles within rural communities (Berg, 1991; Todd, 2004a; Howkins and Verdon, 2009; Wall, 2009). While women and girls offered ‘free’ labor within tenant farming families through the hind system, their promotion within family farm succession was still reduced (Howkins and Verdon, 2009; Humphries and Weisdorf, 2019).

One individual a while ago was looking at succession opportunities for their business and we spent the whole time talking about one of this individual’s sons who was neither eligible nor suitable to farm the holding. It wasn’t until we got to the end of the conversation that he mentioned he had a daughter. The daughter lives on the farm, worked on the farm, was involved on a daily basis and was certainly passionate about it and [when] I said why haven’t you considered her for the succession and he just said ‘because she’s my daughter’ -Farming rep 3 (Nye and Loble, 2021).

Such a comment is not unusual. Globally, women account for 43% of the agricultural labor force with their labor often “exceed[ing] that of men, and includ[ing] a higher proportion of unpaid household responsibilities related to preparing food and collecting fuel and water.... [I]nvariably[,] women are overrepresented in unpaid, seasonal and part-time work, and the available evidence suggests that women are often paid less than men...for the same work” (SOFA Team and Doss, 2011). Such exploitation becomes worse during periods of conflict or when market shocks affect entrance and employment in the marketplace and is one of the key impetus for this research during COVID-19 (Walsh *et al.*, 2022).

The FAO stated that the largest discrepancy between male and female agricultural labor, and a key issue when discussing policy development, is that rural women are responsible for a complex web of household and field/farm work (SOFA Team and Doss, 2011). Their activities include production of

agricultural crops, managing livestock, processing and preparing food for household consumption and sale, cottage-industry activities such as handicrafts for market, caring for families, collecting fuel and water, off-farm work, and maintenance of the homes themselves. As such, many of these activities are not considered to be 'economically active employment,' but part of the social capital inherent in their femininity. It is assumed that rural women are responsible for the maintenance of their households in addition to their required contributions to the rural community through socio-cultural interactions and philosophies, many revolving around their children (Little and Austin, 1996; SOFA Team and Doss, 2011). The fact that women both produce and care for the workforce, and are they themselves members of said workforce, cannot be emphasized enough and is a key theme of this research.

As Mrs. Luise Hynard (1945) from Kent states, "we should be well advised to retain these girls in the agricultural industry, for they are made of the real good stuff. They should develop into the wives and mothers of farmers." Her comment reminds us that the female farm workers were in a higher propensity to become the wives of farmers (compared to women moving from the towns for that purpose), and therefore it was within the rural communities' best interests to accept and encourage women into active farm life. The second part of Hynard's comment discusses training and that appropriately trained women would become a force in and of themselves *if* investment was made in them, creating a more useful labor market for the agricultural community (Bessant and Hynard, 1945). It is the junction of employment, rural policy development, and education that this research lies, and the primary reason why early 20<sup>th</sup> century England was chosen as our case-study. WWI and WWII saw the increase in non-farm trained women employed on farms, an increase in scientific understanding that, when coupled with government price controls and increased specialization of agricultural education, changed the way women were linked with food that is still found a hundred years later in the public psyche.

## SUMMARY

This chapter started the discussion of the key aspects of women's legal and employment rights during a period of rapid change and the challenges faced when doing historical research over a longer period of time. We mentioned how paid labor has been associated with the notion of personal property, how rurality limited access to trade unions and potential employment. How rural women and children were expected to 'earn their keep,' even under limited employment opportunities, and how gender has been linked to how society sees certain roles and behaviors. We saw how in the pre-study period, the major concern for the Government around women was their potential for politicized action, militancy, and

maintaining class hierarchies. That the Interwar period was dominated by unemployment and agricultural depression and that the North West of England had more internal migration than the South East, which saw migratory patterns moving from rural to urban for the young and lower class, and counter-migration for the middle/upper class. The access to urban centers in London for Berkshire being the largest draw for rural residents. This chapter also discussed how issues around terminology necessitated the cross-disciplinary nature of the research, something we will review in more detail in Chapter 2 and how, by looking at the case-study counties versus national rates at this point in the research, we were able to identify distinct fields of inquiry into access issues around employment, education, and food, while allowing the national rates to assist in categorizing the political and legal discussions that we then evaluated for effectiveness. In the next chapter, we shall look at the various methods, tools, and underlying methodologies used within this research, along with the issues and reasoning behind them in more depth.

## CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY, METHODS, AND TOOLS

In this Chapter, we begin with a review of the literature around the chosen research methodology - that being a concurrent, mixed methods, post-positivist triangulation - as well as our rationale for the use of such in material culture analysis. It is clear that there are gaps in the traditional sources (such as the census reports). As such, it is our goal to mark those gaps and locate additional resources that can assist in establishing linkages to fill them, creating a more holistic viewpoint and interpretation of the historical period. The thematic analysis of the materials selected, as well as the depth of research methodologies (political discourse analysis, gender critical historical literary analysis, gender critical material culture analysis, photo analysis, and ethnographic analysis), were specifically chosen to establish not just a baseline of comparison, but an understanding of the motivations and long-term consequences of the relevant political-socioeconomic aspects. Each tool is discussed in detail from an evidential standpoint, as well as any specific theories that were utilized. Finally, a discussion on the ethical considerations and research limitations of working with an elderly population and collection limitations during the COVID-19 pandemic are addressed.

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: LITERATURE SURROUNDING THE CONCURRENT, MIXED METHODS, POST-POSITIVIST TRIANGULATION

This thesis' original theory and hypothesis was that WLA employment created more agricultural jobs for women, this deductive reasoning was based upon the pervasiveness of the universal premise of usefulness of the WLA in the media and the organization's primary objective - agricultural employment for women. What the research found, however, was that the strength of the popular coverage (both in the historical media and in the modern popular psyche), overemphasised certain factors and underemphasized others, leading to a much more complex network of drivers and barriers in place for women's access to Agri-Food employment at the time. This necessitated reevaluating the initial inquiry and adding in additional, divergent sources and methods.

Most research is often simplified to either deductive, inductive, or abductive reasoning<sup>24</sup>, especially within the linear, deductive quantitative (QAUN) fields, while qualitative (QAUL) research typically focuses on circular, inductive reasoning. Yet social-science hermeneutics, i.e., interpreting social events

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<sup>24</sup> Deductive reasoning always follows from general or universal premises and is based upon the truthfulness of the statements being provided, inductive reasoning involves a generalization based upon observances, and abduction through forming conclusions based upon what is known.

through the experiences of the participants, requires the use of all three, which is the format that this research needed to cover the complexity of the final research inquiry (Reichertz, 2004; Gibbs and Owens, 2013). As Baur (2019) shows us, the modern interpretation of research approaches follows that a hypothesis is initially derived from a selected theory (deduction) and that research is then collected, data analyzed, and the hypothesis proven or disproven. This is the basic QUAN format, while QUAL theories use the induction method, which starts with the data and then figures out which theory works best based on the analysis. If no theories explain the data, induction fails and the researcher must create a new theory, i.e., abduction. Social Science Hermeneutics and Grounded Theory are the two primary research traditions which “explicitly stress the necessity and importance of abduction, especially as it is the only way of really creating new knowledge” (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Reichertz, 2004; Baur, 2019). In practicality, most research, especially new research, touches on all aspects, through an initial inquiry question (deduction) or a set of data (inductive) and then, as the research progresses, any outliers or unusual results necessitates the creation of an abductive reasoning, which is why all three have been marked in Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill’s (2009) Research Onion below (Figure 21), though specific inquiries may fall to one side or another depending on the question.

Traditionally, research methods in the natural sciences and social sciences and humanities have diverged into QUAN in the previous and QUAL in the later. However, economics and specific sections of sociology utilizing QUAN approaches are the most common (Strijker, Bosworth and Bouter, 2020). The division is still found in modern research, even though as early as 1895, natural scientists were asking for a unified format of research between the two fields of thought, although the debate between positivist and interpretivist ontological approaches remained (Durkheim, 1895). The movement towards reintegration between the two fields saw a breakthrough in 1966 with the concept of triangulation of qualitative and quantitative research (Webb *et al.*, 1966). As Flick explains (2002), “triangulation...[is] the combination of different methods...[and] is less a strategy for validating results...than an alternative to validation which increases scope, depth and consistency.” Hence the interest from researchers looking to explain complex ideologies, such as personal motivation, policy development, or social inquiries.

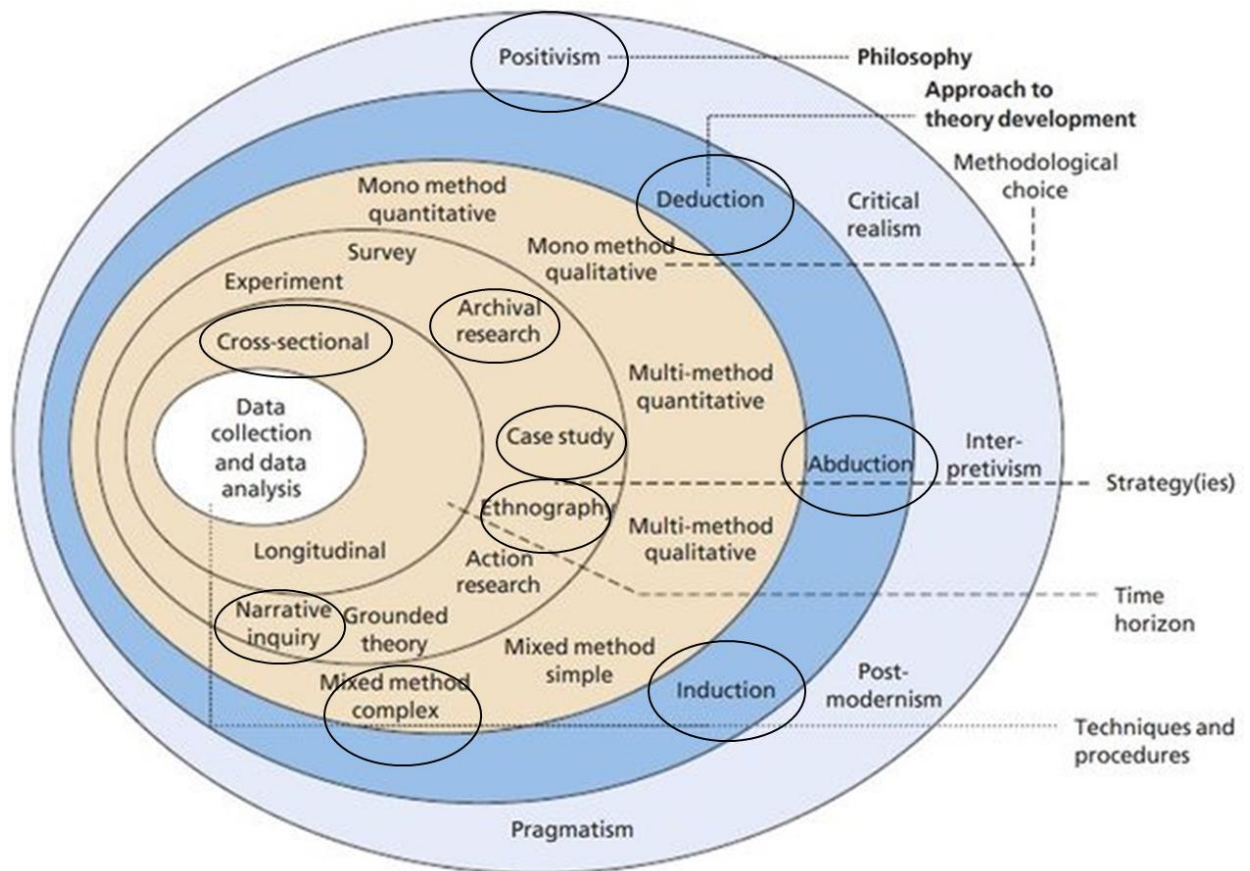
The discussion over research methodologies is also prevalent in the field of Rural Studies, where in the 1990s, qualitative research was gaining momentum within rural geography research. According to Cloke (2006), rural studies is “an amalgam of social science disciplines,” at the crossroads of “the agro-food and rural and regional restructuring dynamics.” Its relationship to economics, geography, and sociology lends itself to an interdisciplinary format in both research question and in methodological



underpinnings; what has been called mixed methods research (also known as emergent or multiple methods) (Flick, 2002; Creswell and Clark, 2007; Denzin, 2010). Mixed Methods Research (MMR), like its triangulation precursor, “combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration” (Schoonenboom and Johnson, 2017).

Though pervasive in the social sciences, mixed method review and synthesis are some of the least developed of the review methodologies. The combination of quantitative and qualitative evidence is both subjective and complex and has to-date been poorly articulated (Noyes *et al.*, 2019). Mertens *et al.* (2016) has identified that while MMR holds the potential for addressing ‘wicked problems’, i.e., those that are complex and multifaceted, Rittel and Webber (1973) remind us that such problems are never fully solved but “at best ... are only re-solved – over and over again”. Hence the need to constantly re-evaluate and redress research as the discussion itself often stimulates new ideas and the addition or subtraction of methodologies to a specific question will bring forth new answers (McChesney, 2021). The issue surrounding using different philosophical positions (and/or assumptions) shows up in the traditional triangulation theory design, where one method is used to validate another method’s outcome, however, in the modern content, triangulation has evolved into a way of approaching a question from differing perspectives at different stages of the research to obtain the most thorough insight into the phenomenon in question (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955; Strijker, Bosworth and Bouter, 2020). On the other hand, MMR focuses on deeper understandings of generalized results (typically in QUAN research) by creating generalizations of QUAL data, such as is often found in interviews. The use of MMR then, is to take a holistic view of the problem at hand while triangulation offers a way of bridging divergent research fields (Bigler *et al.*, 2019). The combination of the two theories (triangulation and MMR) was decided upon to use the qualitative material to gain a more holistic interpretation of the influences and connections between the historical reports, policies, and practices in place at the time. Even within MMR, however, there is the need to establish if the research shall be qualitatively or quantitatively driven or fall somewhere in between, the latter of which occurs in this research. This is the primary reason for the initial use of the Research Onion below (Figure 21), which the researcher used to do an initial self-reflection followed by the literature review found in Chapter 1.

Figure 21: Researcher's selections on Research Onion



Derived from: (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009; Akimowicz *et al.*, 2018; Zolfagharian *et al.*, 2019)

Unlike the positivist and interpretivist ontological approaches noted by Durkheim, most mixed methods researchers typically fall within the realm of postpositivism, which argues that the researcher's experiences and identity influence their observations and therefore impacts their conclusions (Denzin, 2010; Farrow *et al.*, 2020). Understanding and accepting such personal biases and attempts to mitigate them are some of the issues that arise with this type of research, however, it also eliminates the paradigm argument over research methodology selection, especially when ethnographic research is involved. The inclusion of a phenomenological approach in ethnographic-based research, of which this thesis utilizes to some extent, was selected to understand the "social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of [the] people involved" (Welman and Kruger, 1999). Since a key component of this research is the understanding of why certain policies were put into place and their effect on the

Agri-Food sector from the viewpoint of those employed within such a sector, the personal perspectives are a necessary aspect to review (Neubauer, Witkop and Varpin, 2019).

*Figure 22: Overview of researcher's methodological selection influences*



A phenomenological approach was chosen for this research for two reasons. The first being the researchers' educational background, which while based in anthropology and museum studies, has been tempered with years as a secondary school educator and a Higher Education background in historical agriculture, agricultural science, and agroecology. Likewise, the researcher is an avid cook and gardener who researches historical cooking to develop novel methods in food cultivation and preparation used to mitigate climate change issues. The combination of education and personal interest encompasses a variety of theoretical foundations in different disciplines, all of which have a core philosophy of personal perception and experience altering the comprehension of an inquiry, i.e., 'what I've lived through alters my philosophy and beliefs about the topic' (Figure 22).

The second reason this approach was chosen was due to the nature of the available QUAN data. Government policies are historically written by men, census reports often limited or ignored women and girls, and rural areas, wages, education, employment, etc. all had either inherent or intrinsic biases in place, some through culture and some through official policies (Byles, 1985; Worsnop, 1990; Bertocchi, 2011; Sayer, 2013a; Chaney, 2015). Likewise, the census reports perpetuated the concept of productive, capitalistic labor as it related to the market, and unproductive, home-based labor, which was the typical

domain of women and children (Hill, 1993). As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall (2018) have written, “the accepted sexual division of labour had become permanently enshrined in the census which itself contributed to the equation of masculine identity with an occupation.” As such, there was a need to have the QUAL contextual personal experiences of women during the different periods of time to offset, or legitimize, the public opinion (as shown through media sources) as well as validate the available literature. For instance, as part of the Women’s Land Army reports, official documents were reviewed for employment records (QUAN) along with ethnographic research through oral interviews (QUAL) about the women’s experiences. The results were then combined with public wage and employment results (QUAN) to contextualize the implications government policies were attempting to put into place (QUAL-QUAN). By contextualizing in this manner, the intersectionality, or lines of influence between the various topics, can be observed.

Intersectionality is referred to within the social sciences as a mixed methods format and is often used when the data shows gaps in continuity or influence, with influence being defined as an “idea or theory containing various conceptual elements and at the same time an indicator variable that measures characteristics or traits... [often in regards to] persons and activities in society” (Juma and Sitienei, 2020). This definition is more robust than that found in political or economic sciences and less aligned with the gains such influence might have, focusing more on the alterations in behavior that the process attempts (Jones, 2011). Simultaneously, it was chosen due to the limited nature of the archival and contextual data available. Such limitations were firstly due to the material not being available because of COVID-19 restrictions and secondly, because the material was never created in the first place or found during the period the research was examining.

The different forms of QUAL data collected through interviews, observations of the material culture reviewed, and the collection and interpretation of government, social organization, and personal documents, and the combined QUAL-QUAN data, have their own methodological assumptions, which also needed to be considered, the combination of which becomes exceedingly problematic when discussing such a complex issue and noted by both Silverman (2005) and Flick (2002). For example, discourse analysis, which we use to analyze the cookbooks and recipes found in Chapter 5, “presumes that accounts are socially constructed, while traditional interview formats assume that interview accounts give a definitive version of reality” (Silverman, 2004; Denzin, 2010). Though the books are not interviews, they are social concepts, since they were selected to showcase a specific community, such as

the WI in each case-study county. Such subaltern<sup>25</sup> communities have the benefit of being semi-self-contained, allowing for a cross-sectional view of a specific subgroup, however, by their very definition, they also showcase a counter nationalized or politicized viewpoint of the general populace (Worley, 2018). This allows the researcher to discuss both the culture of the group and the culture of the larger society from that groups' perspective. To maintain an even balance, and to establish what the larger society thought/promoted, we have included government sponsored recipes and 'national publications' to give a view of those foodstuffs being promoted for public consumption across the nation. This 'them/us' format is used for each of the case-study methods.

Part of the MMR debate rests with the inclusion of Science- or Evidence-Based Research (SBR), which began in the post-1990 period and involves "the politics of evidence" (Denzin, 2010). An example would be schools with more funding have higher completion rates or low-income communities have higher rates of crime. For social science research, SBR reintroduced the QUAL/QUAN debate and even in our current MMR period, many researchers still pull to one side or the other. An alternative framework called mixed methods interpretivism "insists that stakeholders be involved in the give and take of conversations involving how and why certain things work and ought to work...bringing expert knowledge to bear on a situation" (Howe, 2004; Denzin, 2010). Here, interpretivism can be found within the research aspects by looking at policy development and effects of such policies through the various actors found within the FIGS framework and is also the format we use in our suggestions for current government policy development within our discussion in Chapter 6, although, without having stakeholder engagement in the traditional sense (many of the creators of the WWII policies being deceased), there is a limitation for interpretivism at this stage. We attempt to mitigate such issues to some extent by the inclusion of the ethnographic interviews.

## RATIONALIZING POST-POSITIVISM FOR MATERIAL CULTURE ANALYSIS

One of the benefits of researching from a museum or archive is the great variety of sources one has available to them. The Museum of English Rural Life, in Berkshire, was the primary research center for this thesis, and as such, access to their collection of written, visual, and material items, offered an immense collection for this research to work with. The vast array of materials available was one of the drivers behind looking at women's impact on agri-food through a post-positivist viewpoint. Post-

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<sup>25</sup> A subaltern is someone with a low ranking in a social, political, or other hierarchy. It can also mean someone who has been marginalized or oppressed (Vocabulary.com, 2023).

positivism tells us that where we stand can affect what we see and can, in fact, alter our understanding of a situation by the introduction of new material for us to review. In effect focusing on our account of reality rather than on reality itself, or, put another way, a person's concept of reality is based on their educational training, perceptual capabilities, and for researchers, their research experience (Fischer, 1998). The goal then, is to understand how these different elements come together to shape the often-competing discursive views around a specific topic. Such a viewpoint is defined as post-positivism coherence theory and focuses not on the debates around the specific inquiry, but on the underlying assumptions that organize the empirical data often found in neo-positivist viewpoints begetting the inquiries themselves (Deininger, 1995).

In political science, an example of post-positivism coherence theory could be the product of census data reports showing the number of women working in agriculture. As we've mentioned previously, by having the census taken during a period of low agricultural employment needs, the numbers of workers drop, which skews the data. Understanding the seasonal nature of the timing of the reports gives us a viewpoint into one assumption, while looking at the Parliamentary debates over the need to have women workers, gives us another look into the patriarchal viewpoint perpetuated within the Government itself. A neo-positivist would stop at the census data, but post-positivist coherence theory looks at the census data and asks: why? "Instead of understanding these beliefs as the empirical outcomes of intersubjectively reliable tests, the post-positivist sees them as the product of a chain of interpretive judgments, both social and technical, arrived at by researchers in particular times and places" (Bernstein, 2011).

In this way, having diverse research experience becomes a useful skill for the researcher as a background in only agricultural economics or food and nutritional sciences limits the ability of the researcher to shift between divergent narrative formats and epistemological frameworks. My early university training was in Anthropology, with an emphasis on Archaeology and Religious Studies. In my HE years, I have trained in Agroecology, Organic Agriculture, and Agricultural Economics and Marketing. I also have extensive work experience in the educational realm as a teacher, in an administrative credentialing agency, in history museums, and in human resources, public relations, and marketing. This personal experience, coupled with divergent training methodologies, allows me to jump from one methodological research format to another and is the main reason for the inclusion of material culture analysis (QUAL) along with the empirical data driven evidence (QUAN) found most frequently in the economic and political sciences.

Material culture analysis (MCA) refers to the interpretation of the relationship between people and their belongings and includes the manufacture, history, and preservation of those belongings. Examples might be clothes, machines, writings, art, buildings, etc., and is based on the philosophy that society is grounded in the objects it creates and uses (Derbyshire, Hicks and Lunn-Rockcliffe, 2019). Material culture also includes social organizations, languages, customs and traditions, religion, arts and literature, forms of government, and economic systems, and while these have *non-material* aspects, such as ideas and philosophies, it is the *material* aspects often left by past societies that offer insights into the daily function of the society as well as the non-material aspects that may have influenced the society (Derbyshire, Hicks and Lunn-Rockcliffe, 2019). For example, cooking materials showing a lack of pork products may lead to the interpretation that there was a taboo on that product from a religious or government organization. Here, the cooking pot is the material culture and the taboo the non-material.

Part of MCA is the characteristics of the items themselves. The use of archaeometric analysis of the physical structure – size, shape, color, design, weight, volume, construction material, etc. – along with the temporal and spatial context are analyzed along with the etic and emic analysis (the item's attributes and the significance to those who used the item) to establish both the concrete data of the item itself and the role of the item in the society being studied (Grassby, 2005). Another words, the creation of a conceptual idea of the society itself. For our purposes, the inclusion of MCA into the MMR design allows the researcher to review the changes in the material quality of life from 1920 to 1960 and apply those changes to the policies put in place for our specific case-study group. Even though MMR is still relatively underutilized within agricultural economics, it is gaining popularity within the field of rural studies (Akimowicz *et al.*, 2018; Strijker, Bosworth and Bouter, 2020). One such use is in the evaluation of home design and the inclusion of electricity or the type of oven design to establish what types of cooking different communities incorporated as part of their social structure, which we use to discuss the Land Settlement Association (LSA) in Chapters 3 and 5 “the exteriors and interiors of homes reveal how people met the basic needs of food, shelter, and whether levels of comfort, privacy, personal security, and taste improved” (Grassby, 2005).

A glaring issue researchers struggle with in MCA is the durability of items. Items wear out, break down, are damaged beyond repair, or are simply lost to time. As such, the absence of a particular item does not necessitate the exclusion of the item in analytical inquiry. Physical objects are often viewed as less biased examples of human activity, simply for the fact that we can pick the item up and say ‘see, they used this.’ Yet it's the researcher's interpretation of the item, when no written or visual record of its use

is available, that leads to debate (Schlereth, 1985). For example, an often-found item from the WLA in WWII are the black work boots provided to the members. If taken out of context, one could say that the boots were so well made that they survived for almost a hundred years, or that more were made than were needed. However, the written journals of the WLA members state how uncomfortable the boots were and that no matter how much lanolin was added, the stiffness never really faded, causing many to abandon the use of them (Mant, 2012). It is the intersection of such physical and narrative material with the policy documents where the post-positivist resides. By analyzing both the physical item and the reasoning behind them, one can establish the socio-cultural usage and apply that use to the political and economic arguments this research offers up as mitigation techniques for imbalanced agri-food policy development.

## DATA SELECTION AND THEMATIC ANALYSIS

As noted previously, MMR is one of the least studied of the methodological trends. Therefore, it is useful to look at the types of materials selected for this research and where they fall within the different offerings. In the below Table 7, a general listing of the items selected are noted along with the research format (ethnographic, narrative, case study, observational, grounded theory, and discourse analysis) and the methodology that they were classed as (primarily QUAL, QUAN, or MMR/SBR<sup>26</sup>). The selection of data for this research follows an intracategorical complexity model of intersectionality<sup>27</sup> due to working on one particular social group (women within the agri-food sector) (McCall, 2005). In addition to time and access constraints (see below), we argue that categories need to be used at some point and in some capacity to assist in grouping similar research methodologies or analytical materials to make the researcher's job less haphazard in format.

We started with a list of key topics this research wished to cover: the Women's Land Army, Women's Institute, WWII, Inter-War Years, Agriculture, Food, etc., the time period (1920-1960), and geographical locations (England, Berkshire, Westmorland, and Cumberland) and did general searches on scholarly research articles culled from Elsevier, Google Scholar, SAGE, T&F Online, and Research Gate. From the initial output, additional research was located in bookstores, the Berkshire Records Office, Cumbria Records Office, the Library of Rural and Agricultural Literature (British Agricultural History Society), the

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<sup>26</sup> Solutions Based Research (SBR) is often found in the educational realm and focuses on "multiple pathways to goal attainment" (Seko and Lau, 2022).

<sup>27</sup> Intracategorical complexity, as used in this thesis, focuses on 'particular social groups at neglected points of intersection...in order to reveal the complexity of lived experiences within such groups' (McCall, 2005).



Museum of English Rural Life (Reading), Imperial War Museum (London), the History of Food and Drink in the Institute of Historical Research Library at the University of London, the Women's Library at the London School of Economics (LSE), Google Books, Parliamentary Debates, Mass Observation, as well as others.

These searches gave us the primary literary documents for some of the ethnographic and most of the narrative, grounded theory, and discourse analysis methodologies utilized. Additional material was captured through one-on-one interviews, material culture analysis, and census records (see Table 7 below showing QUAL/QUAN/MMR/SBR classifications).

*Table 7: Methodologies utilized and QUAL/QUAN/MMR/SBR classification*

<b>Methodologies Utilized</b>	<b>QUAL</b>	<b>QUAN</b>	<b>MMR/SBR</b>
<i>Ethnographic:</i>			
One-on-One Interviews	X		
Questionnaires			X
Archival Footage	X		
<i>Narrative:</i>			
Record Keeping-Sales		X	
Record Keeping-Employment		X	
Record Keeping-HE Completion Rates		X	
Record Keeping-Census Data		X	
Personal Journals	X		
Social Organization Journals	X		
Social Organization Meeting Minutes	X		
Government Organization Debates	X		
Government Studies			X
Educational Organization Journals	X		
Educational Organization Publications	X		
Newspapers	X		
Museum Artwork	X		
Government Sponsored Documents	X		X
Mass Observation Surveys			X
<i>Case Study:</i>			
WLA			X
WI			X
Higher Educational Schools			X

<i>Observation:</i>			
Material Culture Analysis	X		
<i>Grounded Theory:</i>			
Personal Journals	X		
Educational Organization Publications	X		
Newspapers	X		
Government Sponsored Documents			X
<i>Discourse Analysis:</i>			
Cookbooks			X
Recipes			X
MI Leaflets			X

The QUAL methodologies looked at the socio-cultural aspects of daily living, with a focus on access to employment and education. The questions focused on what types of training the women received, who taught them, and how were they taught? What types of work was available and at what rate of pay/hours of work? How did this affect their home life and the perception of their work from their friends, families, and society in general? The use of archival and contemporary images and objects combined with the interviews with subjects from the research period (five such were engaged) offered entry for visual and material culture to offset the QUAN materials found within government data of the census data, food and nutritional surveys, and ministerial debates (Derbyshire, Hicks and Lunn-Rockcliffe, 2019). In the following sections we will look at a specific research method, followed by associated tools, specific items of review, and commentary on their appropriateness.

## RESEARCH METHOD: GOVERNMENT REPORTS, CENSUS DATA, AND MINISTERIAL DEBATES

Official census data (both National and Agricultural) for the three location-based case-study counties were reviewed in addition to national rates (see Chapter 1). Located at the Cumbria Records Office and the Berkshire Records Office, as well as the MERL and LSE, the QUAN records were reviewed for the period of 1921, 1931, 1947, 1951 and 1961 when available due to legal regulations. Additional historical records covering the period of 1890-1920 were used strictly for a basic understanding of the regions' cultural and agricultural traditions, especially in yearly hiring practices and farm structure (see Chapter 1). While these records would normally be considered primary sources, we used online databanks from the University of Portsmouth's: *A Vision of Britain* (2017), which created data tables based on the official

records, making them secondary sources. This was mainly due to the legal rule that such demographic data is not available for publication until 100-years after the date of the census, which meant that during the research period, only the 1921 data was starting to become available (although this was limited by lockdown restrictions during COVID-19). Where possible, we compared the data to primary reports listing farm tenureship, employment and education, as well as food consumption and price indexes across the study period and regions through period publications, government reports, and farm/school/grocery records. There are, however, a considerable number of issues with both the agricultural returns, population/employment census returns, and government reports that were available.

During the Interwar period, employment enquires were made in October of 1924, 1928, 1931, 1935, and 1938, which showcased the average earnings per industry, but did not calculate hours worked until 1938. Changes in how wage enquires were made started with the annual reports in 1940 and 1941 and the biannual reports from 1942-1945. Additional reports were conducted in 1946 (in January, July and October) before a set pattern was established in April and October starting in 1947 coinciding with sowing and harvest seasons (Gazeley, 2008). Beyond the inconsistency in timing, further issues arise which make comparing the data difficult, namely, the exclusion of important sectors such as agriculture, coal mining, and domestic service; the revision of industrial classification; and the restriction of a single week during the month of collection. Similarly, the census reports classify occupations in a variety of ways and change over time as new jobs are created, merged, and reclassified. The primary classification system utilized within the census reports is the Cambridge Group Industrial Sector. These five delineations are broken down into 1) Agriculture, 2) Light and Staple Industry, 3) Professional, and 4) Unclassified or 5) Unoccupied (University of Portsmouth, 2017d). Of which agriculture and horticulture are listed in group 1, food service in group 2, and research/teachers in group 3.

Likewise, there is quite a bit of confusion in the census records and numbers fluctuate depending on which report you read. For example, the 1961 census breaks down occupations and includes classifications such as 'farmers-employers and managers', 'farmers-own account' and 'agricultural workers.' However, if you take the numbers and total them, then compare them to the report showing regular and casual agricultural laborers, the numbers are off by almost 2,000 just for the men as women are not shown on the 1961 census that is available (General Register Office, 1966). Therefore, it was decided to use the *Agricultural Census Generalized Categories for Farmworker* comparison tables for each county showing Regular and Casual Male and Females rates from 1930-1960 to get the closest

overall rates possible without the discrepancies found in the other reports (University of Portsmouth, 2017a).

## RESEARCH TOOL: DEMOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF ECONOMIC AND POPULATION REPORTS

Like Hussey (1997) and Howkins (2003), we argue that much of the labor found on agricultural holdings for women went unrecorded due to the often casual and seasonal nature of the work and the notion of productive and unproductive work mentioned previously, such as housework and child care<sup>28</sup>. As Higgs (1995) proposes, this is partially due to the issues surrounding the official census records, although the National Union of Agricultural Workers (NUAW) goes a step farther arguing that the statistics were “little better than guesses” (Verdon, 2009). The *Proceedings of the Agricultural Wages Act* in 1927, also acknowledged the problem of determining the classification of worker’s titles and regular or casual worker status, mainly due to the timing and ambiguity of titles such as ‘laborer’ (Ministry of Labour, 1927; Verdon, 2009; UK Parliament, 2018).<sup>29</sup> This begs the question, was a farm laborer a domestic servant on a farm or were they a field worker? Another concern is the limited number of females listed as head of household, be they married or single. For married women, often no work was reported, even if they did casual or supplementary labor outside the home, and those who assisted with family businesses were often underreported, if at all (Pycroft, 1994).

There is also the concern over the National Farm Survey of England and Wales (1941-1943) which chose to list only adult male workers instead of both men and women. As they explained: “the number of adult males was chosen in preference to total regular workers, including young men and women and girls, because it almost certainly represents more closely the number of family units” (MAFF, 1946b). While only showing adult male workers limits the quantity of reports created and processed, saving time and expense for the National Farm Survey reporters, it also limits the potential of showing the amount of work carried out by women and children. An investigation into the feasibility of using the National Farm Survey in research was completed by Taylor, Walford, Short, and Armitage in 2012. They compared the National Farm Survey to Geographical Information Survey (GIS) aerial photography of the parish in Hamsey, East Sussex and found that the totals for crops and grass shown in the June 1943 Agricultural

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<sup>28</sup> While both men and women participated in seasonal or casual agricultural labor, the census reports often only featured males, limiting the data available for females in part-time work.

<sup>29</sup> The 1924 Act, which attempted to establish minimum wages for farm laborers, was repealed in 1948 with one that guaranteed a fair minimum wage scale based upon position and years of experience.

Census were off by nearly 20% in over a third of the cases, showing the difficulty in utilizing the NFS and the older Stamps Land Utilisation Survey (1930s) for this type of research (Taylor *et al.*, 2012)<sup>30</sup>. This means that the official reports need to be taken as an estimate, not a fact.

## RESEARCH TOOL: DEMOGRAPHIC AND CONSUMPTION ANALYSIS FROM THE FOOD AND NUTRITIONAL SURVEYS

In order to quantify women's impact within the domestic sphere, this thesis uses the National Food Survey (NFS) to explore household food expenditure, purchases, and consumption patterns. The NFS was performed by the Ministry of Food (MOF) from July 1940 to 1950. While there are obvious discrepancies (mainly based upon a disproportionate number of families with young children or elderly care needs and with at least one member not working), the overall trends form an interesting starting point for research into changes in food consumption during the period and, when combined with the cookbook analysis, show how women understood, procured, and utilized the available food options during the war.

The NFS was divided into six zones (Scotland, North-Eastern, North-Western, Midlands, London and South-Eastern (including Wales), and South-Western) with an average of 25-30% of respondents from the London zone, ~20% in the Midlands, and ~13-17% in the remainder. Originally aimed at urban households (Table 8), the NFS did not include information on rural communities until 1950 (Ministry of Food, 1951). Similarly, concerns over the NFS collection method, including the condensing of food categories (from 400 to 105) and the 'randomized' sampling of representative families, make it necessary to evaluate the reports as portraying general trends instead of being specific inquiries.

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<sup>30</sup> The June Agricultural Census has been taken annually in England since 1866 and can normally be found in parish summaries. Inconsistencies arise in the NFS for a variety of reasons, some being incomplete forms, or forms where multiple holdings were being operated together and therefore the individual information was amalgamated into one document. Other issues arise when areas classified as 'gardens' could potentially include allotments, orchards, and nurseries, and that later (post-1941) plough-up campaign totals did not necessarily match with aerial data recorded (MAFF, 1946b; Taylor *et al.*, 2012).

*Table 8: Distribution of Urban Working-class Households by regions in the Family Food Survey Sample 1941-49*

	Scotland	North-Eastern	North-Western	Midlands	London and South-Eastern	South-Western	Total Households	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<b>1941</b>	10.9	18	9.5	17.1	25.9	18.6	100	4,795
<b>1942</b>	10.9	13	10.9	21.3	28.4	15.5	100	8,567
<b>1943</b>	9.9	13.1	11.5	21.3	30.2	14.0	100	9,141
<b>1944</b>	10.8	11.7	11.7	23.6	31.3	10.9	100	7,623
<b>1945</b>	12.7	15.5	13.9	19.2	27.5	11.2	100	7,225
<b>1946</b>	13.9	14.6	17.5	14.5	29.5	10.0	100	8,204
<b>1947 (a)</b>	12.5	17.2	17.7	16.7	26.2	9.7	100	5,942
<b>1948 (b)</b>	13.4	15.7	12.1	18.2	30.4	10.2	100	5,623
<b>1949</b>	10	16.8	13.5	16	32.6	11.1	100	7,119

Source: (Ministry of Food, 1951)

Notes: (a) January to September only; (b) excluding February and March.

The report itself states that “[d]uring the war it was not possible to analyze in detail the great mass of information which had been collected, nor to set the results of such an analysis against the constantly changing background” (Ministry of Food, 1951). However, the importance of the research was anticipated, and in 1948, the National Food Survey Committee was appointed with the task of reviewing the material and making it available to the public. The surveys conducted changed constantly with the addition of new towns and changes in when the survey was performed. A fascinating aspect of the reports is that the MOF hired 40 female investigators to act as enumerators, along with males, and though they were limited in both numbers and training, and on several occasions air-raids forced the work to be postponed or abandoned, their inclusion may have assisted in getting women to respond more readily, as their own knowledge of cooking and food preparation may have made it easier to have frank conversations with the women of the houses. Unfortunately, we do not have data one way or another, as those types of records are not noted, but it is a point to keep in mind when we review the data in Chapter 5. The addition of rural populations and classes other than working-class were included starting in 1950, although the smaller towns were almost universally excluded due to investigator numbers and mobility (Ministry of Food, 1951).

London was disproportionately represented within the surveys while Berkshire was represented only by Newbury and Slough, and Cumberland and Westmorland were excluded entirely. Such an omission makes trends difficult to evaluate for analysis, requiring alternative options to be discussed later.

Care was taken in compiling the lists to exclude premises such as boarding-houses, hotels and public houses but it was not always possible, for example, to recognise them by the address. The investigator was instructed to ignore such addresses but to include shopkeepers provided they were able to give full details of any food taken from the shop (Ministry of Food, 1951).

From 1943 onwards, members of the “household [were] being defined as one who had consumed at least 16 meals provided by the housewife during the survey week, or proportionately less if the meal pattern was less than four a day” and therefore the number of persons within the household were defined by the number of ration books the housewife held (Ministry of Food, 1951). The modern definition of a household is “one person living alone, or a group of people (not necessarily related) living at the same address who share cooking facilities and share a living room, sitting room or dining area” (DEFRA, 2019). This is similar to the 1951 definition that stated the “numbers and types of combinations of individuals who, by virtue of family ties or affections on the one hand, or as a result of economic constraints and other reasons on the other, were voluntarily living together in the sense of sharing the same living rooms or eating at the same table” (University of Portsmouth, 2017b). It is important to note that all of these definitions focus on cooking and living facilities, showing the emphasis on food production and consumption being the primary drivers of what we consider a family unit or ‘household’.

The second difficulty with the survey was in defining and quantifying home-made foods under consumption. Issues arose as to whether the ingredients should be listed or the final products and if, for example, two pounds of sugar were used to make jam, did that count as a negative or positive within the household larder? Due to this, the consumption of home-made foods was typically overestimated while their ingredients were underestimated in most of the tallies. Hence, the overall accuracy of the survey depended on the accuracy of the information provided to the survey from 1) an accurate cross-section of the population, 2) detailed logbooks of the investigators, and 3) the variability of consumption habits within the households. To minimize the issues of the survey, we combine the records with the Oxford Nutritional Survey in our discussions.

The Oxford Nutrition Survey (ONS) was commissioned in 1941 under the supervision of Oxford physiologist and nutritionist, Dr. Hugh Sinclair. Sinclair sought to establish a baseline of the general public’s health and compare it to the effects of wartime rationing, especially for pregnant women. Since his research was commissioned by the Government it was never published, however, records from the MERL show his surveys and communications with other nutritionists and medical doctors. Such

communication was to establish caloric intake levels for dietary needs of different activities, genders, and age levels; as well as nutritional analysis on what deficiencies of these vitamins and minerals would do to the body.

The ONS study populations included two groups of pregnant women who were scheduled to deliver between April and August 1942 and from March to August 1944. The first group consisted of 120 working-class women and the second, 253 (predominantly) working-class women. Sinclair's results for changes in macro and micronutrient values in the two groups agrees with the National Food Survey which looked at food consumption and purchasing power:

Between 1942 and 1945 the estimated consumption in urban working-class households of milk, eggs, fresh fruit and vegetables increased whilst the consumption of meat fell. Consequently, the average consumption of energy, Ca, vitamin A, vitamin C, vitamin D and riboflavin were higher in 1944 than in 1942, whilst protein consumption fell and Fe intakes remained unchanged (Ministry of Food, 1951; Huxley *et al.*, 2000).

We will refer to these results in Chapter 5 with a discussion on rationing.

#### RESEARCH TOOL: POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MINISTERIAL DEBATES

To establish what types of laws women were subjected to and the reasoning behind them, Parliamentary debates were reviewed for key topics, such as the Women's Land Army, women and the labor exchange, food, education, rationing, etc. Parliamentary debates fall under both Critical and Political Discourse Analysis within this research. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) being an interdisciplinary approach to studying language as a form of social practice and power dynamics between different groups of people, such as teachers and students, and how society and culture can influence those dynamics (Wodak and Kendall, 2007; Naidu, Paolucci and Turin, 2023). The way research approaches the text and the process of interpreting that text needs to contribute to social justice and work within a constructivist epistemology, but as such, the 'findings' are often exactly what the researcher intends to find, due to the subjectivity of the research inquiry itself (Mullet, 2018). One of CDA's methodologies is Political Discourse Analysis (PDA), while another is Historical Discourse Analysis (HDA). This research often pulls on the historical literary aspects (*see below*), but it also uses PDA as a way of analyzing governmental documents, including Parliamentary debates.



PDA encompasses any political action (such as passing laws, decision making, meeting, campaigning, etc.) and as such, parliamentary debates, bills, laws, government or ministerial regulations, and other institutional forms of text and talk are to be included with political propaganda, political advertising, political speeches, media interviews, etc. (van Dijk, 1997). In the context of this research, most of our PDA will focus on the narrative debates and discussions found within the U.K. Parliamentary system as a way of establishing the reasoning behind the political processes and rulings put in place, though we will also discuss how certain aspects of PDA and MCA intersect when discussing propaganda pieces in Chapter 5 (van Dijk, 1997; Wall, Stahl and Salam, 2015). In this way, PDA and MCA will include the political agendas, the historical appropriateness of those agendas from a socio-cultural aspect, the various ways such agendas were utilized, and the public's commentary of those agendas from various DCA methods.

## RESEARCH METHOD: GENDER CRITICAL HISTORICAL LITERARY ANALYSIS

In 1891, U.S. Missouri Sen. George Graham Vest said, "for history is written by the victors and framed according to the prejudices and bias existing on their side." His comment might have been about the U.S. Civil War, but its idea is applicable to any group that has been marginalized, ignored, or removed from the records. Pick up a general history book and the likelihood of finding women as equivalent to the males presented drops drastically. This is the main reason a Gender Critical perspective needs to take place in any Historical Analysis, and for this research, where women are the main case-study group, the need is even greater. Gender Critical is part of the body of feminist scholarship (Scott, 1986). "The writing of women into history necessarily involves redefining and enlarging traditional notions of historical significance, to encompass personal, subjective experience as well as public and political activities" (Corfield, 1997). Likewise, the combination of class, race and gender has been used to signal a researcher's "commitment to a history that included stories of the oppressed and an analysis of the meaning and nature of their oppression" while understanding the inequalities of power those very axis represent (Scott, 1986). As such, the inclusion of MMR is not only useful, but necessary, as no one methodological format can be utilized to explain all forms of data, either QUAL or QUAN. In historical studies, two distinct categories of MMR are typically found, the first descriptive, wherein the researcher describes, interprets, explains, and/or attributes a specific phenomenon or realities, while the second theorizes on the nature of the phenomena, seeking to understand how and why they occurred. This is the format we take in this research.

Historical Literary Analysis, or put another way, the historical analysis of literature, gives the reader a more thorough understanding of the text by placing it within a geospatial period which provides context as a way of understanding the socio-cultural aspects portrayed, often within a cause-and-effect format. An example would be reading about women's suffrage without understanding when or why political agency of women was important. From an archivist standpoint, written documents are not always easy to locate, especially from the lower classes where illiteracy rates are higher. In this instance, alternative means of analysis are useful, including period documents that describe or comment on different groups (Pasco, 2004). It is important to remember though, that "while data certainly can be employed as evidence for a historical argument, data are not necessarily evidence in themselves. Nor do we consider data necessarily to be a direct representation of the historical record, as they are also produced by tools used to investigate or access large datasets" (Gibbs and Owens, 2013). We have already discussed this in other aspects, including the census and nutritional surveys, but the same issue can be found within literary analysis of surveys, opinion polls, etc.

#### RESEARCH TOOL: NARRATIVE VS. THEMATIC ANALYSIS AND SELECTION OF TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

The selection of documents and the primary use of a narrative textual analysis for their review was established due to timing and availability. Narrative analysis is "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred," while thematic analysis looks firstly at the available material and from that data, creates codes that allow the researcher to group the material into different thematic categories for further analysis; an example theme would be 'education' or 'political leanings' (Labov, 1972; Franzosi, 1998). In this research, themes for further study were identified first, these being 1) family background, 2) educational experience, 3) work experience, 4) geographical location, 5) social organization membership, and 6) political activity. From these, additional subthemes fell under A) social issues, B) personal issues, and C) legal issues. These were selected from the proposed research questions, but also from a general awareness of the research period.

The textual evidence reviewed covered the entirety of the study period and included books, personal journals, letters, scientific research notes, magazines, newspapers, published journals/anthologies, meeting minutes, educational documents, cookbooks, etc. A listing of the types of documents are shown below in Figure 23.

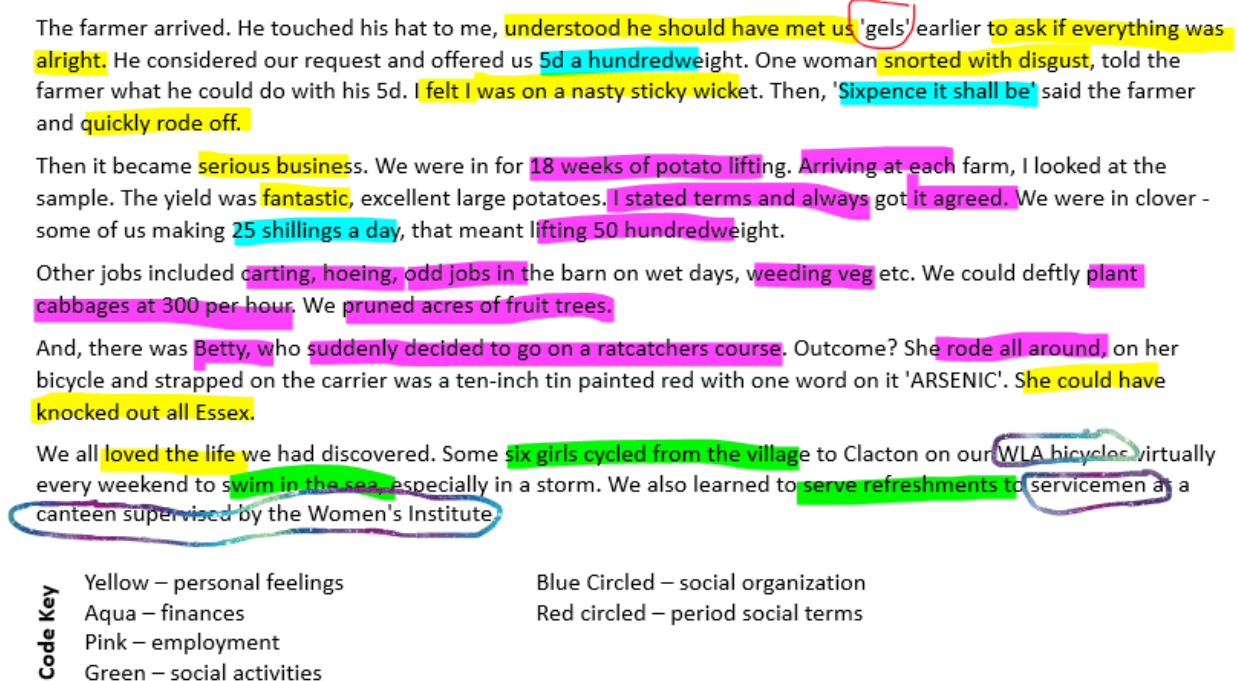
Figure 23: Selection of Documents for Narrative Textual Analysis

Magazines/ Newspapers	Mass Observation Journals	Women's Institute Meeting Minutes	Educational Documents	Cook Book Analysis
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Farmer's Weekly</li> <li>• Farmer and Stockbreeder</li> <li>• The Land Girl</li> <li>• The Land Army News</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal Diaries (x2)</li> <li>• Anthologies (x2)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• General Minutes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berkshire</li> <li>• Cumberland-Westmorland</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Agricultural Education Sub-Committee <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berkshire</li> <li>• Cumberland-Westmorland</li> </ul> </li> <li>• County War Agricultural Executive Committee <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berkshire</li> <li>• Cumberland-Westmorland</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agricultural Programs</li> <li>• Farm Institutes</li> <li>• Colleges</li> <li>• Universities</li> <li>• National Dairy Institutes</li> <li>• Horticultural Schools</li> <li>• Food Science Programs</li> <li>• Women's Institutes</li> <li>• Farm Institutes</li> <li>• Colleges</li> <li>• Universities</li> <li>• National Dairy Institutes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cookbooks (x14)</li> <li>• Ministry of Food Leaflets (x35)</li> </ul>

The research topics presented in this thesis follow the themes found within the data and are presented with contextual quotations to “provide evidence for how the researcher conceptually elevated numerous textual fragments, [and] identified a crystalized pattern or distinguishable shape across different textual accounts. In this way, themes use the idiographic to construct the nomothetic” (Mihás, 2023). These textual fragments often take narrative format, allowing the reader (and researcher) to understand “how participants experience, live, and tell about their world” (Keats, 2009). Spoken texts, including formal recorded interviews, informal conversations, and discussions with the researcher were also utilized and will be discussed in the ethnographic section below.

An example of the use of narrative textual analysis in this research is found within the written ethnographic interviews found on the BBC's WW2 People's War website. The stories and interviews were culled from a variety of individuals on the site itself, but limited to those involved in agriculture (farmers and WLA members specifically), food production, or education. Each article was reviewed for relevant data following the initial selected themes. An example excerpt from Emily Braidwood is shown with researcher's themes and codes labelled in Figure 24 below (Braidwood and Thanet Libraries, 2004):

Figure 24: Sample written interview coding



Along with what the text said, the context in which it was spoken (or written) was considered, this was especially important when taken from magazine and newspapers, as many of the sources were editorial in nature.

### MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

There were two primary magazines aimed at the rural community during the study period: *The Farmer's Weekly* and *Farmer and Stockbreeder*. Both were reviewed for relevant material, however the most useful was a series of articles entitled 'Successful Female Farmers' which ran for eighteen months throughout 1935 and the first half of 1936 in the *Farmer and Stockbreeder* (*Farmer and Stockbreeder*, 1935a; Verdon, 2012). The stories showcased predominantly middle-class women of independent, or mostly independent, means who used the newest scientific methods and horticultural training of the time, but also showcased the strong, independent nature of the work and the professionalization of such an industry for women. As Verdon (2009) explains, "in 1921 and 1931, never-married single women formed 27 and 29 percent of all women farmers." By reviewing the articles, trends were established in what made a 'successful female farmer.' Comparing these results to employment, farm ownership (when known), and education rates, a critique on future policy options was then discussed (see Chapter 3). Concerns around who wrote the articles, their placement within the gazette and the focus of such

articles offered opportunities to review the various thematic units for 1) the types of activities women were involved in, 2) how they were portrayed in the media, 3) responses to the articles, and 4) discussions of legislation at the time as described by Shen, Ahren, and Baker (2014). These news frames use the narratives to connect political debate with the readers' experiences and identities. Including image analysis within the articles' also helps to create a representative ideology in the collective memory of the readership, creating a sort of social shorthand for a specific issue (a modern example would be the reduce, reuse, recycle image used in 'green' articles) (Wozniak, Lück and Wessler, 2014).

Magazines too offered insights into social and employment concerns. The unofficial WLA magazine, *The Land Girl*, discussed employment, agricultural knowledge, and the concerns and interests of the WLA members themselves. The magazine ran from April 1940 until March 1947 and was funded by the Ministry of Agriculture for part of its run, making it an official social organization and government document. Local WLA news sheets titled *The Land Army News*, were also distributed within specific counties, and continued until November 1950. One of the primary uses of the magazines for this research was the employment numbers by county included on the back of *The Land Girl* (Figure 25). Such records were not consistent - they were sorted by numbers employed, not by county name - and counties came and went based upon timing, government boundary changes, and employed WLA members.

Figure 25: Example of The Land Girl magazine with county employment records, 1940

County Employment Returns	
COUNTY.	Number of employed volunteers placed in employment since the outbreak of war
Kent	466
Hampshire	407
Wiltshire	341
Surrey	284
Gloucestershire	250
West Sussex	238
Worcestershire	236
East Sussex	234
Cheshire	226
Lancashire	225
Warwickshire	223
West Suffolk	218
Berkshire	214
Somerset	205
Lindsey	178
Norfolk	161
Devon	158
Oxfordshire	152
Glamorgan	150
Dorset	139
Shropshire	136
Staffordshire	130
Hertfordshire	125
Leicestershire	125
Northamptonshire	123
Northumberland	106
Buckinghamshire	102
Nottinghamshire	102
Yorkshire, West Riding...	99
Cornwall	88
Herefordshire	88
Yorkshire, North Riding	87
Monmouthshire	86
East Suffolk	74
Isle of Wight	72
Kesteven	70
Huntingdonshire	58
Derbyshire	53
Westmorland	50
Bedfordshire	50
320	

THE LAND GIRL  
SUBSCRIPTION RATES

6560

SUITABLE  
Make  
B  
J  
Made  
Require  
FOR RIDING  
BREECHING  
from  
12/6

Source: (Pyke, 1940)

Additionally, the types of articles found within the magazines were reviewed and showed a clear split between agricultural knowledge (and the need for more trainings) and social aspects of living on farms or in billets (make-do-and-mend articles, social activities, etc. were common).

### JOURNALS AND LETTERS

Personal journals, letters, and missives by women offer the best direct evidence of their thoughts, feelings, and routines. However, locating enough of these to track trends across time and location is difficult and the often-piecemeal nature of the material available becomes harder to read over time due to fading, bleeding (in the case of ink), or damage. While some letters and journals were used in this

research, the bulk of the women's 'dairy' entries were culled from the Mass Observations (MO) archives, which contain papers generated by the MO social research organization that ran predominantly from 1937 through 1949 and focused on the lived experiences of its participants. Writings fell under two categories, personal writing (including diaries and questionnaires) and topic collections (which sent paid investigators to specific regions to interview people). MO had two major flaws for the purpose of this research, the first being its overwhelmingly urban-centric format, the second being its excessively small number of agricultural workers (only 15 men and 8 women in 1943) therefore it is useful as an overarching perspective to the food supply, but not the agricultural sphere (Howkins, 1998). While only two published single diaries and two anthologies were utilized (of a total of 500 journals; published and non-published), access issues limited the scope of the review. The predominant issue at the time of writing was the closure of the archives during the COVID-19 period. As such, pre-published works were sought, of which four were available that matched the criteria for this thesis. In this instance, the researcher chose to review The View from the Corner Shop: The Diary of a Yorkshire Shop Assistant in Wartime to understand how supply chains and rationing affected suppliers and consumers within the agri-food sector. Notations on rations, government policies, how shops sourced and limited their resources and, in some instances, farmer perceptions, were found and contextualized against the consumer demands and rationing found in Chapter 5. Our Hidden Lives: The Remarkable Diaries of Postwar Britain and Nella Last's War: The Second World War Diaries of 'Housewife, 49' were used to understand how the war affected housewives and Wartime Women: A Mass Observation Anthology was used to gain the broader understanding of the roles and responsibilities women in Britain had during the war. In all cases, a simple narrative coding was used tagging specific entries as 1) food supply, 2) agriculture, 3) employment, or 4) education. The entries were then marked for further review if they covered the specific research questions around WI/WLA membership, agricultural education/training, or food production.

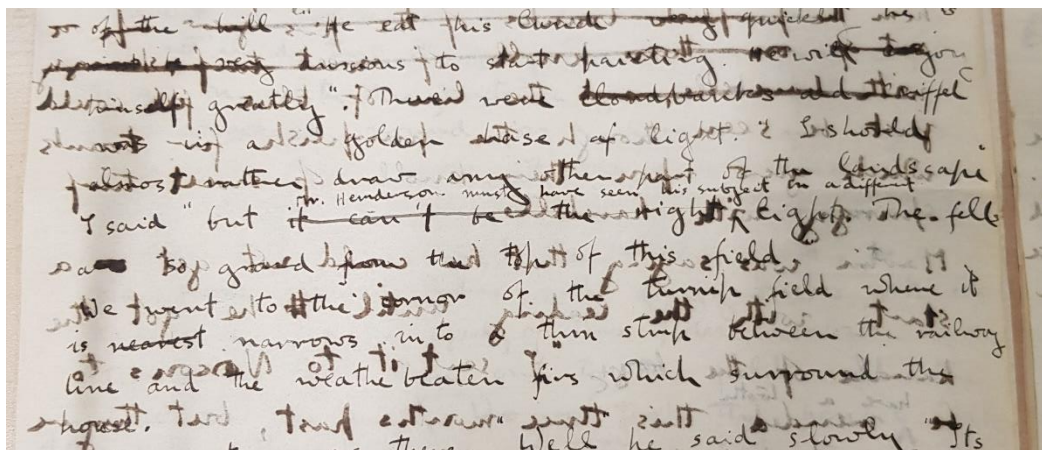
#### *SOCIAL ORGANIZATION MEETING MINUTES*

WI records were reviewed for the period 1916-1960 at the Berkshire Records Office and the Cumbria Records Office and focused on General Meeting Minutes as well as the Agricultural Education Sub-Committee Meetings and County War Agriculture Executive Committee (CWAEC) Meetings where available. In some cases, these were separate documents and other times they were included as sub-sections within the main meeting books. Most of the data obtained related to agricultural education, specifically the Rural Domestic Economy (RDE) courses in Berkshire and the CWAEC minutes in both



Berkshire and Cumbria<sup>31</sup>. The notes were, for the most part, handwritten and faded, or the ink had bled through the paper overlaying the text, which made reading and transcription difficult (see example Figure 26). Images of the documents were taken for later review. The RDE data was used for both QUAN and QUAL analysis, with the numbers and locations of trainings being QUAN in nature and the notations on interest and issues being QUAL.

*Figure 26: Example of handwritten WLA notes, Cumberland*



Source: (Roberts, no date)

## EDUCATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Women's involvement in semi- and formalized agricultural education programs were a key point of this research. The modern idea that the higher your education, the more likely you are to be hired for a position, and the historical preference for apprenticeship programs, show two divergent trends of thought, with agriculture straddling the line between them in the Interwar and WWII period. This research found that agricultural coursework changed based upon the structure and funding body of the university, farm institute, or horticultural school. Likewise, when women could enter certain types of schools and what opportunities they had for graduation and employment post-schooling affected their entry into certain fields within agriculture, horticulture, and the food sector; as such, reviewing documents from the schools themselves, diplomas and yearbooks from the women, and discussing the types of education they had in interviews was an important way for this research to establish base-lines and trends across the country and between different social-classes (Boucherett, 1860; Opitz, 2013; Enns

<sup>31</sup> The historical counties of Cumberland and Westmorland were merged into the current county of Cumbria. Hence, the usage of Cumbria when referencing modern agencies and Cumberland and Westmorland when referencing period agencies.



and Martin, 2015; Nakagomi, 2016). A combination of historical and textual analysis (mentioned above) and visual research analysis (images, advertizements, photographs, etc.) were used to review educational curriculums, certificates, news articles, blueprints, and educational reports. The visual aspects will be discussed in more detail below. Curriculums were analyzed based on modern educational paradigms and focused on inclusion, format of degree programs, and financial policies (Montgomery, 2001; Kraft and Alberti, 2003). Documents were drawn from the Universities of Reading, Oxford, Cambridge, the South-Eastern Agricultural College (Wye) and Swanley Horticultural College in Kent, Studley College in Warwickshire, the Young Farmer's Clubs, the Farmer Institutes, WI sponsored RDE programs, and the WI's Denman College.

### RESEARCH TOOL: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Cooking is a natural product of food production; hence it made sense for this research to culminate in an analysis of how and why cooking during the period occurred. This was done by analyzing the cookbooks themselves, the way they were written, what information was presented, and suggested menu options. The data derived from such followed three lines of inquiry, 1) a literary analysis score based on Cotter's (1997) description (*Appendix 6*), 2) a Household Dietary Diversity Score and 3) and Women's Dietary Diversity Score (*Appendix 7*) (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2011). The three scores relate to the ingredients used and allow for an estimate of the types of nutrition being promoted at different points in time, as well as the complexity of the recipes themselves. This last point is important as 'modern' cookbooks are considered as those published after the 1887 publication of The Boston Cookbook, which was the first to order the recipes with a list of ingredients followed by instructions in such a manner that non-professionally trained cooks could follow. Previous to this, a list of procedures was the only thing noted, which necessitated or assumed some version of professional training on behalf of the chef/cook (Cotter, 1997). This switch coincides with the decrease in domestic servant rates and the rise in women's employment and gives us an insight into homemaking duties that women and girls would have been engaged in, either as wives, daughters/sisters, or servants. Likewise, the amount and complexity of the recipes allows us to estimate how much cookery training the intended audience was assumed to know.

For this research, a combination of cookbooks was selected to give a wide range of forms. The books include both national and regional distributions as well as government sponsored, specialist, standard, and community cookbooks. The lack of cookbooks from each decade made the knowledge transference aspect difficult to calculate over time and by location (two books from each case-study county during-

and post-WWII, however, were located). Four of the books were from after the study period, however, they were included due to the recipes being culled from dates within the study period (i.e., 1917-1992). Cotter, Rice, and Bower in *Recipes for Reading* (1997) look at the often-overlooked literary narratives of community cookbooks as a way of understanding not only how and why women communicate culture, but how such communication impacts their daily lives. Discourse analysis (DCA) of cookery books is very similar to the narrative analysis we have already discussed. The primary difference being the grammatical analysis is at the forefront. Here, the combination of the DCA along with the narrative components, asserts that culture and values are reinforced cross-generationally through the language of food (Salkind, 2010; Turner and Baker, 2019). That it is through such community driven books that understanding and training occurs and, therefore, changes move from the bottom-up via the local community interactions of actors rather than through top-down government sponsored behaviors. Furthermore, any government decree shows greater acceptance and influence when community driven. “An important functional principle [of rationing] was that, unlike during the First World War, the Government applied rationing only to items that it could be sure of people being able to get...[and] that the consumer had confidence that their ration entitlement would always be honoured” (Cook’s Info, no date). Considering the recipe selected for DCA in this research was done on a basic pastry recipe, along with the Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS) and Women’s Dietary Diversity Score (WDDS) scores, the researcher feels the potential for a discrepancy in timing to be minimal since the entirety of the study period is covered. We will discuss rationing from the nutritionist, government, and public perspectives in Chapter 5.

Utilizing the FIGS framework along with the DCA data, we created a new framework entitled Factors Influencing Recipe and Menu Selection (FIRMS) to identify a “system of statements which cohere around common meanings and values...[that] are a product of social factors, of powers and practices, rather than an individual’s set of ideas” (Gavey, 1989)<sup>32</sup>. For the purposes of this research, the statements are how recipes change over time based on the ‘housewife’s’ understanding of food and nutrition and “while [we] cannot indicate which recipes were used in which houses or how they may have been modified, they are a strong indicator of established norms and practices, available ingredients, and changing tastes” (Humphreys, 2021).

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<sup>32</sup> Quoting (Hollway, 1984).

### DEFINING AND IDENTIFYING LAS, HDDS, AND WDDS

Cotter's (1997) discourse analysis breaks down cookery books into settings, characters, plot, and theme, like a standard literary analysis. The difference lies in the thematic context and the evaluator aspects; i.e., the kitchen, the 'voice' of the cook, and the style of book – community cookbook, specialty cooking style, or general structure (soups, starters, mains, desserts, etc.).

- **Setting:** this is typically the table, kitchen, dining room, or community hall/meeting and reaffirms the community aspect of the cookbooks by showcasing 'catering' of large group settings. Timewise, these cookbooks are either 'current' at a specific period (such as WWII) and the specific needs associated with that period or cross-generational. Such cross-generational books often romanticize their contents and the story within.
- **Characters:** in community cookbooks, the individual characters are often relegated to the side-lines and, if attributed, are simply there to lend credence to the entry itself. Typically, one primary character will introduce the book or topic and become the 'voice' for the book. If no others are listed, it is this individual who becomes the spoke's person and voice of authority over the book and the entries therein. Introductions usually reinforce the idea of the community, be it a specific organization or the 'sisterhood' of women themselves.
- **Plot and Theme:** recipes themselves contain a linear plot with grammatical structure (see below) following the general list of ingredients and a progression through the process and coda at the end (ex. 'serve hot' or some other ending notation). Within the cookbook itself there may be additional plots, a progression from soup to dessert, for example mimicking the progression of a meal, or a story being told within the introductions. The amount of engagement with the text by both the author and reader will determine the complexity of these secondary plots. Thematically, community cookbooks typically fall outside the upper classes.

Additionally, the selection of WI specific cookbooks as our 'community' demonstrates or assumes a level of knowledge and social status to contribute to it and reaffirms that social status as an active member of said community (Cotter, 1997). In this case the community is the Women's Institutes, a known social and political organization that affected change internationally and locally on a variety of topics - specifically countrywomen and agriculture. Hence, WI community cookbooks offer the reader insight into the interaction of the various classes in England and are less about showcasing a *repressed voice* or the *importance of domestic duties* (although this does show more heavily during wartime books) and more about *food being an expression of a specific culture*. In this instance, the expression is two-fold,

first as a regional community (i.e., Berkshire, Cumberland, etc.) and second as a member of the WI (mainly by entries from the Executive Boards or aristocratic members).

One of the key issues for historical research is access to primary materials, such as household planners or account books, which the researcher was unable to find sufficient records of. This prompted the decision to utilize weekly menus provided in the cookbooks themselves and newspapers of the period. The data provided in the calculated FIRMS results in this research is dependent on the availability of cookbooks during the study period and was the greatest limiting factor. Similarly, due to the variability of recipe selection, the researcher calculated the FAO's HDDS and WDDS based on suggested weekly menus in the various books and MOF leaflets only. This decision was made to average the various scores for the entire week's menu, and therefore give a better representation of seasonality and rationing. Additionally, multiple calculations were made to differentiate regionality and time period. Concerns arise within the multiplicity of averages and true to life reporting, i.e., just because a menu was given does not mean that every reader had access to or interest in recreating them accurately.

Similarly, there is ample debate as to the usefulness of the HDDS and WDDS as found within agricultural/nutritional research and intervention projects (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2011; Herforth and Ballard, 2016). The most common issues arose around proxy dietary indicators wherein food group indicators (FGIs) were used to delineate or define specific food groups (Verger *et al.*, 2019). Such groups were classified by similar nutritional properties or biological characteristics (Arimond *et al.*, 2010). Deciding on which proxies to be used depends on the research aims, which is why the combination of the HDDS, WDDS, and Literary Analysis Scores (LAS) were used for this research. Likewise, calculating FIRMS requires at least two time periods for comparison.

Initial calculations for the LAS are defined below utilizing a specific 'common knowledge' recipe from multiple sources over the same period. In this research, a shortcrust pastry was chosen since most cookbooks and housewives would have known or had access to such knowledge. Similarly, a simple bread could have been chosen, although the Government push for cooks to make the National Loaf versus the number of pie recipes was the ultimate deciding factor for its selection. From there, a daily or weekly menu would be chosen to analyze for HDDS and WDDS based upon ingredient lists. Daily menus could be selected for ease, however, as mentioned, the singularity of such selection minimizes the potential variability of recipes for a family over time. Therefore, for this research, multiple weekly menus were used so that the final calculation of FIRMS looked at aggregate data from the HDDS, WDDS

and the LAS. The three categories delineate 1) LAS, the amount of knowledge retained over time; 2) HDDS, access to food; and 3) WDDS, quality of food through micronutrients, and is calculated in the following manner:

- LAS (inverse %) =  $\text{inv}[(\text{Orientation clause} + \text{Imperative sentences} + \text{Instructive/locative prepositional phrase} + \text{Infinitival purpose clause} + \text{Evaluative clauses})/50]$  [highest total for selected recipe];
- HDDS (%) =  $\text{Total food categories}/12$ ;
- WDDS (%) =  $\text{Total food categories}/9$ ;
- FIRMS (% per time sequence) = e.g.,  $[(\text{LAS} + \text{HDDS} + \text{WDDS})/X]$ , where X is the number of menus analyzed.

The final trend line between time periods delineates the skill and access of food preparation in two categories: 1) nationally during and post-WW2 and 2) nationally across time.

Once the understanding of the narrative format is clear, the text can be analyzed linguistically following a narrative analysis. Our goal is to evaluate "the way language is used in the context of recipe discourse [and] shapes our interpretation of many aspects of the cookbook, not only concerning things culinary but also how we view a particular community and its values" (Cotter, 1997). By first evaluating the language of the text, the variation of similar recipes, and the syntax and semantics, specific socio-linguistic variables (age, gender, race, class, etc.) are revealed. These, when taken as a whole, establish the identity of the community and the cultural assumptions, practices and expectations of the period being reviewed and give us the Literary Analysis Score used within the overarching analysis.

The structure of analysis is taken from Cotter (1997) and covers the following aspects:

The underlined words are the imperative forms syntactically characteristic of the recipe while the *italicized* phrases fill the evaluative function of the recipes. In this way, the imperative verb forms relate to tasks within the recipe, for example, 'trim chops, peel and slice apples and onions,' etc, and creates internal cohesion between the individual discourse elements. Non-imperative clauses or sentences are then used as narration to evaluate or describe results or methodologies to the reader, i.e., 'this recipe also adds that the cake is best mixed with the hand.' Optionally, prepositional or descriptive phrases can occur after or proceeding the imperative sentences, such as 'put [into] tins which have been first lined...' and gives the place where the action is to occur or using a specific item, such as tins.

Utilizing the same discourse analysis design as novels, which modern recipes mimic, one can also codify such recipes using their structural components (Cotter, 1997). The orientational components (o) refer to

the context in which the recipe is given, the description placed after the title but before the list of ingredients and typically explains where the recipe is from or the setting in which it needs to take place including specialist equipment. In recipes, lists are often put in order of operations, sometimes marked by an asterisk (\*) or note explaining some specific task or association, such as '4 tablespoons flour, two retained,' in this case it means two tablespoons for one part of the task and two for another part.

Instructional actions are the tasks that need to be completed for the narrative to move forward. These are temporal in nature, i.e., they must occur with a specific set pacing, one cannot bake the cake before mixing it, for example. Evaluation clauses follow, this is how the author explains what should be occurring within the instructions, '*to the consistency of breadcrumbs*' or '*to stiff peaks*.' In this manner, one can visualize the result of the actions in the narrative clauses. When one reviews these evaluations in tandem with the list and narrative clauses across several sources for the same recipe, the level of experience required or assumed becomes clear.

Finally, the coda is the concluding part of a literary work, which Cotter (1997) uses in her analysis to conclude the recipe. It could be as simple as 'let cool and serve' or a notation on serving size (serves four). However, the coda does not necessarily need to occur at the end of the physical recipe, in actuality, its function is not the same as a period (.) at the end of a sentence, but to explain to the reader what the final end product should be (Cotter, 1997). Lastly, there is the audience itself, or at least its' perceived role. For WI cookbooks, the reader is generally known, that is, other members of the WI (although Berkshire's Hand to Mouth was written for a general audience as well and as such, breaks the general form-although here too the audience is semi-known: other home cooks within the county). Regardless, the perceived knowledge of the audience impacts the inclusion or omission of certain aspects of the text such as how to make shortcrust pastry. In this way, the two play against each other in a knowledge transference that solidifies the relationship and ability of the community. Within community cookbooks especially, this can be used to evaluate the social relationships within, and between, regions through time and allows for an understanding of the individual contributors as well as the community at large within the socio-economic and political spheres that they operate within.

An example would be Florence Greenberg's Cookery Book, which was written by and for the Jewish community residing mostly in London. The book we used was the fifth edition from 1955 and had over 500 pages. Of those, sections included an introduction, the kitchen, storage of food, herbs and spices, weights and measures, kitchen utensils, temperatures and how to gauge them, food values and menu

building, cookery methods and terms, useful hints and general information, quantities to allow in catering, and Kosher meat and poultry, 58 different sections for recipes, and carving. Four total sections cover Jewish cooking, such as Seder and Passover, and as she states “within the framework of their dietary laws, Jews in every land have adapted and adopted local dishes,” in this way her cookbook too shows the focus on adopting local foods and menus and is geared to the new arrival in the U.K. and how best to make do with available options (Greenberg, 1955). Another point in Greenberg’s book is that it straddles the line between pre-WWII and post-WWII. Temperatures cover gas and electric stoves and ovens; food values are almost directly from the periods’ Domestic Science textbooks; catering links to the canteens and kitchens of WWII; cookery terms and hints aid the new housewife or kitchen hand in cleaning, preparation, and basic cookery skills; and recipes cover everything from leftovers to cooking for children and invalids. In all, a most comprehensive book and one that became the staple of the Jewish household (Greenberg, 1955; Bet-El, 2017).

To create an inclusive LAS, scores for complexity of recipes were created by adding the number of Orientation Clauses and Actions as the other aspects were descriptors of these primary items. High scores showed an increased amount of specificity within the recipe and were found to be written for a more generalized or novice audience, whereas low scores were written for intermediary or professional audiences. Proportional totals were calculated by dividing the total by the largest number, in this case 50, to give a weighted percentage. This allows for similar weights to be calculated, regardless of recipe selected. An example is shown below.

*Florence Greenberg's Cookery Book by The Jewish Chronicle, 1955, Short crust recipe*

Ingredients	flour 8 oz, pinch of salt, fat 3-5 oz., cold water
Method	<u>Sieve</u> the flour and salt [into] a bowl, <u>add</u> the fat, <u>cut</u> it [into] the flour, then <u>rub</u> it [in] very lightly [with the finger tips] until the mixture <i>resembles fine breadcrumbs</i> . Then <u>pour</u> [in] a very little cold water, <u>mixing</u> [with] a knife, <u>adding</u> a little water at a time till a <i>stiff paste</i> is formed. <u>Turn on</u> to a lightly <u>floured</u> board, <u>knead</u> lightly till <i>free of cracks</i> , then <u>roll</u> out and <u>use</u> as required.

Cotter’s format for analyzing recipes follows a literary focus. However, it does not include the FAO’s guidelines for measuring household and individual dietary diversity. The FAO guidelines include the HDDS and the WDDS and though “there is no international consensus on which food groups to include in the scores and the results of new research could justify changing the groups proposed in these guidelines,” this research aims to include some aspect of their functionality into the analysis (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2011).

HDDS calculations are designed to provide an indication of households' economic access to food, with the individual scores reflecting the nutritional quality of the diet. They include twelve food groups and are divided and dependent on survey responses by participants. The WDDS scores are designed to establish base levels for micronutrients and include nine food groups. Fats, which are calculated separately as a contributor to energy density in the diet, were not calculated in the FIRMS data due to recipe selection.

#### **HDDS Food Group Categories**

- Cereals
- White tubers and roots
- Vegetables<sup>1</sup>
- Fruits<sup>2</sup>
- Meats<sup>3</sup>
- Eggs
- Fish and other seafood
- Legumes, nuts, and seeds
- Milk and milk products
- Oils and fats
- Sweets
- Spices, condiments, and beverages

Source: (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2011)

Notes:

<sup>1</sup>The vegetable food group is a combination of vitamin A rich vegetables and tubers, dark green leafy vegetables, and other vegetables.

<sup>2</sup>The fruit group is a combination of vitamin A rich fruits and other fruits.

<sup>3</sup>The meat group is a combination of organ and flesh meat.

#### **WDDS Food Group Categories**

- Starchy staples<sup>4</sup>
- Dark green leafy vegetables
- Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables<sup>5</sup>
- Other fruits and vegetables<sup>6</sup>
- Organ meat
- Meat and fish<sup>7</sup>
- Eggs
- Legumes, nuts and seeds
- Milk and milk products

Source: (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2011)

Notes:



<sup>4</sup>The starchy staples food group is a combination of Cereals and White roots and tubers.

<sup>5</sup>The other vitamin A rich fruit and vegetable group is a combination of vitamin A rich vegetables and tubers and vitamin A rich fruit.

<sup>6</sup>The other fruit and vegetable group is a combination of other fruit and other vegetables.

<sup>7</sup>The meat group is a combination of meat and fish.

While the FAO calculates such HDDS and WDDS scores based on “the number of food groups consumed in the household or by the individual respondent over the 24-hour recall period,” such calculations are not possible given this research due to the lack of household menus available (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2011). Therefore, it was necessary to create a calculation format that addressed the entirety of the cookbooks the researcher had access to and calculate the propensity for the various food groups under each category.

The FAO calculations for the HDDS and WDDS were followed as described below:

1. Create a new food group variable, for example in the WDDS calculations, “Starchy staples” is a combination of “cereals” and “white roots and tubers.” To create the aggregate score for “Starchy staples,” one must combine the two groups; therefore, a mark in either category would result in a score of 1 in the chart.
2. For HDDS the calculation should be the combination of scores from the 12 food groups and, for WDDS, from the nine associated food groups. The ranges should therefore be between the following:
  - HDDS (0-12)
  - WDDS (0-9)

Total weighted averages were created by dividing the HDDS by 12 and the WDDS by 9 to get a percentage.

Both the HDDS and WDDS scores evaluate the assumed quantity and quality of the food consumed. However, they do not take into consideration portion size or actual nutrient percentages, for example, an old, withered apple still scores a 1, even though it may have lost some of its quality. Likewise, the FAO’s format does not allow for seasonal access and bulk purchasing due to cost differentials between buying smaller items in season and bulk supplies which are typically less costly in the long run. It also does not look at access to food markets, cost analysis, or weight the different categories. Here, the most notable concern is the weighted average of ‘spices, condiments, and beverages’ are the same as all other categories, which does not follow nutritionally. While these issues are still present in the cookbook analysis, they are minimized by the multi-seasonality and local nature of a community cookbook. Likewise, those books written specifically to mitigate wartime issues limit access concerns as they are designed around the rationing system in place.

The spice, condiment and beverage weighting issue was limited by following the sample instructions in Chapter 4.2 of the FAO's guidelines suggested ignoring quantities "of approximately one tablespoon or less (<15g)" (Arimond *et al.*, 2010; Food and Agriculture Organization, 2011). Overall, general weighting issues were beyond the scope of this research. However, it would be a viable point for future discussion, as would a potential weighting for the cooking methods used (boiling versus roasted, for example, as they change the nutritional components of the foods provided). To calculate changes over time, one must first define the periods to compare the aggregate score for each decade provided by the cookbooks available (1920s, '30s, '40s, '50s, '60s, '70+). Some decades did not have menus available and are noted as such. The second step is to calculate the LAS, HDDS and WDDS for a weekly menu for each period. Finally, we compared the aggregate percentage for each period across time. All calculations and recipes/menus can be found in *Appendices 8 and 9*.

#### *TRANSITION THEORY THROUGH HISTORICAL COOKERY BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS*

While books from several counties around England were analyzed to showcase changes in inter-generational knowledge acquisition, the primary case-study counties were identified as Berkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland. Berkshire's WI was the primary driver of agricultural education for women and the proximity to London, along with a large Polish community, offers a unique insight into how agriculture, community, and food are linked. Likewise, Cumberland's heavy industry focus (ship building and coal mining being the two predominant ones), along with coastal seafood access and internal migration, and Westmorland's agricultural focus, offers up differences in preferences in meal selection (handheld, heavy, or roasted foods in Cumberland, and lighter, board of fares in Westmorland). As noted, a shortcrust pastry recipe was chosen from each book (Figure 27 and Table 9) to showcase regional variations as well as for its' intergenerational knowledge transference as it is considered one of the "best-known products of traditional pastry-making, [that can be] prepared by anyone" (Becchi, 2022)<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> A variation was known in the year 1000, however, "French chef Guillaume Tirel was the first one to label the process, describing its preparation in his manuscript 'Le Viandier'" (Becchi, 2022).

Figure 27: Cookbooks used in the analysis reported here



Source: researcher's image of books

Table 9: Listing of cookbooks and pamphlets analyzed

Date of Publication	Name of Cookbook	Publisher/Author	Citation
1927	Mrs. Beeton's All About Cookery	Ward, Lock and Co.	(Beeton, 1927)
1939	Good Eating: Suggestions for Wartime Dishes	Daily Telegraph	(The Daily Telegraph, 1939)
1940	Wartime cookery in Cumberland	Cumberland Education Committee	(Adamson, 1940)
1941	How to cook in War-Time	Mr. Ambrose Heath	(Heath, 1941)
1942	Tried Favourites Cookery Book	Mrs. E.W. Kirk	(Kirk, 1942)
1944	From Hand to Mouth	The Berkshire Federation of Women's Institutes	(Berkshire County Women's Institutes, 1944)
1946	Ministry of Food Leaflets (1)	Ministry of Food	(Ministry of Food, 2007)
1948	Outdoor Cooking	The Boy Scouts Association	(Boy Scouts Association, 1948)
1955	Florence Greenberg's Cookery Book	The Jewish Chronicle	(Greenberg, 1955)
1958	The Berkshire Cookery Book	The Berkshire Federation of Women's Institutes	(Berkshire County Women's Institutes, 1958)

1958	The 'Creda' Housecraft Manual	Simplex Electric Co. Multiple Authors	(Patten <i>et al.</i> , 1958)
Undated est. 1960s	More Westmorland W.I. Recipes	The Westmorland Federation of Women's Institutes	(Westmorland Federation of Women's Institutes, 1960)
1978	Diamond Jubilee Recipes	Cumbria-Westmorland Federation of Women's Institutes	(Cumbria-Westmorland Federation of Women's Institutes, 1978)
1978	The Country Kitchen Cook Book 1918-1978	The Leicestershire and Rutland Federation of Women's Institutes	(The Leicestershire and Rutland Federation of Women's Institutes, 1978)
1992	Northumberland Cooks Corner 1917-1992	Northumberland Federation W.I.	(The Northumberland Federation of Women's Institutes, 1992)

Notes: (1) Ministry of Food leaflets, as printed in *Eating for Victory* (2007) were used for menus during WWII (Ministry of Food, 2007).

The books/leaflets were chosen based on 1) being created by regional Women's Institutes to showcase regional variations in food selection and preparation method, 2) time period (selected cookbooks either cover the entire research period or are specific to the WWII years), and 3) availability for review. The other cookbooks showcased are 1) national publications, 2) WWII specific, or 3) community/Government publications. The complete breakdown of each recipe and menus are listed in *Appendix 6*.

An analysis of recipes fits into the FIGS framework as part of inter-group dynamics found in the 'Factors Influencing' portion of the framework by using two transition theories: Schlossberg's Transition Theory and Organski's Power Transition Theory. Schlossberg defines an event or non-event that results in a change in the relationship, routine, assumption, or role of an individual, while Organski's Power Transition Theory is defined by the different rates of growth and power dynamics between nations or competing groups which results in new political or economic entities (Organski, 1968; DeVilbiss, 2014). While transition theory itself has yet to be structured into a specific theoretical framework, we suggest that the various types of personal, social, and political transitions we discuss throughout this research can be understood as a ladder transformation process "in which the legacies of the past are the resources for the struggle over construction of what is new" and is therefore an equitable comparison for future policy development (Pickles and Unwin, 2004).

This means that by inserting these two transition theories into the FIGS framework, we can move between the levels themselves and anticipate wherein specific actions might result in normative social

disruptions, i.e., changes in general attitudes over time. It is the conclusion of this research that transitions occur within the Individual level with Schlossberg's theory, wherein there is a personal anticipated event (or 'transition', such as employment or marriage) and that the coping resources available (i.e., one's access to support, strategies, self, and situation) all create the concept of one's identity – the attitudes, beliefs, skills, and behaviors - that lead into the ability to function in the social- intersectional level (DeVilbiss, 2014). Schlossberg's theory, then, is ultimately one of marking personal events that led to changes beyond one's self. On the other hand, Organski's theory would be found mostly at the structural level in regards to global events like a World War, wherein trade agreements, nationalism, global media, etc., affect large-scale sweeping changes. Concurrently, there are smaller aspects that affect the social-intersectional level's factors, such as how nationalism and government policies affect social institutions and networks (Organski, 1968). For our purposes, the two women's organizations (the WLA and the WI) and how women communicate within their peer groups (LAS portion) found in FIRMS for their nutritional and educational understanding.

#### RESEARCH METHOD: GENDER CRITICAL MCA: WOMEN'S LAND ARMY CLOTHING

Most of the items analyzed were obtained from the MERL archives housed in Reading, the Imperial War Museum (London), the Berkshire Records Office, the Cumbria Records Office, the Women's Library at the London School of Economics, the National Museum of Rural Life in Scotland, and St. Fagan's National Museum of History in Wales. The researcher's object analysis worksheet (see Appendix 1) was modified from the National Archives Educator Resources website, the textbook Qualitative research: Analyzing life, and discourse analysis (Gavey, 1989; Carbó *et al.*, 2016; The National Archives, 2017; Hong and Pluye, 2019). Similar questions for art works, film, and sound files can be used/modified as needed (Schroeder, 2006).

#### RESEARCH METHOD: PHOTOANALYSIS OF IMAGES AS PROPAGANDA

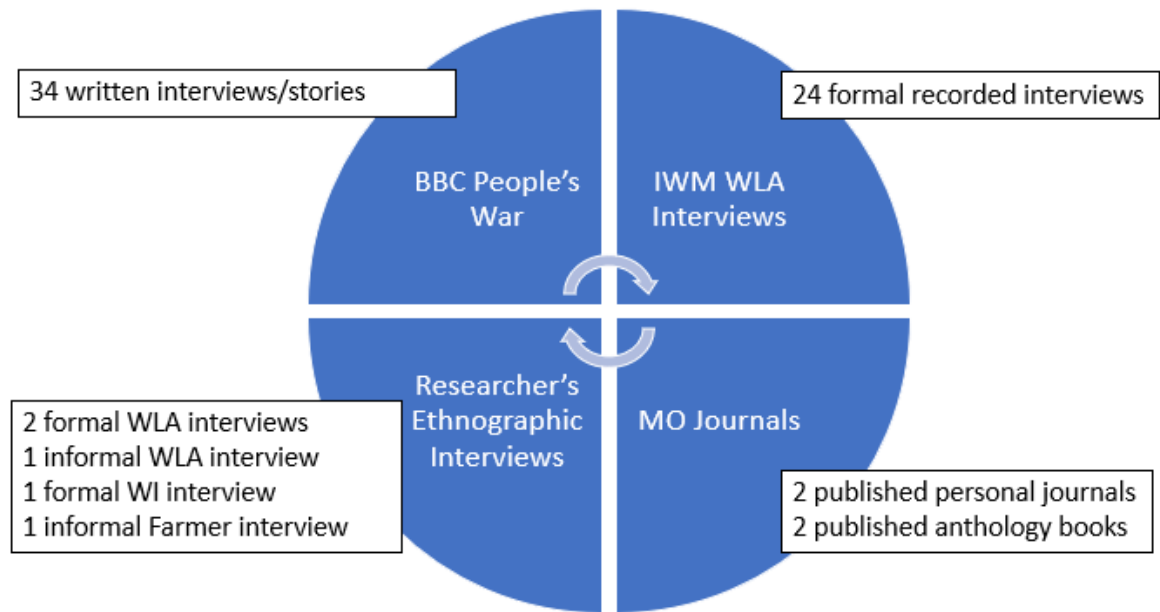
Images and photographs were incorporated into the MCA as part of the narrative framing analysis, but also to visualize specific policy implications and social concepts around women working. There has been substantive literature around the use of photographs within anthropological, material culture, and visual culture work, which Edwards (2010) describes in great detail in Museum Materialities (Dudley, 2010). Several hundred images and photographs taken by members of the WLA, official promotional images/photographs by the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Information, and Ministry of Education, the WI, and newspaper images/photographs (mostly through *Farmer and Stockbreeder* and *The*

*Farmer's Weekly*) were used. Photographs and images were treated as primary sources during analysis, especially those from the WLA or WI members themselves that were taken for personal use instead of propaganda from the MOA. Linked to the notion of “sublime historical experience...the phenomenological, sensory, and emotional potential of photographs as a historical form [offers a] subjective engagement” with history, offering a snapshot into the lives and interests of the women, without the gloss and glamor found within ‘official’ images (Ankersmit, 2005; Edwards, 2009). One of the issues with personal imagery however, is that they are often out-of-focus and smaller. By comparing the two versions, we can establish the ‘perspective’ the photographer or painter wanted us to see and discuss why they chose such a viewpoint. At the same time, the mounts and labels used within the scrapbooks of WLA members were also reviewed for information. These pages became, as Edwards (2009) suggests, “sites of entropic anxiety, for the combination of mount and label had to ensure the dual preservation of information and object.”

#### RESEARCH METHOD: ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEWS

Hearing from the men and women involved in the WLA and WI themselves, listening to their stories, and seeing their memories on photographs and letters, brought the QUAN data found in this research to life and was one of the primary drivers in attempting to find members who would be able and willing to talk about their experiences. While the ethnographic data could have been culled from printed or recorded interviews, the addition of living interviews allowed for the same set of questions to be asked from each interviewee, in addition to supplemental questions based upon their history (Figure 28). The primary constraint for the ethnographic study aspect was finding living members of the WLA, WI, and farmers who worked with one or more organization. Additionally, the age of the interviewees was a factor as working with an elderly population forced interviews to follow a semi-structured format, with fact-checking afterwards by the interviewer. To this end, the interviews became more about the overall perceptions than the minute details and were used to help give texture to the facts and figures found within the data and blunt the hard edges of the period literature. Complete interview questions and transcripts of the five researcher interviews can be found in *Appendices 1* and *2*.

Figure 28: Listing of types and quantities of ethnographic evidence used



The interview questions varied slightly based upon function, culminating in three sets of questions. The questions were asked via a correspondence letter to be answered on a mini-recorder and sent back to the researcher, via phone/video with audio recordings, in person with audio/visual recordings, and/or via email communication depending on the interviewee's capabilities and COVID-19 lockdown requirements. Transcripts were created via transcription service and then analyzed by the researcher following the same narrative coding format as described previously. Alternative interviews from deceased members were analyzed from the Imperial War Museum, Cumbria Records Office, and Museum of English Rural Life's (MERL) archives in several cases with answers culled from audio/visual recordings, however, the questions were not the exact same as they had been completed by other researchers. The British Oral History Society's guidelines were followed in formatting the ethnographic study portion of the QUAL research with ethical clearance being sought and approved by the School of Agriculture, Policy, and Development (SAPD) at the University of Reading (UoR). Due to COVID-19 lockdown procedures, the initial interview process (an eight-month timeline from January – August 2020) was extended to June 2021. Advertisements were placed on Facebook, Twitter, and on the [Women's Land Army website](#) asking for volunteers for interviews, although this only yielded two responses, one of which was from an academic asking questions. A blog post discussing the research was posted on the MERL website and additional interview requests were included, although this



produced no results. Eventual interviewees were found through correspondence with the NFWI and through historians who had previous relationships with WLA members. There were originally six respondents, however, one passed during COVID-19 and the interview was never completed. Email communication with family members of WLA members and the farmers who housed them were conducted throughout the research process. Additional written narratives through the [BBC's WW2 People's War site](#) and the IWM oral recordings were analyzed to make up the difference.

*Figure 29: WLA recruitment advertisement placed on Twitter, the WLA website, and Facebook*



**'We could do with thousands more like you..'**

**JOIN THE WOMEN'S LAND ARMY**

Calling all members of the Women's Land Army and the Timber Corps!

Your country needs you to share your experiences for a new research project on women's influence on agriculture.

Contact University of Reading  
PhD student Tamisan Latherow for more information on this Oral History project in conjunction with the Museum of English Rural Life and the School of Agriculture, Policy and Development.  
[t.l.latherow@pgr.reading.ac.uk](mailto:t.l.latherow@pgr.reading.ac.uk)

We discussed spoken texts briefly, which interviews and informal discussions fall under. The recording of such is one level of interpretation, the transcription another, and finally, the analysis itself provides a third dimension. Anecdotal notes typically focus on other key aspects or become key based on the interviewers' interpretation at the time (Keats, 2009). This could be because the topic was brought up multiple times, because of the verbal stress on the term or topic noted by the interviewer, or by some physical reaction on the part of the interviewee, such as crying or laughing. The context of doing such interviews during COVID-19 also presents a form of social bias, where emotions and fears may be higher



than normal, where social media may be influencing perceptions, or where the interviewer may be stressing certain issues unknowingly with their own tone or body-language.

#### RESEARCH TOOL: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

As mentioned, questions were delineated by topic: Personal Information (5 questions) reflected on the interviewees demographic data, family life, labor relations of parents, and effect of the war on emotional health. Joining Up (4 questions) related to why they joined and the impact on their family. Training (7 questions) asked about their background, what (if any) training they received and how they felt about it. Billeting (5 questions) related to the state of their housing. Work (16 questions) discussed the manner and practical aspects of their assigned duties and Community (7 questions) related to their interactions with, and emotional reactions to, the social aspect of their work environment. A final overall question asked them to reflect on their general disposition of the work and any other information or stories they wished to share. The full list of interview questions can be found in the *Appendix 1* however a sample is listed below:

- What did your parents do? Did your mother work outside the home?
- How did you think joining up was going to affect you?
- Was this the first time you had left home? How did you feel about that?
- Can you describe the training to me?
- Did you come from an agricultural background or attend a university for agriculture?
- Did you billet with other girls?
- When and where were you sent?
- What was the work like? Did you feel adequately trained or did you have a lot of on-farm training?
- What was the community like you were sent to?
- Did you go out or have much interaction with the community?
- Where did you go after the Land Army (urban, rural, etc.)?
- Did you ever marry?
- Where did you meet your spouse?
- How did the work you did in the Land Army affect your life after the war?

Questions for farmers included: Personal Information (same as above) 6 questions; the Farm (3 questions) type of farm and work required; Land Girls (15 questions) who they were, how they worked out, general impressions, and a final overarching question on how they felt about women working on the farm and any other information or stories they wished to share.

Likewise, questions for WI members included: Personal Information (10 questions - same as above); Joining Up (4 questions) the why and how of joining; Duties (9 questions) assigned tasks and community

involvement; as well as the final overarching question about how they felt about their time in the WI and any other information or stories they wished to share.

#### DATA COLLECTION AND THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Formalized coding was not used for the interview transcripts. This was decided upon 1) the limited sample size (5 interviews) and 2) the interest was not in the demographic data, but as contextual stories around feelings and experiences i.e., a descriptive phenomenological approach. Since each person's experiences were different, the research was looking predominantly at how the stories and experiences matched up with the published anthologies and if there were details that might have been left out or influenced certain aspects. In this way, a non-formalized coding was made by the researcher through notes written during the interview itself and then again when reviewing the transcripts, allowing for key points to be noted and links around specific topics, such as food, housing, and emotional issues as described in the thematic analysis section above. For example, Roy Bartlett's stories were only tangentially WLA related, he had two or three specific interactions with WLA members, but his perceptions as a male farmer, who served in the military at home, allowed the interviewer to ask about social issues and perceptions through questions on how people felt about the war, the different service personnel (including the WLA), and public morale. His interactions with Black service members were also discussed. These topics were discussed differently, or ignored completely, in the other interviews when asked based upon the interviewee's previous comments. The interviews were highlighted or notated when reviewed for relevant information and the full transcripts can be found in *Appendix 2*.

#### ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND RESEARCH LIMITATIONS: CONDUCTING SENSITIVE RESEARCH WITH AN ELDERLY POPULATION

Health and Social Scientists frequently deal with sensitive issues in their research, including discussions on religion, families, sex, etc. Doloriert and Sambrook (2009) discuss two issues for the researcher: 1) the emotional impact on the researcher themselves and 2) the challenges in honoring the respondent voice through accurate and truthful representation. From the respondent's side, the researcher must show a sense of partnership, participation, protection, and understanding of the potential for a power-imbalance (Wilson and Neville, 2009; Arrant, 2020). Coming at the research from the participant's perspective is key. Their values, beliefs, practices, and worldviews need to be established and continually respected and referred to by the researcher (Fenge *et al.*, 2019). In this way, understanding the positionality and goal of the research will assist in maintaining a balanced power relationship and

letting the participant speak for themselves providing an authenticity to their voices. As such, when analyzing the interviews, it was necessary to be critical of an effusive wording or ‘everything was grand and lovely’ commentary. Such concerns specifically arose when looking at the interview from one WLA member, Sheila Hope, whose interview showed a desire to ignore the harsher aspects of the labor and interactions with male farm laborers that she discussed in an earlier published interview (Kramer, 2008; Hope, 2020). Other interviewees were less hesitant about discussing issues, although one had to be paused due to the interviewee becoming overcome with emotion at the memories. While every attempt was made to be both sensitive and thorough, supplemental interviews would have potentially yielded different information.

### A NOTE ON COLLECTING DATA DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Health challenges, especially during COVID-19, were major issues to be contended with. Only one interview occurred in person at the respondents’ home. Health guidelines were followed, but the distance between the researcher and the respondent meant that questions needed to be asked several times for clarity of hearing. Speaking/hearing difficulties were also a factor in the phone and online interviews; however, these were more technological concerns than the respondents being unable to physically speak or hear. In two such cases, family or friends of the respondents were involved to assist, which caused some issues keeping everyone on track (Altawalbeh, Alkhateeb and Attarabeen, 2020). In these cases, having previously sent the interview questions was useful, as they could be referred to. Follow-up questions, communication, and images (photos predominately) were typically scanned in and sent via email or dropbox and necessitated the addition of family members into the process. One interviewee was unable to communicate directly and the interview was subsequently conducted over a period of days with their caretaker. The interview questions were used as the base, but devolved into an informal conversation between the caretaker and the respondent. The addition of interviews from other sources was a direct reaction to these issues and the limited size of the initial data set. Since no two interviews covered the exact same questions, they were used only in regards to contextualization, not for demographic data.

### SUMMARY

In this Chapter, we discussed the different methodological aspects of the research including demographic, historical, and discourse analysis of government reports, census data, and ministerial debates; consumption reports from food and nutritional surveys; gender critical historical literary analysis of narrative and textual evidence; material culture analysis of clothing and images; and

ethnographic interviews; along with the problems that arose when one utilizes such a multivariable framework. Our arguments for using MCA within MMR focused predominantly on the creation of a holistic viewpoint, which necessitated a more comprehensive analysis from the educational, political, and community network perspective to establish a thorough review of employment access and impact for women during the study period. In the next Chapter, we shall look at the two case-study organizations – the WLA and WI – and what the role of the state played in both.

## CHAPTER 3: THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN WOMEN'S SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

In this Chapter we shall look at how the State, as an agent of change, legitimizes women's positions within the Agri-Food sector (objective 2). We do this by looking at the WI and WLA, the intersectionality of their organizational structure, Government interference and legitimization, how public perception of the organizations differed, and the organizations' influence on education and employment. Since it has been argued that a woman's political and social capital has, in the past, largely been "derived from their position in a familial or kinship group" and that it was only with the feminist movement (and the bid for the vote) that they were treated as individuals in the same way that men were (Stacy and Price, 1980). We suggest that social networks fulfil the same political agency, especially when backed by Government sponsorship.

The concept of separate spheres, which we discussed in Chapter 1, continues this line of reasoning stating that women handle the home and hearth and men the business and political entity. Yet, we contend that it is only during times of transition where such spheres break down, that is, when there are not enough men to enforce such division, such as during a war. We posit that women's social organizations act as a bridge between the two spheres, since such organizations typically have a hierarchical (but not patriarchal) nature, promote social capital, address 'feminine' tasks in a 'masculine' way, and, in the case of the Women's Land Army and the Women's Institute, have a direct link and influence on the larger political arena.

Despite the changes in legislation from the Married Women's Property Act, equal pay, and sex discrimination legislations starting in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, women are often still defined by their position within the family, specifically on their marital status. Ironically, their political power achieved through legislation, could be seen to have occurred before their social, or civil, autonomy, at least in regards to the case study period. 'Male equivalence,' coined by Melville Currell (1974), "demonstrates the persistence in the modern era [...that] a woman in a particular power-wielding position, or seeking to gain that position acts primarily as a substitute for a man." This is the primary issue the WLA found when they attempted to promote women in agriculture from the male dominated employment sphere during WWI and WWII. Interestingly, it was not as much of an issue for the WI, which promoted women's political and social power, but from the standpoint of the female sphere, particularly around home and food.

The two agencies show most clearly how the interaction between the role of the State and the role of social organization membership can influence both public perception and personal capital. What is interesting is that both social organizations were under the leadership of Lady Gertrude Denman and yet they had two vastly different ends. The WLA, both in WWI and WWII was only ever seen as a stop-gap measure to the loss of male labor during the wars and directly afterwards, while the WI is still the primary women's social organization for rural women and girls. Their creation, membership, and political agency allows us to discuss how women's social networks both enabled entry into the Agri-Food sector and were formalized and imagined during the study period. This falls under the Social-Institutional section of the FIGS framework and answer how such networks opened up employment options (Q1) and the role of the State legitimization and funding had (Q2a and Q2e).

## EQUIVALENT, BUT NOT EQUAL: THE WOMEN'S LAND ARMY

Figure 30: Timeline of the WLA during WWII

Lady Denman approached by MOA to re-form WLA

1938

1 June: WLA re-formed

29 August: Headquarters in Balcombe Place, West Sussex

1939

1 September: Germany invades Poland

3 September: War declared

January: Food rationing begins

April: The Land Girl magazine published

1940

March: New minimum wage.

May: Women ages 19-40 register at labour exchange

December: National Service Act (No. 2) conscription of women

29 December: Minimum wage increased to 38s. per 48 hr week (or 19s. with free room and board)

1941

April: Women's Timber Corps. officially split from WLA; 4,000 employed by Home Timber Production of the Ministry of Supply

June: Benevolent Fund started as workers compensation for injury or illness

1942

August: WLA recruitment paused for recruitment of Aircraft production workers; Correspondence courses in Agriculture and Horticulture via proficiency tests

1943

3 January: WLA recruitment re-opens

July: First complete set of proficiency tests

1944

January: WLA members in for 3+ years given special consideration to return to home counties

16 February: Lady Denman resigns over poor treatment of WLA members

8 May: VE Day

May: 60,600 WLA members employed.

September: MOA tells WLA they are needed until after harvest

1945

March: 30,000 new WLA members needed to replace demobilised members

August: 54,000 WLA members employed

31 August: Timber Corp. disbanded

1946

January: WLA workers entitled to 2-weeks paid holiday/year

March: The Land Girl ceases publication; replaced with free 'Land Army News' - published in June

August: Proposed increase in minimum wage for agricultural workers, including a fixed maximum room and board for Land Girls billeted by employers (no longer any county by county variation). The Women's Employment Federation suggested future careers for Land Girls.

1947

26 January: MOA says WLA could go for 2 more years. Land Army County Committees dissolved.

1948

30 November: WLA officially disbanded

1950

Source: Derived from (Antrobus, 2008; Clarke, 2008)

## FORMATION AND PURPOSE

The British Women's Land Army (WLA) was initially set-up during January 1917 (Figure 30), for WWI and reformed in June 1939 for WWII under Lady Denman, who had been approached by the MOA to re-establish the organization. The WLA lasted until November 1950 and employed over 200,000 Land Girls who worked on farms, in the forestry service, and in land works. They were typically young women from urban backgrounds – hairdressers, shop assistants, typists, etc. After registering at a labor exchange board for work placement, they were sometimes required to complete a medical exam and then sent to a training center; although these last two seemed to have uneven distribution according to the oral records.

## MEET THE MEMBERS: GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND ETHNICITY

Gertrude Mary Denman, neé Pearson (Figure 31), was born November 7, 1884, to Weetman and Annie Pearson (later Viscount and Viscountess Cowdray). Her father was a successful businessman and staunch Liberal who supported free trade, Irish Home Rule, and women's suffrage; while her mother, a farmer's daughter, was a feminist and active in the Women's Liberation Federation (Huxley, 1961). She met 28-year-old Lord Thomas Denman in 1902 when she was 18 and were eventually married in 1903. Her father, now Sir Weetman, bought Lady Denman her own country estate named Balcombe Place in Sussex in 1905. Balcombe not only became her home, but the headquarters for her most ambitious political and social activity – The Women's Land Army (Huxley, 1961; The National Federation of Women's Institutes, 2011).

Her first foray into the political arena came with her election to the Executive Board of the Women's Liberal Federation in 1908; a position her mother held previously. The organization's focus on women's suffrage brought her increasingly into the spotlight as she argued for more rights and for Liberal candidates that supported their cause (Huxley, 1961). By 1916, she had accepted the post of chairwoman of the Women's Institutes' Sub-Committee of the Agricultural Organization Society, which in turn became the BOA's Food Production Department and then the Women's Land Army in 1917. At the same time, she became the first President of the NFWI, a post she held until 1946 and a member of the Executive Committee of the Land Settlement Association (Huxley, 1961; The National Federation of Women's Institutes, 2011). The formation of the WLA from the WI, and its sponsorship from the Government, shows the close links between the three organizations. Likewise, Denman's upper-class upbringing made her an 'acceptable' voice in the Government, while her agricultural background endeared her to farmers.



*Figure 31: Lady Denman and Queen Mary at the London School of Needlework*



Source: The Women's Library misc. box on Lady Denman (The National Federation of Women's Institutes, 1950)

Notes: Lady Denman (2<sup>nd</sup> from left) with Queen Mary (centre) at the London School of Needlework WI Exhibition in South Kent.

Lady Denman was active in the formation, organization, and practical daily operations of the WLA in both WWI and WWII. During WWI, she urged housewives in both urban and rural communities to conserve food, preserve them via new canning techniques, and sell the surplus produce at farmers' markets. The Women's Land Army's job, according to her, was to provide relief labor for farmers so that the men could go off to war; she was not advocating women to take men's jobs, simply to assist the farmers with the labor shortage during WWI and as such, promoted Currell's concept of male equivalency (Watton, 2022b).

During WWII, she pushed for the reinstitution of the WLA and used her home, Balcombe Place, as its' headquarters. From the beginning, Lady Denman and the WLA were fighting an uphill battle against the public's perceptions around social norms for women. Even the Government, which in 1938 had requested she reform the WLA, was split, with the Civil Service describing her proposals as using a "sledgehammer to crack a nut" (North Devon Athenaeum, 2020). By April 1939, she was so frustrated with the lack of respect and push-back that she threatened to resign unless she was allowed to move forward (North Devon Athenaeum, 2020).

In 1940, she wrote in the *Home and Country* magazine (the official NFWI magazine) that “[members of the WI] can do much to by their influence and encouragement to enable the Land Army to take its full share in this task [to increase food production]. The prejudice against a woman attempting to do a man’s work dies hard” (see Figure 32, A view of the Land Girls from *Punch* magazine) (Waller and Vaughan-Rees, 1989, p. 80).

*Figure 32: A view of the Land Girls*



Source: (Punch Magazine, 1940)

No where was the split between male and females spheres in the WLA more obvious than the Women’s Timber Corps. At the outbreak of WWII, 96% of the U.K.’s timber requirements had to be imported, as trees planted after WWI were still too immature to be of use. Open hostility in the press against women working in the forestry service meant Lady Denman had to be creative in her recruitment. The first Timber Corps members were Land Girls who were trained as lumber measurers and then transferred to the Home Timber Production Department of the Ministry of Supply to work in the Forest of Dean at the start of 1940. They worked alongside POWs, commonwealth forestry workers, and local forestry personnel until they had established their capabilities doing the harder tasks of felling and cutting trees

(see Figure 33). The new Women's Timber Corps (WTC) received official government approval in April 1942. Lumber Jills (as they were known) were given four-weeks of training at one of the four main training centres in Suffolk, Yorkshire, Herefordshire, or the Forest of Dean and competed in certifications in felling, sawmilling, measuring and haulage.

*Figure 33: Women wartime foresters*



Source: (Vickers, 2011; North Devon Athenaeum, 2020)

Women with maths proficiencies were needed to “calculate the cubic quantity of wood in a tree, what it’s use would be suitable for, the volume of wood in a woodland, and the measurement of felled and sawn timber for the calculation of the feller’s piecework wages” (North Devon Athenaeum, 2020). These Lumber Jills became the measurers and received one of the highest pay rates within the WTC, though they were still far off from their male counterparts.

Male laborers were paid 72s/week in June 1944, while women were only paid 56s/week. Males were classified as ‘skilled sawyers’ and paid 1s 11 ½ d/hour while females were listed as ‘sawmill worker on machine’ and paid 1s 5 ½ d/hour (Foat, 2019). Yet even these numbers may not be accurate representations of actual pay for female workers. Diane Underwood said her “‘take home’ pay was



£4.7.2 a fortnight” as a measurer, earning less than 44s/week, which was 11s short of the recommended 55s for measurers, while Mary Broadhead earned 60s/week as a sawmill operator, which was 12s less than the official recommendation of 72s/week (Foat, 2019). The pay was not inclusive of housing or clothing, which left many of the women without the financial means for entertainment.

For WLA members (both Land Girls and Lumber Jills), the required uniform was free of charge, but clothing coupons (which were rationed) were needed to obtain them. Likewise, Ministry of Information propaganda used the clothing itself as a way to popularize and deal with social unrest of women working in male-dominated fields, creating a ‘sexualized femininity’ that offered women a way of bridging the male/female divide, although this had limited success (Rose, 1988; Anderson, 2014). For example, below is a pair of modified WLA brace overalls housed at the MERL. When compared to both intact overalls and images of WLA members wearing the overalls, the need for function over form was found most clearly in the boxy design of the WLA uniform. At the same time, the women themselves made alterations to the clothing, some for practicality (cutting the pants to shorts during the summer months) and some to create a more ‘feminine’ look (such as tying ribbons to their hats) (Foat, 2019; Cordwell, 2020).

*Figure 34: WLA member Barbara Cornwell and overalls modified into shorts, Doreen Thorpe*



Source: (Thorpe and The Museum of English Rural Life, 1988; Cornwell, 2021)

Lady Denman found the situation with the Timber Corps. especially cumbersome:

...regarding the difficulties in obtaining accommodation for members of the Women's Forestry Corps whom it is intended to employ on Timber Control Work...The local forester['s]...main difficulty being ignorance [around]...what the exact requirements of the girls [are] and the amounts which they will pay for accommodation (Foat, 2019)<sup>34</sup>.

Additionally, the work was hard and dangerous. Mary Broadhead was working the sawmill as part of the WTC when wind blinded her with sawdust causing her hand to get caught in the saw.

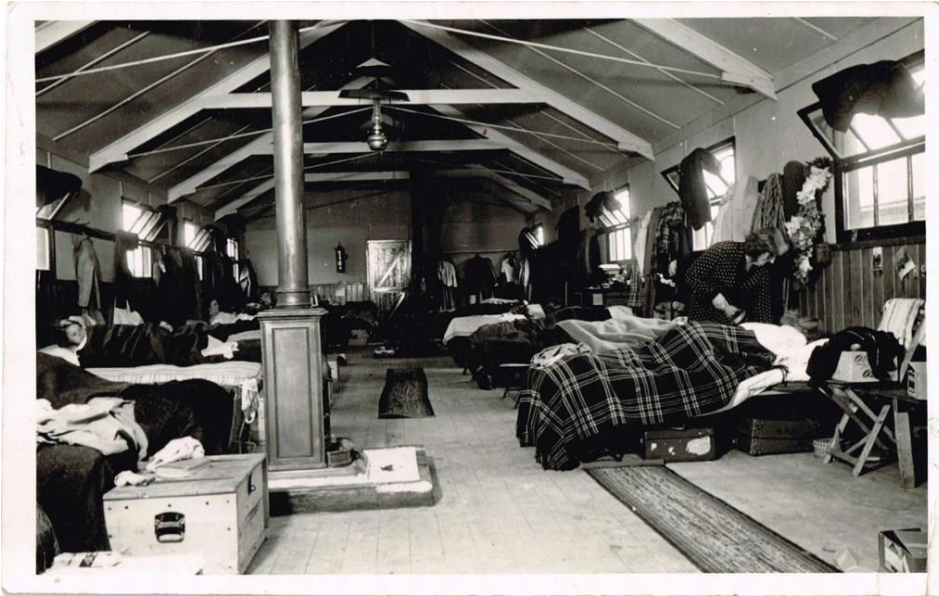
I went to Johnny the engineer and said, "I've cut my thumb off." He said, "You couldn't stand there and tell me that", and I said, "Well I have, look." He didn't stop for long and ran up the yard looking for Mr. Wilson, the saw doctor, who came running back. But the lorry had gone down to the garage and there was nothing we could do but wait...[so], I was sat by the stove in the hut and they made me a cup of tea (Foat, 2019).

Mary's story reinforces the prejudice that women were inherently incapable of handling pain and hard work with the engineer obviously believing she was lying until the evidence was clearly shown. Likewise, the dismissive nature towards the women workers themselves and their needs were reinforced repetitively in the accommodations and training provided to them. For many members of the WLA, their first rural experience in the cottages and hostels they were billeted in was a shock: "...a lot of the girls, having come from an urban situation, of course, they had all these things and, suddenly, they found... once you got out of London, you didn't even have proper sanitation. I mean, it was a difficult thing for them" (Cornwell, 2021). Similarly, recruits for the Women's Timber Corp. at Culford Camp, Suffolk, lived in long bunk houses with minimum heating and a separate bathhouse. One can see from the Figure 35 below that privacy and insulation were minimal and that heating came from a single stove in the centre of the room while the floors were mostly bare wood. Neither warm nor cosy. In addition, the windows needed to remain open for ventilation regardless of the weather or they risked carbon monoxide poisoning from the fireplace. The quick turn-around of building erection needed for the recruits did not consider the long-term living arrangements, and as such, many of the women employed suffered through bouts of chest complaints due to the poor living conditions. Likewise, lack of proper sanitation and cooking facilities created issues around health and wellness (Sayer, 2013b).

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<sup>34</sup> 1939 Letter from the Divisional Officer to A.H. Popert, at Timber Control. The National Archives (MAF 900/162).

Figure 35: Women's Timber Corp. accommodation at Culford Camp, Suffolk.



Source: Margaret Elizabeth Sunderland collection (Watton, 2021)

#### PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

WLA credibility was of primary importance to Lady Denman, as many of the young women were often from urban backgrounds with little to no agricultural experience. Their stories tell the sometimes-perilous adventures of 'townies' struggling to find their way in environments dominated by men, with few of the amenities they were used to, as well as little to no formal agricultural training. Policies surrounding government gratuities and clothing rations were also limited or ignored for WLA members, who were not part of the official military services, as well as disrespect from the general public.

As Miss Betty Bessant (1945) explained in an article in the *Farmer and Stockbreeder*:

The land army has worked hard for low wages and under bad conditions. Unlike munition workers, they receive no war bonus. They have a uniform for which they have to give up coupons, but unlike other services they are not entitled to any clothing grant on demobilisation.

We have no desire to rate our service higher than that of others. Our job is not yet done, but when at last we do return to our homes and former civilian occupations we ask for the right to enter the post-war world on a basis of equality with others with whom we have also served.

A key issue for the members was the fact that the WLA was not part of the Forces, even though women were eventually conscripted for War Work and offered to work in industry or join one of the auxiliary services, which by December 1941, included the WLA (Imperial War Museum, 2022). This meant that a

WLA member could have been forced to join and if she was injured, the Government would only pay her what a regular agricultural worker would have received. It was because of this that the WLA set up the Benevolent Fund in July 1942 (Figure 36), which members paid into as a form of co-op social insurance scheme (Watton, 2022a). The fact that this was necessary speaks to the utter disregard the Government had towards WLA members.

Figure 36: WLA Benevolent Fund post-war appeal by Lady Denham in 1946

## *A Land Girl ... has been injured*

Members of the W.L.A. get no gratuities, no "de-mob" leave and no re-settlement grants. Their work has been hard, exacting, responsible and often lonely.

Many of those who joined the Land Army for the "duration" are staying on—some after six years service, new recruits are joining; all are wanted to help to produce the food which the Country needs.

The W.L.A. Benevolent Fund is helping more than a hundred members each week.

*It provides—*

Grants towards the expenses of illness and convalescence.

Grants towards the expenses of training for civilian jobs for which free training is not available under Government Schemes.

Grants and loans towards re-settlement.

The W.L.A. Benevolent Fund has a Domestic Centre at which members who are setting up homes receive a month's residential training. It has special arrangements for the diagnosis and treatment of rheumatic complaints. In the near future it will be responsible for two Rest Break Homes and for one or more Convalescent Homes.

To my mind there is no fund which is more worthy of support.

G. DENHAM.

The Women's Land Army Benevolent Fund has seldom made a public appeal for money during the course of the war. Call it pride, or an inferiority complex prompted by the thought that there might be causes more deserving than their own. Today however, the Fund is a most deserving cause. Land girls have no gratuity to help them settle to civilian life again. In cases of need the Benevolent Fund is trying to fill this deficiency. Will you please help? No matter how small the gift it will be gratefully acknowledged. Let it be YOUR victory tribute to the Girl who helped to fill your plate during those dark days of war.



LADY DENHAM

CHAIRMAN OF THE W.L.A. BENEVOLENT FUND

Source: Stuart Antrobus (Watton, 2022a)

The women employed by the WLA had three key issues to contend with: concerns over their physical capabilities, concerns over how their employment would influence/impact male laborers, and concerns

over their impact on the rural communities themselves. Included in these, yet less often discussed, were the women's sexuality and ethnicities. Much of the autobiographical literature produced by WLA members focuses on anecdotal stories of family, agricultural tasks, and interpersonal relationships (between the girls themselves, the farmers, and the town-folk/military personnel in the region). Since many of the books are conglomerations of stories from the women, it is hard to track exactly how they felt over a longer period. One part that almost all the literature has, however, is a portion of quotes and stories devoted to prejudice:

The men with whom I worked on this farm had taken a bet that I wouldn't last three months especially as I was used to working in London as a very junior secretary.... Some of the farmers were quite nice but there was [sic] those who were, to say the least, absolute pigs. They treated you as second-class citizens...one of the dirtiest tricks played on me when I first worked with threshers was when I finished up in the evening and went to put my coat on. I put my hand in my pocket and, lo and behold, it was full of mice; the men had collected them up and put them in. They thought they would upset me and they did, but I wouldn't let them see it.— Sheila Hope (Kramer, 2008)

In the extreme cases, Land Girls were sexually harassed and attacked. The *Sussex Express County Herald* reported on May 29, 1942, the assault and attempted rape of a Land Girl who had left a pub with a soldier who attacked her. The man threw her to the ground, punched her in the face and pulled a knife on her. She was rescued by passerby's and filed charges with the police. However, the soldier was let off with just a fine after evidence was presented to his previous 'good' character by his platoon members who had every reason to side with the attacker, leaving the victim without recourse (Kramer, 2008). Such stories reinforce the concept that women and their experiences were somehow worth less than their male counterparts. A situation feminist scholars attempt to fix by bringing these stories to the forefront of the social narrative.

However, the battle is made more difficult when women themselves minimize or trivialize their contributions in what is often referred to as feminist nostalgia<sup>35</sup>. There are a few definitions and aspects to feminist nostalgia, but here, we're speaking about the exclusion of negative feelings and the collectivism expressed through the 'sisterhood' of WLA membership firstly and womanhood secondly

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<sup>35</sup> Please note, we are in no way attempting to victim-shame. Such issues arise in all cultures, regardless of gender, we are simply stating that if the victims of such acts do not speak about them and there are no documented records, researchers have little to go on.



found within almost all of the WLA oral histories (Evans and Bussey-Chamberlain, 2021)<sup>36</sup>. In our interview with WLA member Sheila Hope, the interview glossed over the harsher aspects of farm life, and she never mentioned the teasing or harassment she endured which she had mentioned in previous interviews. Granted, twelve-years had passed, so she might not have remembered, or thought it important during this interview, but it is something to keep in mind when looking at oral histories. During the non-structured discussion at the end of the interview, Sheila did discuss her families' confusion over her application to the WLA, as she explains:

... I was afraid of animals. I mean, even from...a kitten onwards, I was scared stiff of animals ... My mother tried all sorts of animals to get me to like them, but no, I was petrified. So, that's why they couldn't understand why I was going into the Land Army...I did get used to them and I actually got to milk the cows and do all sorts of things (Hope, 2020).

Additionally, her friends' visits to her after she eventually married one of the farmer's sons and had two farms of their own in the countryside shows the split between rural community and town:

I remember my friends coming to visit me and, oh, I couldn't live in the middle of a field. It was awful, you know, having lived with houses around you, but then of course, I realized I couldn't go back to living in the town either (Hope, 2020).

This last part comments on one way that the WLA members bridged the gap between urban and rural identity and women's impact on the rural community. By marrying into a farming family, Sheila first classes herself in the urban dweller role of her pre-WLA years, then embraces the rural community life found post-WLA using her marriage to establish her official status as a rural community member. Marriage was one-way women were legitimized in the rural community and photographs of such marriages offer an interesting insight for the researcher. WLA member Elizabeth Johnstone Hood's marriage in 1944 to a farmer's son shows several points of interest, including the identification of those present, the clothing each person is wearing (including the official WLA uniform), the 'tradition' of WLA members raising spades or rakes as an archway for the couple to walk under, and the physical location of each member in the wedding party. Likewise, how they are arranged gives us information on the type of ceremony and religious background of those portrayed and is a valuable tool when contextualizing narratives found in interviews and journals. Here, the predominance of WLA members in the Bridal

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<sup>36</sup> The only time these first two do not occur are in records of members who left because of issues or were not in long enough to form relationships (e.g., due to ill health).

party shows the tightknit community aspect of the organization. The rakes being held, their association with their labor as a form of community identity, and the marriage itself of a former suburban woman into a farming family. We can also extrapolate that WLA members worked on or near the wedding location and evaluate the clothes being worn (notice there are no black boots!).

*Figure 37: George McIlwraith and Elizabeth “Betty” Johnstone Hood (WLA) marriage, 1944*



Source: (McIlwraith and McIlwraith, 2021)

Notes: WLA members often held spades or rakes as an archway for members that got married. Elizabeth Johnstone Hood (aka Betty) and George McIlwraith, married at Crosshill Victoria Church, Queen's Park, Glasgow, Scotland, 1944. Honour guard bridesmaids: Margret Johnston (L) & Kathleen Armour (R) and best man: Ross Evans. Women's Land Army Honour guard: (Left, front to back: Wren Stratton, Barbara Weir, and Jean Henderson; Right, front to back: Jessie Crocker, Monica Morris, and Leslie Campbell.

The sensory and embodied aspect of such photographs offers a way for researchers to trigger emotion or memories beyond textual evidence and provide a 'sensory frame' for both the owner of the photos and the viewers of them (Edwards, 2010). As Crane (2000) explains, through photographs "memory becomes sensible and visible through imaginative recollection and representation." It is this juxtaposition of internal emotion and external historical evidence that lends photographs to being such

a useful inclusion in MCA and the comparison between personal and propaganda photographs especially important in discussing how these internalized emotions were used by the Government to effect policy change.

None of the other interviewees we spoke with mentioned overt prejudices, focusing on the subtler biases around politics and gender roles. Roy Barwick, former Army corporal and heavy-horse breeder/farmer, mentioned a small incident that stuck in his mind about the subtler biases against the WLA:

I had to change trains at Darlington station...and when I was changing trains... [a WLA member] said, "Would you buy me a packet of cigarettes in the NAAFI?" Now, that was the Navy, Army and Airforce Institution. I had very little time because I was changing trains, so I said to her, "Well, you know, you----" And she was in uniform. I said, "You can go in and, you know, buy the cigarettes," and she said, "I can't, they won't let me in, they won't serve me." I said, "Oh crikey." Anyway, she gave me whatever it was, a shilling or two, in those days, I quickly went in and bought her the cigarettes and gave them to her... (Barwick, 2021).

Frankie Cordwell, WLA member working in Sussex, remembers one instance with their local WLA officer:

We thought we were being flash. We sewed green braid to tie under our chins, and we were out in Chichester Square one day, and one of the officers from Horsham came out with a pair of scissors, in the middle of the town, and cut them all off and embarrassed us.... It was...an insult to the uniform to cut the braid off. They weren't meant to tie under your chin like a bonnet we were told (Cordwell, 2020).

WLA and WI member Barbara Cornwell explained that the jobs given to the Land Girls did not stop at the farmhouse door, some farmers used the women as unpaid labor in their homes, even though it was not part of their official duties:

[T]hey did look upon the Land Girls as very good babysitters too. If they were having someone, even for an evening meal with them...they'd ask you if you'd mind, "Can we take you over to such-and-such a farm, because they've got young children and they...can't come unless there's someone there with her, with them." ...I think the, the Land Girls in the other farm found that too, that people sort of made use of them in that way when they could. But it wasn't a bad thing...[it] was another side-line of being in the Land Army too (Cornwell, 2021).

## ETHNICITY AND THE 'OTHERING' OF THE RURAL ENGLISH COUNTRYSIDE

Often discussions surrounding rural communities in England showcases an implicit whiteness in the population demographics and does not consider, especially within the historic records, other ethnic communities. This is typically called 'othering' and is characterized by the shock and segregation found within rural communities at something or someone outside the status-quo; frequently amplified for those who are visibly different, i.e., black or brown<sup>37</sup> (Garland and Chakraborti, 2006). In this context, rural communities are often more cautious and conservative than even most residents would prefer to admit, and that feeling of distrust and suspicion falls on even neighboring villagers (Cloe and Little, 1997; Garland and Chakraborti, 2006).

Figure 38: Londoners' protest meeting against racial inequality and Daily Mirror article



Source: (Holborn Trades Council, 1943; Ginn, Goodman and Langlands, 2012)

Miss Amelia Elizabeth King was a third generation Stepney Afro-Caribbean woman who volunteered for the Women's Land Army's Essex County branch. Born 25<sup>th</sup> June 1917 to Henry King and Amelia neé Simpson, she was christened Victoria Docks at St. Luke's on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1917 (DorsetGirl1, 2020). With her

<sup>37</sup> While black population rates were low in the 1940s in England, othering refers to anyone beyond the norm be it from ethnicity, disability, political leanings, language, nationality, etc. Romany, Polish laborers, etc. were all considered 'others' at one point or another.

father in the Merchant Navy and her brother Fitzherbert in the Royal Navy, Amelia wanted to do her part for the war effort, however, her application was denied as some of the farmers and local billeting agents objected due to her being black (Figure 38) (Bourne, 2012).

When raised in the Commons, the Minister of Agriculture said: "Careful inquiry has been made into the possibility of finding employment and a billet for Miss King, but when it became apparent that this was likely to prove extremely difficult, she was advised to volunteer for other war work where her services could be more speedily utilised" (Fryer, 1984). One MP warned the Minister that "the world listens to matters of this kind, which affect the integrity of the British people", but the Minister made no reply (Fryer, 1984).

The press and Parliament were not the only places Amelia's story was told. A Mass Observation poll found 49% of the 62% who had heard of her "strongly disapproved" of the situation and that "even those who did not entirely believe in colour equality were against this particular case of colour prejudice which was regarded as detrimental to the war effort" (Fryer, 1984; Winch, 2014).

Following a vigorous debate within the news, the Parliamentary Debate on the 12<sup>th</sup> of October 1943 had the following update on Amelia's position within the WLA:

Mr. Riley

asked the Minister of Agriculture whether Miss Amelia King of the John Scurr House, Stepney, has now been accepted into the W.L.A.; and whether she will be entitled to receive and wear the land army uniform?

Mr. Williams

I am expecting that the enrolment of Miss Amelia King in the Women's Land Army will be effected this week, and as soon as she is drafted to employment she will receive and will be entitled to wear the Women's Land Army uniform (Phillpotts, 2020).

In fact, she was accepted by A.E. Roberts of Frith Farm, Wickham, Hampshire, who was considered "quite the character" (he once told off a former RAF member for chatting up girls too much) and "involved in all aspects of village life" (Chinn, 2020). The predominantly fruit farm was rented in 1927 and then purchased by Mr. Roberts, who went by the nickname 'Teddy' and was the first farm in the county to take on women workers. His daughter Betty managed the WLA members after the original

supervisor Miss Neal (whom Betty said “was a disciplinarian but fair”) left (Frith, 2020; Phillpotts, 2020). According to the Frith Farm website: “*Frith* is an old English word that combines the meaning of loyalty, friendship, freedom, and sanctuary. It is the commitment to family, friends, and community to consider their welfare in our actions” (Frith, 2020).

“Betty remembers her father hearing about the Amelia King case and saying he would certainly have her on the farm. Like other WLA workers she had to have lodgings in the village and there was worry about finding them for her but Betty remembers Harry and Ada Elizebeth Davis on Dairymoor offered” (Phillpotts, 2020)<sup>38</sup>. The story made international news. She was interviewed by George Padmore of The Chicago Defender where she reflected that “if I’m not good enough to work on the land, then I am not good enough to make munitions. No one has ever suggested that my father and brother were not good enough to fight for the freedom of England” (Romain, 2017). She worked on the farm (Figure 39) until 1944 and passed in 1995 in Whitechapel<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> The Davis’s lost both sons during the war. John Harry was a Sergeant (Air Gunner) in the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve and died shortly after Amelia’s arrival on 17/03/1944, age 28 (husband of Dolores Victoria Ruby Davis, of Southsea). His brother, Robert Edgar, an Able Seaman on H.M.S. Royal Oak, died earlier in the war on 14/10/1939, age 19 (Simmons, 2008).

<sup>39</sup> Amelia was not the only Black service member to have issues. Members in the Wrens and other services, especially those from the Dominions and American GIs had issues with the public, military members, and political agencies. Their stories are diverse and can be found in books such as The Motherland Calls, which gives a great overview of the issue (Bourne, 2012).



*Figure 39: Photo taken during tea break on Frith Farm. Amelia King seated centre front with Betty Rudd directly behind her*



Source: ('Amelia King and the Land Girls of Frith Farm', 1945)

While our interviews did not show such overt prejudices and misuse, other stories occurred in the press and in WLA journals. Eventually, Lady Denman. resigned over the Government's unwillingness to treat the WLA in the same manner as the other women's forces, reinforcing Roy Barwick's comment above regarding the lack of official respect WLA members had from the Government. Concurrently, the WLA, in a similar form to Frankie Cordwell's story, showed their own biases by originally denying potential WLA member Amelia King membership due to her ethnicity. One group that seemed to be spared were those members and affiliated persons who classed themselves as LGBTQ+. Women fell into a loophole in the legal classifications against same-sex relations and therefore were never penalized the same way males were. Each of these stories are told in more detail in the following sub-sections and fall under the individual level of the FIGS framework around identity while continuing to use ethnography and archival research as part of the MMR to look at the interaction between the State and social networks.

#### *WOMEN'S SEXUALITY FROM A LEGAL PERSPECTIVE*

An often-overlooked aspect of personal identity is one's sexual preference. Sexual preference is a difficult subject to research, with limited archival evidence. Likewise, historical attribution of sexuality is

ethically and practically complex. A researchers' personal understanding could inhibit the research, as could the resources available (Corfield, 1997; Serrano Amaya and Ríos González, 2019). This is partially due to the terms and legal standing of such acts and their changing status and understanding over time. In the U.K., there was a double standard for gay men and women. In England and Wales, while it was not illegal for two women to be in a relationship, homosexuality was only decriminalized in 1967, and in general, public opinion showed that same-sex couples were predominantly discouraged (Dryden, no date).

Vickers (2015) discusses how, in the armed forces, same sex acts between heterosexual men were considered a "practical alternative to ... the difficulty of finding a female sexual partner" and safer and cheaper than paid prostitutes. Private Dudley Cave tells of his own experiences in the BBC's WW2 People's War archives:

There were none of the anti-gay witch-hunts we had after WW2...Homosexual soldiers were more or less accepted...The visible gays were mostly drag performers in concert teams.

Regarded with considerable affection, their camp humour helped lift the men's spirits (Tatchell, 2004).

Contrary to the fears of the Generals, during WWII there was no evidence that homosexual soldiers undermined unit cohesion: "all the gays and straights worked together as a team. We had to because our lives might have depended on it" (Tatchell, 2004).

For women, especially those in the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF), who were integrated into the Royal Air Force (RAF), gender identity was not established by job duties or uniform (although they wore a skirt instead of trousers, both were the same as the males') (Stone, 1999). For members of the WLA, the press often held that the masculine tasks of farm work and wearing trousers would create lesbians or at least women of loose moral character. "'Backs to the land' was a vulgar expression directed at Land Girls and implied that uniformed Land Girls lacked moral restraint" (Anderson, 2014). Rorty (1989) suggests that morality is "the voice of ourselves as members of a community, speakers of a common language...[and that] immoral action [is] the sort of thing we don't do". In this way, labelling the predominantly urban Land Girls as 'immoral' simply for wearing a practical outfit for manual labor immediately puts them as outsiders to the rural agricultural community and sets a subconscious bias into the minds of the public, something that women in agricultural colleges also had issues with.



Taking this one step further, for women identifying as lesbians in England at this time, the general rule was 'don't ask, don't tell.' Part of the discrepancy in the laws and public opinion was probably due to how common it was for single women to live with female flatmates or in boarding houses simply due to cost efficiency and the harsh criticism levelled at an unmarried woman living with a male. As such, it would have been easier for two women to maintain a private/public life duality than two men, who would have been expected to live on their own. The irony being that there were probably as many lesbians in the WLA as there were gay men in the military, but the research is exceptionally lacking (Vickers, 2015).

Two known WLA-affiliated lesbians were Enid Barraud and Vita Sackville-West. Enid Mary Barraud (1904-1972) was a member of the WLA during WWII who was openly gay and, in modern terminology, would probably be considered transgender. She often went by the name 'John' and lived with a female partner called 'Bunty.' One of the first 1,000 women to register with the WLA in 1939<sup>40</sup>, she began training the day after war was declared on September 4<sup>th</sup> (Barraud, 1946). She lived in a cottage in Little Eversden that she owned and worked on two farms in Cambridgeshire during her time in the WLA. Her first general farm hand position was given to Italian POWs since they were free labor, although she did maintain employment as a farm hand until 1944 when illness forced her to resign (a total of six years) (Marland, 2022). Afterwards she worked as an editor for *The Dairy Farmer* and from 1952 worked at the Ornithological Field Station (Cambridge) where she published papers on various birds and perhaps her most well-known paper, *The copulatory behaviour of the freshwater snail* (1957), which have both male and female anatomy and may have been a bit of a tongue-in cheek comment on her own identity, although this has not been documented (Barraud, 1956).

From the beginning of her time in the WLA, she is quite critical of the economic standing of the Land Girls. She comments that as an insurance clerk with 15-years-experience, she earned £5/week, whereas as a farm hand she only earned 1s/hr (Marland, 2022). She does note that owning her own cottage allowed her to stay in her community (Figure 40). "If it hadn't been for having a cottage of my own, I should never have felt so much part of the rural scene. It makes a difference, to have a real stake in things. Without the cottage, I might even never have joined the Land Army" (Barraud, 1946). Those girls who were billeted on farms or away from villages, she explains, lacked the social cohesion a community

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<sup>40</sup> Her registration number was 960.

afforded and often felt alone and without support (Marland, 2022). This was brought up in many of the Land Girl records.

*Figure 40: Barraud's cottage with 'Bunty' in background*



Source: (Barraud, 1946)

*Figure 41: To "The Land Girl" Poem*

**TO "THE LAND GIRL", LAST ISSUE**

Farewell, LAND GIRL, you were the link to bind  
The lonely outposts of our separate toil.  
Not ours to share the comradeship of camps,  
The jokes of barrack rooms and quarter-deck.  
The hum of engines under factory roof.  
Alone we fought them in the fields, the byres,  
And came at night home to our lonely fires,  
No more heroic than our plodding task.  
Then were you our encouragement and stay,  
Holding a hand to each, making us one,  
Reminding us we shared a common aim  
That each must serve lest all should be betrayed.  
Your task is done; oblivion claims you now,  
Yet not oblivion while one heart shall beat  
That once wore green and khaki, loved the land,  
And strove to save it through those darkest hours.  
Farewell, LAND GIRL—yet hail! You live for ever.  
We loved and thank you, and forget you never!

Cambs. E. M. Barraud, ex-W.L.A., 9600.

Source: (Barraud, 1947)

Barraud kept a journal during the war, which became her 1946 memoir, Set my hand upon the plough, a book which Vita Sackville-West called an "authentic voice...her book is one which every true countryman will recognise as being the real thing" (Bullock, 2002). In addition to the articles in scientific journals and books she also wrote both "A Christmas Carol" and to "The Land Girl," the latter of which was in the last issue of the *Land Girl* magazine, a fitting tribute to both the members and the organization (Figure 41).

Vita Sackville-West was another LGBTQ+ associated with the WLA, although she was not a member. Born in 1892 in Kent, she was a novelist, poet, garden designer and author of the official The Women's Land Army manual (1944). Sackville-West was passionate in her relationships, both male and female,

although they often fell apart. She married Harold Nicholson in 1913 against her parents' wishes and interestingly, the couple had an open relationship, with both having same-sex relationships before and during their marriage. She considered herself of two minds- the soft, submissive, feminine side attracted to males and the hard, aggressive, masculine side attracted to females (Johnston, 2004). In the 1920s, she met novelist Virginia Woolf and had a 10-year relationship with her, the women often visiting each other's homes both singularly and with their families in tow.

While upper-class women like Sackville-West had more leeway towards masculine dress and mannerism than their lower-class compatriots, there were those women who presented themselves as young men, not because of sexual identity or preference, but simply because they were allotted more freedoms or higher earnings as a male. These 'trickster' women, were only linked to lesbianism after the 1928 prosecution and censorship of the lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* (Oram, no date). Unlike Barraud, West and Woolf (Figure 42) were both married to men at the time of their relationship and while not openly gay, Sackville-West and Woolf used their positions as novelists to promote women's abilities, not their sexual natures, often decrying the term 'feminist.' Instead, they "emphasise the achievements of these women, their adaptability to totally different jobs and surroundings, their physical strength, their endurance and their resourcefulness ...[and] deconstructs the image of women as ninnies when [they] describe their efficient work as rat-catchers" (Reynier, 2020). Overall, while there was probably prejudice towards specific women in certain situations, it was more the *idea* of lesbianism than the practical nature that found detractors in the public and the lack of legal condemnation from the Government probably assisted in the 'don't ask, don't tell' public mentality (Zaborszky, 1985).

*Figure 42: Virginia Woolf and Vita Sackville-West at Monk's House (Virginia's Home)*

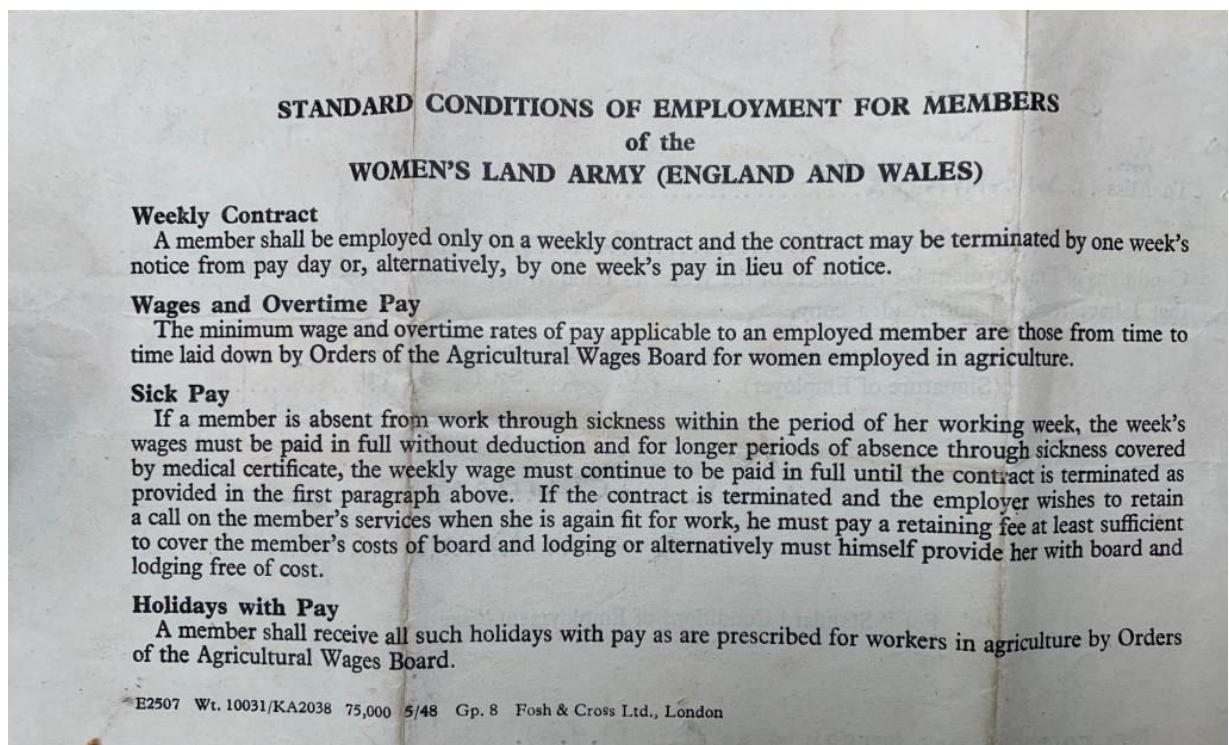


Source: (Arndt, 2018)

## EMPLOYMENT DISCREPANCIES AND RATES

Fairness was the theme of the British Homefront during WWII with equal rations and equal responsibilities, but not necessarily equal acknowledgment. The standard employment contract for WLA members is shown below (Figure 43) and shows that the women were employed on a weekly basis. Notice was to be given either one week prior to pay day or with one week's termination payment. Though a minimum wage and overtime rates were set forth by the Order of the Agricultural Wages Board, they were much less than their male counterparts, something that was a constant complaint amongst feminists at the time.

Figure 43: WLA employment contract



Source: (Watton, 2022c)

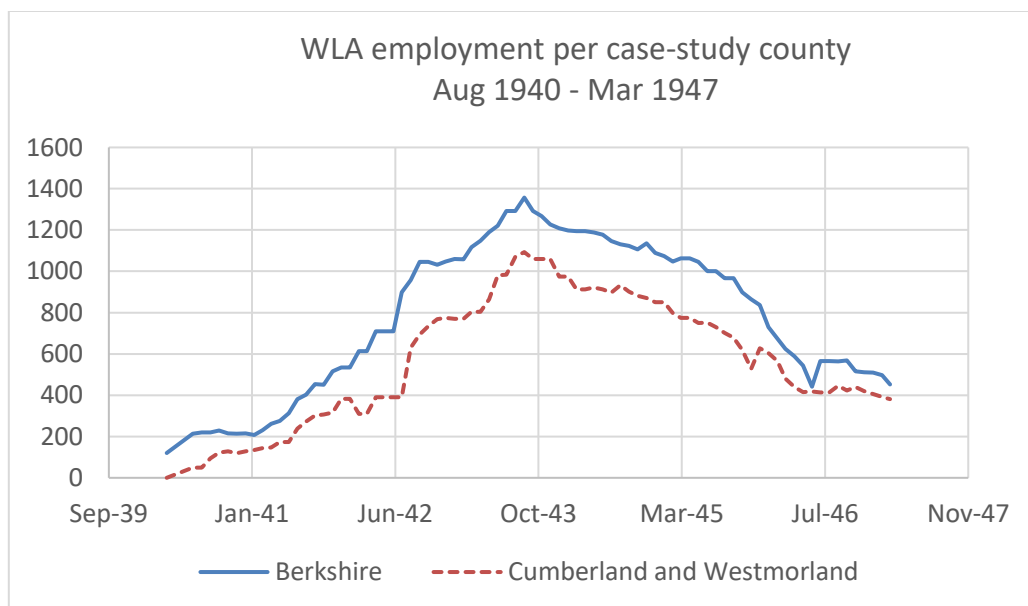
Figures 44 and Table 10 show the changes in employment records for Berkshire and Cumberland/Westmorland as listed on the back of the monthly *The Land Girl* magazines. These numbers were selected to give the broader trend for employment in these counties based on current WLA records. It should be noted that Berkshire's numbers include an area that is listed as part of Oxfordshire, post-1971. We can see in Figure 44 that WLA employment numbers run parallel for the most part, with



Berkshire's numbers just slightly higher than Cumberland/Westmorland. This corresponds to the general higher agricultural employment records we discussed in Chapter 1.

Looking at the combined numbers for Cumberland and Westmorland, at the height of October 1943, we see around 1,100 women were employed while Berkshire was closer to 1,400. Averaging the 1939 and 1951 general agricultural employment rates for the three counties shows that Cumberland/Westmorland had roughly 355,684 women employed in agriculture and Berkshire 399,193; which meant that only 0.3% of women employed within agriculture were accounted for by WLA members. One of the reasons was that a woman who lived or worked on a farm was not allowed to volunteer for the WLA but had to remain on the farm or within agricultural employment for the duration of the war, something that assisted in the split in public perception between 'town' and 'country' and the women who lived therein.

*Figure 44: WLA employment in Berkshire vs. Cumberland/Westmorland, 1940-1947*



Derived from: *Land Girl* magazines, Women's Land Army (1940-1947).

Table 10: WLA membership (nationwide vs case-study counties), 1940-1950<sup>41</sup>

Year	National Membership Rate	Highest employment during the year	
		Berkshire	Cumberland & Westmorland
1940	11,700	229	128
1941	21,900	534	382
1942	53,200	1,047	775
1943	87,000	1,357	1093
1944	47,124	1,209	974
1945	43,124	1,073	850
1946	23,017	729	604
1947	17,682	509	405

Source: (Moore-Colyer, 2004)

Though a review of employment opportunities in the case-study counties (Chapter 1) shows that it was a combination of the decline in domestic and farm service opportunities, migratory patterns and rural depopulation, the relationship between town and country was an additional driver in affecting women's employment status during the study period. Despite the growth of women's legal rights and the increasing pressure from trade unions and female social organizations for equal pay and access to employment opportunities, female farm labor was still predominantly seasonal or casual in nature for paid labor, and under reported for farm wives and daughters in general. Women were still paid less than their male counterparts and contract rules and regulations varied by regional tradition rather than a government enforced national standardization. This meant Government policies and conscription were less effective than initially thought and that WLA membership did not have a greater influence on women's Agri-Food employment in general, though the organization's very public face provided through the press, parades, and Government propaganda has kept the social perception strong in the general public consciousness over the years (see Chapter 5 propaganda).

## EXCLUSION AND DISBANDMENT

Letters in the press repeatedly commented on the WLA's exclusion from Post-War Grants. June 1945, when Parliament ruled against WLA Post-War gratuities (Figure 45), turned the pages of the *Farmer and Stockbreeder* and other newspapers red with letters from WLA members. In the 'Two Girls Who are also

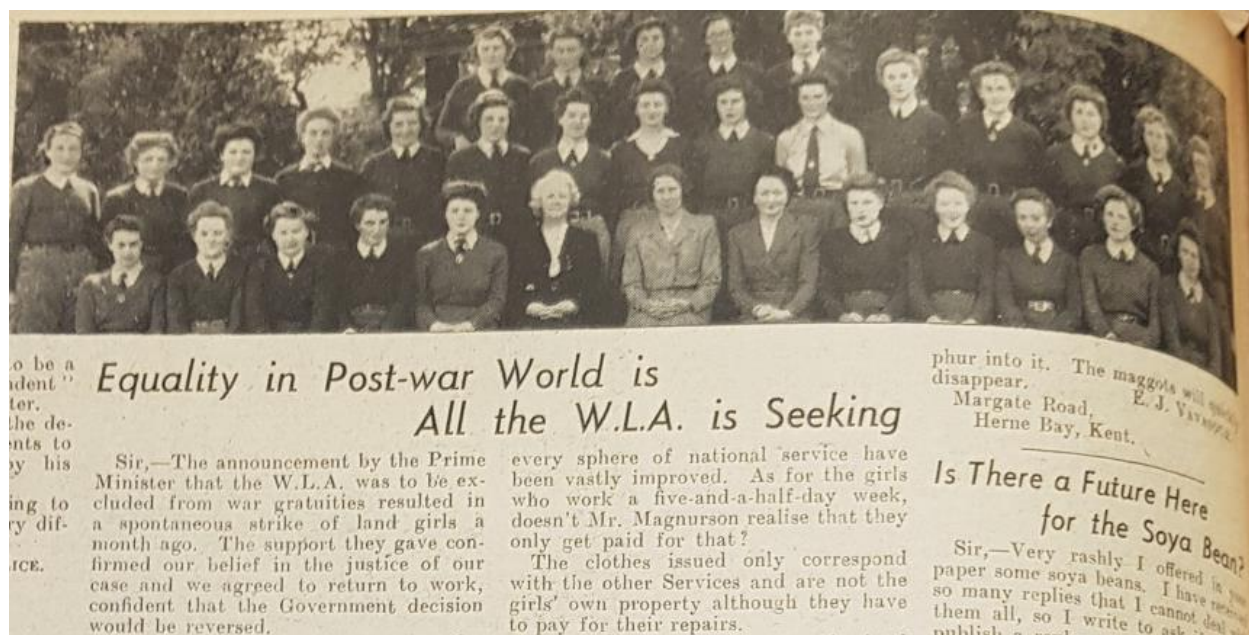
<sup>41</sup> County rates taken from the monthly *Land Girl* magazines, Women's Land Army (1940-1947).

“Heartily Sick” letter from Miss Saunders and Miss Batchelor (1945), Luccombe Farm, Bonechurch, the women’s frustration is clearly evident:

...So, Thomas H. Magnurson is heartily sick of the so-called bleatings [sic] of the W.L.A. regarding gratuities! ... We are extremely sick of the disheartening criticism of the public over this gratuity business. Why should members of the Civil Defence [sic] (who have now been disbanded) be allotted gratuity, while we are likely to be expected to carry on for some considerable time yet?

Miss Hewitt (1945), Church End, Rickling, Essex explains that “(t)he antagonism towards members of the W.L.A. is most marked, and even at times taking active forms. On some farms everything has been and is being done to make the lives of the girls a misery.”

*Figure 45: W.L.A. seeks equality article*

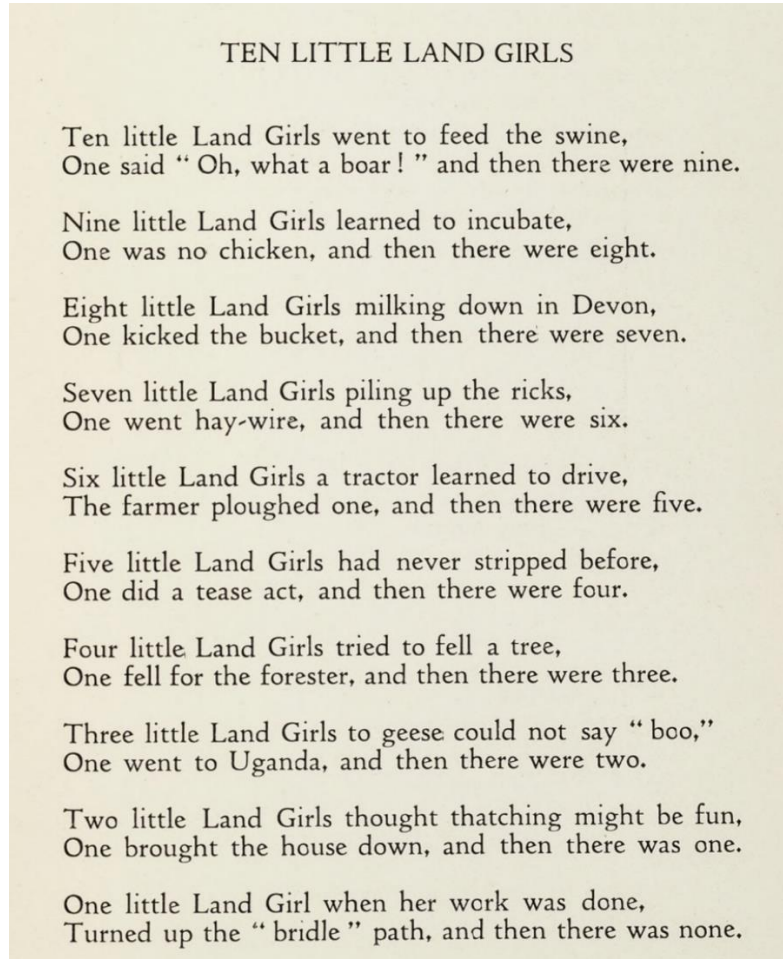


Source: (Sutcliffe, 1945)

The financial gratuity mentioned would have given the members 1) the right to their pre-war jobs upon leave, 2) the ability to retain the uniform they paid for, 3) coupon and monetary allowance to offset the difference until employment could be found, and 4) access to the rehabilitation services. Items women working in other branches of the armed services had access to (Clarke, 2008). Such gratuities would not have been any more of a financial drain than the other women’s services, especially considering the low overall numbers of women employed, and would have gone a long way in boosting morale and public perception.

An interesting commentary on the many issues WLA members faced can be found by looking at the WLA poem 'Ten Little Land Girls' by Jean Moncrieff (Figure 46).

*Figure 46: WLA poem*



Source: (Roberts-Stone, no date) citing Jean Moncrieff

Geraldine Roberts-Stone broke down each verse to explain the subversive nature of the poem and some of the issues it brings to light including motherhood, marriage, sexual preference, race relations, and the dangers of working on a farm. "One did a tease act, " referred to the opportunity to explore their sexuality and "the farmer ploughed one," referred to sexual abuse and rape (Roberts-Stone, no date). "One went to Uganda" was a comment on the increased interracial relationships and movement to colonial areas, while "one was no chicken" referred to a rejection of motherhood and procreation (Roberts-Stone, no date). Each line bares out an issue members faced both in reality and in public perception and highlights some of the growing disillusionment of the women who had volunteered to assist during a period of transition and crisis.



By the end of WWII and the 1946 disbandment of the WTC and WLA, Lady Denman was at her wit's end. Appeals in the press and Parliament for the same gratuity and recognition as the other female services were blocked and repeatedly refused. The injustice was so pronounced that Lady Denman resigned her position in protest (Figure 47). Lady Denman passed away nine years later in June 1954.

Figure 47: Lady Denman steps down, 1945 newspaper article

## WOMEN'S LAND ARMY CHIEF RESIGNS

### No Post-War Grants

Lady Denman, honorary director of the Women's Land Army for England and Wales has resigned her position as a protest against the decision to exclude members of the W.L.A. from Government capital grants to assist in restarting business enterprises.

In a letter to the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. R. S. Hudson, Lady Denman says:

I write with regret to notify you of the decision foreshadowed in my letter of November 23, and to tender you my resignation from the office of honorary director of the Women's Land Army for England and Wales.

The Land Army is a uniformed service, recruited on a national basis by a Government department, and the work which its members have undertaken, often at considerable financial sacrifice, is, in my view, as arduous and exacting as any branch of women's war work and of as great importance to this country. Yet they have been refused post-war benefits and privileges accorded to such other uniformed and nationally organised services as the W.R.N.S., the A.T.S., the W.A.A.F., the Civil Nursing Reserve, the police auxiliaries, and the Civil Defence services.

This position is a serious one for the Land Army members, who will have as great need as those in other services of Government assistance in the problems of resettlement. As you know, I have protested against the omission of the Land Army from various Government schemes, and also against the decision, now announced, that capital grants to assist in restarting business enterprises will be available after the war to men and women who have served whole time in the forces, the Merchant Navy, or the Civil Defence services, but not to members of the Women's Land Army.

It is this latest decision which has led me to feel that I must resign my present appointment, and that I can no longer appear to be responsible for a policy with which I do not concur.

May I express to you my great regret at severing my connection with the Women's Land Army and my appreciation of the kindness and courtesy I have received from you and your department?

Lady Denman was invited to organise the Women's Land Army when the Government decided to form it just before the war, and to become its honorary director, and she has held the office throughout. She lent Balcombe Place, Sussex, for W.L.A. headquarters, and started a benevolent fund for members of the organisation, of which she is chairman. She has served the National Federation of Women's Institutes as chairman since the movement was introduced to this country in 1915.

Source: (The Guardian, 1945)

While the WLA was striving for equality and recognition, the WI was making huge inroads in women's Agri-Food education with linkages to Government funding. An interesting, and probably frustrating, situation for Denman, who was chair of both organizations.

## WE'LL TAKE IT FROM HERE: THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S INSTITUTES

While the WLA focused on women's agricultural employment, other organizations like the WI focused on women's social activities and rural identity. The British-side of the International Federation of Women's Institutes was established in 1915. The Women's Institute movement, as it was known, was originally an off shoot of the Farmer's Institute in Ontario, Canada (1897) and had been established to support the wives and daughters of farmers. The WI movement in Britain was supported by the Agricultural Organisations Society and by the Government with the main goals of revitalizing rural communities and encouraging women to become more involved in food production during WWI. The establishment of new WIs in 1917 was the responsibility of the Board of Agriculture's (BOA) Food Production Department and the almost 800 independent WIs across England and Wales were joined into one voluntary organization called the NFWI under Denman. However, one of the key features of the WI, was their 'non-official' Government affiliation during WWII.

Though formed during WWI, Government financial support was withdrawn shortly thereafter and by WWII, the WI limited their involvement to evacuee assistance, running the Government-sponsored food Preservation Centers (*see Chapter 5*), and promotion of rural identity through handicrafts and production guilds. Though officially non-politicized, records show a growing link between rural education and the WI. Such rural agricultural education (*see Chapter 4*) was sponsored and paid for by the Ministries of Education (MOE) and Agriculture (MOA), with the benefit of WI promotion of Government food schemes. The inclusion of WI created and run Rural Domestic Economy (RDE) courses across the country into the standard MOE agricultural curriculum and promotion of rural infrastructure works, including the very first resolution passed in 1918, which called for "sufficient supply of convenient and sanitary houses, being of vital importance to women in the country," shows the strong political pressure the group was able to enact, including the growth of female trade union membership and the 1943 "Equal Pay for Equal Work" campaign (The Women's Institute, 2023). By the end of WWI there were 773 Women's Institutes in England and Wales with a total of 12,000 members and by 1925 they had firmly established not only ties, but leadership under the MOA and MOE, by filling the Government perceived gap of countrywomen's education (Stamper and Dew, 2005). Denman's role as leader of the WI and the WLA during WWII saw an ever-increasing intersection between the two organizations and is one of the reasons for their selection in this research (Stamper and Dew, 2005).

## THE WI IN BERKSHIRE: CREATION OF RURAL DOMESTIC ECONOMY COURSES

The primary enforcer of agricultural policy during WWI and WWII were the CWAECs which were formed in 1917 along with the NFWI. The goal of the CWAECs was to guide local food production as part of the Government's Food Production Policy. They were made up of multiple members, including one female who was often part of the WLA or WI<sup>42</sup>. While the CWAECs were not geared specifically towards women, the WIs often had their own Women's War Agricultural Committees which ran simultaneously and were referred to as needed by the various government agencies, especially when it came to agricultural education and training, much of which was outsourced to social organizations such as the WI during the Wars (Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1916; Crowe, 2008). Such organizations were used to push through and popularize government policies around food production. The WI marketed female agricultural labor regardless of the expressed reluctance in the press and in the farming communities. Such grumblings were not universal in nature though and many welcomed any help they could get (Cumberland County Education Committee, 1916; Crowe, 2008).

By the Interwar years, the CWAECs had been disbanded (only to reform during WWII) due to budget and interest. The WI committees became less about the war and more about general agricultural education and employment for female agricultural workers, picking up where government funding ran out (see Chapter 4) (Short, 2007; Crowe, 2008). As noted in Chapter 1, the census data gives a sample of how women's labor was often hidden from the general records due to reporting structure and timing. These social organizations assisted in giving a voice to those individuals, and led to changes in policy development for rural infrastructure and education. One such was the development of Rural Domestic Economy courses and another the Land Settlement Association.

For many rural women, such organizations would have been key players in the development of a rural identity, but also in the promotion of women to traditionally male dominated roles in the political, scientific, and business arenas (Sayer, 2013a; Stovall, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger, 2015; Imperial War Museum, 2020). During WWI and WII, the CWAECs focused on local issues due to the regionality of farming practices. Due to this, we can place the CWAECs into the Structural Level of our FIGS framework in regards to political agency, but within the Socio-Institutional Level as a Social Institution/Network. In addition, we can place the two women's social organizations and the Women's Farm Labour Committee

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<sup>42</sup> In these early days, most of the focus for women was on dairy work, although a single notation in December 1917 mentions women millers as well.

which was absorbed into the WI's War Agricultural Committees into the same level. The WI's WAC ran jointly with the Berkshire WAEC at this time (1915) and its involvement as a testing ground for the MOA and MOE regarding female agricultural training assisted in the broader transition at the Interwar period with government changes starting to occur regarding rural female education in a bid to mitigate concerns over out-migration during the agricultural depression of the 1920s (Verdon, 2009). By the winter of 1931-32, the county office of the Berkshire WI (Figure 48), and other agricultural associations, undertook the MOA's task of creating courses on RDE as it related to the production and economic utilization of home-grown food, creating a smaller peri-urban agricultural production zone we will discuss in more detail in Chapter 5. These courses covered the four key agricultural topics geared towards women at this time (poultry keeping, dairying, gardening, and beekeeping), as well as domestic work under the auspices of home production of food stuffs.

*Figure 48: Members of Earley WI received instruction on fruit canning by Miss Cummings of Berkshire County Council*



Source: (Berkshire Chronicle, 1940)

The Government preferred for all courses to be taught in a farm setting. The WI responded by holding the RDE courses, when available (especially food production courses like cheese-making) in farmhouses



with several women from the surrounding area attending the demonstrations and training<sup>43</sup>. This preference did not always occur and for larger lectures or demonstrations, the WI often rented local village halls to allow for more attendees (Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1949). The participants of the RDE courses were culled from local middle-class middle-aged women and WLA members, but the employment of the women chosen to be instructresses and assistants for the RDE courses fell under two categories: WI members and County Advisory Staff. Such employees could be either temporary contract workers or full-time municipal employees. The WI branches originally held demonstrations, lectures, and short courses on a variety of topics (some included within the RDE definition and some not), with the goal of promoting women's activities in rural communities. The courses were almost always taught by women and often attempted to popularize government schemes, such as the National Preservation Scheme in 1941 (Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1949).

The transition in focus is clear in the Berkshire WI meeting minutes of the Agricultural and Horticultural Sub-Committee. A memo from January 21, 1935, states that the sub-committee was now called the Agricultural and Rural Domestic Economy Sub-Committee and by March 18th, the RDE courses are all listed under the County Council Report (Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1949)<sup>44</sup>.

The MOA, in a circular dated February 1940, that declared:

...women should take an active part in the actual production of food from the garden and allotment, small livestock and the dairy, and there was need in many parts of the country for the services of Instructresses ... [of rural domestic economy] if the fullest possible results were to be obtained from women's work in the subjects in question (Ministry of Agriculture, 1940).

A more thorough review of the Berkshire WI records saw the first notation of RDE much earlier, in two letters dated the 26<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of April 1916, to the Berkshire Agricultural Instruction Committee requesting the urgent need to train local women who were unable to attend the Farm Institute (see Chapter 4) residential courses during WWI. These meeting minutes were often handwritten notations, faded or overlaid in cursive script making it difficult to read and often only highlighting key names or issues (carbon copies and printed notes rarely occurred and not until much later). Eventually, several entries regarding the response to the 1916 letters were located in the Berkshire Records Office in which

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<sup>43</sup> See *Appendix 4* for full list of each course and topics of instruction covered.

<sup>44</sup> No such records existed for Cumberland and Westmorland, although training in food production did occur, they were not labeled specifically as RDE courses nor promoted in the same manner.

the WI proposed the training of women and girls through Reading College Farm<sup>45</sup> (eventually the University of Reading) (Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1916). This was the beginning of what came to be known as RDE courses in Berkshire. That same year, the Berkshire WAEC recommended that farmers with women working on their farms (without state assistance) should write a report of their duties and abilities for the Berkshire Agriculture Instruction Committee for acknowledgement of their work, which the WI's committee pushed through their member networks and promoted within the WI magazines (Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1916).

The Berkshire Agricultural Instruction Committee explained that in July of 1941 alone, 33 lectures and demonstrations were given throughout the county and included war-time cookery, fruit preservation, meatless dishes, war-time jam making, poultry keeping, and dairying. Likewise, during the first quarter of 1944, 1,200 participants were enrolled in coursework and new courses included bacon curing and hedge cutting (Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1949). The addition of farm management courses was due to the co-funded nature of agricultural education between the MOA and MOE (see Chapter 4) and the co-administration of RDE coursework by the MOA, even though the WI administered the courses, teachers, and supplies.

Miss J. Mathews (Figure 49) was the longest employed WI Instructress and the one whose salary met or exceeded her male counterparts starting at £200 per annum in 1926 to over £400 by 1937 (as well as a car allowance). In contrast, assistants ranged between £150-175 regardless of gender and often were on monthly contracts (Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1949). We see the first reference to Miss Mathews in 1927 mentioning a raise in salary to £250 per annum and in the minutes of the Agriculture and Rural Domestic Economy Sub-committee in 1930<sup>46</sup> where she is listed as not only an instructress, but a member of the WI RDE sub-committee. Though we do not know her personal background, her long-standing employment shows that she was considered competent and responsible for such a position.

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<sup>45</sup> The MOA accepted the proposal and provided a £75 grant for the training.

<sup>46</sup> We learn she resides at 136 Shinfield Road, Reading, until 1941 when she moves to 22 The Forbury, Reading, though there are no notations in the Berkshire WI records discussing if Miss Mathews owns or rents these homes, nor anything about her personal life.

*Figure 49: The staff of Berkshire Institute of Agriculture (later BCA), 1948, Miss Mathews 3<sup>rd</sup> from left<sup>47</sup>*



Source: (House and Heritage, 2021)

On March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1932, the first RDE course notation are listed in the Berkshire WI meeting minutes where Miss Mathews states that classes had been arranged and held at Longworth, Reading, Littlewich, and Hermitage. In September of that year, she notes that RDE curriculums were being revised before being sent out to individual WIs across the country which had requested them as per the MOA's original inquiry. In 1936, she was one of several WI members to travel to Belgium to review farm schools in that country and by the beginning of 1937, she was recommended to attend the NFWI RDE Field School (Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1949).

She remained with the WI until 1942 when she resigned to focus solely on the Berkshire County RDE/Dairying courses as a full-time employee of the Berkshire WAEC until the ending of the war. When the Berkshire Institute of Agriculture (BIA) opened in 1949 through the Berkshire Education Committee, she became the head of their Dairy Department. This is the first real split between the WI as the lead for RDE coursework and the County Offices appears in the funding and administration between MOA and MOE in formalized agricultural education (see Chapter 4)(Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1949).

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<sup>47</sup> The newly appointed staff at the Berkshire Institute of Agriculture. (l. to r.) Mr. J.W. Salter-Chalker, Mr. E. David (Principal), Miss J. Mathews (Dairy Lecturer), Mr. J. Oliver (Animal Husbandry and Farm Management), Miss Kathleen Ward (Poultry and Dairy), and Mr. R.G. Holt (Crop Husbandry and Machinery).

## SCHOOL HARVEST CAMPS: EDUCATION OR FREE LABOR?

Instructresses also worked with the BOE's Agricultural Organizer by holding courses for head teachers in local schools on how to keep bees as well as assisting in the school harvest camps (Moore-Colyer, 2004). In 1943, the Minister of Agriculture, R.S. Hudson, hinted that the extra 150-200,000 adults and over 300,000 school children needed to bring in the harvest could potentially become conscripted should not enough volunteers be found (*How labour shortages were met in the Humber's rural areas*, 2021; *Agricultural Camps in the 1940s*, 2021). Yet the term 'volunteer' is a slight misnomer, not for the conscripted part, ironically, but for the implied non-payment part. Those working the land for a week or two during the summer and harvest seasons were paid at set rates, though that amount was, in many instances, not enough to cover their room and board. For example, wages in 1939 were 6d-8d/hour while room and board were 11s./week. This did rise slightly when in 1941, school holidays were timed to coincide with the harvests. Children aged 14 (now the school leaving age) were permitted a maximum of 22 half-days a year away from school as well as received the minimum wage for agricultural workers which was around £3/week (Clarke, 2003; Moore-Colyer, 2004). However, some school groups were paid by the product.

Peter Clarke (South Lincolnshire) was part of a gang of 12 and 13-year-old boys and girls (around 20) that were sent from farm to farm and allocated jobs such as driving the horse, picking potatoes, weeding, and even ploughing.

Although this was hard work and several children did not last the full time, most of us found it great fun and had a sense of helping the War effort. [We received] about one shilling and sixpence per bag [of peas], which weighed 28lbs and took about 4 hours to fill. If it was underweight, it would be rejected. [While, for] early potatoes the pay was three shillings a day. Working under the control of the school we received one shilling and ninepence per day (Clarke, 2003).

Daphne Jones (Warwickshire) was a 15-year-old student learning typing and shorthand when she was sent off to the first Farming Camp School in 1944. She remembers that they would study agricultural related matters in the morning and then help on the land in the afternoon weeding onions, digging potatoes, and picking strawberries (Jones, 2006). Jean Ramsell (Yorkshire) was 17 when she volunteered for her first farm camp. "Much of the work involved potatoes in one form or another, but another job was gathering flax that had been 'laid' i.e., flattened by the rain, and couldn't be harvested by machine.



It all had to be pulled out by its roots and it could cut your hands” (Ramsell, 2004). As a female, certain issues arose that the boys didn’t seem to mind<sup>48</sup>.

We had no access to the loos. Of course, the men could just disappear behind a hedge but it sometimes caused a problem. In one field there were some low triangular hen houses of a kind that I don’t think you see now and we often got the giggles crouching down in these. Fortunately, there were no hens at the time (Ramsell, 2004).

Working during school holidays was an acceptable option for the MOA and MOE, but when the Ministry of Labour suggested making the children work during term time, as part of their compulsory education, there arose fierce opposition from the various educational unions, since both the Education Act and Children and Young Persons Act (1933) made such conscription illegal.

A Durham headmaster told the 1950 conference of the National Association of Headteachers that during the previous year he had been confronted by an irate farmer complaining that eight boys working on his farm had gone on strike – merely because they had been given no time to rest during the day! This lack of compassion and understanding did little to endear the generality of farmers to teachers and the Board of Education (Moore-Colyer, 2004).

The harvest camps, with the help of the WIs and Young Farmer’s Clubs (YFCs, *see* Chapter 4), continued until 1951, when they were finally disbanded. However, discussions about their value and use continued in the House of Commons and the National Farmers Union (NFU) and MOA, and in Lincolnshire alone eight camps occurred in 1950, seven in 1951, and six in 1952 (UK Parliament, 1950, 1953). The perception of farmers having the right to force children to work with minimal pay and few breaks versus the children’s recollections and teacher’s surprise, shows some of the issues around oral history work and the changing attitudes of the public around agricultural labor. Likewise, the Government’s initial inquiry over changing the compulsory education to fit agricultural labor needs shows how desperate the situation around labor was getting.

#### THE WI POST WWII: DENMAN COLLEGE

The 1951 Annual General Meeting of the Women’s Institute saw Resolution No. 2 brought for the vote: “[t]hat this meeting deplores the lack of facilities for the further education of women and girls in agriculture and allied subjects and urges that all possible steps be taken to increase facilities, particularly

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<sup>48</sup> Similar stories occur with members of the WLA and Timber Corps.

in farm institutes.” The Yorkshire based Addingham WI moved to pass the resolution and the notes explain that the Loveday Report (1947) had stated that “while in theory Institutes ‘should be open to men and women alike’, in practice ‘the admission of women students should be limited to Institutes where a minimum intake of about ten women for all the courses offered can be assured’” (The National Federation of Women’s Institutes, 1951b). The reason was “that ten is the smallest number for a reasonable community life and for whom it is economic to provide the necessary domestic accommodation” (The National Federation of Women’s Institutes, 1951b). The notes go on to explain that of the then 33 County Agricultural Institutes (offering places for around 2,000 students), 15 do not take women and those that do only offer space for around 400 women vs. 1,600 spaces for males. Instead, it fell to the agricultural colleges to take women in, mostly because of the accommodation issues which were a constant discussion point in the interviews (The National Federation of Women’s Institutes, 1951b; Ramsell, 2004). While there is some practicality to the restrictions, and an interesting aside on the creation of a female social community for participants that mirrors the WI’s mission statement, the facilities aspect seems off. The only real issue would be an enforced distance between male and female dormers, which, for adults seems ludicrous to modern perceptions.

Marcham Park (Figure 50 and Appendix 4) near Abingdon, Berkshire, was purchased by the Berkshire WI in 1947 from the Air Ministry by the NFWI for the sole purpose of creating a residential education center for their members (Moore, 1951). Now dubbed Denman College, the school offered both day and residential courses in cookery, handicrafts, languages, and art, etc. and in 1951, a proposal to convert former Royal Air Force (RAF) hutments onsite into a new RDE center and Instructress’ residence was approved. This facility would be under the auspices of the County Council and the NFWI and cost £1,842 9s. for the plans and construction by County Architect J.T. Castle (Denman College, 1951, 2021)<sup>49</sup>.

Key features of the facility included a large handicrafts and lecture rooms and three kitchens for preservation, demonstration, and preparation, as well as various storerooms, including a bacon curing and storage room to go along with the new curing courses held by the WI. The design showcased the focus of the WI post-WWII with food preservation and handicrafts being key. However, by providing housing for Instructresses, they were also putting an emphasis on the quality of education being offered.

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<sup>49</sup> See *Appendix 4* for more images.

*Figure 50: Denman College, staff and students at the lake, c. 1950*



Source: (The National Federation of Women's Institutes, 1950)

Notes: Photograph, printed paper, monochrome, lake with four swans watched by group of women, including Miss Christmas and dog Sam, seated on bank.

A sample curriculum on Pig Keeping and Bacon Curing from the five-day long training course at Denman College in 1951 shows the combination of technical skill, theory, and networking often promoted by the WI and helps to explain how semi-formalized 'practical' home and food aspects, such as cooking, is combined with the formalized agricultural lectures by experts such as Mr. Gayton that the WI promoted in their courses (The National Federation of Women's Institutes, 1951a).

February 12 – 16, 1951

Monday, 12<sup>th</sup>

Students should arrive in time for tea at 4.30pm

6pm	Welcome by Chairman Mrs. Stevens
7 pm	Supper
8pm	Talk by Miss Christmas

#### Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup>

8.30am	Breakfast
9.30-11am	Pre-slaughter care, cutting and curing. -Mrs. Dunn, NFWI Produce Organiser & Miss Williams, NFWI Agricultural Organiser
11.30-12.45	Cutting up carcass, preparation of the salt bed, preparation of joints. -Mrs. Dunn
1pm	Lunch
2-4pm	Completion of curing – brining and rendering of lard, cleaning of skins. – Mrs. Dunn & Miss Williams
4.30pm	Tea
	Free time
7pm	Supper
8pm	Talk on Pig Management and Feeding – Mr. R.J. Gayton Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries

#### Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup>

8.30am	Breakfast
9.30-11am	Make faggots, haselet, matrimony cake, and pork pies. -Mrs. Dunn & Miss Williams
11.30-12.45	Continuation of previous session. -Mrs. Dunn & Miss Williams
1pm	Lunch
2pm	Free time
4.30pm	Tea
5.30-6.45	Free time
7pm	Supper
8pm	Pests and storage and smoking, with film strips and slides. – Chairman

#### Thursday 15<sup>th</sup>

8.30am	Breakfast
9.30-11am	Sausages, brawn, fill pies with stock, cooking of joints, re-bedding. – Mrs. Dunn & Miss Williams.
11.30-12.45	Rules and regulations. – Mr. Frank Russell, Secretary, Small Pig Keepers Council.
1pm	Lunch
2-4pm	Visit to farm of Mr. & Mrs. Cornish at Appleton, Berkshire
5.30-6.45pm	Curing ingredients, and local cures. – Mrs. Dunn & Miss Williams
7pm	Supper
8pm	Chairman's summing up and social with the other course.

The course material, which promoted home use for backyard pig keeping, preparation for the home table and larder, and commentary on community or small farm pig keeping, was common for the Farm Institute-level coursework promoted to those individuals who would potentially be managing farms or farmyards; a difference between what the WI was promoting and what the farmers and MOA were wanting from the women. The visit to a local farm and having several points of time for the participants

to network reinforces the social organization aspect of the WI, which promoted the agencies' focus on expanding access to these social networks. Ultimately, education in some form became their political agenda and can be seen in the County Federation Agriculture Sub-Committee Member's Course also offered at Denman from April 30-May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1956. Here, the discussions followed 'Agricultural education for women and girls', 'careers in agriculture for girls leaving Farm Institutes, Colleges, and Universities', and 'County and Area Exhibitions: Objects and Organisation', and as we can see, focused on both education and social activities (The National Federation of Women's Institutes, 1956). Such a promotion of career options, while valid for farmer's wives and daughters who already had practical farm experience, did not necessarily correlate to new, non-farmer bred entrants (see Chapter 4).

The college remained active until late 2020 when the school was put up for sale by the NFWI Denman College Trust. Although the physical building is no longer available for courses, such handicrafts and food preservation work is now offered online through Denman College at Home, continuing the efforts of the NFWI to educate the rural populace in traditional handicrafts and promote their social cohesion (The Women's Institute, 2021).

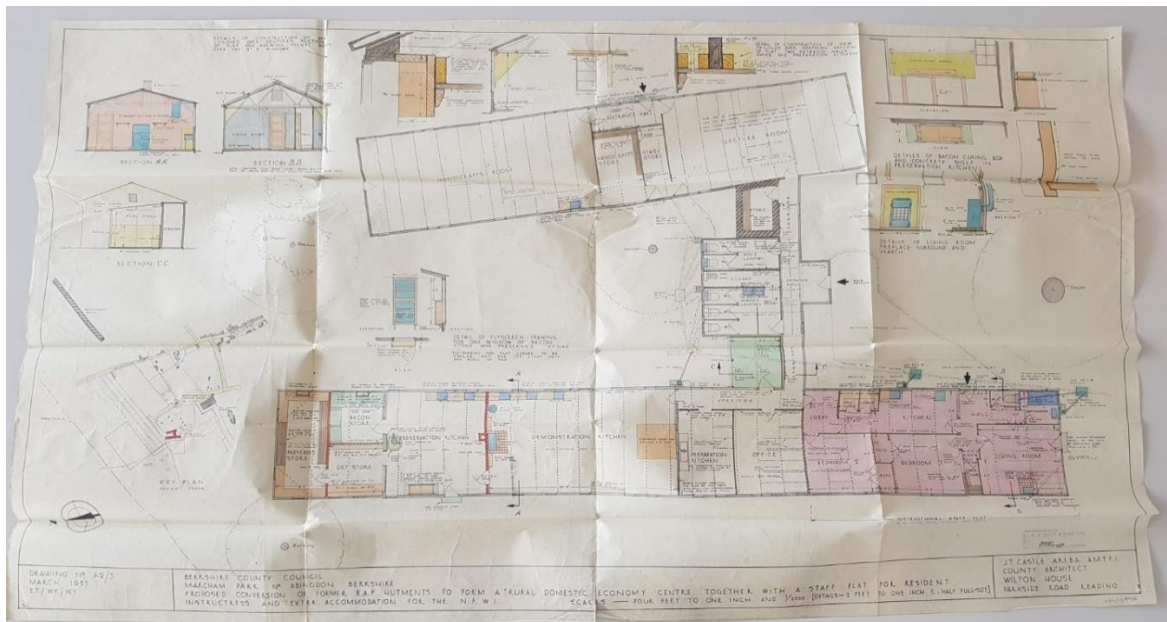
*Figure 51: RDE centre at Denman College, 1950s*



Source: (Denman College, 2021)



Figure 52: Construction plans for RDE centre in Marcham Park, Berkshire, 1951



Source: (Denman College, 1951)

## THE LAND SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION AS AN ALTERNATIVE SOCIAL CONSTRUCT

On the other side of the rural/urban social divide lay the Land Settlement Association. In 1919, the Government declared 60,000 acres had been set aside for soldiers. At 10 acres and a cottage a piece, that only accounted for 6,000 men and their families and even then, the Local Councils struggled to find adequate facilities. Eventually, they came up with the Land Settlement Facilities Act, whose goal was to provide smallholdings on reclaimed and waste land. Likewise, the Town and Country Planning Acts of 1925 and 1932 were supposed to provide general planning for both town and country with the Scott Committee (1941) looking into rural infrastructure. Though the planning schemes were too complex and time consuming to be completed prior to WWII, they set the stage for the 1947 renewal of the Act and gave local authorities more control and influence over developments (Golding, 1937; Poole, 2006). By 1937, the National Electricity Grid had been completed and the question before the Government became how to organize the deployment of electricity to the rural districts. With scattered villages, houses and farms, the question revolved around the capital expenditure necessary to distribute the supply compared to the revenue obtained by the rural population, who “expect an adequate supply of electricity at a low price and...at a uniform price for the whole country” (Golding, 1937). The focus on electricity was due to its links to reducing the costs of agricultural production (especially horticultural work) in rural districts and to assist in stemming the flow of residents from those districts into the urban

centres and was one of the reasons it was included in most LSA communities (Figure 53) (Golding, 1937; Martin, 2015b). Horticulture, which was one of the LSA communities' trademark food production activities, blurred the lines between urban and rural and was often found in the new peri-urban zones between the two (Sargent and Kitchen, 1981; Meredith, 2003; McWilliams, 2019; Arnall, 2021).

*Figure 53: A row of LSA 'cottage style' houses with electricity*



Source: MERL CR 3LSA PH1/A/10 (Arnall, 2021)

The Director of the LSA, David Gammans, stated in 1937, that the association's primary task was to "transform a townsman into a countryman; an industrialist into an agriculturalist; a wage-earner into a capitalist" (Arnall, 2021). Formed in 1934 as a worker's co-operative society aimed at moving unemployed miners and engineers from Southern Wales, Tyneside, Cumberland, and Southern Scotland from urban centers to the countryside, the LSA purchased 20 estates under the Small Holdings Act of 1926 through a combination of private and government funds. The land was scattered across the Midlands and Southeast and covered 11,000 hectares<sup>50</sup> comprising of 1,100 smallholdings. Each family was provided with a one-hectare homestead comprising a house, outbuildings, and land. The movement itself was "not intended primarily to increase food production, nor to stem the flow of agricultural

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<sup>50</sup> Roughly 27,181.6 acres.

workers from the country to the towns, in fact, men already in the industrial field were not eligible for land settlement”; the LSA’s primary objective was “endeavouring to improve the lot of [a] section of the community who have fallen” (Fairbank, 1939). This being one such social network aspect within the FIGS framework and can be equated to the modern Tiny House Movement for the Homeless or Returning Veterans found in the United States (Bruce, 2022; H.R.6307, 2022).

Along with farm and production buildings, the LSA built homes for each of the families. The 1935 Housing Act and the LSA’s wish to provide superior housing was at the heart of the Association’s selection of two architectural firms to design and build the ‘cottage style’ houses for the scheme. Such houses consisted of a living room, three bedrooms, larder and scullery, a bathroom and a separate toilet and cost between £345-624 (Martin, 2015b; Arnall, 2021). The walls were fashioned of cavity brickwork, the roofs of tiles with gable boarded ends, wood and tile flooring throughout, electric lights and hot water was provided from the range in the living room. Alterations occurred in the basic design over time and some customs dictated the need for different appliances, such as the request for a larger oven since families from the northern counties were accustomed to home bread production (Arnall, 2021).

In addition to the nearly 1,214 hectares (3,000 acres) the various LSAs bought for the purpose of market gardening, they established nearly 1,200 glasshouses (around 1.2 hectares of heated growing space) for its members to utilize. Such glasshouses mitigated concerns over the marginal land that was originally purchased and utilized for the predominantly horticultural focused communities, while the more arable land was designated for pig and poultry industry (Fairbank, 1939). A sample glasshouse at the Sidlesham LSA can be seen in Figure 54 and while agricultural production might not have been the ‘primary’ goal according to Gammons, it seems to have ended up that way..



*Figure 54: Greenhouse at Sidlesham LSA*



Source: MERL CR 3LSA PH5/72 (McWilliams, 2019)

Incomes for LSA members varied between geographical locations and the time period. Becky Wilson remembered that at the Sidlesham LSA (West Sussex), “all new tenant's[sic] went on the ‘R Plan’ for the first 2 to 3 yrs. This was a pre-agreed income from the holding to prevent tenants from spending too much when returns came in. Do not know what R stood for but it was source for a lot of dry humour e.g. (sic) we managed to buy ourselves some chocolate biscuits this month” (Martin, 2015b). The LSA Headquarters, in 1958, put out an advertisement that stated “applicants must have been full-time wage earners in agriculture or horticulture for at least 5 years and should have £500 to £600 to invest[, however,] loans up to 75% of the total capital require[d were available]” (Martin, 2015a). this is in direct opposition to the intended ‘training an industrialist into an agriculturalist’ line noted just 20 years prior. At Foxash LSA in Colchester, Essex, in 1961, residents were informed they could see average profits of £1000/yr. Roy and Tina King, who lived at no. 24 at Foxash saw a return of £1400, more than double what Roy King had earned as a cowman (Martin, 2015a). Overall, all the produce grown on the LSA was to be sold through the LSA itself in a co-op structure, and any private sales would result in the eviction and fining of the family involved. Likewise, costs associated with the rental of the Landlord Glasshouses (those not attached to the private homes; Figure 55) had to be subtracted from the families’ income

along with the cost of seeds, fertilizers, and other essentials. “In practice...the tenants and their families worked long, backbreaking hours for minimal rewards...[and] were often heavily in debt to the scheme” which was formally disbanded in 1981 (UK Parliament, 2000).

*Figure 55: Great Abington LSA; Mrs Gregory milking goat with daughter Olive (left) and Gregory Family (right) on their holding at 48 North Road (1943-1947)*



Source: (Hildersham, no date; South Cambridgeshire District Council, 2019)

Notes: The Gregory family resided in Great Abington, Cambridgeshire. Their LSA homestead (image three), consisted of a home (#48 green), piggy (#48 red), and outbuildings located to the side of the dwellings (the two black squares). Many homes had several large glasshouses (shown bottom right under 47). Acreage was between 1 and 11 acres.

In Cumbria, three LSAs would eventually be built: Dalston, Crofton (southwest of Dalston), and Broadwath (east of Carlisle near Warwick Bridge and Heads Nook). Crofton had 64 smallholdings,

Dalston 28, and Broadwath had 23. The first tenants were local, unemployed miners from Whitehaven and Maryport or steel workers from Workington and Barrow-in-Furness (Jardine and Martin, 2017).

Each man was provided with a house for his family, a greenhouse, garden, hen houses and a piggery, depending on their preference. Holdings varied between 4 and 11 acres, but each smallholder had to pay a rent and comply with LSA rules. Seeds, plants, tools and livestock had to be purchased from the LSA and all sales were through the association. Here was a centralised packing station and transport was arranged to take the produce to market (Jardine and Martin, 2017).

While men were the focus of LSA documents, women were not excluded. During WWII, “the Land Army girls, who were stationed at Causeway Head near Silloth, used to come to Crofton Hall and put sticks in the ground in front of the hall to make a course to learn how to drive tractors” (Jardine and Martin, 2017). Many LSAs also had their own branches of the Women’s Institute (Figure 56). The women’s smallholding colony at Lingfield, Surrey, was the exception to the male-centric focus of many of the other LSAs, though it lasted barely 20 years. LSAs were a step between allotments and farms, and the ability of smallholders to rent versus purchase the properties opened up avenues for those of lesser means, although there was a feeling of Socialism in the structure of the facilities themselves which may have led to their eventual downfall post-WWII (Martins, 2006).

*Figure 56: Crofton WI, c. 1947*



Source: (Jardine and Martin, 2017)

When the Government inquired into the situation in 1942, they found one of the major problems with keeping skilled labor on the land was housing. “As Sir George Stapledon put it ... ‘There is hardly a district where housing conditions are... adequate or fit for a robust rural population. Something is always

wrong” (Sayer, 2013b). Farmers’ wives became the voice pushing for improvements in infrastructure such as water and electricity mains. Irene Megginston described her in-law’s farmhouse bathroom in Yorkshire during the war: “the number of baths was limited by the extent of ‘pumping up’ required – 20 minutes of hand pumping in the back kitchen to get the tank to the right level – they used a copper for washing laundry, and baked in coal-fired ovens” (Sayer, 2013b).

Barbara Cornwell, during our interview, explained the dangers of not having electricity in the home with small children -

...when we were first married (that was in '53)... we had water, but we had no electricity, and we had oil lamps and, when the children came along, especially when they were smaller ... the most difficult task with an oil lamp was carrying the youngest one upstairs on your arm, and that would usually be the left arm, and holding an oil lamp in your right hand... the child would be reaching forward, trying to reach the pretty lamp, and you were trying to hold it away and yet walk up straight, going upstairs. That was a very difficult task to do. But... we did get electricity when number four was born, so that would have been - ... about, about 1960, '62, something like that. So, we had oil lamps for twelve years (Cornwell, 2021).

The question of rural infrastructure was still being batted around in Parliament in 1945, when Mr. Collick, Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the MOA commented that:

I think it is commonly agreed that the condition of the workers on the land were not such in those days as to encourage anyone to stay on the land<sup>51</sup>. We could hardly expect, in the light of the then conditions, that those workers would do other than migrate from the villages to the towns, and that is exactly what happened. Over a whole period of years the countryside lost thousands of its best men, who left the villages and crowded into the towns because of the appalling conditions in the countryside... unless we get the houses in the countryside, of a standard comparable to the modern houses we knew in the towns before the war, there will obviously be very great difficulties in getting the labour force that is needed in rural areas (UK Parliament, 1945).

Such concerns were justified, as many rural homes and farms had neither electricity, indoor plumbing, or running water despite both the Housing Act and LSA’s attempts at bringing the standard of living up

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<sup>51</sup> Referencing the Interwar years and the agricultural depression of the 1930s.

to that found in urban centres.<sup>52</sup> “Townsmen's views of the country are entirely different. They see the mud and the poor roads and houses. To make a real success of land settlement schemes the men we are catering for must have an inbred love of the country,” declared Mr. Gooch, Norfolk, Northern MP (UK Parliament, 1945).

While government policies were slowly being implemented with rural infrastructure in mind, financial concerns during the wars limited actualities (Arnall, 2021). Of primary concern were the munitions factories and other local agencies necessary for the war effort, with the rural communities coming in second place. As mentioned, there was also the growing concern and public outlash at anything looking remotely Communist or Socialist in nature, with the Labour Party’s retreat from rural land nationalization (though this was less about ideology and more about an inability to provide an economic solution to the agricultural debate) and the slow death of the LSA (Tichelar, 2003). The LSA’s attempts at creating open communities with links to the surrounding areas was one way they attempted to stop any reference to these concerns. However, the regulations put in place requiring the tenants to use only community stores and sales offices undermined such attempts and created a feedback loop that many of the tenants were unable to break out of hindering government policy change attempts (Arnall, 2021).

The LSA straddled the line between Community ownership and Co-operative/Mutual ownership. The first being defined as small-scale local ownership, such as allotments and larger scale development initiatives with a focus on self-help for social or political reasons, while the latter is considered aggregated individual ownership (i.e., collective or worker ownership) founded by friendly societies, self-help based on member needs, and under direct member control for small organizations and representative democracies for larger ones (Woodin, Crook and Carpentier, 2010). The LSAs failed due to two primary drivers, the first being the state of agriculture itself, the low wages and rates of returns offered for the items produced, and the second being the hard work and long hours necessary to grow and package such produce (Lockwood, 1998). Likewise, without adequate educational facilities to turn non-agriculturalists into farmers, or a support system put into place to assist with problems on the land, there was little recourse for the new tenants when things went wrong or issues arose. In addition, the concept of masculine identity found within Western agricultural practices are “mobilized around

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<sup>52</sup> 78,000 holdings were supplied with electricity in England and Wales, or 27% of holdings over 5 acres, in 1946. 15-24% of holdings in Cumberland had a public or private supply of electricity. Westmorland had between 25-34% and Berkshire between 35-49%. In the North West, 37.3% of farm holdings were connected to electricity while in the South-East the number was 39.9%. Overall, 26.8% of farm holdings were connected to electricity while in all three counties piped water was supplied to 60-79% of all farmhouses (MAFF, 1946a).



physical strength, control of nature, tenacity, hardship, toughness, independence and individualism” (Pini, 2008). Such is the concept of ‘masculine’ in the rural mindset that even when women are identified as key players within the rural agricultural landscape and household, they find themselves marginalized or excluded from the larger political discourse as found in the WLA records (Martin, 2001). The question of if the LSAs failed due to internal structure based upon ownership format or if they simply ran their allotted time due to the ending of the Wars, is one that should be looked at in more detail.

#### A DISCUSSION ON WOMEN’S SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE STATE - CAUSATION OR CORRELATION?

What this Chapter tells us is that while State involvement, either through legislative or financial means, can promote a specific gendered narrative, it does not follow through in the need of State involvement for such promotion. The WLA, which was enacted and funded by the BOA, but only tangentially promoted in the press as a long-term employment option for women in agriculture, was much less successful than the WI, which was promoted more than financed. What we can take from this is that by increasing the promotion of women within a pre-defined social sphere, the WI has continued to have success with rural women by promoting the perceived idealized rural homemaker versus the WLA, which was trying to put urban women into perceived rural male positions no matter how temporary. The key word in both is the word ‘perceived.’

Legislature during WWI and WWII made it so that rural women already working on farms were unable to leave their positions for the duration of the wars. These women would have been employed in both domestic and farm work – from animal rearing to cooking- and yet their positions were never challenged by their male counterparts because they had already been a part of the rural landscape. It is to these women the WI pulled for most of their membership and as such, promoted the work they were already doing for their families and community. In this way, there was no push-back from the press or the communities. On the other hand, the WLA was promoting outsiders, who just so happened to be female, into the rural countryside in addition to taking over male labor positions. The ‘othering’ issues were then compounded – urbanites *and* female (in addition to minorities and sexual orientation). The question of if the same public concerns would have been held up in the press and political arena should the promotion of rural, farm-raised women be issued to these male positions, is not something that we can answer at this time, but we can get an idea by reviewing a series of articles from 1935-1936 found in *Farmer and Stockbreeder*.

In England, women still accounted for the highest percentage of agricultural labor in dairy regions, but there was a clear distinction between field labor and yard labor, with women taking the later role in higher numbers (Verdon, 2009). Articles in the 1930s espoused the benefits of women working in the dairy and poultry sector and in the newer scientific research positions found within those fields. *Farmer and Stockbreeder*, one of the most popular agricultural newspapers at the time, ran a series of successful female farmer articles from January 7, 1935, until June 29, 1936, which focused almost exclusively on these industries (55/78 farms focused on Dairy as their primary enterprise) (Figure 57).

Figure 57: Women dairy workers, 1935



Source: (*Farmer and Stockbreeder*, 1935b)

The first article declared that: "[i]n this series...descriptions are being given of farms of various types that are managed successfully by women. The articles are written by a woman who is herself experienced in both agriculture and horticulture" (Special Female Representative, 1935c). The female writer, however, remains unnamed, simply going by the moniker *Special Female Representative*, which anonymizes and minimizes her own background, but still sets her up as an authority on the topic.

The farms showcased in the articles were overwhelmingly Central and South-Eastern in origin as shown on the map in Figure 58, though there was a better mix of socio-economic standing amongst the respondents (the full list can be found in *Appendix 3*). Considering the writer had to travel to the farms, commuting distance might be a factor limiting destinations, however, the small number of farms in the northern and border counties makes it difficult to parse out what their impact was at this time if reviewing the articles alone.

*Figure 58: Mapped plots of all 78 farms showcased in "Successful Female Farmers," 1935-36*



Source: Derived from (Special Female Representative, 1935c)



Miss Andrews and Miss Spencer (Chalvington, Sussex), for example, attended Reading University and Midland Agricultural College respectively, before working on farms to gain practical experience. They joined forces in the early 1920s as pedigree Guernsey cattle breeders and produced milk and table poultry on their 78-acre farm. What is not mentioned in the article, but clearly shown in the accompanying photographs (Figure 59) are the four men employed, three in the dairy and one in the hen house. This means that not only were women attending universities and engaged in practical and managerial aspects of agriculture, but they were also employers as well, something little discussed in the employment records or literature (Verdon, 2012; Sayer, 2013a).

*Figure 59: Photographs of Manor House employees, 1935, Sussex*



Source: (Special Female Representative, 1935a)

Likewise, the articles show a distinct middle- to upper-class slant for female farmers due to the 'successful' classification. Of the 86 women listed as female farmers, 8 were labeled 'Lady', 3 as 'Hon. Mrs.', 39 as 'Mrs.', and 36 as 'Miss'. We cannot say for certain which socio-economic group those in the latter two categories belong to, but most of those listed as 'Ladies' were widows or spinsters of the upper-class at the time of the articles' publication, which makes them less representative of the common farmer, but does show that women of all classes were engaged in agricultural production, some of which were quite profitable. Lady Loder, for example, not only controlled around 800 acres of undivided farm land, making her one of the largest single owners in the south-east, but she was also the chairman of the County Diseases of Animals Committee in 1936; the first time a woman had been elected to such a committee (Special Female Representative, 1935b).

In the 'Youth at the Helm' article from April 6, 1936, 22-year-old Miss Joan Edwards out of Suffolk was showcased. She was the sole manager of her father's estate and the five farms she oversaw covered nearly 5,000 acres and included sheep, horses, and other livestock. In addition, she personally held 350

acres of her own where she raised veal, pigs and had a large arable farm (*Farmer and Stockbreeder*, 1936b). Such articles espoused the competency of women as farm owners and managers and supplemental articles included commentary of agricultural training and scientific careers available and considered 'appropriate' for females. *Farmer and Stockbreeder*, which pushed the dairy industry for women agricultural workers during the 18-months that the articles ran, dropped female farmers almost completely from the paper's articles in the aftermath until WWII and the re-introduction of the WLA. Indeed, few pictures showcased women workers at all, and the tone went from inclusivity and acceptance of women in positions of competence to ones of patronization - dairy workers and owners became nothing more than beauty queens and their contributions were trivialized to small wins at agricultural shows and focused on the 'pretty' aspects of the rural idyll as a means of marketing (Little and Austin, 1996).

Nowhere was this exemplified better than in the 'Home' supplements surrounding 'Milkmaid Charm' (Figure 60). The title 'Milkmaid Charm' initially sets the women being described as objects of sexual interest, not as professionals. Likewise, the text itself never explains what the women's qualifications were, only their selection, the names of the judges, and the prize money allotted. We do not know if this was a beauty pageant, a milking competition, or anything beyond the women's looks. Such patronizing articles came directly after the 18-month run on successful, educated women farmers, many involved in dairy, and showed a drastic switch in the inclusion of women within agriculture in the newspaper itself and is a point of interest for further research to establish what occurred in mid-1936 that created such a drastic change in their perceived social importance. This return of a more stereotyped imagery of women involved in agriculture might seem counterintuitive, but there were some very specific reasons behind the reversion.

Figure 60: 'Milkmaid Charm' article, 1936



Source: (*Farmer and Stockbreeder*, 1936a)

The Milkmaid Charm Competition was organized by the Milk Marketing Board and *The Farmer and Stockbreeder* for the October 1936 London Dairy Show to draw attention to the industry. Only a few of the interviewed successful female farmers spoke about the Marketing Boards and their links to their own farms, but by looking at the type of farmer interviewed (mainly dairy) and knowing that the Milk Marketing Board (MMB) was established in 1933 in a bid to stabilize the floundering industry, one must wonder if the goal of the articles was less about the promotion of women and more about the promotion of dairy, just like the milkmaid charm articles. Similarly, the question of if women in agricultural employment would have been promoted within their own ranks to WLA positions prior to outsiders being brought in, potentially as gang leaders or agricultural instructresses, might have mitigated the initial issues in the press.

## SUMMARY

In this Chapter we have looked at the role of the State as a promotion tool, a funding agency, and an employer for women in agriculture. The intersectionality of the WLA and WI showed the discrepancies

between government promotion vs. funding and the barriers in place - public perception around 'othering' being a key issue, legal barriers around employment stratification, and how the changing structure of rural infrastructure affected female employment and education – showed that perception was almost more important to employment and community acceptance than the actuality of professional legitimization. The key take away being that women's social organizations act as a bridge between the spheres of masculine and feminine and public and private, as well as town and country. In the next Chapter, we shall continue this last vein of thought by looking deeper at how education fits into the agri-food equation and how it affects gender standards for women's employment opportunities.

## CHAPTER 4: THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN SETTING GENDER STANDARDS IN AGRI-FOOD EMPLOYMENT

In this Chapter, we will continue our discussion on social organization membership by reviewing the role of education in setting gender standards, how vocational training differed from university coursework, loopholes in the marriage bar for female researchers, and their role as agricultural civil servants. These items will look at how new educational programs opened employment options, created an air of professionalization to women's employment in the Agri-Food sector, and explore the various ways their contributions are researched, formalized, and imagined during the study period. For this section, we will focus on the Women's Institute as the primary driver of agricultural education and its links to the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Food and discuss how government funding changed the direction of curriculum development and the role of women both on- and off-farm.

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF STATE SPONSORED GENDER ROLES: WOMEN AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

Agriculture in the modern western world (1750-current) has seen the rise of machinery, scientific invention, minimization of labor, and a tightening of government oversight. In Britain, the Civil Service was not yet one hundred years old when WWI broke out and has been described as "the one major political creation of [Britain] during the nineteenth century" (Dale, 1939). The Service could be described as the arms, legs, and voice of the State, while Parliament, with its Ministerial votes, perpetuated needful action in some form of the populace.

The establishment of the Board of Agriculture (BOA) in 1793 is often considered the start of modern agriculture in England due to the vast sweeping political and economic regulations that changed the landscape and affected how farms were run on a national scale (Dale, 1939). A voluntary society under the Royal Agricultural Society of England (RASE), the BOA lasted until 1822, when funding ran out. Between 1836 and 1845, three Commissions created via Acts of Parliament attempted to take its place - these being the Tithe Commission, the Copyhold Commission, and the Enclosure Commission<sup>53</sup>. The three Acts became the Land Commission which in turn became the BOA in 1889. The Acts and Commission were predominantly concerned with the legal standing of land tenureship and taxation and

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<sup>53</sup> The Tithe Act replaced tithing with money payments for rent. Copyhold referred to the lease agreement between manorial lord and tenant farmer as to the provisions of tenureship. Enclosure referred to the transition of common public lands used for grazing into privately held walled fields.

rarely with land use or production. The oversight of the BOA on the daily operations of farms did not occur until 1865, with the beginning of the Civil Service, through the establishment of the Cattle Plague Department under the Home Office (transferred in 1866 to the Privy Council) which was enacted to counter growing concerns over the Great Cattle Plague which began in June 1865 and lasted two years (Dale, 1939).

Key landmarks of the new BOA (Table 11) included the 1883 commission of the Committee of the Privy Council for Agriculture; the transformation of the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council office into the Agricultural Department; the 1889 creation of the Board of Agriculture; the addition of fisheries (BOAF) in 1903; creation of the Scottish Board of Agriculture in 1911 (minus disease management and Ordinance Survey); and the 1919 reconstitution of the English Board as the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAF) (Dale, 1939).

*Table 11: Timeline of key female agricultural employment events in England, 1793-1919*

1793-1822	BOA formed
1832	Equal pay strike
1836-1845	Tithe, Copyhold and Enclosure Commissions become the Land Commission
1865-1868	The Civil Service establishes Cattle Plague Department and Privy Council
1883	Privy Council for Agriculture
1888	Equal pay act Trade Union Congress
1889	Land Commission became MOA
1903	Addition of Fisheries to MOA
1910	WFGA 10% of women are unionised
1911	Petrol engines become available on farms
1914-1916	98,000 women replaced men on farms; 130,000 females employed overall
1915	NFWI established in England
1917	WFGA Land Army and est. WIs taken over by MOA
1917-1921	Corn Production Act
1919	MAF established

The Civil Service (concerned with agriculture) is not the same as Civil Servants employed within the Agricultural Departments; this is a slight but very important distinction, for many regulatory agencies and policies set forth within the agricultural sphere of influence (that is, the supply chain), fell under different departments and agencies. For instance, the Ministry of Health managed dairy and milk production; the Ministry of Transportation managed agricultural transport; and the Board of Education (BOE) handled agricultural institutions and training within rural schools. For most of the agricultural community, however, their day-to-day relationships with the State were held through communication

with Civil Service staff, while the predominant role of the MAF was the prevention and management of disease (livestock through Qualified Veterinary Surgeons and plants through Horticultural Inspectors) (Dale, 1939).

Expectations and division of labor started to change within government agencies with the employment of the first female Civil Servants. These 'telegraphists' were employed within the Post Office when the Telegraph Act of 1869 nationalized the Electric Telegraph Company, grandfathering in 201 female workers. The women and girls were from middle-class families and though they had an "eminent degree a quickness of eye and ear and a delicacy of touch, which are essential qualifications of a good operator," they were forced to leave their employment upon marriage (due to the Marriage Bar previously mentioned) and their work environment was still segregated (Tomlin Ash of T.J.C.T. and Institution of Professional Civil Servants, 1930):

The male and female telegraphists have separate staircases to gain their respective offices; that for the men leads from the principal staircase. The female clerks have a private staircase, leading from their large room direct to the street-door of the premises. By this staircase also they descend to a dining-hall and cloak-room, which are provided exclusively for them (Martindale, 1938).

It should be noted that the Postmaster General, Mr. Scudamore, was so pleased with their work that he hired female clerks into the Clearing House in 1871. He stated that "we do not punish marriage by dismissal," even though the Marriage Bar was in effect by 1875 and he did have to lay off married women "'who [were] not ...widow[s], ... [as they were no longer] eligible for any appointment in the General Post Office'; and any single women now established who marries will be required to resign" (Martindale, 1938). So, while the expectation around what women could do might have started to change, it did not alter the forced division of the sexes in a ridged political structure, nor did it change gender norms, although it did challenge them.

The first woman appointed as a civil servant outside the Post Office was Miss Jeanie Senior, who, in 1873, was employed as an education inspector of girls' education in pauper schools and workhouses (Stanley, 2022). The appointment reinforced women's spheres of influence and, for Agriculture, showcased the double standard found between male and female employment within the Government sector. This double standard was shown most clearly in 1890, when the Department of Agriculture employed one female 'typewriter', whom they secluded in a room of the basement where no one over

the age of 15 was allowed to enter on orders of the Chief Clerk. It wasn't until WWI that women were employed as Civil Servants in the MAF, with officials being appointed to encourage women to join the Land Army (Martindale, 1938).

Lord Ernle (Rowland Prothero) was appointed President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries (BOAF) with Sir Daniel Hall as Secretary in 1916, with a focus on the distribution of agricultural inputs such as labor, feed, fertilizer, and machinery to increase the output of crops and livestock products during WWI. In 1917, lack of agricultural labor forced the War Office to release soldiers to assist with the Spring cultivation and Fall harvest under the offices of the Food Production Department, however the men were not enough, and an addition 18,000 women, as part of the WLA was formed to provide extra labor on farms, although many of the Land Girls (as they were dubbed) had little to no previous agricultural experience (Cumberland County Education Committee, 1916; National Farmers' Union, Stearman and Martin, 2014). Likewise, children were released from school to help with the harvests in both WWI and WWII (see Chapter 3); although there was considerable debate about the acceptability of such programs for the younger children (Cumberland County Education Committee, 1916; Moore-Colyer, 2004).

Two years after the 1918 Representation of the People's Act, which allowed women over 30 to vote (if they met the property qualifications) and a year after the 1919 Sex Disqualification Removal Act (allowing women to become lawyers and civil servants, as well as jurors), Mr. Palmer asked the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, in the House of Commons (April 1920):

whether it is possible to give any figures showing the decrease in the number of female employés (sic) in government departments since the Armistice; and whether, having regard to the feelings existing among ex-service men at the continued employment of married women and girls of comfortable circumstances, he will give a general order to dispense with their employment.

Mr. Baldwin responded that:

The numbers of women and girls employed in Civil Departments have decreased from approximately 220,000 at Armistice to approximately 124,000 (of whom some 70,000 hold temporary posts) on 1st March last. An extensive substitution of temporary women employés (sic) by ex-service men has been carried out and Departments were instructed to secure, in carrying out this substitution or ordinary reductions of staff, that subject to efficiency,



discharges should first be made of juveniles and those not dependent on their earnings (UK Parliament, 1920).

The concern over propriety and safety, however, speaks more to the idea that the male staff would be unable to control themselves in a woman's presence than the woman's capabilities, otherwise the Government never would have put them in munitions factories during the Wars. As Sir Algernon Edward West stated to the Ridley Commission in 1888, "these 'typewriting women' can beat me two to one in writing and that shows the amount of work we can get from them," a concept that would become the bane for equal pay inquires in future years (Martindale, 1938). Sir Edward's comment speaks to the moral vs monetary debate around gendered divisions of labor: was the public against women working because of a sense of 'rightness' in taking a woman from her family responsibilities or because they were typically a cheaper alternative to male labor, especially during periods of recession?

Lady Nancy Astor's appointment as MP in 1922 paved the way for women to be recruited directly into the Administrative Classes of the Home Civil Service (1925) (du Cann, 2018). These upper-level management positions had been previously denied to women other than on promotion. At the same time, control of cultivation came into effect by the conversion of the BOA to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAF), which by 1927, had expanded into seven divisions totalling roughly 1,400 employees<sup>54</sup> and a separate Establishment and Finance organisation, including one Economics division which dealt with statistics, labor, and marketing. The Royal Commission on the Civil Service (The Tomlin Report) in 1931 reported that though the 1925 rule had been in place for six years, only twenty-one women had been employed in middle-management jobs (Stanley, 2022). While the Tomlin Report showed a clear disinterest for female civil servants, the London and National Society for Women's Service (LNSWS) and other feminist groups of the period were pushing for equal pay status against the Government's opposition (Banks, 1993; Smith, 1996).

On 1 April 1936, in an unprecedented vote of 156 to 148, the Government was defeated in the House of Commons to require equal pay for women in the common classes of the civil service. The vote was unprecedented for two reasons, the first being that a majority vote of 200 was typically required, and the second, the rise of smaller, but significantly more active, feminist groups such as the Women's Freedom League, the Six Point Group, the Open Door Council, and the LNSWS (Kamerman, 1994; Smith, 1996). By 1937, there were eleven divisions (including two Markets divisions, a Trade Regulations and

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<sup>54</sup> Excluding part-time and industrial employees, Ordnance Survey Employees and Kew Gardens.

Statistical division, and an Economics Intelligence division) totalling closer to 1,600 employees (Dale, 1939). The change from internal production and management to external trade and commodity pricing shows most clearly the shift in State involvement in the agricultural sphere, while the radical changes in legislation and organization between WWI and WWII drastically affected women's employment and legal standing.

With the decline in general employment during the Interwar Years and the modification of the social insurance system to disadvantage female employment, especially married employment, the Government was hoping to force women out of the labor market and allow for more males to be employed (Lewis, 1985; Smith, 1996). However, the LNSWS and other feminist groups actively campaigned for a social insurance system fair to women, defended married women's right to work, attempted to increase the number of women Members of Parliament, and conducted an important equal pay campaign. Likewise, new feminists also called for family allowances, improved maternal health, and increased access to birth control (Lewis, 1980, 1985; Smith, 1996).

The equal pay campaign focused on civil servants due to the interchangeability of male and female workers, which denied the claims of women performing unequal work. The LNSWS, in conjunction with the Joint Committee on Women in the Civil Service, were chaired by the same woman – Ray (Rachel) Strachey; another point the organizations had in common with the Women's Land Army and Women's Institutes was both were chaired by Lady Astor. Despite the vote in 1936, the Government did not implement equal pay in the civil service until 1956 and although the leading feminist groups of the 1930s were predominantly middle class, the class split was less about middle-class women being concerned about their own jobs, than about industrial women workers being claimed as the responsibility of the various trade unions, which resisted feminist involvement (Smith, 1996). Internal issues between the unions and feminist groups kept the two divided throughout much of the 1930s and led to two primary arguments: 1) equal pay based on feminist stances and 2) equal pay to minimize women from being hired over men due to the lower nature of their pay rates.

Despite the growth of women's rights and the increasing pressure from trade unions and female organizations for equal pay and access to employment opportunities, female farm labor was still predominantly seasonal or casual in nature for paid labor, and, as mentioned, under reported for farm wives and daughters in general. Women were still paid less than their male counterparts and contract rules and regulations varied by regional tradition rather than a government enforced national

standardization. Additional issues with lack of government financial investment in agriculture at large caused agricultural wages to fall farther than other industries and heightened the gap between rural and urban communities' cost of living (Gazeley, 2006).

Women in the sciences were hit especially hard, as they had previously received equal pay. It wasn't until the Royal Commission Report noted which sectors offered equal pay to women employees that in April 1933, the Treasury Department reorganized the National Physical Laboratory, the Department of Scientific Research and Experiment, and the joint Directorate of Scientific Research and Technical Developments to enact a gendered pay scale, and in October of that year women in similar grades in the Admiralty and the Air Ministry were also denied, the effect of which significantly reduced women's pay rates (Smith, 1992, 1996).

The 1936 vote, however, did not stand. MP Baldwin insisted a second vote be taken and treated as a vote of confidence. The numbers this time were 149 for the Government and 134 for equal pay. The change was not due to an increase in Government votes, however, but a decrease in the number voting against the measure, i.e., the abstention from voting at all (Smith, 1996). While the vote did not pass at this point, the creation of a broader coalition of women's groups, many not feminist in outlook, challenged public perceptions and paved the way for women's entry into other service sectors.

## THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE VS. THE MINISTRY OF FOOD: GENDER WITHIN AGRI-FOOD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

New Educational Acts in 1870, 1902, and 1918 put female education in the same political standing as those for males (at least in the elementary years) (Dyhouse, 1976). To limit truancy, especially in the lower classes, the Elementary Education Act of 1880<sup>55</sup> made it compulsory for children between 5 and 10 years old to attend school; the age was increased to 11 in 1893, and again to 12, in 1899. The laws did little to help the situation, as it was estimated that 300,000 children (or almost 20%) were truant due to their families need for the income from their children's labor in 1901. School fees also precluded lower-income families from sending their children until the 1891 laws were changed making public education free (UK Parliament, 2022).

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<sup>55</sup> Education Acts occurred in 1870, 1880, and 1893. The 1880 Act made school bi-laws mandatory and made it illegal to employ children under 13 who had not completed elementary school (UK Parliament, 1881).

For the working-class, education was focused on reading and spelling (mostly around religious texts), with girls being taught to sew and knit and boys some form of arithmetic. The sexes were often divided and teachers would attempt to instill specific class-based behaviors and manners in their students (Purvis, 1991; Nakagomi, 2016). Besides these small, so-called ‘Dame’ schools, and local board schools (which arose from the 1870 Education Act), focused on ‘domestic subjects’ for female students. These domestic courses would become compulsory in 1878 as Domestic Economy, with Cookery (1882) and Laundry Work (1890) receiving additional grants from the BOE in the following years (Purvis, 1991; Nakagomi, 2016; Richards, 2022). These courses followed the primary tasks women employed as domestic servants would perform. Boys and girls wishing to stay on in schooling past the age of 12, could attend evening courses as a pupil-teacher, allowing them to work during the day, a way for the lower-middle-class to move up a level in society without risk to their home finances. After five years of apprenticeship in this manner, they could then become teachers (Wallace, 1952). Such training would classify as a form of ‘social confrontation’ which was found when individuals who were dissatisfied with their positions take a bottom-up approach to fix the situation, here, by continuing their education, they were able to move up the social ladder (Olsen, 1989).

At the same time, private families in the middle- and upper-classes employed governesses for their children<sup>56</sup> in addition to the rise in private girls’ schools. Census returns show that 3% of males and 4% of females “aged fifteen to nineteen were returned as scholars” in 1851 (Jordan, 1991). In 1871, those numbers had risen to 5% and 7%, though they dropped to 4% and 4.5% by 1891. While the debate for female education at the time was focused on a woman’s cognitive ability and how it could hamper her reproductive capabilities, modern researchers argue that the trend in sending girls for further education was a sign of the families’ desire for class mobility, as a better educated daughter might marry into a higher class family (Jordan, 1991). Higher, or secondary, education started to open to girls informally in the 1860s with links to female colleges and in 1865, females could sit formally for the Cambridge Local Examinations, with Oxford’s Local Examinations opened from 1870; the joint exam was opened as of 1887. Such “[e]xamination as valuable cultural capital was acquired in the field of education and reinvested in fields such as better qualifications and employment” especially for women (Jacobs, 2007).

Changes in access to higher education followed the more traditional top-down strategies for ‘social mobilization’ where organizations (here the Colleges and Universities), communities (middle- and upper-

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<sup>56</sup> Families who could afford a governess used their services for male and female children.

classes), and social leaders (parents, employers, government agencies) influenced their constituents and is one reason for their inclusion in the FIGS framework (Olsen, 1989). Gender historians like Mary Ann Dzuback (2003) argue that gender is the central story of education, but do not include other social factors such as race, class, and/or sexuality, which Rury and Tamura (2019) add. While the aforementioned are known to differentiate access to education, class oftentimes also changes the format of the curricula and agency of the pupil and teacher within education and post-educational employment (i.e., gendered curriculum and experiences) (Burstyn, 1973; Paz, 1981; Jordan, 1991; Gunn, 2004; Todd, 2004a; de Bellaigue *et al.*, 2022). “Schools,” it is argued, function as “sorting mechanisms...for maintaining the class system [and] has had varied implications for women in terms of the differentiated curricula they sometimes received in coeducational institutions and prospects for their lives after they graduated” (Bailey and Graves, 2019).

As Jordan (1991) writes, the justification for female education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was that:

a woman should, according to...gender ideology, be a companion to her husband, a teacher of her children, and the pervasive moral influence within the home; but only an educated woman could perform these functions adequately; therefore, academic education was in fact the best preparation for marriage and maternity.

This is a great form of circular logic, as it basically says women cannot be good mothers and wives without being educated in a similar manner to their husbands. Something men were hesitant to agree to because of a woman’s ‘delicate’ nature, even though they wanted ‘good wives and mothers’ (Jordan, 1991). However, we agree that the expansion of female educational opportunities impacted males and females differently and suggest that it assisted in destabilizing the differences in class solely based on male occupational hierarchies, but more in the professional occupations than the laborer positions (de Bellaigue *et al.*, 2022).

A point of contention is the argument that Higher Education for women was more about their potential than actual entrance to the labor market, which is a rather classist comment (Dyhouse, 1976; de Bellaigue *et al.*, 2022). Women of middle- and lower-classes needed their own financial security, especially in the aftermath of the World Wars when marriage rates were dropping, hence, their interest in education would have been for employment purposes, not simply passing interest or as a way to garner a husband of a higher standing, although this was certainly an aspect for some portion of the

population (Perry, 1968; Office of National Statistics, 2012; Polenghi and Fitzgerald, 2020; Langston, 2021). The split between Higher Education (HE) programs and more Vocational training (VOC), such as was found within the normal schools, academies, colleges, and technical-vocational schools, as well as short-courses and evening lectures, is one of the clearest splits within the BOE when it comes to Agriculture and Food Sector employment and emphasizes the classist attitudes found within the Government based upon funding.

Of course, the perceived importance of such divergent educational formats change depending on the focus of the period and the researcher. De Bellaigue *et al.* (2022), suggests such changes led to social mobility between the classes and genders, while Polenghi and Fitzgerald (2020) argue that it was university fellowships that allowed women to push the boundaries in the academic world. Meanwhile, Jordan (1991) reasons that it was the rise of colleges that allowed for the split between traditional 'feminine' pursuits of dancing, deportment, sewing, etc., to a more general education including history, geography, languages, and literature. Such female access to education assists in changing the incentives and expectations around gender norms and practices within communities, with a higher level of educated women normalizing societies' acceptance of them into universities. One must question, however, the goal behind funding schemes and if education, employment, or societal shift was desiring such regulations.

## WHO PAYS THE PRICE: THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, OR SOCIETY?

Across England, agricultural training took several *semi-formalized* structures: 1) as Farm Institute (FI) trainings, 2) as public demonstrations and lectures (including films and pamphlets), 3) as travelling instructors (mostly RDE), 4) as county extension/advisory officers (covering a wide-variety of topics, such as pest management), and 5) at agricultural shows. It also took a more *formalized* agricultural educational design at 6) national colleges and 7) universities. The delineation followed two forms: career opportunity and funding body.

In addition to the changing levels of female education and general education for children, there were changes occurring in technical or vocational education. Prior to 1881, the Government had little to no consideration for formalized agricultural education, of which nutritional sciences were often taught in conjunction with, and focused on dairy and clean milk/cheese production. Prior to two Royal

Commissions (one for Agriculture and one for Technical Education<sup>57</sup>) approved that year, organizations such as the various agricultural societies and Local Education Authorities (LEAs) coordinated agricultural instruction with local county agencies. The counties often maintained day and evening courses in their regions' specialist agricultural subjects, while others arranged Farm Institutes wherein residents learned the practical, as well as theoretical, skills to manage and operate farms.

Farm instruction, for the most part, was originally hands-on instruction passed from father to son. Husbandry encyclopaedias such as Jethro Tull's *Essay on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation* (1731) or Arthur Young's *Farmer's Kalendar* (1805) were well known and popular during their time, especially amongst the growing 'gentleman' farmers of the upper-classes (Lawson and Hunter, 1875; Cheesbrough, 1966). Agricultural societies, starting in 1777 with the Bath and West, became places where lectures, discussions, and experimental progress was shown in a similar manner to the learned societies such as The Royal Society (1660), The Royal Society of Arts (1753), and The Geological Society (1807). The transition from farm laborer to gentleman farmer shows the beginning of the split between practical (VOC) and theoretical (HE) knowledge and set the stage for the agricultural colleges and university curriculums of the mid-1800s (Cheesbrough, 1966). Lectures in agricultural chemistry were given in the early 1800s by the Royal Institution and the Bath and West Agricultural Laboratory (1806) showcased pioneering techniques in the field. By the late 1870s, new degrees and certifications in Agriculture could be found at several colleges and universities, including Edinburgh (1790), the Normal School of Science in South Kensington (1882), and St John's College (1907) (Hanley, 1939).

Prior to 1887, the Government financial aid for education was limited to universities (HE), colleges (HE) and local councils (VOC) (Hanley, 1939; Cheesbrough, 1966). This changed with the 1887 Paget Report to the Privy Council who had inquired into agricultural and dairy schools for the purpose of Government grants, as well as tracking communicable disease amongst livestock. The 1889 Technical Instruction Act empowered local authorities to advance technical instruction in elementary schools, secondary schools, and local colleges, merging VOC and traditional education. The financing for such institutions came mostly from the Chancellor of the Exchequer's 'Whiskey Money' budget and led to considerable development of technical instruction at the county and Farm Institute levels until the 1902 Education

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<sup>57</sup> 1881 Agricultural Act and the 1888 Technical Instruction Act authorized the first publicly funded secondary education, including agriculture.

Act authorized the setting up of local educational committees (Comber, 1948; Sharp, 1971)<sup>58</sup>. These committees took over both technical and university level instruction, causing a decrease in funding for agricultural education while those for general education courses were on the rise.

However, grants were available, both from the county and state, and by the early 1910s grants in excess of £74,000 per annum were being dispersed for agricultural education (Comber, 1948). The University College of Bangor received the first for £200 in 1888-89. The following year the grant was doubled and in total the University spent £4,585 on agricultural education. Leeds University received a £50 grant in 1891, Newcastle and Aberystwyth grants in 1891-92 followed by Cambridge, Nottingham, and Reading. By 1894-95, the South-Eastern Agricultural College at Wye was included and grants had totalled £7,850 (Hanley, 1939; The Bank of England, 2019)<sup>59</sup>.

Key Government policies and reports on the state of agricultural education can be found in Table 12. The trend was for general educational reports to focus on the age of school leaving, certification or apprenticeship programs and finally, standardization and accountability of offered programs. Many of the reports stated the same results: there was a demand for highly skilled labor and scientific training, however the current lack of funding made the consistency of such training highly irregular across the country. The 1887 Paget Committee recommended the following to alleviate the discrepancies: 1) the establishment of a state-maintained dairy school, 2) provision for five dairy schools in England and Wales that would provide both centralized education as well as travelling instructors, 3) assistance for local establishments and 4) grants for research up to £3,000 (Hanley, 1939).

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<sup>58</sup> Local Taxation Act, aka 'Whiskey Money,' was legislation passed with the goal of decreasing the number of public houses and reduce consumption of alcohol.

<sup>59</sup> In 2019 rates, that would be close to £1,039,942.44 showing an average inflation rate of 4.0% a year (The Bank of England, 2019).



*Table 12: Government Reports/Acts influencing Agricultural Education 1873-1960*

<b>Report/Act title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Key Focus</b>	<b>Governing Body</b>
Agricultural Children's Act	1873	Employment of Children	BOA
Paget Report	1887	System of Agricultural Education	BOA
Technical Instruction Act	1889	Technical Education across industries	BOA
Board of Agriculture Act	1889	Creation of the Department of State -> MAF	BOA
Reay Report	1908	Farm Institutes	BOAF
Luxmoore Report	1945	Evaluation of Agricultural Education	MAF
Loveday Report	1946	Agricultural Education in Higher Education	MAF
Agriculture Act	1947	Food production post-WWII	MAF
Loveday Reports	1947 & 1949	Farm Institutes	MAFF
Carrington Report	1953	Linking education and extension work	MAFF
De La Warr Report	1958	Farm Institutes	MAFF and MOE

Source: (Brook, 2011)

For agriculture, June 1894 saw the formation of the Agricultural Education Association (AEA) with A.E. Brooke-Hunt as its' chairman and D.A. Gilchrist as secretary and by the 29<sup>th</sup> of November "the first ... college founded and maintained by public money solely for the benefit of agriculture in England", the South-Eastern Agricultural College at Wye, was established (Richards, 1988) <sup>60</sup>. Wye's primary purpose was to teach practical agricultural techniques and sciences to agricultural educators, setting it up as the first teacher training school for agriculture and creating a professional pathway for the teacher-pupil career path. Additionally, several universities offered two to three-year courses culminating in the National Diploma in Agriculture. However, only London University offered an external University Degree in Agriculture, where students could sit for examination without residence (Comber, 1948; Cheesbrough, 1966).

In 1899, through the joint efforts of the RASE and the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, a National Examination Board was created to promote agricultural education by providing examinations in Agriculture, Dairy (Figure 61), Poultry and Horticulture. Yet only the Scottish Society (which was associated with the University of Edinburgh) was authorized to award such a degree and although the

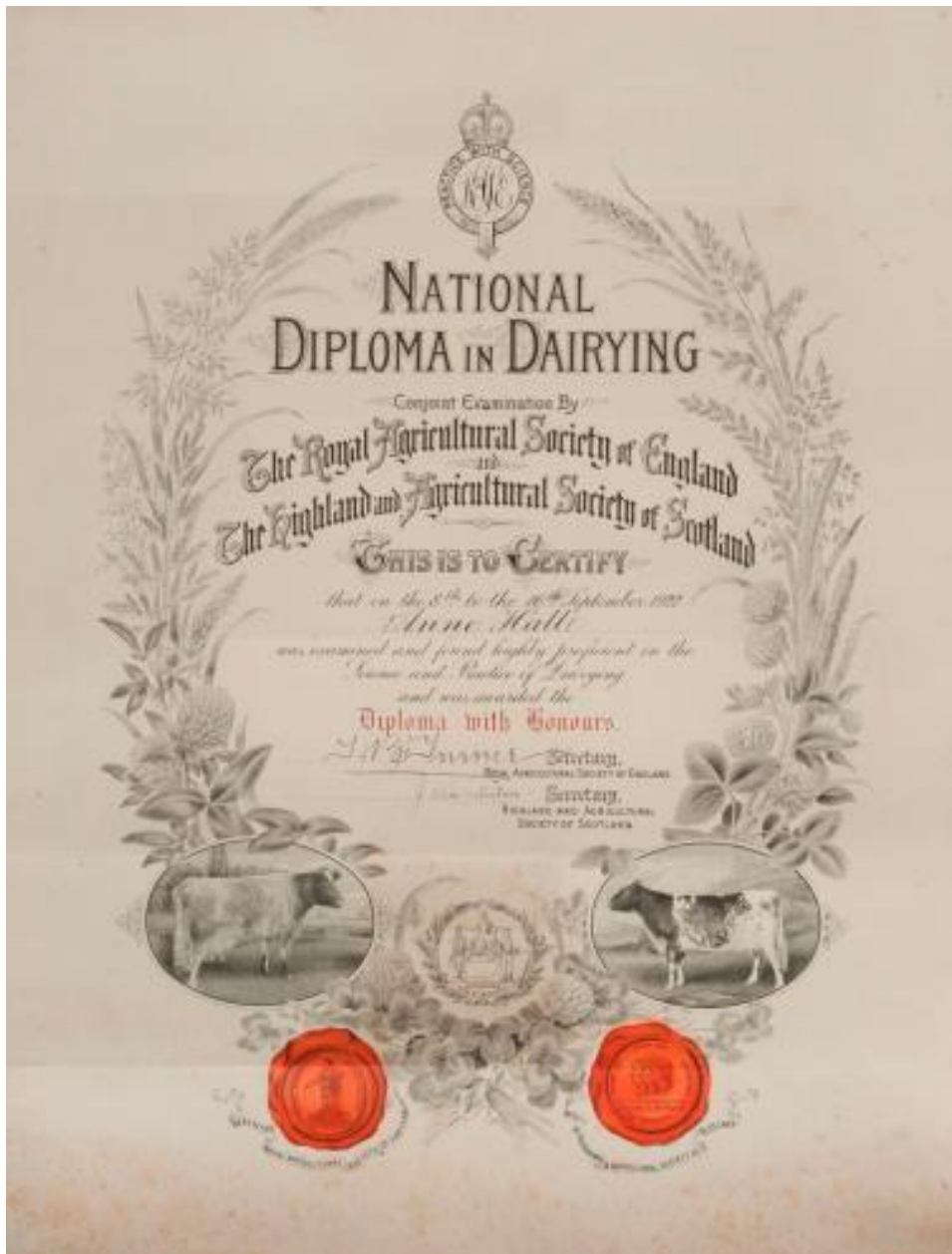
<sup>60</sup> A.E. Brooke-Hunt was a Cambridge graduate and on the Board of Agriculture, while D.A. Gilchrist was from the University Extension College in Reading.; Richards quoting A.D. Hall, *Kentish Gazette*, 18 July 1896, 'A plea for higher agricultural education'.

examination took place in England, the English society had no authority to award degrees themselves<sup>61</sup>. Discussions in the press, including an article that appeared in 1903 in *Nature*, made this point perfectly clear and while stating the desire for a 'National' diploma, the author (who is not listed) argues that the current syllabus and legality of such a diploma was scarcely appropriate. "We find that book-keeping and agricultural chemistry receive the same number of marks, while general chemistry and veterinary science each receive half as many marks as book-keeping!" ('A national diploma in Agriculture', 1903). Such complaints continued throughout the first half of the century.

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<sup>61</sup> Such degrees had been authorized since 1858 through the University of Edinburgh.

Figure 61: Example certificate awarded to Anne Hall, National Diploma in Dairying at the British Dairying Institute at the University College in Reading



Source: (British Dairying Institute, 1922)

The concerns were brought before Parliament, which assigned Donald Mackay, the 11<sup>th</sup> Baron Reay, to head the subsequent Reay Committee. Their report, which evaluated the link between agricultural education and farming practice, noted that farmers' opinions had increased from indifferent to active interest, however, the report also showed that the current farmer instructional facilities were "unorganised, unsystematic and wholly inadequate" (Reay Committee, 1908). Lord Zouche of

Hayngworth explained that “there are two sides to agriculture ... the scientific side can, to a great extent, be helped by lectures delivered by experienced men. But there are also the various agricultural operations which can only be taught by practical instruction in the field” (UK Parliament, 1908). This was the crux of the inter-departmental discussion over administration and financing around agricultural technical education and, to some extent, gives two views of the ideal farmer – the more scientifically-minded ‘gentleman’ farmer and the practical ‘everyday’ farmer.

The arguments around financing also showed the split between these two ideals, with the BOA providing financing from the top-down (first to universities, then colleges, then farm institutes, etc.) and the BOE from the bottom-up (technical regulations, then evening courses, etc.). “If the higher agricultural colleges are placed under the Board of Agriculture, and are made the directing agency for the lower grades of technical agricultural instruction, it is important that the Department which deals with the first category should have control of the whole system,” said Lord Reay (UK Parliament, 1908).

Lord Monk Bretton, quoting from the report in the House of Lords seconded the motion “that agricultural instruction, when provided by universities, university colleges, agricultural colleges, farm institute and winter schools, or by means of special classes or courses of lectures in agriculture and kindred subjects (e.g., dairying, horticulture), should be under the direction of the Board of Agriculture” (UK Parliament, 1908; Brook, 2011). He goes on to explain that:

the Board of Agriculture...having limited money at its disposal, has been to devote all the money it thought necessary to the Universities and then distribute the few remaining hundreds of pounds to the colleges. If the whole of the money is to be put into the Universities you will end by having a large number of teachers, but no colleges for them to go to (UK Parliament, 1908).

This is where the creation of multi-level education came into play. For short courses, lectures, and demonstrations, semi-formalized instruction funded by the LEAs were enough. For more scientific or teacher training, there were the colleges and universities funded by the BOA/BOE. The debate sparked the beginning of government oversight of formalized agricultural education and helped to tailor the Farm Institute curriculum design found during WWII.

## VOCATIONAL TRAINING UNDER THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE

Even though the 1890s saw the creation of publicly funded agricultural education, the distribution of such education was not even across the country. In fact, only Cambridge, Kent, Essex, Northumberland,

and Yorkshire proved successful in the early years. Throughout the study period, debate over how to fund agricultural education and in what form it occurred, arose repeatedly, especially during the agricultural depressions when unemployment rose (see Chapters 1 and 3) and commodity prices dropped (see Chapter 5) (UK Parliament, 1924, 1930, 1937). By 1910, a network of state-funded agricultural research centres had been created and by 1912 the Provincial Advisory Service was founded to help bridge the researcher-farmer gap and created another tier for the ‘professional’ agriculturalist and ‘gentleman’ farmer. To better coordinate efforts, England and Wales were divided into twelve provinces, with nine functioning centres by the outbreak of WWI and another six added by 1924 (Holmes, 1988).

At the county level, nearly all counties in England employed an agricultural education officer prior to WWII, who was also a qualified agriculturalist. Some had additional staff including specialists in the ‘lighter branches of agriculture’<sup>62</sup> who were often female. In the case of smaller counties, advisory services were shared between neighboring counties to off-set costs. These costs were often split 40/60% between the county and government grants (Comber, 1948; Brook, 2011). The advisors had varied duties, from advice and training for farmers to continuation courses and lectures/demonstrations to the public (including members of the National Farmers Union (NFU) and WI).

The first Farm Institutes (predominantly residential centres for higher agricultural education) were established in the 1890s by Technical Instruction Committees under the 1889 Act. They were as follows: Writtle in Essex (1893), Newton Rigg as the Cumberland and Westmorland Farm School (1896), Hutton in Lancashire (also 1896) and Old Basing (later Sparsholt) in Hampshire (1899). “The only other farm institute opened before the Great War was at Caernarvon [(Wales)], so it appears that there was little enthusiasm in the counties for the idea of courses at a residential centre” (Cheesbrough, 1966). This comment is a bit contentious though, as one can argue it takes a while to organize, build, hire and gain students for a new school, especially when local infrastructure might not be in place, so having rural schools up and running just a few years after financing has become available is rather quick.

Likewise, local conditions and agricultural traditions needed to be considered. At Hutton, for example, the region was mostly pastoral farming, so the courses offered reflected this. The Harris Institute, in Preston, offered a three-year practical agriculture course, but supplemented with dairy, cheesemaking, and poultry-keeping, all geared towards women, who were the first residents in 1938. FIs with no land

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<sup>62</sup> These being identified by Lady Denman’s report as dairying, horticulture, poultry keeping and bee keeping.

attached, focused more on theoretical or scientific aspects of biology, chemistry, and agricultural science. The regional specialization offered coursework geared towards local employment opportunities but did little to answer the issue of a unified national curriculum.

In 1912, the BOA (later MOA) took over all agricultural education for students over age 16 from the BOE and by 1947, there were seventeen FIs across England and Wales. Of those, thirteen doubled as advisory centres for local farmers and the various local YFCs which helped to bridge the gap between school leaving age (by then age 14) and college/university attendance (Hanley, 1939; Comber, 1948)<sup>63</sup>.

Finally, in a circular dated September 3<sup>rd</sup> 1945, from both the MOA and MOE, a breakdown of responsibilities showcasing the differences between the semi-formal coursework through the FIs and National Advisory Services and the formalized coursework at the colleges and universities was sent out (Ministry of Agriculture, 1940).

1. Higher agricultural education will be the function of university departments of agriculture and agricultural colleges.
  - a. Agricultural education at farm institute level and below will be the function of local authorities.
  - b. Agricultural education will come under the education committee and agricultural education will no longer stand referred to the agricultural committee.
2. MOA will be concerned as to efficiency of instruction in the theory and practice of agriculture.
  - a. MOE will be concerned as to Agricultural education as part of Further Education and as the efficiency of non-agricultural subjects included in Farm Institute courses including the use and care of farm equipment by farm workers.
3. MOA grants will be confined to expenditure on Farm Institutes.
  - a. MOE grants will be confined to courses and classes in agricultural subjects as part of the work of schools of instruction.
4. County Education Committees should include persons with practical experience of agriculture.
5. Farm Institutes are to be managed by a separate sub-committee of the education committee or by a further education sub-committee of the education committee. The MOA will nominate members onto the sub-committee.

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<sup>63</sup> The YFCs were initially established between 1921-1922 with the purpose of the students completing an agricultural project (such as raising a calf) and showing all of the records and financial statements such a project entailed leading to a more practical education than offered in schools at the time. By 1948, there were some 1,240 clubs in England and Wales with a total membership of around 60,000. Scotland boasted an additional 167 clubs and 13,500 members (Comber, 1948).

6. The present arrangements for agricultural education are to continue until the provision of technical advice to practicing agriculturalists is taken over by the national agricultural advisory service (NAS) under supervision of the Agriculture Act (Misc. Provisions), 1944.

This delineation pushed the responsibility for small-scale/market production and home-use of foodstuffs into the context of semi-formalized, ad hoc training undertaken by agricultural organizations and the FIs, while the formalized, commercial (industry-level agriculture) and research-based coursework fell under the auspices of the universities and colleges.

Continuation courses between school leaving and university were traditionally voluntary in nature and occurred only one or two days a week with a focus on practical application in some field, such as woodworking, agriculture, or food preservation. They were often held in conjunction with, or facilitated by, the YFCs, which eventually organized into a National Federation during the Interwar Years (1931) and pupils between 10 and 21-years-old were the most common, with the later commonly moving on to the FIs, colleges and/or universities (Comber, 1948; Todd, 2004b; Brook, 2011).

The FIs, like the YFCs, catered for both sexes and encouraged co-operative social life amongst the coursework. These institute farms were often used by the county advisory service for farm demonstrations, experiments and short courses terms for day or evening students during the summer and winter. Once again, though, there was some debate in the press about the effectiveness of shorter coursework, as one farmer remarked in the 1916 article “Women for the Farms” in *The Times*: “skill in agriculture could not be acquired in six weeks, but the short courses were useful for giving women and girls the chance of insight into farm life...[however, farmers] could not expect women’s work to be useful unless opportunity was given for training...”.

While the length of such coursework might be in debate, the topics covered were rather vast and included (Comber, 1948):

- Crop Husbandry,
- Animal Husbandry,
- Farm Management,
- Agricultural Chemistry,
- Farm Engineering,
- Farm Book-keeping,
- Biology (specifically plant biology and breeding),
- Farm Work (field and farm operations, marketing, livestock feeding),
- and Workshop (tools).

The BOA (renamed the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries in 1919, MAF), typically supplied funding from the bottom-up, focusing on semi-formalized trainings and often included various agricultural organizations in their work. One of the women's organizations that focused on agriculture at this time was the Women's Farm and Garden Union (WFGU), which had a membership of about 500 in 1916, the majority being women working their own land (*The Times*, 1916; The Museum of English Rural Life, 2020)<sup>64</sup>. The following year, the WFGU's agricultural education sub-committee was taken over by the BOA and became the first WLA, an important development since it sets the stage for a politicised movement of independent women, but also because it popularized the concept of women on the front lines of agricultural work, not just farmers' wives and daughters as was historically the case (*The British Farmer's Magazine*, 1842). However, the WLA found that non-farm women needed some form of training, which the farmers did not have the time to provide, and as such, the short courses under debate became the go-to answer for quick training of recruits.

Research scholarships were offered (twelve a year starting in 1911) that would provide three years' training in research, partially in England and partially abroad, funded by the Development Committee and by 1918, the Agricultural Policy Sub-Committee of the Reconstruction Committee allocated £2 million with an additional £1 million for scholarships and bursaries for farmers' children. 1926 saw the children of agricultural laborers included, with 140 annual scholarships from the MAF established between 1922 and 1937 in a bid to follow the guidelines of the Reay report (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1919; Brook, 2011). An important aspect of these scholarships was that they were for both males and females, probably due to the YFCs inclusive policy, which many of the scholarship recipients would have been drawn from. In the below Table 11 we see that 1,993 children benefited from the MAF scholarships from 1922-1937. These were given out during periods of agricultural depression when lower income workers would not have had the available finances to send their children to the residential FIs or colleges.

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<sup>64</sup> The Women's Agricultural and Horticultural International Union was established in 1899 after a group of women who had attended the International Conference of Women Workers in London in Jul 1899 with 22 members. The name was changed to The Women's Farm and Garden Union in 1910 then to the Women's Farm and Garden Association 1921 and in 1929 the society became incorporated.



Table 13: MAF Annual Scholarships awarded 1922-1937

Scholarship holders	Number
Sons or daughter of agricultural workmen	533
Sons or daughters of working farm bailiffs	168
Sons or daughters of smallholders	465
Sons or daughters of other rural workers	299
Qualified on their own account as bona fide workers in agriculture	528
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,993</b>

Source: ('The Educational and Research Scholarship Schemes of the Ministry', 1938)

In April 1924, the NFWI, who by this point were also involved in agricultural education policies, explained the MAF's scholarship scheme for universities, agricultural colleges and farm institutes in their magazine, *Home and Country* (The Women's Institute, 1924). They covered three distinct formats, called 'Classes'.

- 'Class I' (HE) for three or four years, tenable at Oxford, Cambridge or other Universities which have Departments of Agriculture, enabling holders to attend degree courses in agriculture or horticulture;
- 'Class II' (HE/VOC) for two years tenable at University Departments of Agriculture and Agricultural Colleges, for one or other of the diplomas in agriculture, horticulture, dairying, or poultry-keeping; (i.e., the 'lighter branches' geared towards women);
- and 'Class III' (VOC) for short courses, (not exceeding one year's duration) in the same subjects, at County Farm Institutes.

Ten scholarships in Class I and II and 150 in Class III were to be provided to students aged 17 and upwards who met the requirements. The MAF's scholarships were awarded to both male and female students and included the cost of tuition and living expenses for the time of instruction (The Women's Institute, 1924). The focus on FIs show two points, the first being the cost was cheaper to send a student for a shorter amount of time to an FI, meaning the limited MAF budget went farther, and students would have seen a quicker return on the investment of their time and effort in their employment through VOC training for Classes 2 and 3. The second being that universities were being funded by the MOE, so less money would have needed to come from the MAF. Likewise, more employment opportunities arose for laborers than for the professional positions gained from acquiring university degrees, though Class 2 fell into a semi-HE/VOC standing. Many of these Class 2 university diplomas were not able to be rolled into a four-year degree program, but operated more like a modern career-school diploma or professional certification.

An interesting breakdown of the 1,472 scholars who completed their coursework is shown in Table 14, although there was no delineation between male and female, nevertheless one can see that most went on to either supervise or perform as agricultural laborers and how many women had married (highlighted):

*Table 14: Employment position of MAF scholarship candidates post-training*

Position	Number
Administrative, teaching, research, or advisory appointments of an agricultural nature either at home or abroad	103
Veterinary surgeons	3
Agricultural posts of a supervisory character (e.g., managers or foremen of farms, nurseries, dairies, etc.)	247
Working on own account (smallholders, nurserymen, dairymen, etc.)	50
Engaged in practical agricultural operations	740
Women who have married	56
Seeking employment at the time of inquiry	50
Obtained employment outside the agricultural industry	92
Died	15
Cannot be traced; probably engaged in agricultural employment	50

Source: ('The Educational and Research Scholarship Schemes of the Ministry', 1938)

We can clearly see that over 80% of the scholarships were for FI enrolment, with almost 40% of the students returning to farming after graduation confirming our hypothesis above. Likewise, the growing interest in dairying and poultry from female students is reflected by an increase in agricultural organizations' career placements for women following WWI (Kramer, 2008). The notation on women who have married, however, does not necessitate leaving agriculture, as many would have married into other farming families and been involved in the family business in some form.

During WWII, the FIs were paused and the facilities were used as training institutes for the WLA while students were sent to work the land or conscripted for war work, especially by the WLA and WIs (Hanley, 1939; Comber, 1948). For example, in 1943, proficiency exams were offered to the WLA members and those that passed could receive a badge and certificate. Tests followed the National Diploma certification formats and were available for members who had been in for at least a year. Scores over 75 would receive the badge and certificate, while those over 90/100 would be regarded as passing with distinction (Jenkins, 1943). Tests included the following and once again show the 'lighter branches' as the predominant course topics:

- Milking and dairy work,
- General farm work,
- Poultry,
- Tractor driving,
- Field work,
- Outdoor garden and glasshouse work,
- Fruit work,
- and Pest destruction.

WLA member and interviewee, Frankie Cordwell (2020), describes the difference between the assumed WLA training and the WLA proficiency tests:

I talk to people even nowadays and they say, “You didn’t have to do that. You didn’t have to shear sheep and things like that.” I said, “We had to learn it all as we went.” We didn’t go away for training, we just learnt as we went.... The only thing was I got...a proficiency medal. That was for Billingshurst Agricultural College. I went away and done an examination test and I won the proficiency award...and I’ve got the certificate [(Figure 62)] and my medal.

*Figure 62: Certificate awarded to Miss. H.M. Jones for Market Gardening and Field Work, June 1948*

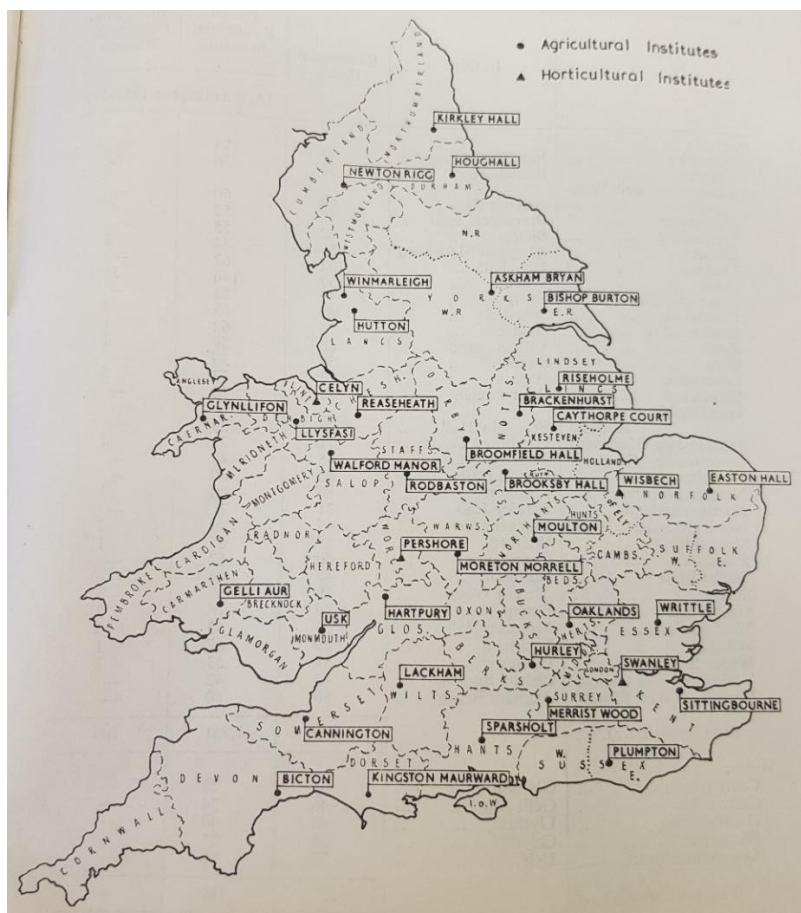


Source: (Cordwell, 2020)

Other interviewees did attend official WLA trainings for some period, including Sheila Hope (2020) who remarked that she had a month of training with other girls. Yet when the Luxmoore committee (1945), under the Right Honourable Lord Justice Fairfax Luxmoore, re-evaluated post-WWII agricultural education they found that: 1) urban (or industrial-focused) county councils did not see the need in investing in the FIs and 2) rural counties did not want (nor could they afford in some cases) the expense (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1945b). These were the driving issues in the Northern counties, where agriculture and industry often clashed over resources of land and people (Caunce, 2012). By the late 1950s, FI coursework was beginning to reflect the more formalized aspects of Higher Education work. The De La Warr (1958) review concluded that the standards of coursework in the FIs needed to be raised and that the more practical training focus should be lessened from year-long courses to more specialist short courses and attention paid to completing national certificates such as farm secretarial (NCFS) and horticulture (NCH), which were originally run and examined by the YFCs. A trend currently found within vocational training in both public and private institutions (United Kingdom Department for Education, 2011; Chen, 2022). However, the report's focus directly counters the earlier public outcry of the validity of such short-term courses, which highlights the disparity between what the farmer needs, and the Government wants, a situation that is still occurring (see Comparative Analysis section below).

By 1958, there were 37 FIs in England under the control of the County Councils with over 2,000 enrolled students (MAFF, 1958). Figure 63 shows the locations of the FIs at this point, and one can see that distribution, like the WLA trainings, was not even across the country. Most FIs were in the Southeast with only three covering the entirety of the North of England, even though agriculture was a predominant industry in many rural communities across the country. The question of where the FIs fall within the practicality of Higher Education is an ongoing one, although their original purpose as a steppingstone between school leaving and Higher Education coursework leads one to consider them as an internship or apprenticeship option: half hands-on practical, half taught coursework. The inclusion of males and females in the FIs and YFCs, however, was not a common option within agricultural education at this time, as we will see in the next section.

Figure 63: Farm Institutes of England and Wales, 1958



Source: (MAFF, 1958)

## WOMEN IN COMMERCIAL HORTICULTURE: FEMALE GARDENING SCHOOLS

Commercial horticulture ventures also blurred the lines between male and female agricultural occupations. In 1940, at the fiftieth graduation ceremony of the Horticultural College and Produce Company, Ltd. in Swanley, Kent (aka. Swanley Horticultural College), Lord Aberconway, President of the Royal Horticultural Society, “expressed his ‘sympathy with the work of the College’ where, thirty-seven years earlier, ‘all men students had been cast out—a triumph of brains over brute’” (Opitz, 2013). He was referencing the conversion of the country’s first horticultural school to female only classification. The college’s formalized scientific curriculum was the first of its kind aimed at the horticultural industry in general and women in particular. The idea being to establish a set of industry standards beyond the traditional apprenticeship system in line with new scientific understanding and the 1889 allocation of tax money to both agricultural and technical instruction. These commercial growers influenced home

gardens as well, often providing the seeds and starters to housewives and allotment holders (Poole, 2006).

“House gardens are a widespread and important element in the domestic economy of rural communities, but because they are relatively inconspicuous and less visually impressive than field systems, they tend to be overlooked and their contribution to subsistence underrated” (Kimber, 2004). Following in this line, we posit that it is necessary to understand where gardening fits into the national larder during the study period and in what capacity women were involved in their creation, maintenance, and harvesting. The combination of the question is two-fold, the first part being the overlooked nature of gardens in relation to food production and the second being the often disregarded and invisible nature of the gardeners themselves. Figure 64 shows the key dates for women’s entry into gardening and government policies over the study period. While this list does not specify between gardens for food production and those for aesthetic interests (flowers, etc.) it does give an idea of how women and professional gardening were linked from a public and political standing.

*Figure 64: Women in gardening key dates, WWI-WWII*

Dates	Women in gardening key dates, 1914-1946
1914-1918	Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) and subsequent addendums
1921	Garden historian, Eleanour Rohde, first woman to design a show garden for Chelsea.
1925	First female professional garden designer in the U.K., Kitty Lloyd-Jones (1898-1978).
1925	Allotments Act (renewed 1935).
1929 (1)	Brenda Colvin, founding member of Institute of Landscape Architects; Lady Marjorie Allen becomes first female fellow in 1930.
1937 (1)	Sylvia Crowe wins Chelsea Gold for her design for Cutbush Nurseries.
1938 (1)	Vita Sackville-West (WLA) opens Sissinghurst to public which becomes most influential garden of the 20 <sup>th</sup> century.
1939-1945	Dig for Victory (WWII) campaign
1943 (2)	Lady Eve Balfour (1899-1990) starts organic movement with <u>The Living Soil</u> ; founds Soil Association in 1946.

Source: (Poole, 2006; Women in gardening: key dates, 2020)

Notes: (1) Records can be found in the MERL archives. (2) Lady Balfour was a University of Reading alumni.

The largest gardens were predominantly found on rural country estates in the Interwar period and while it might seem understandable that every rural homestead would have a garden attached as per the

public perception of the rural idyll<sup>65</sup>, roughly a tenth of all “rural households had no garden at all” (Buchan, 2013). In the cities, that number was closer to a quarter, but the density of families in urban residential buildings compared to their rural single-family homes meant that many more urban dwellers were without a garden or green space. In addition to the estate and home garden, there were the allotments or community gardens that also served the household and societal needs for food production, especially when men were sent away during the Wars and food production and processing was increasingly left to the women to manage. While found in rural, urban, and peri-urban environments and encouraged by the Government and social organizations whose goals were to improve the economic and nutritional needs of the gardeners utilizing them, we will focus on those found in urban and peri-urban locations as a way of discussing larger social implications in Chapter 5 with a discussion on the commercialization of home economy and allotments (Kimber, 2004).

In addition to formalized horticultural education such as at Swanley, semi-formalized private garden schools arose (19 schools by 1940; Figure 65) including the Thatcham Fruit and Flower Farm in Berkshire<sup>66</sup>. The schools focused on practical training in gardens and glasshouses and provided opportunities for women to take the national qualifications, such as the National Diploma in Horticulture (NDH). Owned and operated mostly by women, the schools provided training for the Royal Horticultural Society’s (RHS) general examination (NDH) even when not formally recognized by the organization (Meredith, 2003; *Women in gardening: key dates*, 2020).

*Figure 65: Private gardening schools in England, 1899-1940*

Name	Proprietors	Dates	RHS recognized	RHS (NDH) Examination
Elmwood Nurseries, Cosham, Portsmouth, Hampshire/Aldersey Hall, Chester, Cheshire	Misses Cornelius Wheeler	c. 1902-40	Yes	1907-39: 97 passed

<sup>65</sup> The contested nature of public perception of the countryside versus the reality is brought up by a number of rural history scholars, most noticeable Little and Austin (1996), Yarwood (2005), Watkins and Jacoby (2007), Burchardt (2011), and Shucksmith (2018).

<sup>66</sup> Established in 1907 by Miss Mary Peers and Miss Lily Hugh-Jones, the nursery was originally called the Henwick Fruit and Flower Farm and was situated roughly where Wyvale Garden Centre now stands (2018). Originally a gardener school for women, it became quite well known locally due to the formal nature of the school and the participants’ entries in the Royal Horticultural Societies examinations. One student, Mabel Sowerby, went on to win several national awards and became a partner at the farm, which for a period, housed students onsite and eventually became known as the French Gardens, due to the cultivation method taught. The gardens remained until c.1957 when it became a mushroom farm until the early 1980s (*Thatcham Fruit and Flower Farm*, 2018).

School of Nature Study & Gardening, Clapham, Worthing, West Sussex	Miss Cracknell and Miss Collins	1911- c. 1935	No	1914-36: 49 passed
Waterperry Horticultural School, near Oxford, Oxfordshire	Miss Beatrix Havergal and Miss Sanders	1927-71	Yes	1930-39: 15 passed
Royal Botanic Society of London, Practical Gardening School for Ladies, Regent's Park, London	Royal Botanic Society of London	1899-1931	No	Yes, not available
Thatcham Fruit & Flower Farm, near Newbury, Berkshire	Miss Hughes Jones and Miss Sowerby	1906- c. 1925	Yes	1909-25: 118 passed
School for Lady Gardeners, Glynde, Sussex	Hon. Frances Wolseley	c. 1901- c. 1921	No	1905-16: 13 passed
Elmcroft Nursery, near Chichester, Sussex/Reedens School of Gardening, Newick, Sussex	Miss Dixon and Miss Eve	c. 1908-21	No	No evidence
Country & Colonial Training School, Hitchin, Hertfordshire/Strathcona School of Gardening Iver, Buckinghamshire	Miss Turner and Miss Kitson	c.1908- c. 1923	No	1908-22: 24 passed
Bredon's Norton School of Gardening, Tewksbury, Gloucestershire	Miss May Crooke	c. 1906-09	No	No evidence
Devonshire School of Gardening, Ivybridge, Devon	Miss May Crooke	1911-17		No evidence
Letheringsett School of gardening, near Holt, Norfolk	Miss Verrall	c. 1905-c. 1916		1905-15: 12 passed
Leicester Frith School of Gardening, new Leicester, Leicestershire	Mrs Hardy Smith (?)	c. 1909-16	No	No evidence
Stonehouse Training Gardens, near Gloucester, Gloucestershire	Miss Heald	c. 1914-20	No	No evidence
Practical School of Gardening, Watford, Hertfordshire	Miss Prior	c. 1919-21	No	No evidence
School of Gardening, Wells, Somerset	Miss Prior	c. 1922-23	No	No evidence
Belle Orchard, Hawkhurst, Kent	Miss Alice Baird	1916-23	No	No evidence
St. James's Gardens, Malvern, Hereford and Worcester	Miss Alice Baird	c. 1911- c. 1925	No	1913-25: 22 passed
Greenway Court, Hollingbourne, Kent	Miss Edith Bradley	c. 1910- c. 1917	Yes	1914-16: 7 passed



School of Gardening, Rye, Sussex	Miss Ridley and Miss Peake	c. 1911- c. 1920	No	No evidence
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Source: (Meredith, 2001, 2003)

These private garden schools were one option available for the mostly middle-class women who were not allowed to apply for the traditional apprenticeship system to become involved in the food industry within an urban and peri-urban environment. Some of the schools were short lived due to the changing needs of the students and the change in emphasis from production to education, as was the case for the Reedens' School of Gardening or the movement of the school from one location to another such as the Practical School of Gardening under Miss Prior (Meredith, 2003). Only Waterperry and Elmwood survived into the 1930s, limiting a middle-class woman's options to the Colleges and Universities such as Swanley and Studley mentioned previously. Both were eventually mainstreamed into the Horticultural Education Association by 1940 under approval of the RHS and with the "education and employment committee of the WFGA" (Meredith, 2003). These smaller, semi-formalized schools would have been eligible for MOA scholarships and grants, whereas the universities and colleges needed to apply to the MOE as the more formalized HE authority.

#### FORMALIZED HIGHER EDUCATION UNDER THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

The National Colleges (Table 15 and Figure 66) initially provided education and training for those students who wished to pursue their formalized agricultural education beyond the FI coursework and catered to students over the age of 18. First mentioned in the Paget Report, the first official College was the Central Normal School of Agriculture near Rugby in Warwickshire, whose primary objective was to prepare students to become agricultural educators (like Wye). However, interest was low, and the school was never built. Eventually, seven National Colleges were established across the country (Hanley, 1939; Cheesbrough, 1966).

Table 15: Listing of U.K. National Colleges

School	Location	Founded	Notes	No. and Address
Royal Agricultural College	Gloucestershire	1845	First Agricultural College-privately funded.	1. Stroud Road, Cirencester, Chesterton, Cotswold District, Gloucestershire, GL7 6JS
Writtle	Essex	1893	Has close links to local Higher Education Institutions.	2. Lordship Road, Writtle, Chelmsford, Essex, CM1 3RP
Myerscough	Lancashire	1892	Originally called the Preston Institution for the Diffusion of Knowledge (current Harris Institute).	3. St Michael's Road, Holme Slack, Deepdale, Preston, Lancashire, PR1 6NA
Harper Adams	Shropshire	1901	Originally privately funded, now a publicly funded University.	4. Edgmond Marsh, Edgmond, Telford and Wrekin, TF10 8EW
Studley	Warwickshire	1903	Founded by Daisy Grenville, Countess of Warwick. Female only. Closed 1970s.	5. Hardwick Lane, Studley CP, Mappleborough Green, Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire, B80 7AD
Seale Hayne	Devon	1919	Originally a WWI military hospital. Became part of University of Plymouth. Agricultural school is now closed.	6. Seale-Hayne Business Campus, Newton Abbot, Teignbridge, Devon, TQ12 6NQ
Shuttleworth	Bedfordshire	1946	Family trust. Merged with local FEC.	7. Biggleswade, Central Bedfordshire, SG18 9DX

Source: (Brook, 2011)

Figure 66: Researcher's plotted locations of National Colleges with UoR<sup>67</sup> and Newton Rigg added



Notes: Although the University of Reading and Newton Rigg were not National Diploma Colleges, they have been plotted to show the relative position compared to the other schools. #8 is the University of Reading and the Berkshire Institute of Agriculture (BIA) (Reading, Berkshire) and #9 is Newton Rigg (Penrith, Cumberland).

Students were typically required to have School Certificates (roughly comparable to a needing to pass all the modern GCSEs<sup>68</sup>) for entry to one of the National College programmes. Such schools offered curriculums leading to one of the National Diplomas, either in Agriculture (NDA), Dairying (NDD), Poultry (NDP), or Horticulture (NDH) (once more focusing on the lighter branches of agriculture). The NDD was the first such for which students were prepared. NDD examinations were held at the University of Reading, since the National Institute for Research in Dairying, established in 1912, was located nearby at Shinfield (now called the Centre for Dairy Research (CEDAR)). The two-year course became quite

<sup>67</sup> The University of Reading is abbreviated as UoR in this thesis.

<sup>68</sup> GCSE stands for General Certificate of Secondary Education.

popular amongst female students; of the fifteen to sit for the first exam in 1911, seven were women (Collins and Thirsk, 2011).

Afterwards, the NDA, NDH and NDP were created, followed by BScs in both Agriculture and Horticulture. These last two began as external degrees through the University of London in 1911. Agriculture still predominantly pulled male students, however Horticulture and Poultry tended to be filled by women, with specific schools opening for women only in those fields including Swanley Horticultural College in Kent and Studley Horticultural and Agricultural College for Women in Warwickshire (Collins and Thirsk, 2011; Opitz, 2014; The Museum of English Rural Life, 2021). The National Colleges were unique in that they were funded by the MOA, not the local authorities, and held a position between the mostly practical FIs and mostly theoretical (or research-based) universities.

While courses at the universities were quite different than the FIs, students were encouraged to spend at least a year at the FIs to receive practical farm experience, similar to an internship. Most of the universities provided three-year courses leading to a general agricultural degree and focused on the pure sciences in their first year before specializing in agricultural courses in the latter two years.

A sample three-year program could be (Comber, 1948):

- *Year One:* chemistry; botany; economics; zoology or mathematics or physics or geology
- *Year Two:* crop husbandry; surveying and building construction; implements and machinery; agricultural bacteriology; agricultural botany; agricultural chemistry (soils and fertilizers); agricultural economics
- *Year Three:* animal husbandry; farm management; agricultural chemistry (feeding stuffs and nutrition); anatomy and physiology of farm animals; veterinary hygiene; agricultural zoology (entomology).

The Loveday Committee emphasized the distinction between ‘fundamental’ research carried out at the university level and ‘applied’ research at the various research stations such as Rothamsted. This distinction re-stated the split between the FIs and National Colleges with their practical vs. theoretical coursework at universities. In this instance, the universities were advised to only teach to degree level with professors who would engage in both the academic and research spheres and emphasized the split between funding and function that the universities (funded by the MOE) and the FIs had through the MOA. The narrow view of the report found many dissenters within the university setting, which

continued to offer a wide-variety of coursework to their students (Brook, 2011). Agricultural coursework changed based upon the structure and funding body of the university. Below we have provided a sample of key agricultural universities in England during the study period to give an overview of how the professionalization of Agri-Food research (the organization, training, and funding) enabled entry into, and progression within, the wider Agri-Food workforce for women as well as the role agricultural education played in the legitimization of such employment.

The general trend the MOE was trying to push in formalized agricultural coursework in Higher Education was to provide a more theoretical or scientific basis for their students, but few of the universities specified why and what form of career their students were being trained for through the various degrees. By 1948, the **University of Cambridge** had the largest agricultural research center attached to a university and offered a Certificate of Proficiency in Agriculture on the way to completing an ordinary bachelor's degree of the University, diplomas in Agriculture and Agricultural Sciences, MScs, and PhDs. The distinction was that the candidate who had been in residence for nine terms and passed three examinations would first receive the Certificate before proceeding with the rest of their coursework, allowing for specialization in Agricultural Sciences. The presumed knowledge of each candidates' pre-university coursework required that students had passed examinations in chemistry, physics, biology (or botany or zoology) with certificates from the BOE (what one would consider passing the equivalent of modern-day A-Level examinations) (Cambridge University, 1948).

Upon entry to the University, the student would then take additional coursework and eventually sit for three examinations. The First Examination covered agriculture, soil science, agricultural botany and the history and economics of agriculture. The Second Examination would cover crop husbandry, crop pests and diseases, farm machinery, and the chemistry of foods. Finally, the Third Examination would cover agricultural zoology and physiology, stock husbandry, animal hygiene, and farm organization and management (Cambridge University, 1948). Those students who had successfully graduated with a degree in science or agriculture would then be offered the opportunity to proceed to the Diploma in Agriculture, which the University was quick to point out was designed for "those intending to become agricultural officers doing advisory and similar work of a general character among farmers at home and abroad" or the Diploma in Agricultural Science, which was aimed for "those intending to become specialist advisory officers or research workers in agricultural science" (Cambridge University, 1948).

For the Diploma in Agriculture, candidates must have first “attained honours in the National Sciences Tripos, Part I, or have obtained a comparable qualification in science from another University” (Cambridge University, 1948). The two-year course topics differ slightly, with the First Examination covering agricultural botany, agricultural zoology and physiology, chemistry of foods (linking the food sector and nutritional sciences into agricultural coursework), crop pests and diseases and soil science and the Final Examination covering agriculture I and II, farm organization and management, and farm machinery (something teachers at the FIs, or farm managers, would need to know).

Unlike the Diploma in Agriculture courses, which focused on practical experience as well as theoretical knowledge, the Diploma in Agricultural Science was considered “an indispensable intermediate stage between the completion of a high honours course in science and the beginning of a career in some specialised branch of agricultural science” and focused on the research and theoretical aspects of either “soils, crops, livestock, statistics and economics respectively” (Cambridge University, 1948). The course required candidates to be classed Tripos Part II and would have the relevant background examinations to focus on their speciality, i.e., a Soils major would potentially take chemistry, physics, or geology, while a Livestock major might take physiology or biochemistry. The diploma lasted one year, and coursework was based upon topic in the following manner:

- Soils- Agriculture, soil science, chemistry of foods, and agricultural botany.
- Crops- agriculture, soil science, agricultural botany, crop pests and diseases.
- Livestock- agriculture, soil science, agricultural zoology, physiology and genetics, and the chemistry of foods.
- Statistics- agriculture, statistics, field experimentation, and agricultural economics.
- Agricultural economics- agriculture, farm organisation and management, agricultural economics, and statistics.

Additionally, both two-year MScs and three-year PhDs were offered as were additional courses of lectures in the National Aspects of Agriculture and Animal Hygiene (Cambridge University, 1948). For women, Cambridge was a double-edged sword. Girton College was established as the first women’s college in Cambridge in 1869 and was the first female center for Higher Education. Dr. Lucy Delap, Fellow of Murray Edwards College, said: “The first female students were required to ask permission to attend lectures, were not allowed to take exams without special permission, and usually had to be accompanied by chaperones in public until after the First World War” (Rowe, 2019). While extension lectures in rural communities were offered in an attempt “to provide professional teaching and examinations for girls through the local examinations for schools provided by the University in conjunction with Oxford”, women were not granted degrees until 1948, when the Queen Mother was

awarded an honorary degree (University of Cambridge, 2022). In fact, Cambridge was the last British university to do so.

The main take away from Cambridge, is the official recognition of post-degree careers based on the formalized structure of the degree path chosen. The Diploma in Agriculture was for general agricultural officers doing farm advisory work and the Diploma in Agricultural Science was aimed for specialist advisory officers or researchers, Government, and research agencies (e.g., Rothamsted).

**Newton Rigg** (Penrith, Cumberland) was not one of the seven national colleges, instead it was one of five residential farm colleges opened prior to WWI in 1896 (Cheesbrough, 1966). Inspired by the Aspatria Agricultural College (1874) which was approved by the BOA and the County Councils of Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Berkshire, Staffordshire, Norfolk, Worcester, and Devon:

[s]tudents were prepared for the Diploma, Scholarship, and Certificate Examinations of the Royal Agricultural Society of England; Certificate and Diploma Examinations of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, in Agriculture and Forestry; the Honours Examinations at the Science and Art Department, and the examinations for the Diploma of the Aspatria Agricultural College. Advanced students were prepared for the B.Sc. Degree [with e]xaminations [by] the University of London (Joint Agricultural Education Committee for the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1954).

The Cumberland and Westmorland County Councils, as one of the first to provide agricultural education independently of the various Universities and Colleges, created a Travelling Dairy School in 1889 and employed a full-time lecturer in agriculture in each county (W.T. Lawrence for Cumberland and C.F. Bates in Westmorland) who provided traveling lectures in agricultural subjects, established research trial stations (1893), and provided evening continuation schools all prior to the 1890 Agricultural Education funding by the Government. In 1896, the farm house at Newton Rigg was purchased and the first class of ten students (ages 16-21 with two female students for the women's course and eight males for the men's courses) were admitted to the school (Joint Agricultural Education Committee for the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1954). At this time the focus for the school was on being "a place for systematic dairying instruction for females during the summer and during the winter for general agricultural instruction for young men who are actually engaged on the farm" as a VOC school (Joint Agricultural Education Committee for the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1954).

MOA funding was stopped and the school was forced to restructure in 1925 with the WIs and YFCs, which were starting to gain a firm foothold in the region, being cultivated within the school's co-ed social networks (Figure 67 shows a graduating class in 1933).

A correspondence course was provided in response to requests. Domestic science teachers were ...[trained] in household catering. Instruction in dry-stone walling was offered with a course ... expressly for unemployed workers. ... courses to promote and improve beekeeping, poultry keeping, horticulture and fruit growing, especially damsons and blackcurrants [were created] (Postlethwaite, 2016).

*Figure 67: Cumberland and Westmorland Farm School Spring Class of 1933*



Source: ('Cumberland and Westmorland Farm School, DX 3/1/1', 1933)

When the local LSA (see Chapter 3) was formed in Cumberland, Newton Rigg provided much of the technical training and staff to the over 150 separate holdings found on LSA land. Likewise, the LSA piggery schemes and research into seed potato varieties, cheese and butter production, and fertilizers were all developed by Newton Rigg staff. A major role for the college during WWII was as a training center for WLA members and advisory work, as all staff now came under the CWAEC. Between 1939 and



1943, around 485 WLA members attended four weeks of training at the college (Postlethwaite, 2016). Mrs. Josephine Sewell (Whitley Bay, Northumberland) was in the WLA from 1941 until May 1946 and was sent to Newton Rigg for a month of training before:

being dispatched to Mindrum Mill in the borders for a month, Eshen Brooks near Felton, where she worked as a dairy maid for eight months and then Embleton where she did general farm work for two and a half years. In 1944, she was posted to a farm near Worcester where she worked in a market garden until the end of her service (*Evening Chronicle*, 2004).

Such training courses were not without risk of injury. In May 1942, Miss Kathleen Giles, a WLA trainee at the school, lost one of her eyes when working with the cattle herd. Since the WLA (Figure 68) was not an official part of the forces, she was only entitled to the standard Workmen's Compensation Act, which paid for the period of her injury that prevented her from working (see Chapter 3). When brought up to the MOA by Sir Smedley Crooke, the Minister (Mr. Hudson) said that WLA members "are dealt with on the same basis as ordinary agricultural workers in regard to any injuries arising out of and in the course of their duties" (UK Parliament, 1943). Such disregard for agricultural workers and for the WLA members safety, was unfortunately not unusual.

The National Agricultural Advisory Service (NAS), which separated teaching from technical advisory work, co-funded the school's expansion with the MOA between 1947 and 1954 to include new accommodation for students and staff (Postlethwaite, 2016). These included a domestic science and housecraft kitchen and laboratory, poultry plant expansion, new horticultural station, hostel for farm workers, farm school kitchen, and various farm buildings - cow byre, food store, granary, and farm dairy (Joint Agricultural Education Committee for the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1954). The combination of agriculture and food and nutrition in coursework continued throughout the study period.

*Figure 68: WLA members in Cumberland/Westmorland*



Source: ('Westmorland WAEC WLA, WSMBA 11/2/75', 1945)

Newton Rigg's first residential course for rural school children in their final year of secondary school was put into place in 1951 with 55 students attending during the summer of that year. The plan was jointly coordinated by the Cumberland and Westmorland Education Committees and was aimed at compensating for the lack of such education in state schools as well as to inspire interest in the Farm School. By 1954, of the eight school departments, women were listed as instructors in four of them - Dairying and Husbandry, Horticulture and Apiculture, Poultry Husbandry, and Rural Domestic Economy - once again focusing on the lighter branches of agriculture and finally merging the semi-formalized coursework with the more formalized National College format (Joint Agricultural Education Committee for the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1954). As Cumberland and Westmorland's County Agricultural and Horticultural Institute in 1957, Newton Rigg housed 35 male and 25 female students and included options for co-educational and female only certificates, although the emphasis on the National Diplomas meant three-quarters of the certificates were for both male and female coursework as shown below (MAFF, 1957):

- Certificate in Agriculture (one year male and female),
- Certificate in Poultry Husbandry (one year male and female, leading to the National Certificate in Poultry Practice),
- Certificate in Horticulture (one year male and female, leading to the National Certificate in Elementary Horticulture Practice),
- and Certificate (one year female only).

When television became more commonplace in British homes in the 1960s, the college used the new media to promote agriculture with the first formal course of Educational Broadcasting in an attempt to modernize the coursework available (Postlethwaite, 2016). The campus, the only agricultural college in Cumbria, closed in July 2021 (Hodges, 2021).

An interesting aspect of HE at this time was that many schools, while offering courses, had their exams provided by other schools. The most notable being Cambridge, Oxford, and the University of London.

**The University of Reading** was originally attached to Oxford in the same way that the **South-Eastern Agricultural College** (Wye College in Kent), was attached to the University of London (both were established in 1894). Originally named The University College at Reading (founded 1894), it was renamed The University of Reading (UoR) in 1926 and had a very strong agricultural faculty. It was the only university in the country where agricultural activities were implemented by such instead of a department, possibly due to the exceedingly high proportion of agricultural students at the university compared to others at this time (Comber, 1948).

Courses offered at the University of Reading included (MAFF, 1957):

- BSc degree in Agriculture, Horticulture and Dairying (three years),
- BSc (Hons.) degree in Agriculture, Agricultural Botany, Agricultural Chemistry, Agricultural Economics, Dairying, Dairy Science, Horticulture, Horticultural Botany and Horticultural Chemistry (four years),
- Diploma course in Landscape Architecture (three years),
- Post-graduate courses in Agriculture (*Animal Husbandry, Crop Husbandry, Poultry Husbandry, Farm Mechanisation, or Farm Management and Organisation*), in Horticulture (*Fruit Husbandry, Glasshouse Crop Husbandry, Vegetable Husbandry or Flower Husbandry and Nursery Practice*), in Agricultural Economics and in Agricultural Chemistry (one year),
- and MSc and PhD degrees.

**The South-Eastern Agricultural College** at Wye was most notable for their distinguished agricultural staff, such as Sir Daniel Hall, the University's first Principal before he moved on to working at Rothamsted Research Station and later as the Secretary for the MOA.

Courses offered at Wye included (MAFF, 1957):

- BSc (Hons.) degree course in Agriculture (three years),
- BSc degree courses in Agriculture and in Horticulture (three years),
- Post-graduate course for College Certificate in Horticulture (one year),
- MSc degrees in Agriculture and Horticulture,
- and PhD degree.

Likewise, the University of London awarded degrees for the female-only **Swanley College** in Kent and **Studley College** (originally in Reading, then in Warwickshire) where coursework focused on horticulture, agriculture, dairying, and poultry husbandry (Comber, 1948).

## LIMITATIONS AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS AROUND WOMEN IN HIGHER AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

**Swanley College** was opened in 1889 as a male only horticultural college and in 1891 admitted the first female student, Mrs. Benison (Opitz, 2013). By 1896, female students outnumbered the males and by 1902 the school limited admission to females only. The fees for coursework were £80/year when at the time the average farm laborer was making barely half that (Hextable Heritage Society, 2022). As a result, only women of independent means or those financed by scholarship or affluent family members, were able to attend, making their primary socio-economic class as middle or upper. Likewise, the school uniform was breaking social barriers (Figure 69). It included a tunic, knee-length britches and gaiters, a sturdy cotton smock, and heavy work boots (Hextable Heritage Society, 2022).

*Figure 69: Swanley College Uniform, c.1920*



Source: (Hextable Heritage Society, 2022)

The first graduates (Annie Gulvin, Alice Hutchins, Gertrude Cope and Eleanor Morland; Figure 70) became the first female gardeners at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew receiving the same pay as male gardeners (Briggs, 2019). Annie Gulvin joined Swanley at the age of 17 in 1894 and sat the RHSE in Horticulture two months later. She achieved a third-class pass (just 2 points above failure); undeterred, she sat for the exam again a year later and this time received a first-class pass with a score of 260 out of 300, the highest mark in the country earning her the Society's silver-gilt medal and the distinction of being the first woman to win (Hextable Heritage Society, 2022). When she and Alice Hutchings applied for the position at Kew, they had none of the requirements for the job; those being: 21 years of age, five years of work experience, and male. They did, however, have letters of reference from the head of the school outlining their credentials, which the director of Kew, W.T. Thiselton-Dyer took into consideration. Ridiculed in the press and forced to wear the same uniform the men did, the uniform had practical, if not socially-acceptable, applications and looked markedly similar to their school uniforms, only in a more formalized manner. Though they were kept out of sight of the public, this didn't stop Annie from being promoted to sub-foreman within a few months of her employment and set the stage for the other Swanley students (Figure 71) and women in the male dominated gardens breaking the social barriers and separate spheres promoted at the time (Hextable Heritage Society, 2022).

The college closed during WWII (students were sent to the Midlands Agricultural and Dairy College), however, it reopened in 1942 and by 1945, had merged with Wye College, eventually closing completely in 2009 (Meredith, 2003; *Women in gardening: key dates*, 2020).

*Figure 70: The first female gardeners at Kew Gardens<sup>69</sup>*



Source: (Briggs, 2019)

Notes: Image 1: Eleanor Morland, Gertrude Cope and Alice Hutchins. Image 2: Annie Gulvin.

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<sup>69</sup> Kiri Ross-Jones, archives and records manager at Kew explains that the women “worked long days, there was a lot of physical work involved in it - and also the studying side of it as well - these women were studying in organic chemistry and physics as well as botany and horticulture” (Briggs, 2019).



Figure 71: Article on Swanley Horticultural College

## COUNTRY CAREERS

### Opportunities for Women to Obtain Sound Training in Agricultural and Horticultural Work

**M**ANY girls, and older women too, in these days are showing a keen interest in gardening and the lighter branches of agriculture. Some have decided to take up one or the other as a profession and have achieved considerable success; but others, not equipped with the necessary knowledge and training, have had disappointing results. To those interested in these matters a brief description of the work carried on at Swanley Horticultural College, Kent, may be of value.

**A Comprehensive Training**

The instruction provided at Swanley comprises short courses in dairy work, poultry-keeping, fruit-bottling and jam-making; agricultural work, which includes the management of stock; fruit culture; methods of marketing produce; and bee-keeping.

A thorough training is given in all branches of horticulture, and the fact that five medals were awarded by the Royal Horticultural Society during the past year indicates the standard of practical work carried out by the students. These medals were won, not for special products, but for crops and plants grown by the students in the ordinary course of instruction.

On the agricultural side, the pig management

own country, gave a stirring address. He traced the manifold changes that had taken place in women's work since his early days, and his advice to the students was—"Be thorough in everything you do, and see it through."

A former student of Swanley has recently been appointed Inspector of Women's Agricultural Education under the Ministry of Agriculture; another has been appointed to the staff of the East Malling Research Station; while many successes have been attained by students in external

soft cheeses are made, as well as butter and various other products. Bee-keeping is proving popular with the students, and all the twenty-eight who entered for the Beekeepers' Examination passed. It is gratifying to note the increased interest taken in this profitable sideline.

**Students' Successes**

Speech Day, with its accompanying distribution of diplomas and certificates for proficiency, took place at Swanley on Friday week, when an extremely interesting report of the work of the College was given by the Principal, Dr. Barrett.

Lady Falmouth presided, and Sir Jeremiah Colman, whose fame as a horticulturist has reached far beyond his



*Dr. Kate Barrett, Principal of Swanley Horticultural College.*  
—Portrait by Elliott and Fry.



*Speech Day at Swanley College—some of the guests and students. Fourth from the left is Sir Jeremiah Colman, then come Lady Colman, Lady Falmouth, Mr. A. Harper Bond (founder of the College), Dr. Barrett (Principal) and Sir William Lobjoit.*

is on excellent lines. A contract is held for the supply of bacon pigs, and of those sent to Messrs. Harris's factory 36 per cent. have been graded Class A. In the dairy department both hard and

examinations, Miss Rachel Cross, in gaining the National Diploma of Horticulture, Section 7 (Horticultural Inspection), is the first woman to obtain this distinction.

Source: (Farmer and Stockbreeder, 1935a)

**Studley College** was originally proposed in 1897 by Lady Frances Evelyn, Countess of Warwick, who was attempting to find appropriate employment for the daughters of professional families by focusing on the lighter branches of agriculture. She rented Coleyhurst on Bath Road in Reading and became associated with the Reading College founded in 1892. The Lady Warwick Hostel, as it became known as, offered theoretical instruction from Reading College's staff while the practical work was done mostly on-site. In July 1902, the relationship between Reading College and the Hostel had been dissolved and the school started to offer its own classes and lectures. A year later she purchased Studley Castle in Warwickshire and moved the entire school, staff, and students there. Coursework initially followed the Colonial Training Scheme of 1900, with later additions in courses for housewives, residential short courses, and (in 1912 when the college farm and dairy herd was established) a course in agriculture (Opitz, 2014; White, 2016)<sup>70</sup>. The school was renamed Studley College in 1908 and the MAF approved training institution (1926) altered their curriculum to suit the new requirements (Figure 72). A three-year course for the Diploma in Horticulture ran from 1924-1947 with a BSc in the same provided from 1934-1954 under the University of London. The two-year Diploma in Dairy Farming and the now shortened two-year program in Horticulture began in 1948 and coincided with trainings for the WLA with coursework mirroring the topics found in WLA certification exams from the years prior (The Museum of English Rural Life, 2021).

Courses offered at Studley College (MAFF, 1957):

- Diploma course in Horticulture (two years) leading to the College Diploma and after practical experience, the NDH,
- Diploma course in Dairy Husbandry (two years) leading to the College Diploma and NDD,
- and a Diploma course in Farm Secretarial (one year) starting in 1961 including shorthand, typing, farm records, economics, accountancy and farm management showed the changing structure and emphasis for female agricultural employment (The Museum of English Rural Life, 2021).

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<sup>70</sup> By 1919, following the armistice of WWI, it was estimated that 1.75 million female workers were available as 'surplus.' Of these women, the Land Girls were considered less likely to marry due to their interest in a 'lifestyle that was contrary to the return of domesticity.' Trade Unions and Organizations such as the WFGA promoted agricultural colleges and specialized training for these women to allow them to work from home, while farmers and the National Farmers Union (NFU) actively pushed for women to leave the fields to the men (White, 2016).



*Figure 72: Female students in laboratory at Studley College, 1939*



Source: FR STU 10/163 (The Museum of English Rural Life, 2021)

As we can see from the above image, the uniform for students reflected the more practical nature of agricultural work, however, they had a more ‘feminine’ appearance than at Swanley. With the original school set in downtown Reading, with many students walking or riding bicycles to and from, the look would have been slightly more acceptable to the general public, although the length of the tunic dresses was quite a bit shorter than tradition dictated.

Considering the social classes attending the universities and colleges, we can extrapolate the following:

- Lower to middle income<sup>71</sup> women graduated from the FIs and National Colleges and went into dairy, poultry, and horticulture in entry level positions.
- Middle class women went into the same fields but attended the more specialized agricultural and horticultural colleges and held higher positions or managed their own farms.
- Middle to upper class women attended the universities with the aim of 1) becoming advisory staff or 2) becoming researchers. Some used their degrees to help them manage their own farms or large estates.

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<sup>71</sup> Incomes are based on pre-graduation levels.

## A DISCUSSION ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP AND THE IMPACT ON GOVERNMENT POLICIES AROUND WOMEN IN HIGHER AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

Discussions around the usefulness of such coursework was, as we have seen, debated in the press and in Parliament. With the MOA and MOE splitting the costs between types of coursework and the relationship between the Women's Land Army and the CWAEC's LEAs during WWI, the question of who was designing the coursework and the impact on employment for women needs to be addressed. By the Interwar years, the MOA/LEA relationship was almost completely Women's Institute-centric, as the CWAECs had been disbanded (only to reform during WWII) due to budget and interest. The WI educational committees became less about the war and more about general agricultural education and employment for female agricultural workers, with the WI Production Guild members often taking home several awards for their local counties at the various Royal Agricultural Shows, promoting such training in the horticultural and gardening schools and YFCs/Fis (Agriculture and Horticulture Sub-Committee, 1930).

The question of what happens to agricultural education when the primary driver (WWI) is no longer in play followed with the general employment trends at this time - that is, a drop in the funding available. However, one needs to remember that there were two agricultural depressions<sup>72</sup> during the Interwar years which dropped employment rates causing a decrease in available funding for 'extraneous' government budgetary items. Similarly, if the interest in FIs dropped from the county levels, there was no one pushing for a continuation for such educational programs. This negative feedback loop is amplified when economic shocks impact income, causing adverse effects on school attendance (Fallon and Lucas, 2002; Ferreira and Schady, 2009)

A review of the 1931 employment census data (Chapter 1) confirms the types of employment agricultural workers could list and when paired with the MAF scholarship data in this chapter, shows that women were incorporated into most of the agricultural and food supply chains; although such records are limited in review due to the 100-year ban on personal records at the time of writing (Dent, 1874; Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1916; University of Portsmouth, 2017b)<sup>73</sup>. The ban affected

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<sup>72</sup> The first began in 1921 with the repeal of the Agriculture Act of 1921 (Corn Laws) and the second was in 1931. Both lasted a few years and in some instances are considered a single period of depression (The National Archives, 2022b).

<sup>73</sup> In 1911, female agricultural labours in the country totalled 13,214 with total female agricultural employment at 37,969 (as taken from the 1901 census numbers, although this number has discrepancies when compared with the individual county records). By 1921, only the total female agricultural records are available and show the number had increased to 83,818.

most of the time in review and became especially troublesome when trying to track employment post-education for female university students<sup>74</sup>. A list of the census occupation titles is shown below. These represent positions for males and females, a change in the earlier census records discussed in Chapter 1. These changes show the first real change in the Structural level of our FIGS framework in reference to socio-economic condition for females.

Listing of Agricultural Occupations in the 1931 Employment Census (both m/f) (University of Portsmouth, 2017d):

- Land and Estate Agents and Managers (not Auctioneers and Estate Agents),
- Farmers,
- Farmers' sons, daughters, or other relatives assisting in the work of the farm,
- Gardeners, Nurserymen, Seedsmen, Florists,
- Agricultural and Forestry Pupils (not at colleges),
- Farm Bailiffs,
- Foresters and Woodmen,
- Agricultural Machine, Tractor-Proprietors, Foremen, Drivers, Attendants,
- Farm Foremen,
- Agricultural Laborers, Farm Servants: Shepherds,
- Agricultural Laborers, Farm Servants: Employed in charge of Horses,
- Agricultural Laborers, Farm Servants: Not otherwise distinguished,
- Gardeners' Laborers,
- Estate Laborers,
- Pea and Fruit Pickers,
- and other Agricultural Occupations.

As one can see from the agricultural occupation titles in 1931, Agricultural Business Manager was not a classification at this point, although Farm Bailiff was. It could be argued that women attending universities and colleges for agricultural degrees fit into the title of Farm Bailiff more readily than Agricultural Laborers since the coursework would have included a variety of managerial-level courses. Likewise, agricultural researcher, advisor, or scientist were not classifications. Either way, 'other,' does not do the type of positions available for agricultural employment (for male or female) justice.

Within the FIGS framework used in this thesis, the CWAECs were focused on local issues due to the regionality of farming practices, which placed them within the structural level regarding political agency, but within socio-institutional level as a social institution. Likewise, the primary social institution at this

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<sup>74</sup> The records for Studley College, housed at the MERL, are not available for publication until 2030, although preliminary review shows a trend in certificate coursework for younger students and BScs for older ones.

time, the Women's Farm Labour Committee, was absorbed into the social institution and network of the WI's War Agricultural Committees, which ran jointly with the CWAEC in our case-study county of Berkshire at this time (1915). Berkshire is an important county for WI involvement with the CWAECs, as it was used as a testing ground for the MOA and MOE regarding female agricultural training as discussed in Chapter 3.

In an article in *Home and Country*, May 1930, it was espoused that "[w]omen can help their menfolk more in Agriculture and Horticulture than in almost any other profession or industry...Women excel in certain branches of work such as dairying, poultry, [and] young livestock...One-fifth of the workers in Agriculture and Horticulture are women and there is an increase in the number of women dairy herd owners" (Simpson, 1930). Although the claim of 1/5<sup>th</sup> is a little off base, as the Occupations of Females from the 1921 census states that: "the total of females so employed as agricultural workers being only 7 per cent. of that of males. Their occupations are similar, the proportion of the whole who are returned as farmers, 23 per cent, comparing with 21 for males..." (University of Portsmouth, 2017c).

Verdon (2012) notes the breakdown of women by marital status (Table 16) while the comparison by county and male/female farmers and workers can be found in the blue section (Table 16) and all of Table 17 (Verdon, 2012; University of Portsmouth, 2017b). The census information shows that while female agricultural worker numbers were low compared to their male counterparts, the proportion of farm owners to agricultural laborers was high (23% in Berkshire, 38.6% in Cumberland and 34.7% in Westmorland). This is also born out in the 'Successful Female Farmers' articles (Chapter 3) and when added to the county farm data, meant more females were involved in horticulture, dairy, and sheep as agricultural workers than as farm owners. Overall, the overarching message the WI was promoting was that women were an integral and larger base of rural employment; though the actual numbers shown in the census reports do not agree with their assertion.

*Table 16: Female Farmers (England and Wales) in 1921 and 1931*

Year	Total Female Farmers	Single	Married	Widowed	Total Male Farmers
1921	19,440	5,271	2,684	11,485	245,972
1931	17,367	4,947	1,972	10,448	230,879

Source- Census reports of England and Wales, 1921 and 1931 (Verdon, 2012; University of Portsmouth, 2017c, 2017b).

Table 17: Male vs. Female Agricultural Workers (England and Wales) in 1921 and 1931

Year	Total Male Agricultural Workers	Total Female Agricultural Workers	Berkshire Female Agricultural Workers	Cumberland Female Agricultural Workers	Westmorland Female Agricultural Workers
1921	1,171,297	83,818	724	1,490	581
1931	1,116,573	55,683	435 (Farmers: 101)	1,133 (Farmers: 438)	435 (Farmers: 151)

Source- Census reports of England and Wales via Vision of Britain, 1921 and 1931 (Berkshire, Cumberland, and Westmorland) (University of Portsmouth, 2017b).

In Berkshire, this was predominantly due to the changing structure of agriculture and female employment, which had been increasing in the county, especially in the dairy, poultry, and horticulture industries due to WWI. The changing structure of farming practices, along with the withdrawal of government stimulus, meant that the price of grain fell despite the Wheat Quota Act (1930)<sup>75</sup>, leaving only farms on the richest soil as profitable wheat producers. Farmers on the sandier or poorer soils often reverted to dairy herds and as such, arable land contracted while pasturage increased. By the beginning of WWII arable land accounted for 27-29% of Berkshire's acreage (mainly in the communities of Abingdon, Hungerford, Lambourne, Newbury, Wallingford and Wantage) and between 41-49% was under permanent grassland (Faringdon, Maidenhead, Wokingham and Windsor) (Stephenson and East, 1936; Quennell *et al.*, 2014). Sheep were found in Faringdon, Newbury and Wantage, pigs in Abingdon, Newbury and Reading, and cows on the mixed-soil regions of Wokingham, Reading, Vale of the White Horse and Upper Thames Meadows (Quennell *et al.*, 2014). Dairy being one of the chief industries in the county, especially along the rivers of the northern edge (Monckton, 1911)<sup>76</sup>. This last was unsurprising considering the National Dairying Institute was located at Reading due to the type of land available.

In contrast, in Cumberland, the CWAEC met in Penrith in 1915, with official headquarters in Cockermouth to the west. Penrith, being on the border with Westmorland, was the logical place to hold meetings. Cockermouth had been the historical location of hiring fairs, being on the mouth of the Rivers

<sup>75</sup> "The standard price is to be 10s. a cwt.; the approximate world price to-day in round figures is 6s. a cwt.; the difference between those figures, which is 4s., will constitute the deficiency payment. The sum required for making this payment would be obtained by payments from the millers and the flour importers into a quota fund to be administered by the Wheat Commission" (UK Parliament, 1932).

<sup>76</sup> It is important to note that the county border of Berkshire changed after the study period in 1974, so the top-left of the county map is no longer part of Berkshire and agricultural returns and employment records will not directly correlate with current records.

Cocker and Derwent and Carlisle was considered Cumberland's main economic city (Cumberland War Agriculture Executive Committee, 1919; Fisher, 2009)<sup>77</sup>. While the WAEC focused on production and farm management in Cumberland specifically, they often filed joint paperwork and worked together with the Westmorland WAEC, which first met on October 9<sup>th</sup> (1915) in Kendal under Chairman Jacob Windemere and Vice-Chairman Mr. G.H. Pattinson of Windemere (Crowe, 2008).

Cumberland's Eden Valley<sup>78</sup> was rich in salmon fishing with small villages dotting the countryside. Holdings ranged between 50-100 acres and focused on dairy and sheep (which often had additional grazing rights on communal land as per the Lake District tradition) (*The English Historical County of Cumberland*, 2022). From the 1930s-50s, the tendency towards livestock breeding shifted to dairy production, especially shorthorn cattle in the Penrith district. Most of the dairy produced was for local markets only, with only the largest farms shipping out of the area. Blackface Fell sheep breeds were common along the hills and the heavy Scottish Clydesdale horses were also bred within the Eden Valley, while Western Cumberland was predominantly industrial in nature, focused on the iron-ore and coal mining industries (*The English Historical County of Cumberland*, 2022). These sectors reflected migratory patterns for settlement and employment.

On the other hand, Westmorland was divided into eight districts: Appleby, Kirkby Stephen, West Ward, Kendal Borough, Kendal Rural, Lake District, Milnthorpe and Lunesdale; each of which had their own WAEC sub-committee. Westmorland's main industry pre-WWI was agriculture with sheep pastured on the lower slopes and cattle (both beef and dairy) in the valleys and coastal areas. Smallholders kept pigs and chickens and damson orchards abounded, especially in the Lyth Valley where they were cultivated especially. Oats, barley and root vegetables were also grown throughout the county (Bates, 2001). Cumberland's districts were eventually merged with Westmorland's in 1974, following local government reorganization, to form the new county of Cumbria (Langston, 2021). This being the reason both counties were reviewed in this research.

Understanding what types of agricultural practices occurred in each region helps to understand both the employment levels and the agricultural instruction format. For example, Western Cumberland's focus

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<sup>77</sup> As well as Knights and MPs for the county prior to the Reform Act of 1832, Cockermouth borough held parliamentary status from 1641-1918 and the WAEC notices during WWI were sent from an address at 23 Main Street, Cockermouth on behalf of the County.

<sup>78</sup> Cumberland originally contained the districts of Alston, Bootle, Brampton, Carlisle (county borough from 1915-74), Cockermouth, Longtown, Penrith, Whitehaven, and Wigton, with Border and Millom being established in 1939, and Brampton abolished in 1937 and Bootle and Longtown in 1939 (Langston, 2021).

being on industrial mining meant they did not see the need for FIs, while Eastern Cumberland and Westmorland would not have had the financial means to provide for more than one joint FI post-WWI.

Unlike in Berkshire, the Cumberland and Westmorland WIs did not have as close of a relationship with their CWAECs and rarely appear in the meeting minutes, although they were quite active in the two counties. While interactions and overlap between the various formalized institutions and semi-formalized networks in Berkshire meant that employment training, infrastructure, and access were more connected amongst participating members and the local communities than in areas such as Cumberland and Westmorland.

Another concern is the administrative aspects of the northern CWAECs. By 1920, the Cumberland WAEC included twelve members, all of which were men and the meeting minutes show the closure of the Women's Sub-Committee on February 14<sup>th</sup> of that year (Cumberland War Agriculture Executive Committee, 1920). When the WLA reformed for WWII, the areas of Cumberland and Westmorland were merged into one administrative region (pre-dating the actual county merger by almost 30-years) with offices in Carlisle and Kendal. The new CWAEC employed 103 women as 'Officers in Post' in 1945 (vs. 64 men) and 533 'agricultural workers and industrial staff' (both male and female) for a total of 700 employees (UK Parliament, 1955).

County Advisory Staff were typically sent to manage specific farm issues or hold regional trainings in specific topics decided upon by the Government as advisors<sup>79</sup>. Comparable to how the MOA and MOE co-funded and administered agricultural education, advisory work during WWII was taken over by the CWAECs under the MOA and the Ministry of Food (MOF). The former regulated on-farm production and the later food processing off-farm. The FIs (such as Newton Rigg) were mostly turned into training centres for the WLA due to the shifting responsibilities of the county agricultural education staffs and the Provincial Advisory Services (which in turn became the National Agricultural Advisory Service, or NAS, in 1947) (Comber, 1948). Each advisory region was attached to a university department of agriculture or agricultural college and consisted of laboratories, specialist<sup>80</sup>, and support staff. Though it was still the county organizer and their colleagues who handled most of the daily interactions and

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<sup>79</sup> A sample of scheduled courses in Berkshire from December 1940 to November 1941 is available in the *Appendix 4*.

<sup>80</sup> Specialist staff included including an agricultural bacteriologists, chemists, mycologists, economists, entomologists, and veterinary officers.

inquiries by farmers. The number of advisory regions were eventually limited to the eight areas listed in Table 18 below.

*Table 18: Advisory Regions, WWII*

Region	University location
Northern	Newcastle
York and Lancaster	Leeds
West Midlands	Wolverhampton
East Midlands	Nottingham
Eastern	Cambridge
Southeast	Reading (sub-centre at Wye, Kent)
Southwest	Bristol (sub-centre near Dawlish, Devon)
Wales	Aberystwyth (sub-centres at Bangor and Cardiff)

Source: (Comber, 1948)

Government grants were used to pay for advisory staff salaries. However, they were not government employees, instead they were appointed by the partner institutions as members of staff which would provide limited teaching in return for on-site housing in addition to their advisory duties. Unlike the other agricultural science subgroups, two specialist groups – agricultural economists and veterinary scientists – were not included in the NAS, only the Provincial Services. For economists, it made more sense to be firmly entrenched in autonomous institutes such as universities, than government agencies, while veterinary officers were attached to the Animal Health Division of the MOA where they would have better access to farms for the management of animal disease and welfare (Holmes, 1988). Such advisory staff would then travel throughout their region giving lectures, demonstrations and assisting farmers and community organizations as requested in a VOC format.

The BIA, which was part of “Hall Place, was requisitioned by the Government and in 1943 [and] 1,025 acres of the estate were purchased under a Compulsory Order by the Ministry of Agriculture” (House and Heritage, 2021). The BIA itself only took up Hall Place, the Home Farm, and 148 acres and housed “farmers’ sons, sons of agricultural workers, and recruits into agriculture, all of whom had at least one year’s experience of farming, [who] would spend a year in the practical application of scientific knowledge and modern methods of farming designed for those who intended to make the land their livelihood” (House and Heritage, 2021). Of the County Agricultural and Horticultural Institutes, the BIA (later called the Berkshire College of Agriculture), had 42 men and 10 women in residence by 1957, although the courses available were structured in two formats, with the General Agriculture degree



offered as one year course for males *and* females or a one year adapted course for women only (MAFF, 1957).

## COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF WWII AND CURRENT WOMEN'S COMPLETION RATES IN AGRI-FOOD HIGHER EDUCATION

After reviewing the types and structures of agricultural education available to women and discussing who the instructresses were and how funding agencies influenced such training, the next step is to evaluate how such education affected employment. We know that there was a difference in socio-economic standing for women who worked away from the home as well as those who had Higher Education qualifications. For example, a survey of women who had their last child born in 1946, showed 20% more wives of manual laborers worked away from the home compared to those of 'professional' workers (Joshi and Hinde, 1991). We also know that socio-economic condition also played a part in the structure of women's employment as well as the dynamics of family life. Women who had completed secondary school and had achieved some form of formal educational qualification, were more likely to be employed during the early years of their last child's life than women of lower education and socio-economic background, even though there was a greater propensity of working-class wives to be employed in general (Joshi and Hinde, 1991).

One can take two views of this data, the first being that wives of laborers would have been more economically stimulated to work in general, while their inability to afford a nanny or housekeeper to watch their children would have necessitated their staying at home until the child was of school age. This would lead to more part-time or casual employment or employment within the home. The second, that it was more socially acceptable for women of higher status to do charity work and leave the rearing of their children to paid employees, such as nursemaids, and more socially acceptable for manual labor wives to do factory or industrial work (Gazeley, 2006; Asadullah and Kambhampati, 2021).

As for the affect agricultural education has on the employability of women in the Agri-Food sector from a historical perspective, the research is less clear. Historically, while agricultural employment records do not specify education level of employees, it has been shown that completion of general Higher Education degrees was up for women across the country, especially post-WWII (Table 19).

*Table 19: Students obtaining university degrees, U.K., 1920-1960*

	First Degrees			Higher Degrees		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1920	3,145	1,212	4,357	529	174	703
1930	6,494	2,635	9,129	1,123	200	1,323
1940	7,071	2,240	9,311	1,316	164	1,480
1950	13,398	3,939	17,337	2,149	261	2,410
1960	16,851	5,575	22,426	2,994	279	3,273

Source: (Bolton, Baker and Keep, 2016)

Notes: All figures are for students from all domiciles. Full-time first-degree students only. 1925 excludes higher degrees awarded without further study.

Using Denman College (originally Berkshire, now Oxfordshire; RDE/WI) and Newton Rigg (Cumberland; WLA/FI) as our proxies for the National Colleges and FIs, we find that the focus on RDE and handicrafts at Denman College versus the agricultural trainings offered at Newton Rigg, showcases the split between vocational training and cultural ideals held by the MOE and MOA. By focusing on handicrafts, Denman and the WI were reinforcing the concept of rural community and the culture of a region, whereas Newton Rigg was focused on agricultural employment for its' students. This was the primary difference between RDE centers and FIs.

The centers were also used during the summer for primary and secondary school activities, which led to closer ties with the MOE and the local communities. By 1963, Denman College became the centre of WI work in Berkshire and Miss Cumming, Miss Vowles, Miss Henslow and Miss Seabright are all listed as WI instructress of Rural Domestic Economy at the school and in Cumberland, Mrs. Wood was based at Newton Rigg (The National Federation of Women's Institutes, 1963). Unfortunately, we do not know more about the women themselves, or the students they might have had, as the NFWI records at the London School of Economics' Women's Library and the Records offices in Reading and Carlisle do not include resumes or biographies. Yet, by taking in the titles of the courses and the position of the instructresses in the NFWI, we understand that they were active members whose experience was used repeatedly during their employment as CWAEC advisors in their topics.

For universities, the biggest difference was the focus on post-educational employment. By designing the courses with specific job functions in mind as per the University of Cambridge's delineation, the MOE very clearly emphasized their desire to have a direct line between the upper-middle-classes and

positions of authority or power in-line with the 'gentleman' farmers of the 1800s, while leaving the MOA funded semi-formalized training to the 'everyday' or practical farmer and laborer.

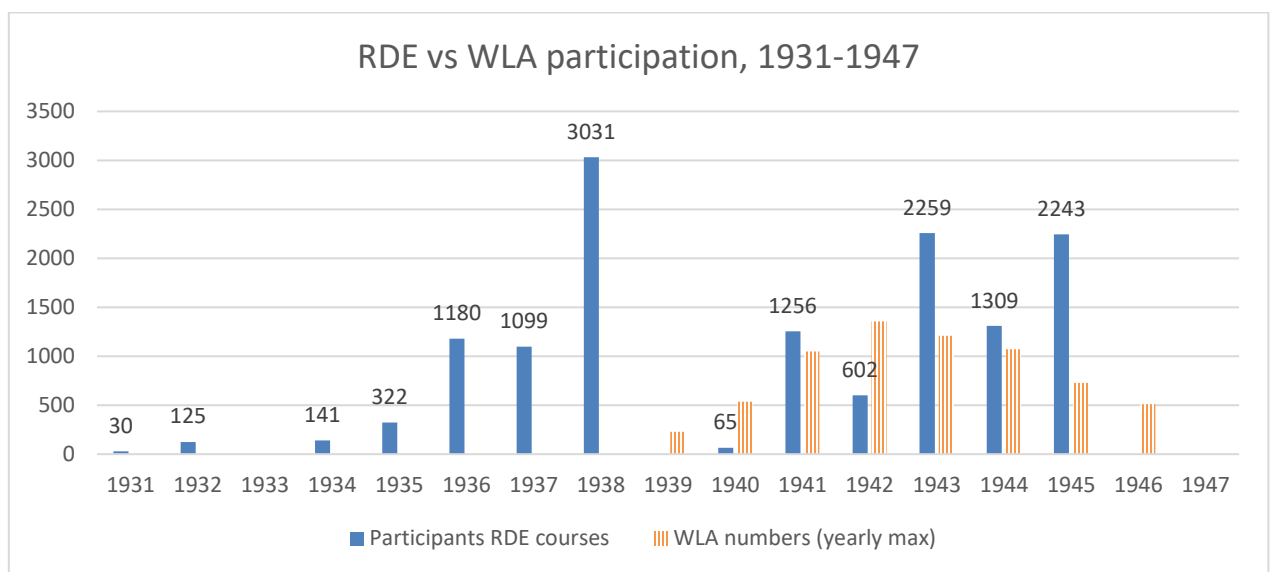
When reviewing the FIGS framework utilized in this research, the key point is the intersectionality of the sources used. We posit that by substituting the WLA's employment records (Chapter 1) and the WI's RDE participation records (Chapter 3) in the case-study counties as proxies, we can estimate the impact agricultural education had on women's employment possibilities during the study period as compared to general agricultural employment rates (Chapter 1). While there are obviously other formats one can take, the approach was chosen to evaluate if there were any glaring gaps in the census records that could be filled by looking at archival MCA records in a different light. Here, the tertiary technical or vocational education options for those women seeking practical skills in general paid agricultural employment through informal opportunities offered by women's social networks and institutions (combining Chapters 1, 3, and 5).

This research originally hypothesized that the WLA was an increasingly important contributor to general agricultural employment for women and the large up-tick in agricultural education participation rates. However, while reviewing the archival records, it was found that the highest numbers of WLA members in Berkshire during WWII was in 1943 at just over 1,300 members. If compared to the numbers of participants in RDE courses during that same year (602) we find that twice the number of participants fall under WLA classification, however, the following year WLA participation drops to 1,209 and RDE rates double to 2,259. Such a fluctuation may be in the definition of what a RDE course consisted of, or it could be simply due to a lack of records, either way there is no way to make a direct comparison as the records do not specify exactly how many WLA members attended many of the trainings, nor do they list names that could be tracked. Although, one can infer that the WLA did contribute some portion since monthly records show the number of trainings given to WLA groups in some instances, such as: February 1940 where 25 parishes in the county gave trainings to WLA members in dairying and in May 1945, 11 courses were held for WLA members, although there is no description of the courses taught in this instance.

Figure 73 shows RDE participation (Chapter 3) from the first course in 1931 to the end of WWII and found a steadily increasing interest in the coursework, with the highest numbers in 1938 at the beginning of the war as shown in blue. As mentioned, one of the key issues with tracking participation rates in the RDE courses is the lack of attendance. For example, in 1941, 117 courses were scheduled,

but only 22 had attendances listed, hence the difficulty in tracking the true scale of the programs. However, the very fact that 117 courses were scheduled showcases the importance and interest in the coursework. Likewise, the continued requests from the MOA for various trainings, such as the August 31, 1943 “one day school for farmer’s wives...[in] instruction on farm accounts” proves just how varied the coursework was. That same missive also stipulated that “[t]he information obtained from the school would form the basis of the type of instruction to be given throughout the country” (Berkshire County Women’s Institutes, 1945). The MOA’s comment confirms the Berkshire WI records stating that the curriculums were to be distributed to relevant WIs across the nation.

Figure 73: RDE vs WLA Participation, 1931-1947<sup>81</sup>



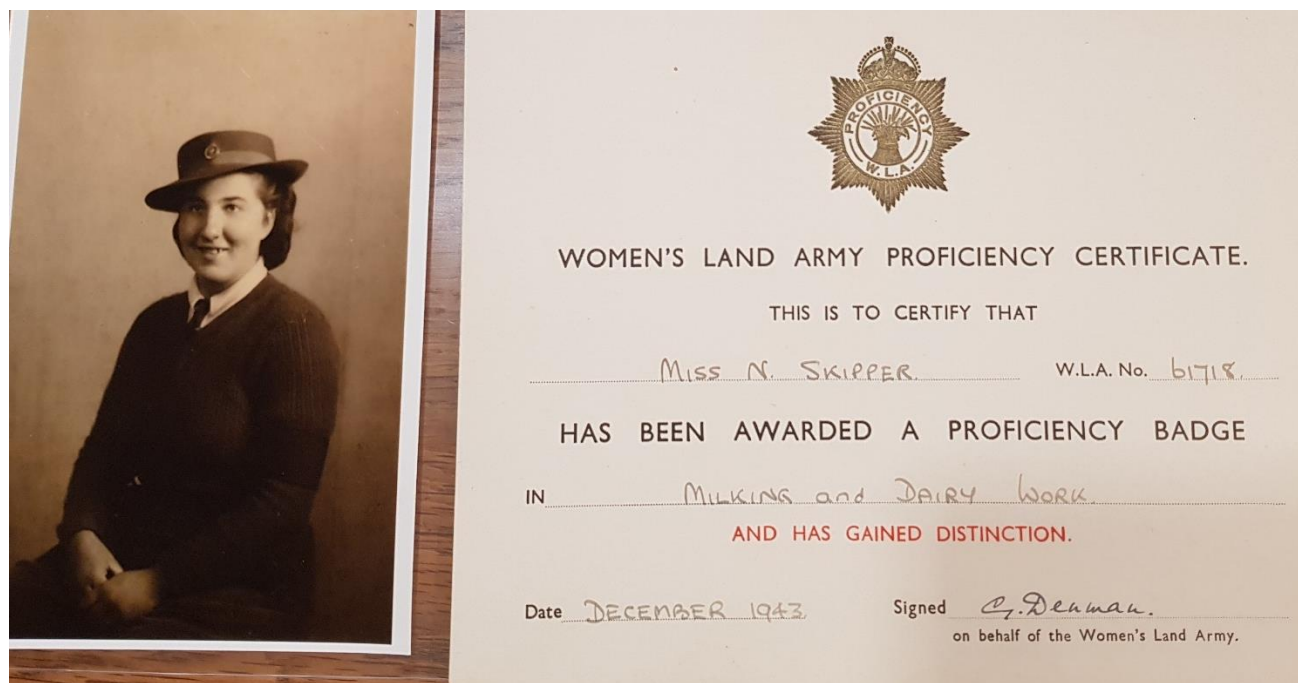
Source: (Berkshire County Women’s Institute, 1949)

A further review of the RDE trainings for these women showcases where the greatest interest and concerns lay for both the Government and the farmers employing them, in this case, most of the notations are along the key topics of dairy, poultry, horticulture and cookery, with the addition of general agricultural work. Furthermore, the RDE instructresses both for the county offices and the WIs worked as WLA proctors for various proficiency exams in courses in market gardening, dairying, general agriculture, and poultry (as well as others). In some instances, certification numbers are listed in the minutes, for example, February 1945 shows that for horticulture, 50 WLA members attended courses,

<sup>81</sup> For 1931-1938, where little to no participant numbers are listed, the following lists the numbers of courses offered: 1931, 10 courses were given; 1932, 6 courses; Jan-Mar 1933, 23 courses; Apr 1933-Mar 1934, 110 courses; July-Dec 1934, 7 courses, roughly 69% attendance rate; 1935, 6 courses; 1936, 29 courses; 1937, 74 courses + RDE conference (~100+ members).

33 tested and 21 passed, while interviews with former WLA members show that many kept their certificates as a matter of pride in their work (Figure 74) (Berkshire County Women's Institutes, 1946).

Figure 74: WLA proficiency certificate for Miss Norma Marjoram nee Skipper, 1943



Source: 7nmm/2/1 (Skipper, 1943)

Notes: B. 19/8/1921 – D. 19/4/2007

Since the WLA was considered a private organization, members competed for employment on the WLA's version of the Labor Exchange and those women who had the certifications behind them had a better chance of being hired on by a farmer or gaining an agricultural scholarship. They also give an insight as to some of the arguments for formalized agricultural education for women and for farmers willingness to take on female workers. As more women passed examinations, they gained a higher level of credibility within the agricultural sphere. This gave farmers the confidence to hire them over other workers. It also helped to ease the tensions between the rural-urban divide as the two groups mixed in public and the press.

If we take the low percentage of WLA members and the low percentage of RDE participation into account, we can only conclude that RDE participation, while potentially helpful to the individual members, had little impact on general agricultural employment for women. Interestingly, most of the semi-formalized agricultural trainings were done by women, which does offer an employment option.

This is especially interesting as a counterpoint to more generalized Higher Education at this point in time where men were the primary teaching staff, and a glaring gap in the literature available which focuses more on horticultural education and co-operative farms such as the women-only Lingfield colony (see Chapter 3)<sup>82</sup>.

Though this intermediary educational level did not account for a great discrepancy within agricultural employment during the study period, a historical understanding can assist in determining how future policies may affect women's access and potentialities moving forward within the agricultural and food production spheres, but only if compared to current rates. DEFRA's 2016 Farm Structure Survey, states that of the 105 sole holders in England, 84% were male, with 16% being female. Of those, 23% work full-time and 75% worked off-farm or part-time. For managers, the numbers are similar, with 83% male and 25% of female managers working full-time vs 48% for males. For family workers (of which 55% of workers were), 55% of those were female, while 60% of those worked on horticultural farms, while female non-family workers accounted for 21% and 38% of them worked in horticulture (DEFRA, 2016). This follows the historic trend, mainly that the highest percentage of women agricultural workers were listed as wives/daughters of farmers and were engaged in part-time horticultural work<sup>83</sup>.

In addition to the educational component, women's rates of farm ownership post-WWII show trends in-line with the seventeen-hundreds. That is, we find that women's interest in the land or capital associated with farmlands are in the form of 'joint ownership' with their husbands. This lack of individual rights of ownership only shows a reversion within the 60+ age group, predominantly widows, who hold the land after their husbands have died, or those in the 45-60 range where their children might not have taken over yet. Granted, these numbers are from the 1980s, but the thought process plays out: joint ownership allows a shared taxation liability and for the woman to act "as a channel for securing the transference of the means of production intact to the next (male) generation" (Whatmore, 1991).

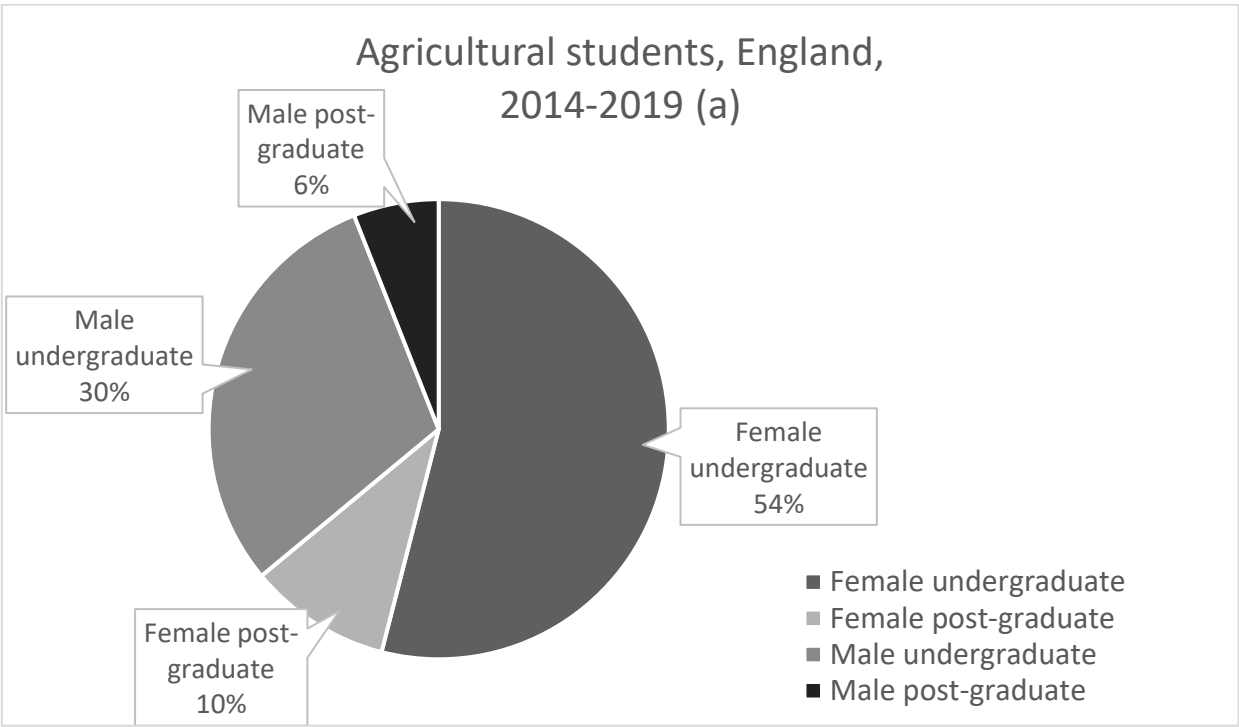
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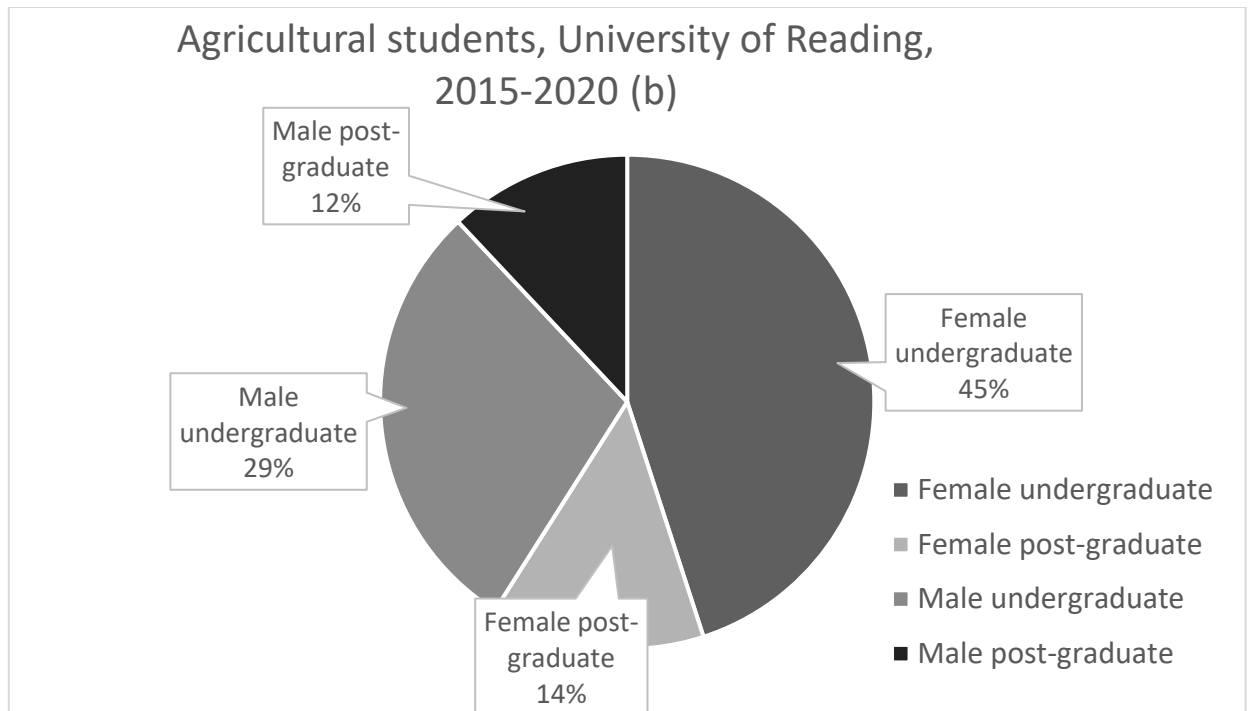
<sup>82</sup> "The average salary of a certifies assistant woman teacher was £96 in 1917, rising to £145 in 1919 and £238 in 1921...by 1923 the average salary of a graduate mistress (teacher) in England was £359 and a non-graduate £289" (Oram, 1996).

<sup>83</sup> Though we do not discuss the extended family unit in great detail in this thesis, it is important to note that very young children and invalids would have been the responsibility of older children or the extended family unit of grandparents, aunts/uncles, etc. if they lived close enough to provide support while the wife and older children were working.

The two pieces of data, when combined, suggest that semi-formalized agricultural education did not affect employment opportunities at the same rate as formalized HE degrees. Another way of looking at it is that semi-formalized training offered the practical aspects often overlooked in formalized HE curricula (like internships) or as professional development coursework necessary to transition between careers. Looking into the data in more detail, the DEFRA (2016) report notes that “[i]n England, 65% of managers had practical experience rather than a formal agricultural education. A further 16% had basic agricultural training and 20% had formal agricultural training,” whereas we can see by comparing student enrollment at the University of Reading to English Higher Education statistics roughly 60% of the enrolled student body are female (Figures 75 (a) and (b)) (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2021; University of Reading Planning & Strategy Office, 2021). The question here is if Higher Education is necessary for agricultural students when the preference seems to be on the practical versus theoretical?

Figure 75: Agricultural students (HE 2014-19 & UoR 2015-20)





Source: (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2021; University of Reading Planning & Strategy Office, 2021)

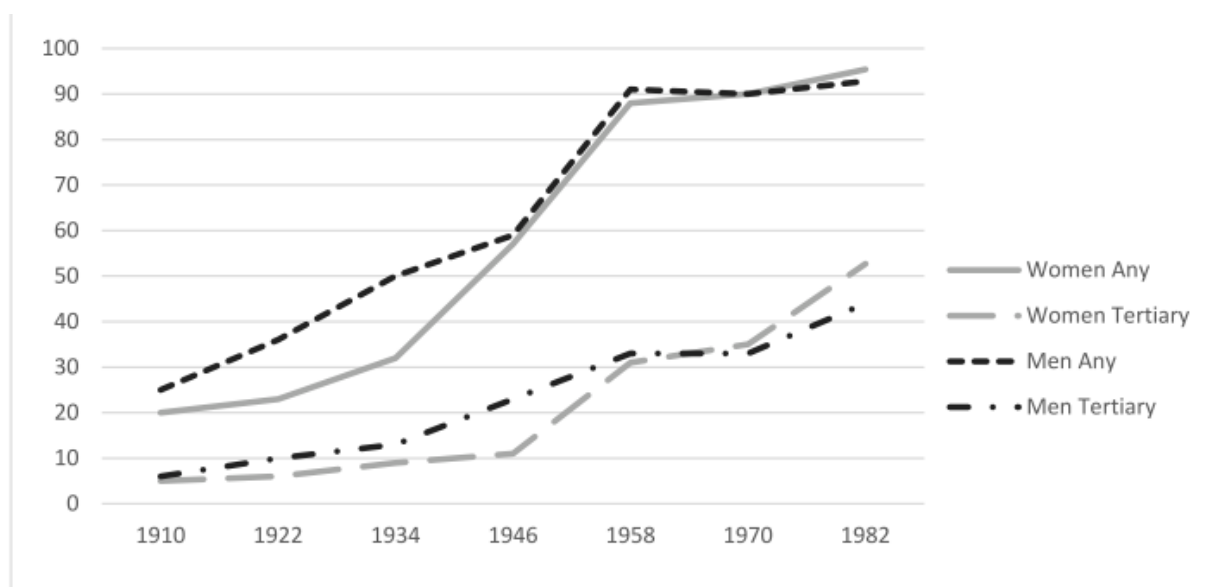
Part of this thesis' argument is that modern agriculture programs in Higher Education focus on the business aspect versus the scientific aspect of agriculture in comparison to historic university programs. By splitting coursework into predominantly natural or social sciences, current educational programs show an inherent bias towards females pursuing the scientific or research aspects of agriculture. Therefore, creating a more inclusive Higher Education curriculum is necessary. Likewise, offering historical analysis and critical engagement in current/future trends in both the agricultural and food/nutritional sciences is key.

While it was found that historically, short-courses in agricultural related fields were under constant debate, for new entrants into the industry, flexible short-courses (such as farm accounting or how to apply for environmental grants), offered outside of traditional working hours, would assist both males and females who are managing both home and work concerns such as child care. Specifically, we suggest financial and management training courses should be targeted at women and girls and should include subsidy claim/application filing, farm accounting, marketing, and decision making/solution finding critical thinking coursework to assist in farm management and ownership. While for younger children/teens, the Farm Institutes and Young Farmers Clubs of the 1920s and 1930s showed a better ratio of male/female students than their modern equivalents. Reinstating such practical, hands-on



training and providing scholarship opportunities for interested children and young adults would increase both awareness and practical experience, which modern farmers prioritize over formalized Higher Education (Pigott, 1990; Smith and Holt, 2007).

*Figure 76: Percentage of Men and Women with Qualifications, by cohort*



Source: (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2020)

Notes: (1) Any – any formal qualifications, academic or vocational (including tertiary). Tertiary = qualifications normally gained after age 18, degrees and diplomas.

The employment and education rates show that the historical numbers (Figure 76) coincide with current rates of agricultural employment, i.e., more men than women own and operate farms across the country. There was clearly a historical uptick in women's agricultural education over the period and that modern Higher Education rates in England (64% of both undergraduate and post-graduate agricultural students are female), as well as the University of Reading (59%), mirror these results (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2021; University of Reading Planning & Strategy Office, 2021). We also find that more women family members work part-time, and that they are predominantly in the horticultural industry, all which correlate with the historical data. Additionally, we've seen a huge push historically for women to go into formalized agricultural education which still continues to this day, yet only 20% of current farm owners/managers have formal agricultural training (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2021; University of Reading Planning & Strategy Office, 2021). This shows that there is obviously a clear discrepancy between what the Government is promoting and the actual potentialities for women in agricultural employment.

## LOOPHOLES SURROUNDING WOMEN IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN HIGHER EDUCATION

In the aftermath of WWI, several 'special' legislative campaigns were initiated by the MAF focusing on new techniques, specific agricultural issues (such as disease management), and changes in technology. The various government schemes focused on agricultural science and training in Higher Education and the new scientific research stations around the country. The Improvement of Grasslands Campaign ran from 1920-25<sup>84</sup>; Clean Milk Production cantered at Reading (Berkshire) around 1924 and included new grading techniques for certification and pasteurization<sup>85</sup>; and the Land Fertility Scheme started in 1938 (Hanley, 1939; Kay, 1951)<sup>86</sup>. At this point, every university's Agricultural Department had lectures on agricultural chemistry, soil, fertilizers, feedstuffs, animal nutrition, dairy chemistry, insecticides and a variety of other subjects, and a split could be seen between the MOE and MAF on their representative roles and responsibilities, especially in regards to funding.

As food costs rose during the agricultural depression, the need for cheaper labor for home production also rose, leading to a renewed demand for female farm labor. Contrarily, a shift was occurring within the type of women employed within the agricultural sphere and instead of unmarried, young females, older, single middle-class women's employment rates increased, especially in scientific research centers. These women became farm advisors and managers and took on scientific training which was possible because of their economic condition and many stayed on after marriage in a semi-permanent capacity as these types of jobs did not require the daily, heavy farm labor a lower paid position might (White, 2016). Such training coincided with the rise in horticultural and women's colleges and national inquiries into the new sciences of nutrition and food preservation and helped support those women who did not want to get married or had lost their husband in the war and needed to support their family (Figure 77).

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<sup>84</sup> As part of the 1917 plough up land act for arable crops.

<sup>85</sup> Milk and Dairies Amendment Act 1922 and the Milk Special Designations Order 1923, although the Ministry of Health eventually took over responsibility for these in 1936.

<sup>86</sup> Focusing on a national lime survey and including sites such as the experimental station at Tunstall working on light, acid land, and at Saxmundham focusing on heavy, clay soils.

Figure 77: Dairy research careers for women, 1935

## NEW OPENINGS FOR WOMEN

### Opportunities for Suitably Trained Girls as a Result of the Accredited Milk Scheme

BY  
**JANET W. STRANG**  
*Dairying Instructress at the Northamptonshire Farm Institute.*

IN the past, most girls who have trained in dairying at a college or farm institute have afterwards undertaken practical dairying work on their own account, on someone else's farm or in a commercial dairy. Or they have become teachers or dairy instructresses.

With the recent developments towards improving the quality of liquid milk, a new line of work has been opened up for girls with such a training. Many dairies have now their own laboratories where bacteriological tests are made, as well as tests for butterfat and solids-not-fat. One finds that girls are usually expected for this type of work.

The Accredited Producers' Roll, which has now come into operation, is likely to result in a further expansion in milk testing. One would expect, therefore, that there will be many more laboratory posts available for girls with the necessary training and experience.


The actual duties which a girl may be expected to undertake in a job of this kind will vary considerably. Usually the bulk of the work will be in the laboratory. In some cases, however, in addition to milk testing, the duties may involve advisory visits to farms, or discussions with producers in connection with the results of their tests. For example, where tests show a high bacterial contamination, or a deficiency of butterfat, many producers would wish to discuss possible causes of these troubles.

#### Knowledge Necessary

It is important, therefore, that anyone employed in a post of this kind should have a knowledge of farming practice to be able to make sound, practical suggestions. Problems, too, often arise in the dairy itself not only with regard to liquid milk but also in connection with butter-making and cheesemaking.

Girls intending to qualify for such posts, particularly if they have not had any previous experience, would be well advised to take a short course in dairy farming at a farm institute. A course of this sort is essentially of a practical nature and includes a certain amount of butter-

making and cheesemaking as well as the production of milk. An insight would be obtained into the feeding and management of cows and the rearing of young stock. Girls have found that



*Testing for solids-not-fat in the laboratory of a large dairy farm.*

a general preliminary training of this kind makes the subsequent college course more interesting and less difficult.

On completion of her course at a farm institute, the student would proceed to one of the dairy colleges, where it would be necessary to spend two years before sitting for the examination for the National Diploma in Dairying. After obtaining the N.D.D., a girl would have qualified for certain posts, but one seeking a laboratory post of the kind described would find it an advantage to have some further specialised training on bacteriological work at an institution providing the necessary facilities.

#### A Valuable Adjunct

Even a few weeks at such an institution would be a valuable adjunct to the N.D.D. course. The N.D.D. syllabus does cover a certain amount of bacteriological work, but is hardly sufficient to give a girl complete confidence in the making-up of media and other detailed laboratory work, for which she would be responsible.

As an alternative to the above short advanced course in bacteriology, it might be possible to obtain a post as assistant dairy bacteriologist. By doing this it would be possible to gain experience and at the same time earn some small remuneration.

It will be gathered from the details given that the complete training for a laboratory post need not occupy more than about three years, and that it might be possible to cut the period of training down to a minimum of two years. There are prospects of quite fair remuneration in work of this kind.

#### Preserving Fruit and Vegetables

A COURSE of instruction in various methods of fruit and vegetable preservation is to be held at the Horticultural College, Swanley, Kent, from August 7 to 17. It will be arranged to suit the requirements of home workers, demonstrators for Women's Institutes, and teachers of domestic subjects. Full particulars can be obtained from the College.

Source: (Strang, 1935)

While certain subjects, such as soil science, were more developed in the United States, researchers in England took up the challenges of local concerns and environs. *The Soil*, by A.D. Hall, first appeared in 1900 and quickly became indispensable for farmers and lecturers in England. Experiments with manure (Fagan and Davies in 1931) showed how soluble nitrogen manures added to clover-less upland pastures improved yields and how white clovers' energy-potential increased the live-weight of grazing sheep (Iorwerth Jones in 1936) (Stapledon, 1939). Developments occurred in plant breeding for texture, hardiness, and disease and pest resistance, including potato leaf curl and wart disease, which became the focus of many scientists throughout the nation for almost twenty years (Hunter, 1939). On the virology and insect front, researchers Miss Dorothy Mary 'May' Cayley (1928) and McKenney Hughes (1930) proved the existence of a virus spread by both sap and aphids was the cause of the variegations found in certain plants such as tulips. Unlike in the Civil Service, or teaching, there was no Marriage Bar against women working in the sciences once married (see Chapter 1).

## WOMEN AT ROTHAMSTEAD AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTES

Rothamsted Research was founded in 1843 by John Bennet Lawes, an amateur chemist and businessman in the fertilizer industry. His long-term crop experiments were the beginning of a scientific experimentation center in Hertfordshire that eventually included biological, chemical, physical, and statistical inquiries including a farm and experimental fields for the tests to take place on (Parolini, 2015). The first woman employed was Dr. Winifred Brenchley (Opitz, 2013). A botanist by training, she was employed from 1907 until 1958 after a one-year Studentship from the University of London after completing a two-year course at Swanley Horticultural College. Though her initial salary was much lower than a male scientist, her employment paved the way for other women at the center, such as Katherine Warrington and Muriel Bristol ('Botany at Rothamsted', 1948). Her career saw the change from women being barred degrees at universities. As noted in 1924, degrees from Cambridge were awarded for men only and "under certain limitations the titles of degrees are open to women without the privileges which the degree confers in the university" ('The Rothamsted Experimental Station and University Degrees', 1924). However, London University, as we have seen, was much more progressive. "These degrees [M.Sc. and Ph.D.] are open to men and women on equal terms" ('The Rothamsted Experimental Station and University Degrees', 1924).

Another research center was the John Innes Horticultural Institute founded in 1910 in Norfolk. Like Brenchley, Dr. Dorothy Cayley joined first as a volunteer in 1910 before being offered a minor Studentship in 1911, which advanced from £50/year to £150 by 1915. Cayley attended London University, then the University of Reading where she received her degree in Horticulture in 1908 (*Dorothy Mary Cayley (1874-1955): Mycologist*, 2016). The Institute offered a unique opportunity for women in the sciences under their first director, William Bateson (Wilmot, 2022). Major and minor post-graduate studentships were open to both males and females alike for posts up to five-years, although most of the minor positions were created with women in mind and were offered at £50-100 per year (Wilmot, 2022).

In the 1910s, the women were from a variety of backgrounds, several without degrees or previous experience, due to the legal standing of women in universities, but they did have private incomes. By the late 1920s and 1930s, women appointed were often those with science degrees working towards a doctorate, but their salaries were still below that of their male counterparts (£200-300/year vs. males at £250-400/year) (Wilmot, 2022). An additional benefit of both centers was the focus on plant research,



which allowed women to work around childcare issues by coming in only during the late summer for harvest, scraping, and research (Wilmot, 2022).

*Figure 78: Employees of the John Innes Horticultural Institute, 1929*



Source: (Wilmot, 2022)

While universities in the early 1900s were beginning to allow women entrance and graduation with scientific degrees, some like Oxford and Cambridge resisted. The World Wars made it necessary for employers to look for alternative arrangements for their staffing needs, but they also limited the continuation of the women after the Wars. Cayley (Figure 78) continued at the Institute until 1916, when she resigned to commit to war work at the Royal Army Medical Investigations into tetanus in London. She returned to the Institute as a 'student' in 1919 earning £200/year. Later that same year, her title was changed to 'mycologist' and her salary increased to £250/year and by 1921, her salary had risen to £350/year (*Dorothy Mary Cayley (1874-1955): Mycologist*, 2016).

Cayley and Brenchley's work benefited from being employed in an Institute that welcomed female researchers and from the gap in the legal regulations around married women in the sciences. Though,

almost 360,000 women worked in 'professional' positions in 1921, tracking the number of women employed in the sciences is quite difficult as one can see in Table 20 showing the different census categories in 1921, 1931, and 1951 (1941 was not taken due to WWII) (Asquith *et al.*, 1946; Robinson *et al.*, 2017). 'Professional Occupations' includes the sub-section: 'Consultant Practice in Chemistry and Other Sciences,' which Cayley and other women scientists would have been classed as. As we can see, the actual numbers are quite small (less than 600 in 1931), compared to those employed in Agriculture (56,109), however, percentage-wise the numbers tell us something completely different.

In 1921, 7% of Agricultural workers were female, 6% in 1931, and 12% in 1951, compared to 17% in the Professions in 1921, 24% in 'Chemistry and other science' in 1931 (93% for Professions in total), and 58% in 1951. Which means that women had greater access in the Professional employment sectors than in Agriculture. However, almost half of those employed in 1931 in the Professions are listed as 'Medicine & Care of Sick & Infirm (not Govt. or Local Authority)' (Females 116,099), so we need to keep in mind that without a specific 'scientific researcher' category, the census data can only tell us so much.

Professional occupations also fell under managerial roles or those whose positions required qualifications of university degree standards. Meaning that qualified medical practitioners, university teachers, engineers, chemists, accountants, clergy, judges, etc. were all listed as 'professionals' (General Register Office, 1960).

Table 20: Agricultural and Professional Occupations in the U.K., 1921-1951

1921	Male	Female
<b>Agricultural Occupations</b>	1,171,297	83,818
<b>Professional Occupations</b>	306,830	359,982
1931		
<b>AGRICULTURE Total:</b>	<b>905,181</b>	<b>56,109</b>
<b>Farming (not Fruit or Poultry) and Stock-rearing</b>	750,547	41,637
<b>Poultry Farming</b>	22,771	4,262
<b>Market Gardening and Fruit Farming</b>	50,265	3,790
<b>Flower and Seed Growing and Nursery Gardening</b>	41,973	5,853
<b>Other and Undefined Gardening</b>	26,118	293
<b>Forestry: Government</b>	2,162	68
<b>Forestry: Other</b>	6,871	18
<b>Other Agricultural Industries</b>	4,474	188
 <b>PROFESSIONS Total:</b>	 <b>293,619</b>	 <b>273,959</b>
Consultant Practice in Chemistry and Other Science	2,465	594
<b>1951</b>		
Agriculture and horticulture	822,319	98,586
Other professional and business services	85,527	49,264

Source: (University of Portsmouth, 2017c)

It has also been shown that the discrepancy between women in the professional sciences and the public mind (often called the Matilda Effect; especially within science communication) typically judges male research less harshly, awards recognition by their peers 8x more for scholarly awards and 3x as often for young investigator awards, while women receive less grants (and the amounts they do receive are also lower), fewer citations, and promotion and recommendations (Knobloch-Westerwick, Glynn and Huge, 2013). Taken together with the discussion on appropriateness of HE versus VOC for farm labor versus advisory or Government researchers, and backed up by the historical data, suggests a “pervasive culture of negative bias—whether conscious or unconscious—against women in academia” (Ledin *et al.*, 2017). Such gendered education, and the impact of Government funding through top-down agencies such as Universities, means that more women are being pushed into HE tracks, with little employment

opportunities available at the end. Though there is no absolute in such theories, the general trend still stands and as such, must be considered when evaluating effective policy discussions for more inclusive employment and research opportunities.

## SUMMARY

While Chapter 3 focused on the State as a promotional tool for the WLA and WI as primary social organizations for female agricultural employment during WWII, the real strength of the relationship lay in their ability to alter public perception and community acceptance. Chapter 4 takes this one step further, by evaluating how funding between the different Ministries (Agriculture, Education and Food) helped and hindered their professionalization into practical farmwork as advisors, teachers, and scientists. The discrepancy between farmer interests and the Government's promotion of HE, however, are still concerns that need to be addressed, with further inquiry into where these female graduates are being employed if not as laborers or farm owners. In the next Chapter, we look at the food sector, distributive trades, and cooks to see if that is where the women are being employed and what their impact on food consumption and purchasing power can tell us about the sector's employment options.



## CHAPTER 5: THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN SETTING GENDER STANDARDS IN THE SCIENCE AND ECONOMY OF FOOD AND NUTRITION

In the early Victorian period, feminists were reimagining the housewife as a scientist in the domestic laboratory – the kitchen. This is key to research around the conceptualization of housework in English girls' day schools in the Victorian era (Nakagomi, 2016; Carpenter, 2021). In many of the historic records, women were traditionally positioned as housewives and homemakers. But what do these terms mean regarding daily tasks and duties? Were they really the purview of the uneducated and incapable or was there more going on than public opinion might lead one to believe? In this Chapter we shall look at how women's contributions to domestic Agri-Food labor were researched, formalized, and imagined during the study period; the role of cookery books and the communities that wrote them; how the State influenced consumer purchasing power; and how the combination perpetuated scientific understanding across-generations.

The North London Collegiate School, founded in 1850 by Frances Mary Buss, was the first day school for professional class girls to offer an educational curriculum like that found in schools for middle-class boys (which included arithmetic and science) (Nakagomi, 2016). The school, and those that followed in its footsteps, repeatedly linked the 'appropriate' feminine tasks of housework and homemaker to the more intellectual sciences, mostly those around nutrition, hygiene, and safety and health. It is the position of this research that the admittance of women into the sciences and the daily tasks of food production, preservation and utilization found within the home, led to the promotion of the science of nutritional studies. Likewise, we argue that understanding what different foods provided reflected the perceived changing nature of the housewife from dull laborer to one of scientific standing, or as Nakagomi (2016) and Carpenter (2021) suggest – “the place of domestic subjects and science in schools (can be used) as a window into a broader societal conceptualisation of housework and the housewife.”

The structure of this Chapter is derived from the idea that food does not stop being food when it crosses the farm gate. In fact, the way it is grown, harvested, and then processed directly links into the new fields of Food and Nutritional Sciences (FNS) which were being introduced into households during WWII and at how 'household duty' was unintentionally reframed as 'skilled work' regarding women's education and career prospects. The analysis of cookery books, their links to the commercialization of home economy and consumer purchasing power, and discussions around the various routes of employment for women into the FNS will also be addressed in this Chapter.

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF FOOD AND NUTRITIONAL CONCERNS

The 1830s were a period of wealth and power for Victorian England (1837-1901). When Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837, Britain had won the war in France against Napoleon and had stepped into the Industrial Revolution (English Heritage, 2022a). However, the rising population and rural unemployment gave way to mass migration into the growing towns and cities, creating over-crowded conditions and putting strain on the agricultural and food related industries (see Chapters 1 and 3). One of the worst was the Irish Famine from 1845-1849, when an estimated one million people died and another two million emigrated. Colonial wars dominated Queen Victoria's reign and directly impacted Government policies around free trade, labor, education, and health/nutrition (English Heritage, 2022a).

As people moved to the cities and overcrowding and poor conditions flourished, debates over ways to reduce the financial burden of the Government for poor relief sparked the creation of The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws in 1834. This was an inquiry into the ability of family earnings to support the nutritional needs of poor families (and which foods were consumed the most often) and replaced the small parish workhouses with larger combined ones (William Sr. and Chadwick, 1834; Steyning Museum, 2022). In a bid to limit tax burdens for the wealthy, the Government encouraged the lower classes to support themselves, reduce begging in the streets, and the number of poor families in the workhouses; which had become so feared that in northern towns riots broke out (Steyning Museum, 2022).

In smaller workhouses, many of the poor were supported and treated as members of the community, but by combining workhouses into larger entities, that connection with the community was severed and conditions and opportunities were limited:

[In the parish, the] master of the workhouse was William Hill, a market gardener who found work for all the paupers. Even the children were 'put to weeding.' Thomas Moon...said that 'the poor were well fed' and 'we always had small [(very weak)] beer.'... [Under the new system, t]here was water rather than small beer to drink. The level of relief was cut from two shillings a week to four loaves (valued at 1s 4d) – 'nothing but bread' as it was said (Steyning Museum, 2022).

Like education and occupations, nutrition and poor relief varied across the country during the Victorian period. "In Speen, Berkshire...labourers were reported as eating potatoes, wheaten bread, bacon, and meat.... In Renwick, Cumberland, brown barley bread, weak tea or coffee, oatmeal porridge with skim

milk, and potatoes with a little bacon or other animal food was consumed” (Horrell and Oxley, 2013). The Poor Law Commission’s nutritional inquiry was used to determine regional diets and appoint each county with a Nutrition Score. Berkshire moved from a score of 1-1.9 (1795) to 4-4.9 (1834), while Cumberland shifted from a 9-9.9 to a 7-7.9, showing a decrease in nutritive quality in Cumberland, where the main industry was mining, and an increase in Berkshire, where the main industry was agriculture (Horrell and Oxley, 2013). While the inquiries asked which foods were consumed, they did not necessarily answer the question of what could be done to mitigate such nutritional deficiencies, nor did they address seasonality, the quality, or usage of such food stuffs within the diet and how it was divided-up within the family unit, or overcrowding in the workhouses.

The question of preserving a food’s nutritive quality for longer periods of time is the key to understanding this period of change. The Industrial Revolution brought some relief in the form of easier food distribution on the new steam-powered trains and ships, allowing food to be moved cheaper and faster from the rural agricultural areas into the city centers; a necessity when local food distribution chains were disrupted or stretched too thin. Similarly, preservation methods for soldiers’ rations became a key point for military nutritionists during WWI and for the Government during WWII.

“Britain’s first large-scale meat-canning factory was set up in 1865, and by the 1870s almost every middle-class kitchen had a tin opener.... refrigerated transport of meat became possible...meat became cheaper, and a regular part of the diet of all classes for the first time [by the 1880s]” (English Heritage, 2022b). Canning, started in the U.K. in 1813 by Bryan Dorkin and John Hall to preserve food for the army, became an almost national past-time for the middle-class women associated with the WI during WWII. The WI, which became known as Jambusters during WWII for their take-over of the National Fruit Preservation Scheme bottling hedgerow and horticulture fruit, reflects the broader narrative regarding the importance of women in the creation and distribution of limited resources faced by the nation (Summers, 2013). Likewise, school children’s hedgerow and medicinal herb collection gangs show how every hand was needed to survive and minimize issues such as disease management and seasonality of foods during a period of transition (see Chapter 4).

Longer shelf-lives for foods such as condensed milk, dried eggs and soups, and bottled/canned products were only available because of the new food analytical tools such as UV spectrophotometers (1930s and 1940s), liquid-liquid partition chromatography (Martin and Synge 1941), and the Maillard reaction (1912 and 1948) all of which changed the way foods were processed, stored, and used (Beard *et al.*, 2014).

Artificial sweeteners such as saccharin (1878) and instant coffee (1918 for the liquid version and 1938 for the instant powder version) changed tea-time for many, especially once America joined the war effort and popularized the drink with British servicemen. It eventually became the ubiquitous fuel for fighters, factory workers, and farmers (Beard *et al.*, 2014).

The combination of better food, the introduction of new medicines, and the understanding of disease-causing microbes allowed for better health and sanitation even in the crowded cities. Life expectancy rose from 40-42 for men and women in 1850 to 45-50 by 1900 (English Heritage, 2022b). One of the major concerns during this period was the purity of goods, with several lawsuits brought to bear regarding impurities and adulterations such as the selling of horseflesh under the name of beef and the concern over disease, predominantly within the dairy industry over anxiety of milk for infants at this time. Rioux (2015) explains that it was the use of starchy baby foods, unsanitary feeding bottles and the use of cheap condensed milk (introduced in the 1870s) by the lower classes that were the key reasons for the high mortality rates of infants at this time. Similarly, Johansson (1991) has argued that limited diets led to 'excess' female mortality in parts of Cornwall, while Humphries (1991), Humphries, McNay, and Klasen (2005), and Nicholas and Oxley (1993) have found gender bias in height and mortality for women, especially between urban and rural counterparts. Additionally, while meat became cheaper and working-class families could afford to start adding it into the household diet, a disproportionate amount of household protein was being fed to men while women and children subsisted on starch-heavy meals in regions such as Gloucestershire (Smith, 1864). This was due to the erroneous idea that males working out of the home needed more calories and protein than women working within it.

Table 21 shows the key dates from 1900-1944 in food research and government policy changes.

Table 21: Key Nutrition Dates, 1900-1944

1900-1930	Main vitamins discovered
1904	BOT Survey into household expenditure
1912	Maillard browning research
1916-1921	Ministry of Food/Food Controller
1916	Price controls - Dairy
1918	Sumner Committee
	MOF Consumers' Council and Food Vigilance Committees
1921-1922	Commercialised canning
1923	Birdseye flash freezing
1924	Shewhart control charts (how processes change over time)
1925	Preserves and colour regulation
1930	Food irradiation
1938	Food and Drugs Act
1940	National Food Survey established
1941	Nutritional standards for school meals introduced
1942	Mandatory fortification of margarine with vitamins A and D began
1944	First Food Labelling Order
	First Proceedings of the Nutrition Society published

Source: (Beard et al., 2014)

In 1904, the Government performed the first large-scale national survey into food consumption and nutrition with the Board of Trade's survey of expenditures by working-class families. By 1916, a new Ministry was established to focus specifically on food. The MOF struggled against food shortages due to German U-boat attacks during WWI prompting the need for both rationing and price controls which were often debated in Parliament (UK Parliament, 1914). The milk industry was the first to have fixed prices set by the MOF in November 1916<sup>87</sup>. However, as the war progressed, the MOF realized it had little information on the costs associated with home food production and created a committee under Lord Somerleyton and then Viscount Astor to inquire into the questions of regional pricing and domestic food production<sup>88</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> 5.5d. or 6.5d./gallon depending on region.

<sup>88</sup> While Lord Somerleyton suggested to set the rate at 9.5d. per gallon across the country, the Astor committee commented that such an act would be unfair as costs in the dairy regions in the west where cattle were pasture fed most of the year was lower than in the east and north where purchased concentrate feeds during winter were the norm.

The 1904 data was re-evaluated in 1918 by the Working-Class Cost of Living Committee (i.e., the Sumner Committee) and was used to explain not only the civil unrest found throughout WWI, but the poor nutritive condition of soldiers (Winter, 1980; Gazeley and Newell, 2013). They found that 45.2% of the average working-class families' budget went to food, with roughly 17.5% of that going to bread and flour (Beard *et al.*, 2014). It was due to this insight that, when Lord Rhondda took over as the MOF's Food Controller in June 1917, he established an almost iron tight control over the food industry and created the 'Breadstuffs' policy' which held the premise that "whatever else was in short supply, the supply of breadstuffs had to be maintained" (Gazeley and Newell, 2013). The MOF eventually abandoned the idea of fixed prices and instead went with fixed monthly maximums based on the London milk contracts established in the pre-war years; a move that took little consideration of the differences in cost-of-living across the country, once again showing a strong south-eastern focus and regional bias in the political arena, and confirmed the bias towards London-based agencies (Whetham, 1978).

On the other end of the supply chain, the establishment of the MOF's Consumers' Council (1918) and local Food Vigilance Committees (FVCs) allowed individuals (specifically housewives) to make practical differences in their communities through creating cost-price restaurants and municipal kitchens to stave off the hardships of wartime rationing and food shortages, although it was the men who were still the primary actors in the political realm when it came to food. Socialists shifted the discussion of food production and availability from a gender issue to a class-based issue and argued, they declared, on behalf of their hungry wives and children (Hunt, 2010).

For housewives, their voices were often regulated to the local neighborhood. "By 1917, the Commissioners on Industrial Unrest were reporting that rising prices as well as faulty distribution were sources of dangerous discontent, and in the spring the House of Commons was informed that the country had only three- or four-weeks' supply of food in stock" (Hunt, 2010). The result was the creation of local Food Control Committees (FCC) and two-years of rationing. However, while rationing allowed for more equitable distribution of food for the working-classes, many of the FCCs were dominated by members of the food industry, retailers, and farmers<sup>89</sup>, and showed an inherent bias as members were often from local elites and not representative of the local consumer (Hunt, 2010; Ginn, Goodman and Langlands, 2012).

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<sup>89</sup> FCCs were required to include a labor representative and at least one woman.

The delineation between food produced on farm and food sold to consumers off-farm came to be known as farm gate sales with the MOA concerning itself with all manner of food related issues. However, from 1916-1921, the Minister of Food Control took over food processing, specifically around the creation of the National Kitchens where food was purchased, processed, and sold to factory workers at reduced cost. The nutritional surveys were a stop-gap measure regarding calories more than a nutritional understanding, although the report did note that roughly 80% of the primarily eaten breadstuffs were being imported, which was of growing concern due to the blockades. Consequently, the Government created the Wheat Commission and took over importation of grains. However, the final control of bread rationing was never implemented like it was for other products such as sugar, butter, and margarine (Gazeley and Newell, 2013). Likewise, the decrease in available fresh fruits and vegetables (traditionally due to seasonal availability and their highly perishable nature) also led to decreases in nutritive values, especially vitamins A, B12, C and D available to consumers. Such concerns were key issues for the new preservation methods which hoped to mitigate such losses and provide reliable, healthy produce year-round. Women were the primary recipients of these findings as well as key to the research teams employed by research stations and the MOF.

## THE MINISTRY OF FOOD: RESEARCH, RATIONING, AND POLICIES

Under the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries Act of 1919, the CWAECs were reformatted into permanent agricultural sub-committees of the county councils. They exercised powers over local smallholdings, diseases of animals, weeds and pest management, milk hygiene, and education and advisory services for agriculture and extended into a courts system for farmer disputes between tenants and landowners (Whetham, 1978). At the same time, prices and supplies rose from December 1919 until March 1921 with a peak of three-times pre-war prices in September 1920 as rationing was withdrawn, and then fell from 1921-1922 to almost half its peak by the end of 1922 (Ball and Hudson, 1914; Whetham, 1974) (see below Table 22 for dates of items rationed). The collapse in prices brought about much uncertainty for all levels of the agricultural and food supply chain and contributed to an agricultural depression that lasted much of the Interwar years. Because of this, thrifty food purchasing and preparation were of paramount importance to the household budget, a situation similar to what occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic from both an economic and social perspective, especially around household expenditures and unpaid 'household' labor (Macdonald, 2018; Docka-Filipek and Stone, 2021).

Prior to WWII, the U.K. was dependant on imports of half of the meat, nearly all the fats, four-fifths of the sugar and nine-tenths of the cereals and flour the country consumed (Ministry of Food, 1951). Therefore, food control was of paramount importance for the management of the national diet.

*Table 22: Rationed Foodstuffs during WWI*

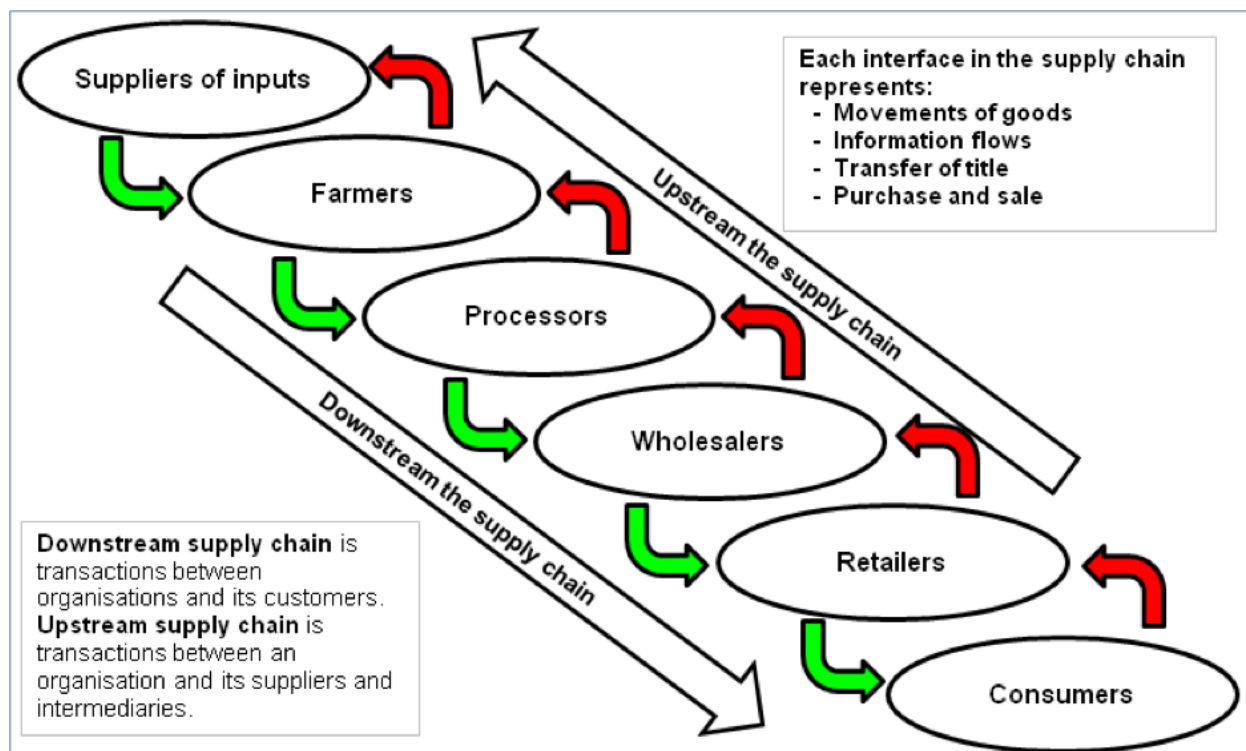
<b>Rationed Item</b>	<b>Dates of Rationing</b>	<b>Weekly Allotment/Adult</b>
Bacon	April-July 1918	4 oz.
Raw Butcher Meat	April 1918-December 1919	1s. 3d.
Butter	July 1918-May 1920	2 oz.
Jam	November 1918-April 1919	4 oz.
Lard	July-December 1918	4 oz.
Margarine	July 1918-February 1919	2 oz.
Sugar	December 1918-November 1920	8 oz.
Tea	July-December 1918	2 oz.

Source: (Spencer, 2011)

The MOF was re-formed on September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1939, under William Morrison and by May 1940, the Scientific Food Committee had been established and set a basic daily calorie count of 2,000 for most adult workers and took over all off-farm food production aspects, especially rationing and nutritional inquiries (The National Archives, 2021; Wikipedia, 2021a). With almost half the population living in one of the 97 urban districts with over 50,000 residents (48% as of the 1911 census), food coming in from the countryside was subject to a complex supply chain of manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers. Likewise, those food stuffs imported from overseas had their own complex supply chains in place. While such chains have only expanded in recent years, the basic format remains the same as shown below in Figure 79.



Figure 79: Agricultural supply chain



Source: (Costa-Font and Revoredo-Giha, 2020)

In addition, the Marketing Boards which managed price controls, were suspended and the MOF became the sole buyer and importer of food. Divided into a Supply Division (not part of the Ministry of Supply), Division of Emergency Feeding, Rationing and Divisional Food Offices (which managed wholesale and retail traders, rationing schemes, etc.), and the Planning Division (which managed economic policy, the Lease-Lend Programme with the US Dept. of Agriculture, foreign relations, etc.), and Additional 'Service' divisions which included legal, finance, public relations, and costings (margins), the MOF was a complicated entity that spanned all of the aspects of food production and distribution once it left the farm (Earley and Lacy, 1942). Lord Woolton took over from Morrison in 1940 and by 1955, the MOA and MOF had merged into one Ministry (the MAFF) bringing the production, distribution, and utilization of food under one government agency and disbanding the farm gate (Wikipedia, 2021b).

#### CIVIL SERVANTS: WOMEN IN FOOD AND NUTRITIONAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

After WWI, a large portion of the MOF's tasks were handed over to the Board of Trade (BOT, 1921-1939). The Government's Food Production Policy (under the CWAECs) was initially put into place to increase the population's caloric intake, and while the Policy is typically considered a success, estimates

of the actual caloric increase have periodically been revised. Middleton's calculations in 1923 suggested an additional 4.05 billion calories were produced in 1918 vs. 1913, while Dewey (1979) suggest that the rates were barely above the pre-war numbers. He noted that the increase was not due to the agricultural production quantity, but the processing quality of the food into secondary products such as flour, that changed the caloric intake (Whetham, 1978; Crowe, 2007).

With an increased awareness of the energy value of certain foodstuffs came protein research, understanding of the thyroid and pituitary glands, hormones, and the correlations between the different factors such as the interdependence of vitamins, minerals, etc., had on each other and the body (Crowther, 1939). Dr. Frederick Gowland Hopkins, Cambridge, was one of the first scientists to experiment with consumption of different carbohydrates, proteins, fats, and minerals in the U.K. In 1912 he did a series of experiments with rats where he concluded that in addition to the base ingredients, there must be some other essential nutrients within the food or in the interaction of foods that allowed for the maintenance of health (micronutrients). At the same time, American scientists Osborne and Mendel, and McCollum and Davis, were doing similar experiments and deduced that milk had both water-soluble and fat-soluble components and Polish chemist Funk suggested they were protein-based and called them "vitamins" (Hildreth, 1952). Vitamins C and D (those responsible for curing scurvy and rickets, respectively) were not discovered until Szent Györgyi (1928) and Askew *et al.* (1931), while vitamin A was linked to the eye-disease xerophthalmia in 1919 (Bloch) and folic acid, necessary for natal care, was identified in 1937 by Dr. Lucy Wills (Beard *et al.*, 2014).

WWI had shown that government oversight needed to occur "...before and not after the shortage [of foodstuffs] has occurred and prices [had] started to rise..." (Ministry of Food, 1951). Therefore, steps were taken in 1936 to "formulate 'plans for the supply, control and distribution of food and feeding-stuffs for defence purposes'" by the Food (Defence Plans) Department, a sub-committee of the Board of Trade in November of that year (Ministry of Food, 1951).

The Scientific Director and the Executive Secretary of the Nutrition Foundation (USA) wrote that "[a]dvances in biochemistry, physiology, and pathology, both in schools of agriculture and in schools of medicine, have brought the sciences of nutrition to a point where medical and public health professional groups can extend formal recognition" (King and Salthe, 1946). The link between agriculture, food, and nutrition seems an obvious one. Yet, in the early years, such knowledge was slotted into gendered norms around who was allowed to harvest, process, and consume certain types of foods, but did not

explain why such practices had been put into place. For example, historical taboos over which group could harvest or what types of foods were allowed to be eaten were regionally (and often religiously) specific; an example would be how no meat on Fridays and during Lent assisted in replenishing stocks and promoted the fishing industry (Godoy, 2012; Scanes, 2018).

When the Ministry of Health was created in 1919, one of the departments was dedicated to the welfare of mothers and children (King and Salthe, 1946; Davis, 2014). Such intervention waned during the interwar years as uneconomical in nature, but as WWII gained momentum, concerns over the declining population and the general state of food and nutrition for mothers and children pushed the topic back under Government control (Davis, 2014). The Welfare Food Scheme was one way for the Government to utilize newly discovered vitamins and minerals to ensure the nutrition of the most at-risk members of the population. Liquid and national dried milk were subsidized or made available free to all pregnant or nursing mothers under the June 1940 National Milk Scheme, while the 1942 Vitamin Welfare Scheme included expectant and nursing mothers as well as those with children under the age of five and allocated free or inexpensive concentrated orange juice, cod liver oil or vitamin A and D tablets to combat scurvy. “By 1943, seventy percent of those eligible were participating in the Milk Scheme; forty-three percent of those eligible took up the orange juice; thirty-four percent the vitamins and twenty-one percent the cod liver oil” (Davis, 2014).

Such was the concern over the declining birth rate, that the Government adopted what Davis (2014) calls a ‘pronatalist position’ wherein having a baby was considered a practical way for women to contribute to the war effort. London housewife Helen Brook, in 1937, found that she had difficulty conceiving with her second husband. After visiting Dr. Gladys Hill at the Royal Free Hospital, she was told she would need a dangerous procedure to correct the situation – “So off I bravely went and had this job done, when she said to me, ‘Now go home and do your duty’” (Davis, 2014). The push for more children while the country was at war (and the years directly leading up to and after), did not consider the need for women workers, who now had young children to care for. In 1940, the Minister of Labour, Ernest Bevin, pushed for nurseries, set up and run by the LEAs and funded by the Ministry of Health, to be built so married women would be able to work. Though the nurseries would not be free, they would be subsidized by the Government (Elliston, 2018). However, Day Nurseries were limited to those women who ‘had’ to work in one of the preferred industries and many felt that the ruling “exclude[d] those women working to supplement their husbands’ incomes and reflected the supposition that women’s wages made no real contribution to the family finances” (Elliston, 2018).

There was debate over the continued need for nutritional studies by the end of WWII with some universities under the belief that all such nutritional knowledge was known and research exhausted; for example, Oxford closed its nutrition group shortly after the war (King and Salthe, 1946; Carpenter, 2003). However, for those researchers involved in nutritional sciences, WWI and WWII were great political catalysts for change and government funding and included research in the fields of medicine, agriculture, marketing, and education.

One such female researcher was Dr. Lucy Wills who completed coursework from Newnham College, Cambridge in September 1911. Like Girton College (see Chapter 4), Newnham's founders struggled for recognition from the University of Cambridge authorities to allow women to sit for examinations and refused to grant them full degrees until 1948. Wills obtained a Class 2 in Part 1 of the Natural Sciences Tripos in 1910 and Class 2 in Part 2 (Botany) in 1911, earning a certificate of completion since she could not receive a degree at that time. In 1928, she received the 'titular degree' of MA Cantab, a stage between certificates and full degrees which operated from 1921 to 1948 and denied women access to junior posts and research fellowships (*Lucy Wills*, no date).

One way around Cambridge's gender bias was to become a medical student at the University of London, which Wills did in January 1915 through the London (Royal Free Hospital) School of Medicine for Women. The school had been established in 1874 as the London School of Medicine for Women and was the first medical school in Britain to train women and had strong links with the British Colony of India, training a number of Indian female students, including Dr. Jansha Jhirad, the first Indian woman to qualify with a degree in obstetrics and gynaecology in 1919, the year before Wills graduated (Bastian, 2008)<sup>90</sup>.

On qualifying, Wills decided to carry out teaching and research in the Department of Pregnant Pathology at the Royal Free where she worked with Miss Christine Pillman<sup>91</sup> (later Mrs. Ulysses Williams) on metabolic studies of pregnancy. In 1929, Dr. Margaret Balfour of the Indian Medical Service asked her to join the Maternal Mortality Inquiry sponsored by the Indian Research Fund Association at the Haffkine Institute in Bombay, where she observed an apparent correlation between the dietary habits of

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<sup>90</sup> Lucy Wills became a legally qualified medical practitioner with the qualification of Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians London awarded in May 1920 (LRCP London 1920), and the University of London degrees of Medical Bachelor and Bachelor of Science awarded in December 1920 (MB BS U London) - then 32.

<sup>91</sup> Pillman-Williams, Emma Christine (née Pillman). First qualified, 1914; died, 1953 ('Obituaries - Pillman-Williams, Emma Christine', 1954).

different classes of Bombay women, and the likelihood of their becoming anaemic during pregnancy (Bastian, 2008). The combination of class and colonialism often occurs for educated women at this time, as there were more opportunities in the colonies than at home, but they also hold an intrinsic nationalist attitude that being British was better than anyone else (Liddle and Joshi, 1985; Worsnop, 1990; Whitehead, 2012; White, 2016).

During her experiments, she found that the addition of Marmite (a malted yeast extract spread) helped with anaemia and concluded that "...[it] is not vitamin B2 but some other factor, as yet undetermined, which is present in both animal protein and Marmite" (Bastian, 2008). The factor was named Folic Acid (B<sub>9</sub>) in 1941 when it was finally isolated from spinach. Wills, along with the aforementioned, Dr. Gladys Hill (a qualified doctor who studied radium with Marie Curie in Paris and later consulted with the Royal Free Hospital as an obstetrician and gynaecologist), spent most of WWII trying to isolate how iron supplements affected haemoglobin levels in pregnant woman, a question of great importance during, and after, the war as the Government sought to increase population numbers (Woodgate-Jones, 1998; Bastian, 2008; Davis, 2014).

Wills, Pillman, and Hill were all members of the Medical Women's Federation, which was founded in 1917 to represent the interests of women as doctors and patients. The federation became associated with the Association of Medical Women in India in 1921, and many of their members worked in both locations. During WWII, the War Office allowed for women to receive the same rate of pay as their male counterparts, but did not confer officer status, only granted them 'relative rank.' By 1944, the Goodenough committee was pushing for mixed gender medical schools and heavily criticized discrimination of women in hospitals (Jones, 2014). Some savvy Doctors used this loophole to train women in specific techniques which led to co-operative research between the Ministries. The linkages between the university coursework (primarily the University of London's medical school) and the MAFF's civil servant employment potentiality, offered women in the FNS research new avenues, however, many found such limited within England itself and instead opted to find employment in the colonies (Bastian, 2008).

#### THE GROWTH OF FOOD POLICY AND CONTROL, 1939-1940

Pre-war preparation of food control had, at the outset, been suggested as an anti-inflation measure to assist with the steadily rising cost-of-living. The control of food prices for consumers, together with rationing, would hopefully break the vicious cycle found in the working classes, whose expenditures saw

roughly three-fifths of their wages spent on food stuffs. The Food Controllers' (FC) job would be two-fold, at least in regards to prices. Firstly, as the sole purchaser, the FC would be able to limit additional costs from the producer and distributors, and as the sole seller, distribution would be controlled and limited due to rationing, so no one area received more than any other (Hammond, 1951). Such a plan was both lofty and complicated, needing assistance to keep costs down in situations outside the FC control, for example, imported food costs were dependent on the rate of exchange.

An additional issue with British food policy between 1939 and 1940 was the structure of Ministerial control. "The chief weakness of the organisation of food control, as seen by the would-be reformers, was its subdivision vertically by commodities rather than horizontally in terms of the stages through which food must pass from producer to consumer" (Hammond, 1951). The first year of the war's food production campaign saw confusion over who was in charge of each commodity, including debates between the Agricultural Departments who were producing the raw ingredients, the Minister of Health, who argued over the basic principles of nutrition within the policies (and rationing), and the Minister of Food, whose job was to oversee policy development, procurement, distribution and media relations (Hammond, 1951). Here too the confusion over the job duties of the different committees within the Departments became sticking points for effective administration versus the overarching creation of policies, such as the Economic Policy Committee (ministerial) or the Inter-departmental Committee on Food Prices (official). Location of the various divisions was also an issue, with the Potato and Fish Divisions in Oxford, Imported Cereals in Godstone, Liquid Milk in Thames Ditton and Surrey, Condensed and Dried Milk at Colwyn Bay, Canned Fish in Liverpool, etc. The diversity of locations meant much of the Senior Officials in the Ministry of Food spent more time on trains than in boardrooms and the filing and transit of documents became overly complicated (Hammond, 1951).

Though the importation of foodstuffs had been critical pre-war, it was clear that in the long run, the primary goal of any food production policy had to be to secure the highest possible quantity of home-produced foods for human consumption (bread, potatoes, and sugar-beets being the top products), even if this meant a reduction in livestock, who would also eat these items, even dairy cattle, whose milk the nutritionists pushed as the most valuable of the livestock commodities. The debate between the Ministries of Health and Food, pressed for a policy based on nutritional needs and strong marketing controls, deliberate livestock reductions, and price structure based on war-time necessity. While the Agricultural departments reminded everyone that nature could not be rushed and as such, a better option would be an increase in prices that would cover both rising costs and incentives to switch from

one agricultural production method/crop to another, and compulsory cropping directions, should the need arise, while countering inflation issues (Hammond, 1951).

Subsidies were proposed as one way of dealing with potential changes to agricultural production at the outset of the war, however, by August 1940, it became clear that the abrupt rise in prices seen at the beginning of the war should have been anticipated and as such, a more strategic policy of prompt price control and subsidy of the most utilized imported food stuffs put into place, especially for those whose import costs were closely related to the finished product (Hammond, 1951). This would have kept down the margin of profit, which tended to rise in proportion of costs, and minimize the final cost to consumers.

Rationing, the only solution to long-term shortages, was unable to be rolled out for each commodity at the same time due to shortages of stock purchased by the Ministry of Food for both personal and animal consumption. For example, “from January 1940 onwards the Ministry was able to release imported supplies to the trade at two-thirds of the average pre-war annual rate, i.e., considerably less than two-thirds of the seasonal demand. Merchants were called upon to distribute these supplies as fairly as possible, giving preference to the owners of dairy cows” (Hammond, 1951). Such restrictions exacerbated falling milk yields and slowed the fattening of beef cattle. For most of the year, debates about price maximums, minimums, importation, and home production raged, with little practical results. The result was a more aggressive rationing program than was found during WWI.

#### RATIONALIZING RATIONING: THE OXFORD NUTRITIONAL SURVEY

Effective rations was based upon nutrition and consumption patterns, with military nutritionists were mostly concerned with the generally poor condition of soldiers and nutritionists regarding pregnant women (Winter, 1980). Such concerns led to inquiries into the nutritional intakes of the general populace, the first of which was the ONS commissioned in 1941 under the supervision of Oxford physiologist and nutritionist, Dr. Hugh Sinclair. Sinclair sought to establish a baseline of the general public's health and compare it to the effects of wartime rationing, especially for pregnant women. Since his research was commissioned by the Government it was never published, however, records from the MERL show his surveys and communications with other nutritionists and medical doctors. Such communication was to establish caloric intake levels for dietary needs of different activities, genders, and age levels; as well as nutritional analysis on what deficiencies of these vitamins and minerals would do to the body. Sinclair's results for changes in macro and micronutrient values in the two groups

agreed with the National Food Survey (*see* Chapter 2) which looked at food consumption and purchasing power.

Between 1942 and 1945 the estimated consumption in urban working-class households of milk, eggs, fresh fruit and vegetables increased whilst the consumption of meat fell. Consequently, the average consumption of energy, Ca, vitamin A, vitamin C, vitamin D and riboflavin were higher in 1944 than in 1942, whilst protein consumption fell and Fe intakes remained unchanged (Ministry of Food, 1951; Huxley *et al.*, 2000).

Sinclair continued to break down each food into its' various chemical and nutritional aspects with each food item given its' own index card. The index cards were used by Home Economists, Cooks, and the MOF to produce war-time nutritional pamphlets and recipes (Figure 80). By 1946, 99 food categories had been created including fish oil, canned vegetables, sugar, cheese, and milk. Sinclair pushed for the hiring of surveyors (both male and female) and spoke highly of his female associates both in the field and at the ONS (Miss Stevenson and Mrs. Airini Fisher, predominantly), as well as female doctors of nutrition and chemistry. He hired Miss Stevenson specifically to assist with the body measurements of female participants as well as taking weekly recordings of their larder supplies; after the war, she joined the Food Advice Service showing one employment route for women in the FNS to be discussed further (Hutchinson, 1961).



Figure 80: Food index cards

by HMS, 8 Nov  
Food Composition

a key is given on a similar card at the front of the set of Food Composition Index Cards.  $\log$ .  
The 1st line below the heading gives  $1000 \times \text{adopted value} \div \text{standard}$ .  
The allowance,  $\frac{\text{per week}}{\text{code}} \times \text{No. of food}$  is the greatest value ringed in pencil.  
The values entered above the heading line are the minimum & the maximum of the nutrient thus selected.

Weight of food consumed per week/cap.

2	3	4	5	6	7	9	11	13	15	17	19
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----	----

Food Code Number	Calories	Protein	Animal Protein	CHO	Fat	Fe	Ca
P	Vit. A	Carotene			2		
Weight per 100g/cap	Thiamine	Niacin	Riboflavin	Ascorbic Acid			

2nd line is of 2nd line of food composition was checked copy initialled at 36k.  $\log$  242 106

3.5	7.0	10.5	14.0	17.5	21.0	24.5	31.5	38.5	45.5	52.5	59.5	66.5
2	3	4	5	6	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	

10g	15	31	63	0	39	28	2
	20	7	0		0		309
3.5	23	62	19	0			

These computations are checked by adding vertically, & comparing with the totals with the product [sum of portions]  $\times$  [entry in 2nd line]. The latter times entered in pencil 2 lines below the main results.

Source: (Sinclair, 1946)

When Lord Woolton came to power as the Minister of Food, the Government's focus on national health was on expectant mothers. Woolton had been a social worker in his early years and saw the effects of malnutrition in pregnancy during his time working in Liverpool. The women of the home front, he said in a BBC broadcast in 1940, were "...the army that guards the Kitchen Front in this war" (Davis, 2014). They received a special green ration book outlining the supplemental foodstuffs they were to receive. Longmate (2002) commented that "...tighter rationing [developed] for the rest of the population, [while] the larger share...went to 'the priority classes' [including pregnant women]". The schemes were so well known that "advertisement[s] warned...against giving these extra foods to other family members, telling them, 'Don't let Dad get all the meat'" (Longmate, 2002; Davis, 2014). This was an interesting change from the idea of feeding the bread-earner first and from the concept that the housewife was worth less than men or women in other professions. Whether or not it was predominantly a propaganda piece to promote consumption patterns and government marketing schemes or a way to bolster morale, is up for debate.

Consumer registration for specific products (aka. rationing) began in November 1939, when consumers were asked to register for butter, bacon, and sugar at their local retailers in an effort to curtail consumer consumption, although official rationing of these items did not begin until January 1940 and didn't include meat until March 1940 (Brandis, 1942; Taylor, 1966)<sup>92</sup>. While unemployment was almost non-existent and wages had risen (up to 40% in the agricultural and coal-mining industries alone) by 1941, supplies of staple foods dropped significantly, even while demand increased. Foods which were rationed or subject to some form of controlled distribution had come to account for more than half of the total intake of fat, calcium, riboflavin, and vitamin D (Economic Intelligence Service, 1942).

There were two types of card-rationing during WWII: specific and point (or group). Specific rationing refers to a special set of coupons for an identified item, such as bread, sugar, petrol, etc. "Under specific rationing, which mainly applied to foodstuffs, consumers are frequently restricted to one retailer. This procedure facilitates distribution but makes the system...rigid" for consumers (Economic Intelligence Service, 1942). Additional concerns arose from the grocers' side, as they were ultimately responsible for disseminating information and working with the public to understand the multitude of regulatory changes. Often grocers and shop assistants, like Miss Kathleen Hey would help fill out the ration books for their customers and were the first to be blamed by both consumers and politicians when there was a

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<sup>92</sup> Food production increased the total acreage to 16 million acres vs. 12 million pre-WWII.

breakdown in communication. Criticism of the format could be heard early on and continued throughout the war (Hey, 2016).

Oh, Lord Woolton! Could you be in our shoes for a single day! How much wiser you would be. These people were coming in with their new [ration] books and expecting them to be attended to there and then...this is impossible.... All information is directed to the consumer and the shopkeeper has to do the running around to find out the truth of the wonderful talk circulat[ing] (Hey, 2016).

When a commodity was not uniform in nature, such as meat, point (Figure 81) or group rationing was used. This might include additional regulation, for example, a fixed price per weight in addition to the ration coupon. For tinned foodstuffs, the group points were based initially by calorie count, then weight and cost. The benefit is the ease of changing the points system based upon consumption patterns and access to goods, the difficulty is explaining and enforcing the changes to those employed in the distributive trades, the general populace, as well as affecting change in a timely manner.

Figure 81: Point rations from 1953-1954 ration book

**6 ENTER NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF RETAILERS**

Commodity	Retailer Name	Address
MEAT	J. SAINSBURY LTD.,	147, HIGH ROAD, BALHAM, S. W. 12
EGGS		
FATS	J. SAINSBURY LTD.,	147, HIGH ROAD, BALHAM, S. W. 12
CHEESE	SAINSBURY LTD.,	147, HIGH ROAD, BALHAM, S. W. 12
BACON	SAINSBURY LTD.,	147, HIGH ROAD, BALHAM, S. W. 12
SUGAR	SAINSBURY LTD.,	147, HIGH ROAD, BALHAM, S. W. 12
SPARE		

**POINT RATIONS**

Commodity	Points	Notes
MEAT	3	
EGGS	3	
FATS	3	
CHEESE	3	
BACON	3	
SUGAR	3	

Source: (Barnes, 2019)

While point-rationed foods contributed less than 10% of the calories and the recommended daily nutrients, their value in giving palatability and variety to the diet was important. Likewise, milk provided almost half the calcium, and fresh vegetables contributed more than one-third of the supply of vitamins A and C. Dr. Elsie Widdowson (1906-2000), and her research partner Dr. Robert McCance, were the key figures behind the rationing schemes along with Dr. Hugh Sinclair.

Born in 1906, Elsie and her sister Eva Widdowson, studied at Sydenham County School where both girls were encouraged to pursue scientific careers. Her PhD in Chemistry, awarded in 1931 from Imperial College, was on the carbohydrate content of apples through the Department of Plant Physiology and led her to investigate the metabolism of kidneys at Middlesex Hospital. Her supervisor, Professor Charles Dodds recommended she specialize in dietetics, a developing field, which she did as a postdoc at King's College, London. It was at King's that, in 1933, she met Dr. Robert McCance, who was researching how the effects of cooking food impacted diabetes (Ashwell, 2000; Contreras, 2021).

The pair realized that the Government nutritional tables held significant errors and spent the next 60 years working on re-evaluating and experimenting on the nutritional values of different foods. Their experiments during WWII led to the creation of the Government rationing scheme based on a weekly ration of just one egg, 1 lb meat or fish, 6 oz fruit, 5 oz sugar, 4 oz cheese and 4 oz fat. Brown bread and vegetables, including potatoes, were not rationed, and a quarter of a pint of milk was allowed daily. They also pushed for the addition of calcium in bread as well as other vitamin/food combinations to combat deficiencies within the diet which culminated in both 'fortified' foods and the 'national loaf' recipe (The Nutrition Society, 2021).

While the plan made sense from a scientific standpoint, shop keepers commented that other government rationing additions did not. "For instance, a woman with a baby in arms and a toddler does not need ½ lb bacon and ¼ lb tea for them every week but these would be grand for the old folks who cannot get out to seek delicacies for themselves" (Hey, 2016). One of the ways the Government tried to stifle the grumbling was to create different ration books for different groups including beige for adults, blue for children under five, green for nursing mothers, and books for vegetarians (Figure 82), Jewish and Muslim diets, and other specialty groups were allowed replacements based on their needs- "in place of meat the vegetarian ration had extra cheese and eggs and milk and very occasionally, dried bananas, figs and apricots" (Bickerstaffe, 2005). From these concerns rose a new issue – the



commodification of home economy – and made the housewife a prime target of government propaganda and nutritional understanding.

Figure 82: Vegetarian ration books

**ENTER NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF RETAILERS**

MILK *Reddy's Sea Mills*

MEAT *✓*

EGGS *✓*

FATS *✓*

CHEESE *✓*

BACON *✓*

SUGAR *✓*

**PERSONAL POINTS (SWEETS) 21**

**CLOTHING BOOK 1947-48 GENERAL CRI**

HOLDER'S NAME *WOOD S.*

ADDRESS *160 SHIREHAMPTON ROAD BRISTOL*

FOOD OFFICE CODE No. *S.W. 21*

Source: (Wood, 1951) housed at the MERL.

## THE COMMODIFICATION OF HOME ECONOMY

'I'm only a housewife, I'm afraid.' How often do we hear this shocking admission? I'm afraid when I hear it I feel very angry indeed. Only a housewife: only a practitioner of one of the two most noble professions (the other one is that of a farmer); only the mistress of a huge battery of high and varied skills and custodian of civilization itself (Seymour, 1987).

Home Economy comes under a few different names as times changed: domestic science, domestic chemistry, food technology, and home economics, being the most common. As noted in Chapter 4, the 1878 addition of domestic economy in the Education Act made cookery, needlework, and laundry work compulsory for girls, with grants and regulatory codes established in 1892 for practical cookery; interestingly, the term 'food' did not appear in curriculums until the early twentieth century when 'domestic science' became the key term with a focus on nutrition (Owen-Jackson and Rutland, 2016). This was due to the World Wars and general concerns over population we have already discussed. The connection between domestic labor and science found two forms of commentary in the Victorian and Edwardian period. The first was that the addition of domestic coursework devalued female education while other scholars, such as Nakagomi (2016), argue that the courses were more acceptable to middle-class parents as this stratum of society was seeing a reduction in domestic servant rates. 'Scientific housewifery' or 'scientific motherhood' was associated with the growing middle class who used the new advertisements, domestic advice manuals, and curriculum to communicate class-specific gendered norms (Carpenter, 2021). The redefining of domestic economy around the topics of nutrition, health, and the economic aspects of running a household along with the scientific aspects of housework, mostly through chemistry, botany, and biology, all followed the more practical aspects of laundry and cookery work and reinforced the separate spheres between masculine and feminine domains. The 'Science of cleaning' a class taught in the North London Collegiate School around 1910, for example, taught coursework in "Removal of stains caused by -/(1) Action of the atmosphere on metal/(2) Action of acids from fruits on metals and fabrics" merging chemical understanding with domestic duties (North London Collegiate School, 1910; Carpenter, 2021).

The rise of the middle class coincided with the expansion from urban centers into the surrounding countryside, now dubbed peri-urban or sub-urban areas, and the new owner-occupier homes (a rise from 10 to 31 per cent between 1914 and 1939) which changed the structure of the local neighborhood (Hill, 1994; Gunn, 2004). In addition, the rise in secondary education was explicitly understood as a way to transition to this new middle-class status, increasing social and occupational opportunities (Gunn, 2004). As we move into WWI and the Interwar period, domestic science courses reflect the changing attitudes of the middle-class and by 1940, the debate between domestic service, communal facilities, and housework centered less around the appropriateness of women in these positions and more around the refusal of middle-class women to lower themselves to doing such manual labor as was required of domestic servants (Giles, 2001). The middle-class household was conceptualized as a modern version of

the Victorian household, including its domestic servants, however, the conscription of women into the services in WWII offered potential routes out of such domestic labor for the lower, working classes. The anxiety around limited household help was one reason for the rhetoric around femininity and class that the *Report on the Post-War Organization of Private Domestic Employment* instigated. Their concerns over the stability (and expansion) of the family is directly linked to both gender and class issues in the post-WWII period. “Women were perceived as both the problem and the solution: as ‘mobile’ workers, they were essential to the economy and threatened the stability of the home... it was believed that ‘most of the nation’s brains, leadership and organizing ability’ were to be found in the middle classes...” (Giles, 2001). The shift in coursework to household or domestic ‘science’ signalled the shift in class standards from manual and craft work for the lower and working classes to the professional (potentially university) work of the middle and upper-middle class (Egan and Goodman, 2017).

Along with developments in household technology, which assisted the middle-class housewife with limited or no domestic laborers, the reframing of domestic science into domestic economy also helped in transforming the general concept of types and structures middle-class women who were working outside the home could participate in. These ‘home economists’ enjoyed positions at the new technology companies, such as Frigidaire refrigerators, or the various Electrical boards and both the MOA and MOF and could be argued as one of the ways home economy was commercialized by both commercial and governmental agencies (‘Marguerite Patten on changing attitudes to cooking’, 1988; Todd, 2004b; Huws, 2019). Likewise, the changing structure of home food production, reframing of allotments, and marketing, shifted the narrative from male to female. Before we look at potential new employment avenues for women and how food consumption patterns changed due to the war, we need to address the loss of domestic servants and how housewives took over those responsibilities.

## AN ESTIMATE OF UNPAID HOUSEHOLD LABOR

Between October 1938 and July 1945, the average wage rate increased for men about 75%, while the women’s rate increased roughly 94% across all industries. However, we can also see in Table 23 that the hours worked greatly increased for men (over five hours per week) while for women the hours increased by less than three hours (Gazeley, 2008). Part of this was due to the restrictions on women’s evening and overtime work as well as weekend work (Asquith *et al.*, 1946). The Factories Act fixed the maximum number of working hours for women at 48 from July 1938, although this had been relaxed to allow for women over age 16 to work up to 57 hours a week by Order of the Home Office as of March 1940 (Gazeley, 2008).

*Table 23: Industrial earnings, earnings per hour, and women's relative pay (shillings/week)*

All industries	Women's earnings (s/wk.)	Women's hours	Women's earnings (s/hr.)	Men's earnings (s/wk.)	Men's hours	Men's earnings (s/hr.)	Women's relative earnings (s/wk.)	Women's relative earnings (s/hr.)
Oct 1938	32.5	43.2	0.75	69	47.4	1.45	0.47	0.52
July 1943	62.17	45.9	1.35	121.25	52.9	2.29	0.51	0.59
July 1945	63.17	43.3	1.46	121.33	49.7	2.44	0.52	0.60
Oct 1947	69.58	41.5	1.68	128.08	49.6	2.75	0.54	0.61

Source: Ministry of Labour Earnings and Hours Enquiries, published in the Ministry of Labour *Gazette* (Gazeley, 2008).

Notes: Men refer to males age 21+ and women to females age 18+.

Increased earnings were not universal across all industries. Of the 16 industrial groups listed by the Ministry of Labour (1938-1947), there was little change in a third of them, including textiles and public utility services; and as we've discussed, women agricultural workers received roughly 69% that of their male counterparts (Gazeley, 2008). Additionally, all wage disputes after May 1940 that could not be managed through collective bargaining were resolved through compulsory arbitration and recorded by the National Arbitration Tribunals, employers' federations, and trades unions (Gazeley, 2006)<sup>93</sup>.

For consumers, the fluctuations in wages also meant there would be a converse fluctuation in food purchasing power. Since food is required for survival, however basic that may be, there is a guarantee of some form of consumer demand, although what is demanded and at what rate is highly debatable. The Government, in a bid to at least marginally even out food distribution across the country, created several food welfares schemes, including the 1945 National Welfare Scheme which we have reviewed. Eventually, after heated debates by Eleanor Rathborne, MP for the English Universities, the Government finally amended to pay family allowances directly to mothers, assisting in transferring, as Young declared in 1952, "...income from men to women and children" (Oren, 1973). Even with this attempt at gender equity, there was growing concern that inflation was putting pressure on working-class wives and that

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<sup>93</sup> An interesting point in the wage scale for women workers comes from the munitions industry; one of the clauses specified that for the first 32 weeks of employment, women would be considered temporary workers on probation with their pay on an increasing scale. After probation, if they were able to work without supervision, then they would be paid the same as their male counterparts. However, if a woman was employed in a factory which had previously employed females, they would be "paid on the Women's Wage Schedule or the district rate for youths and boys (whichever was higher)" (Gazeley, 2008). This of course would not have stopped an employer from letting a woman go at 30 weeks and hiring another to avoid having to increase their pay.



such subsidies would be simply stop-gap measures and not fix the ultimate problem of limiting women's ability to care for their families alone, especially as the divorce rate increased drastically in the post-war years (Mace, 1950; Oren, 1973).

Wall (2009) argues that such inequitable treatment was based upon the engendered bargaining power of male earners, while Rowntree (1901) suggested that those households which showed unequal access to resources were those where it was decided that "in order to give [the laborer] enough food, mothers and children habitually go short, for the mother knows that all depends upon the wages of her husband". Dewey (1979) also states that from the economic standpoint, capital investment returns were historically high during the period, especially during the first part of WWII, hence the need to look at not just the food production numbers, but their consumption. Yet Crowe (2007) comments that few, including Dewey himself, discuss the combined effects of 'wages, rents and feedstuffs', i.e., the consumer's purchasing power and the processing and utilization of the foods being purchased.

Although there is quite a bit of controversy over Rowntree's validity, the concept that the main earner would get the most nutritional food makes a logical form of sense, even if it does show an inherent bias in what is considered labor. Does labor refer only to cash earnings due to work outside the home? If a person supports the family through maintenance and up-keep of the home (the traditional duties of a 'housewife')- cooking, cleaning, childcare, etc.- does this labor no longer count because there is no hard cash earned for the work? If a person cooks meals to give that earner the necessary energy to go out and work, do they not contribute to the families' income? To find out just how much the housewife contributes to the family in skill, labor, and earnings, one needs to find ways to quantify the intangible.

Current research into housework and housewives' labor looks at the interplay between socio-economic condition and purchasing power (Schultz, 1999; Bryan and Sevilla-Sanz, 2011; Pateman, 2011). Rarely does the overlap discuss how the hidden aspects of family and home support (often undertaken by women and girls) adds to the families' income, since these processes are cash-less and typically considered as required daily tasks (Berg, 1991; Todd, 2004b; Mannino and Deutsch, 2007). Since most women were employed in Domestic or Personal Service, and domestic servants on farms were often used for labor inside the home and on the farm (or at least the farmyard), we can use the pay rates for these positions as proxies in a simple quantification of how much a housewife contributes to the families' income in intangible labor. Understanding this aspect allows for a more thorough review of the

skills the homemaker needed to maintain a home, especially during a time of transition and reimagining the housewife as a 'laborer'.

"The survey of the time spent in the home by most housewives established that, on average, they worked 75 hours a week, with overtime on Saturdays and Sundays. This did not take into account that a number of women were also doing part or full-time work outside the home" (Patten, 1998). There is, however, a difference between urban and rural women's duties. For the wives of agricultural workers or farm owners, there are several overlapping and yet, often invisible duties, including household chores and preparation of food and child rearing. Namely, the addition of agricultural related activities, such as small animal husbandry, farm-yard gardening, and farm-related aspects such as budgeting, hoeing, and weeding where women and children might have been used. It is taken for granted that the farmwife will do all of these things simultaneously to the point where, especially in the case of housework, "domestic labour is rendered invisible in terms of everyday concepts and perceptions of work" (Whatmore, 1991).

Within this construct, there arises specific spheres of gendered work territories or domains, mainly the farmhouse on one side and the cultivated fields on the other, while the farmyard is more ambiguous and is predominately dominated by specific tasks more than the area in general. As discussed, milking parlors and chicken coops were typically the domain of women, while the barn, blacksmith, or tool shed was the domain of men. Interestingly, it does not come down to women's cognitive ability to comprehend the differences in the spheres or the tasks that are relegated to them, but their own motivation and personal interest in doing them which might have pushed women into a supportive role. As one interviewee Gayle Brown put it in Sarah Whatmore's *Farming Women* book (1991), "the more jobs that you do the more you're expected to do...not in a nasty way, just because you are another pair of hands."

For urban women, then, we can compare a domestic servant's rate of pay and duties performed with the tasks wives and daughters undertook; while for rural agricultural women, the rate would be a domestic servant's rate *in addition* to a female farm laborers' rate, since they would undertake both aspects of work. These numbers cannot give all the variables, but it gives us a starting point to evaluate a wife's contribution to the household budget.

No list of set prices for domestic servants exists for all regions of the U.K. during the study period. For this research, we looked at adverts for domestic servants in the Portsmouth Evening News, January, and February 1936, which gave yearly rates for the following positions (Table 24):

*Table 24: Domestic servant wages (£/yr.), 1936*

Cook, General	Cook	House-Parlourmaid	Housemaid	Nannie
40-50	60-75	40-52	40	50-60

Source: (Portsmouth Evening News, 1936)

If we average the rates, we get a **general domestic service rate of £50.7/year** and though employment of servants drop drastically in the 1940s, we can take the concept as a general average for the purpose of this argument that an urban housewife would contribute a minimum of £50.7/year in non-paid labor to the household budget.

The next step is to look at the non-paid contribution of rural women. If we look at female agricultural workers versus males, we find that from 1945-1961, full-time female workers were paid roughly 69% of what full-time male workers were (*see Appendix 5* for full calculations). Applying that to the minimum weekly wage for a standard week (and weekly contract wages at 71%) we find the following estimates for women (Table 25):

*Table 25: Female agricultural workers est. avg. wages, 1945-1961*

Estimated average wage of hired regular whole-time women based upon 1961 percentages (shillings only)								
Years ended 30 September	1945/ 46	1946/ 47	1947/ 48	1948/ 49	1949/ 50	1950/ 51	1951/ 52	1952/ 53
Minimum weekly wage for the standard week (1)	49.68	55.2	62.1	63.48	64.86	68.31	74.52	77.97
Weekly contract wage (2)	58.22	65.32	71	73.13	75.26	78.81	85.2	90.17

Estimated average wage of hired regular whole-time women based upon 1961 percentages (shillings only)								
Years ended 30 September	1953/ 54	1954/ 55	1955/ 56	1956/ 57	1957/ 58	1958/ 59	1959/ 60	1960/ 61
Min wage/week (1)	82.8	85.56	91.08	97.29	102.81	106.95	109.02	114.54
Contract wage/week (2)	95.85	100.11	107.21	113.6	121.41	125.67	129.93	136.32

Source: (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1962)

Notes: 1) Using 1961 minimum wage in cash only (69%); 2) using 1961 contract wage only (71%).

Working in batches, we can estimate the following averaged yearly contributions for female agricultural workers:

- 1945-1951      £21.53-25.23
- 1951-1956      £38.75-44.30
- 1956-1961      £50.60-59.08

In comparison, a male agricultural worker could expect to make:

- 1945-1951      £31.29-32.98
- 1951-1956      £56.26-58.97
- 1956-1961      £73.32-77.2

Since the literature shows that historically women and children went without to provide for the wage-earner's nutritional requirements, we can do a very rudimentary estimate that this limits the potential for around 31% of a rural families' labor requirements and increases the chance for illness and mortality as shown in the literature (Davis, 2014; Atkinson *et al.*, 2017).

Since rural women would also be required to take care of the home, we would need to add the domestic servant rate of £50.7/year to the above rates, which means that a **rural farm wife** could roughly contribute the follow in non-paid labor to the household budget or % more than her husband:

- **1945-1951      £72.23-75.93/yr.      56.68% more than husband**
- **1951-1956      £89.45—95/yr.      37.10% more than husband**
- **1956-1961      £101.29-109.77/yr.      27.61% more than husband**

These numbers are simply estimates to put the amount of unpaid labor a woman contributes to the household budget into perspective. As we can see, the pay gap is the largest in the years directly after WWII, with the rate dropping as we move into the 1960s. Coinciding with the general pay rate for males vs. females which rising from 22.52 s./wk. to 52.36 s./wk. Now that we have an amount that domestic work might 'cost,' we cans see that women's unpaid labor should provide a reasoning for more equitable food distribution within the family. The next part is to establish how food purchasing power was affected by both the MAFF and rationing and see if/where policy changes were implemented.

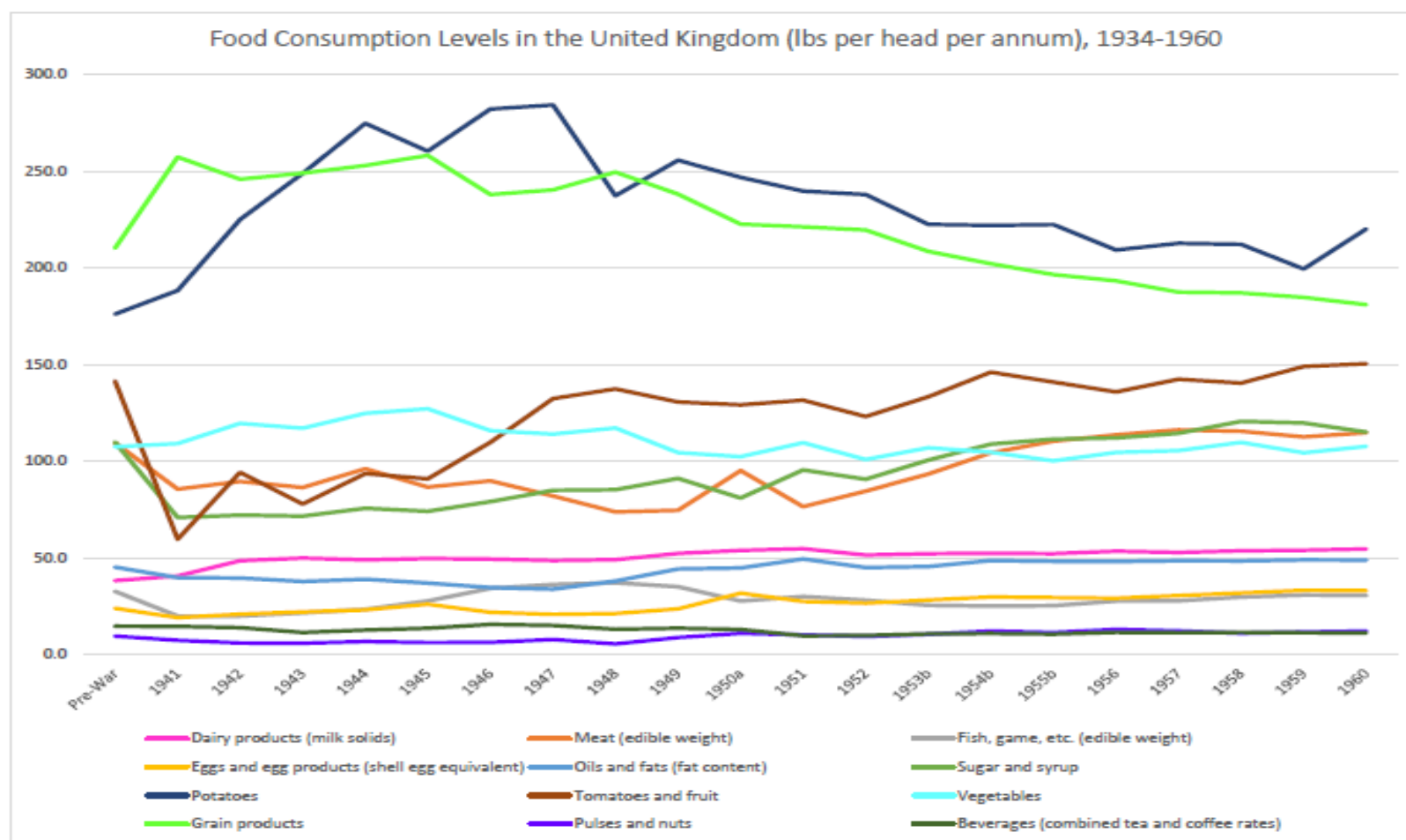
#### EFFECT OF SUBSIDIES ON RETAIL PRICES AND CONSUMER PURCHASING POWER

Since women were the primary food purchasers and home cooks, we can take the above information of food-related policy changes and scientific understanding to evaluate how rationing affected the household diet. This can be accomplished by the estimates of food supplies moving into civilian consumption provided by the report on *Food Consumption Levels in United Kingdom Cmd. 7842*, originally published in December 1949 as well as the subsequent NFS reports until 1961 (Ministry of Food, 1951). Through these records it is possible to see the changing trends across basic supplies with the most notable changes occurring in potatoes, grains, tomatoes, and fresh fruits, especially in the first two years of the NFS survey.

By comparing the data from the food consumption levels (Figure 83) with the nutritive content of food stuffs on- and off-ration, it is possible to evaluate the effects that Wills, Sinclair, Widdowson and McCane (as well as others) had on the dietary components of the public. Chemically fortified foods were included on the ration lists (namely margarine and milk), and while we were unable to find specific research as to why, one can infer that the costs associated with production made it necessary for Government subsidies to be utilized. Whereas those foods fortified naturally (by either increasing the level of bran in bread or producing the product in sufficient quantities and dropping the prices as in the case of carrots and potatoes) were promoted by lower consumer costs (off-ration) and increased recipe options.

Similarly, as more processed foods became available, the shift in supply chains offered two divergent issues: 1) more businesses meant more jobs, which opened potential routes of employment for women in the distributive trades, and 2) each new actor or agency within the chain added to the cost of the item. So, while convenience might have increased due to having less meal components to prepare from scratch, opening more time for other pursuits, it also added an expense that a housewife's budget might not have been able to afford. It is for this reason that tracking consumer purchases and comparing them to the rationing guidelines is so important (see Figure 83 below to see how purchases fluctuated pre- and post-WWII).

Figure 83: Food consumption patterns, 1934-1960



Source: (Ministry of Food, 1961)

Notes: **Highest consumption levels:** potatoes and grain products; **Medium levels:** vegetables, tomatoes/fruit, meat (edible weight), and sugar/syrup; **Lowest level:** dairy products, eggs/egg products, oils/fats, pulses/nuts, fish/game, and beverages (coffee/tea)

Consumption of the protective foods (milk and vegetables) is shown to have fallen as family incomes drop due to higher prices as compared to the cheaper energy foods. Thus, for the poorer families, food (and therefore nutrition) is rationed by price, and consumption patterns are determined by the ratio of retail price and purchasing power (Orr, 1936; Drummond *et al.*, 1940). This is markedly shown where a cheaper alternative, such as margarine and butter, can be found (see Table 26 for sample of cost vs calories below). As Drummond (1940) explains:

If we had an agricultural policy based on food requirements there would be no difficulty producing all the food needed for health. The difficulty is...to ensure equitable distribution of the food, so that every family has sufficient for its needs. We cannot get this by rationing unless the rationed amount is within the purchasing power of every family.

Hence the need to look at both issues concurrently. Caloric intake was less of a concern in the U.K. than in other countries at this time, as the cost and availability of high-calorie foods was not outside the general budget. Micronutrient deficiencies were most notable in the lack of fresh fruits, vegetables, and milk. Government rationing programs during WWII sought to fix these deficiencies by placing fortified foods on or off ration based on availability such as fortified white bread and margarine.

*Table 26: Cost of 2,000 Calories, 1940*

Item	Cost
White bread	4 ¼d.
Margarine (cheap)	4 ¼d.
Sugar	6d.
Potatoes	6 ¾d.
Meat (according to quality)	10d. – 3s.
Cheese (according to quality)	1s. 6d. – 2s. 8d.
Milk	1s. 8d.
Vegetables	2s. 7d.
Eggs	5s. 1 ¾d.
Fruit	55s. 5 ¾d.

Source: Prices: Aberdeen, January 1940 (Drummond *et al.*, 1940)

Rationed foods (shown in blue in Table 27) were supposed to ensure that everyone was able to partake in the healthful benefits of the products, with additional supplies being offered to children, nursing and/or pregnant mothers as we have noted previously. A slight decrease in the micronutrients of these foods could be based upon the high percentage of dried milk and eggs over their liquid or fresh counterparts. This was because the drying process damages vitamin content to some extent, however, the shelf life increases along with transportability, so there is a bit of ambiguity between decreased

nutrient content vs. efficiency of use in this instance. Unrationed foods (shown in green in Table 28), which were mostly the energy foods (potatoes and bread), were instead fortified by the addition of supplements or changing the processing structure, such as a higher bran content in flour, which increased almost all the micronutrients.

We know from Drummond (1940) that English farmers contributed 20 million tons of root crops (mangolds, turnips, swedes, etc.) in 1939, but these were mainly for animal feeds. For human consumption, between 4 and 4.5 million tons of potatoes, cereals, fruit and vegetables, and milk were produced, 1.3 million tons of meat and eggs and nearly half-a-million tons of sugar. These follow the levels of consumption we saw in Figure 83 and those items off ration in Table 28, confirming the Government's plan to link the two together. This section tells us three key points: 1) that nutrition should be divided amongst family members based upon perceived labor earnings is a flawed concept, 2) such a concept undermines the actual labor needs of the family unit, and 3) the growing male/female wage gap increases the perceived imbalance in labor due to more emphasis being placed on the male's cash-equivalency. With this understanding of women's contributions to the family in unpaid labor and how food purchasing was affected by government rationing schemes, we can now evaluate some of the new employment options for women in Agri-Food (and propaganda aimed at them).



Table 27: Proportion of Energy Value and Nutrients, rationed vs unrationed foods, 1945 vs. 1949

		Calories	Protein	Fat	Calcium	Iron	Vit. A	Vit. B	Riboflavin	Nicotinic Acid	Vit. C	Vit. D
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1945:	RATIONED FOODS (a)	By weight or value	29.2	16.1	55.9	10.2	15.6	29.1	11.7	16	22.8	42.3
		Points foods	7.3	7.5	6	5.4	12.4	1.6	6.7	4.5	7.1	21.1
		Milk and Eggs	10.5	18.7	15.8	49.7	7.7	19.4	12.6	41.8	3.2	4.1
		Total	47	42.3	77.7	65.3	35.7	50.1	31	62.3	33.1	4.1
1949:	RATIONED FOODS (a)	By weight or value	27.6	14.1	58	7.3	12.9	29.9	7	14.1	18.8	49.2
		Points foods	5	3.8	3.6	4	4.9	1.7	1.8	3.4	3.3	0.9
		Milk and Eggs	10.8	19.3	16.4	43.9	7.2	18.2	12.8	39.8	3.2	3.3
		Total	43.4	37.2	78	55.2	25	49.8	21.6	57.3	25.3	4.2
1945:	UNRATIONED FOODS	Bread and Flour	30.5	32.8	3.5	20	29.9		35.4	10.1	26.5	
		Potatoes	7.5	5.8	1.1	2.3	10.5		19.1	9.4	17.3	41.9
		Fresh Vegetables	1	2.2		5.1	6.1	34.3	4.9	5	5.6	42.9
		Other Foods	14	16.9	17.7	7.3	17.8	15.6	9.6	13.2	17.5	11.1
		Total	53	57.5	22.3	34.7	64.3	49.9	69	37.7	66.9	95.9
1949:	UNRATIONED FOODS	Bread and Flour	29.8	32.9	3.3	29.6	33.8		41.2	17.1	29.1	
		Potatoes	7.8	5.9	1.4	2	9.6		18.3	6.9	17.6	42.2
		Fresh Vegetables	0.8	1.7		3.3	4.6	21.5	3.9	3	3.2	34.3
		Other Foods	18.2	22.3	17.3	9.9	27	28.7	15	15.7	24.8	19.3
		Total	56.6	62.8	22	44.8	75	50.2	48.4	42.4	74.7	95.8

Source: (Ministry of Food, 1951)

Notes: (a) either rationed or subject to some form of controlled distribution

## DOING BUSINESS WITH GENDER: CATERING ESTABLISHMENTS

For women working outside the home, limited time to cook was offset by new catering establishments, factory canteens, and ready-made meals. Communal feeding centers were set up to feed the poor who could not afford private restaurant prices and for factory workers who were unable to return home for lunch. These were renamed “British Restaurants” since the name communal feeding centers sounded too Communist (Spicer, 2004). In 1943, at their height of service, 2,160 such restaurants were serving around 600,000 meals a day with smaller ‘Cash and Carry Restaurants’ serving boxed meals for take aways in less populated areas. Food waste often went to the local pig clubs for animal feed<sup>94</sup> (Cook’s Info, no date). Those operations, called Canteens, attached to factories (mandatory for any operation with over 250 employees) served seventy-nine million meals by 1941 alone (Spicer, 2004). Both the British Restaurants and Canteens were just one way of dealing with the restaurant restrictions of July 1940. The first regulations declared that one could not serve both fish and meat in the same meal, which meant fish as a starter and meat as a main meal fell off the menus. In June 1942, the restrictions further specified that meals were limited to three courses and that restaurants could charge no more than 5s. a meal (sans alcohol and coffee). This, of course, meant that restaurants served smaller portions.

You need no ration card for restaurants, although a waiter will serve only one meal to a person at a sitting, and that limited to three courses or five shillings expenditure. Swanky places get around the quality barrier by adding a stiff cover charge, but the three courses are never exceeded. A soup or hors d’oeuvres, an entrée and a dessert are regulation. Coffee and drinks are extra. The maitre d’hotel or waiter may “save” a portion of joint for old customers, but a late diner will inevitably find the menu exhausted and only sausage or mushrooms available (Cook’s Info, no date; Johnson, 1943).

Fish and chips were never rationed, although fat for frying was an issue. The low cost meant the meal became popular amongst the working classes, although, as Kathleen Hey mentioned in her diary, the cost of getting to a local restaurant made access limited to locals. Women employed within the food sector and the Women’s Institutes assisted in technological innovation and adoption that helped preserve and distribute food through supplemental meals for workers outside the home; something the MOF had built into the rationing scheme’s formula.

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<sup>94</sup> Pig clubs were set up around the country. Sometimes by schools or social organisations like the WI and other times by individuals or streets. The clubs themselves were not gendered unless the organisation managing them (like the WI) was for a specific purpose.

These informal meals at work and school evolved into popular canteens of the period; by 1943, the requirements for factory canteens (Figure 84) were extended to all factories employing more than 250 people and most large businesses, local authorities, and schools. Factory canteens rose from 1,500 in 1939 to 18,500 by 1945 and mobile canteens providing free meals for bombed areas were coordinated by the MOF and largely funded by US donations (Cook's Info, no date). The women working in the canteens and restaurants inevitably fed more people during wartime than they would have had they stayed at home.

This reframing of the housewife as a 'war worker' in a canteen or kitchen is key to this Chapter and needs to be thought of in terms of the skills they would have needed to possess: the ability to scale and cook recipes, keep the kitchens clean and organized, order appropriate supplies, and be quick and efficient, all along with the stress and mental load of doing all of this under potential bombings, infrastructure issues (black and brown-outs), and water and sanitation issues; not to mention the costs and scheduling of workers.

*Figure 84: Factory canteen, 1943*



Source: (Cook's Info, no date)

Mrs. Flora Solomon ran the staff canteen at Marks & Spencer's London store during the WWII. Inspired by the Londoners' Meals Service (free mobile canteens), she discussed the idea of a similar public eating center to Lord Woolton. The first 'Communal Feeding Centre,' as she called it, was set up in the Kensington area of London and used Marks & Spencer's store personnel as staff. In 1941, the Newcastle center's menu contained a soup, meat with two vegetables, a sweet and a cup of tea<sup>95</sup> (Figure 85). Like

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<sup>95</sup>Item, price in 1941, (Modern pricing): Soup 2d (1p); Meat with two vegetables 7d (3p); Sweet 2d (1p); Cup of Tea 1d (½p).

the canteens, they were run by Local Food Committees, including the NFWI on a non-commercial basis. They also operated only at meal times, such as from 12 to 2:30pm and had a set maximum price of 9d (Cook's Info, no date).

*Figure 85: British Restaurant*



Source: (Smith, 1943)

The restaurants were run like a cafeteria, with consumers purchasing an off-ration ticket before queuing to select their three courses. By 1942, however, demand for paper saw the creation of plastic tokens (Figure 86) which were color coded to the type of item purchased. Yellow for soup, red for meat, green for sweets, and brown/black for tea/coffee. They were also created in two sizes, 1.25" for adults and 1" for children. The tokens were dropped into locked boxes at the appropriate line (Museum of Design in Plastics, 2018).

*Figure 86: Tickets and Tokens for the British Restaurants, 1940s*



Source: (Museum of Design in Plastics, 2018)

One of the largest British Restaurants was Woolworths in Blackpool (considered the largest in the world when it opened in 1938). The restaurant operated over two floors and was open from dawn to 11 pm during the War and became a favorite hang-out for the local airmen and tourists. Their September 1941 menu (Figure 87) shows a propensity towards seafood, which was local and non-rationed, and sweets such as tarts and custard sauce which utilized new dehydration methods as a way to extend milk and egg production (Woolworths Museum, 2017).

A key change was in how such restaurants used the food they were provided. The invention of dehydrating allowed for dried custard powder to be shelf-stable and cheaper than making it fresh and included valuable nutrients from the contained dehydrated milk solids. Dr. Annie Gray believes that such a transition in food preparation ushered in the era of ready and frozen meals.


It paved the way for ready meals later on because dehydrated foods also became popular – things like mash – and continued after the war. Then of course, frozen foods were part of this technological change that was brought about due to the war... World War Two ushered in... the move towards tinned, frozen and dehydrated foods (BBC Food, 2020).

However, figures collected by the Wartime Social Survey showed that none of the British Restaurants, and few of the factory canteens, provided evening meals. Dock workers (the largest represented supplied group at 47%) were provided with less than half of their mid-day meals by the restaurants, while female textile workers were among the lowest at 12% (Summerfield, 1983). Both occupations were amongst the lowest paid, which meant that not having meals provided added additional strain in time and cost to those families, and in the case of female textile workers, the added job of preparing a meal in addition to their shift. Demand for evening meals increased until early 1943, when around a hundred restaurants operated in the evenings. One way the issue was minimized was by limiting evening meals to only those factory workers who were billeted at lodges without kitchen facilities (Hammond, 1956).

Likewise, though both the canteens and British Restaurants were one of the most productive MOF propaganda schemes, they were not universally loved. Sir William Darling explained that the restaurants were “brutal in their cooking [and] brutal in their presentation of food” (Ziegler, 1995). The small portions and unpalatable tastes, as well as long queues sparked both controversy and discontent amongst the populace and a steady increase in black market activity rose as additional restrictions were placed on the populace (Wansink, 2002; Spicer, 2004; Hill and Newport, 2005).



Figure 87: Woolworth's Blackpool Cafe menu, 1941

F. W. WOOLWORTH & CO., LTD., BANK HEY STREET AND PROMENADE.	
LUNCHEON.	TEA.
Sept. 22, 1941	Served 2-30 p.m. to 7 p.m.
Served 12-0 noon to 2-30 p.m.	
By arrangement with the Food Ministry only the Fish OR Meat Courses can be Served to each Customer.	
	
SOUPS	BEVERAGES
Thick Vegetable ..... 3d.	Tea ..... 2d. and 3d.
Split Pea ..... 3d.	Horlick's Malted Milk ..... 3d.
Dinner Cob. .... 4d.	Ovaltine ..... 4d.
	Coffee ..... 2d. and 3d.
	Bovril and Biscuit ..... 3d.
	Minerals (Various) ..... 3d.
FISH	FISH
<b>TO-DAY WE RECOMMEND</b>	<b>YOUR TEA TO-DAY</b>
<b>Split Lobster Salad 1/-</b>	<b>Fried Fillet of Codling 9d.</b>
Fried Fillet of Cod ..... 9d.	Salmon Cutlet & Green Peas... 6d.
Fried Salmon Cutlet, Parsley	Fried Fishcake and Chips ..... 6d.
Sauce and Chips ..... 6d.	Fried Fillet of Haddock ..... 9d.
OR	Fried Fillet of Codling ..... 9d.
ENTREE	GRILLES AND SAVOURIES
<b>TO-DAY'S SUGGESTION</b>	<b>WE RECOMMEND</b>
<b>Lancashire Meat &amp; Potato Pie 7d.</b>	<b>Grilled Pork Sausages 6d.</b>
Meat Pie & Chipped Potatoes 6d.	Grilled Pork Sausage (2) ..... 5d.
Hot Meat Pie and Baked Beans 6d.	Sausage Roll and Peas ..... 6d.
Grilled Pork Sausages ..... 6d.	Baked Beans on Toast ..... 6d.
Fried Lamb's Liver ..... 7d.	Hot Meat or Pork Pie & Chips 6d.
OR	Cottage Pie and Tomato ..... 6d.
<b>YOUR LUNCH TO-DAY</b>	Savoury Rissole and Peas ..... 6d.
<b>Roast Shoulder Lamb and Mint Sauce 7d.</b>	SUNDRIES AND SWEETS
VEGETABLES	<b>FOR YOUR SWEET</b>
Potatoes Mashed, Boiled,	<b>Layer Cake 3d.</b>
Baked or Chipped ..... 3d.	Various Fancies ..... 2d.
Boiled New Potatoes ..... 4d.	Fruit Jelly ..... 3d.
Baked Beans ..... 3d.	Blanc Mange ..... 3d.
Mashed Carrots and Turnips 5d.	Fruit Tart or Flan ..... 3d.
Dressed Cabbage ..... 5d.	Layer Cake ..... 3d.
	Fruit Salad ..... 7d.
	White Bread and Butter ..... 2d.
	Brown Bread and Butter ..... 2d.
	Roll and Butter ..... 2d.
	50% Butter and 50% Margarine Mixture served.
HOT SWEETS	COLD BUFFET
<b>TO-DAY'S SWEET</b>	<b>SERVED ICE COLD</b>
<b>Steamed Fruit Roll &amp; Custard Sauce 3d.</b>	<b>Fresh Salmon Salad 9d.</b>
College Pudding & Custard S 3d.	Meat Pie and Salad ..... 7d.
Raisin Roll & Custard Sauce 3d.	Corned Beef ..... 7d.
Apple Tart, Custard Sauce 3d.	Brisket of Beef ..... 7d.
Plum Tart and Custard Sauce 3d.	Cold Brawn ..... 7d.
	Salmon Salad ..... 9d.
	Sardine Salad ..... 7d.
	Tripe Salad ..... 7d.

Source: (Woolworths Museum, 2017)

Like the canteens and restaurants, school dinners, which were not standard pre-war, became standardized as part of the Government programs. Pre-WWII, only about 250,000 meals were provided to school children each day, while 1.85 million were provided by the end.

Things like milk in schools went on for a very long time, because calcium was really important for young children. The idea that the Government would actually interfere with lives, which had been fully accepted and indeed embraced for most of the war, did carry on. There's still a sense that the Government should pay for school dinners for children who can't afford them or who have issues at home and need them (BBC Food, 2020).

However, school meals (though greatly expanded during the war) only accounted for one-third of school-age children at its height (Summerfield, 1983). Additionally, reports from the years right after the war also show that although the Government had listed certain dietary requirements for the general public, specifically milk and bread, consumption levels were no more than 75% of the desired amount for milk and the ratios of wheat needed to be increased to 80% for bread to contain the required nutrients (Magee, 1946).

The discrepancy between the MOF's goal of providing lost-cost food that followed both the rationing schemes and the dietary needs proposed by the MOH and the actuality of creating food that both tasted good and satisfied hunger is one that had little chance of fully succeeding, considering the issues around food procurement during wartime, although the policies that created these facilities were founded on positive reinforcement of Government ideas on diet and nutritional information. In November, 1940, the Minister of Food declared that "if every man, woman and child could be sure of obtaining at least one hot nourishing meal a day, at a price all could afford, we should be sure of the nation's health and strength during the war," though such a thought would be considered the bare minimum requirements from today's standards (Hammond, 1956). The restaurants and canteens, with their food offering being off-ration, sparked a different form of controversy from the Meat and Livestock and Rationing Divisions, who were in the middle of their own supply crisis. They were concerned with the prospect of increased quantities of meat being consumed without ration coupons (or potentially the addition of eating coupons instead of ration coupons), though neither of these occurred.

What did happen was the MOF pushed for more control (and finance) from the local county councils in the creation of the British Restaurants. The final approved financial scheme (which remained unchanged until the Civic Restaurants Act of 1946) offered 100% reimbursement on approved capital expenditure and approved operating deficiencies if the facilities were run on a fully self-supporting basis. The offer

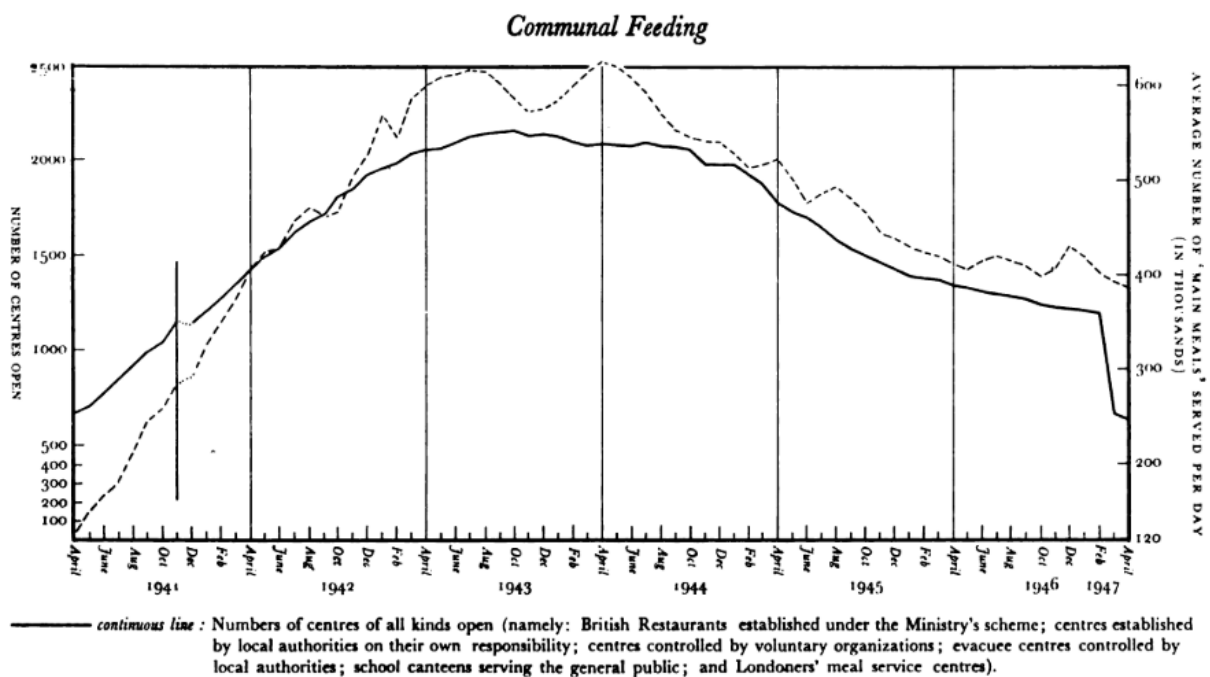
was on a case-by-case basis and could be withdrawn at any point. The local authorities took this to mean that the Ministry would handle all losses except for gross inefficiency and were put out when it became clear that they would not, leaving the councils to pay for the restaurants themselves. This was one of the primary reasons voluntary organizations like the WI took over most of the centers.

There was also a discrepancy in the location of both the restaurants and the canteens. By 1943, roughly one-quarter were operating inside London, one-quarter in three Northern Divisions, around 250 centers in the Midlands, and 200 in the Southern Division centered at Reading (mostly due to large evacuee numbers) (Figure 88). There did not appear to be a marked division between rural and industrial cities and lack of centers seems to be more about local circumstances (eating out habits, size of industrial operations, financial capabilities of local councils, and local catering offerings) (Hammond, 1956).

Rural Districts, and more specifically, farm workers, who were unable to attend one of the restaurants or canteens, were reliant on what came to be known as 'Pie Centres.' These licensed catering establishments manufactured and distributed meat pies and snacks on a voluntary basis. The predominantly home baked items were granted a 'category B' allowance of 1.5d. of additional meat per packaged meal supplied (Hammond, 1956). When cooking facilities were unavailable, a local baker might be arranged to handle the cooking. Divisional Food Officers were provided with lists of locations by the Farm Workers Unions. They then contacted the Women's Voluntary Services and Women's Institutes to set-up shops. By July 1942, several hundred Pie Centres were in operation in the Southern, South-Eastern, and Eastern Divisions totalling about a half million pies being sold, by 1946, this number had reached 1.3 million (Hammond, 1956).



Figure 88: Number of Communal Feeding centers and meals eaten, 1941-1947



Source: (Hammond, 1956)

Local restaurants, who argued against the feeding centers, were concerned that their allocation of food stuffs and employees would be diminished by the creation of these new centers. The MOF argued that the feeding centers were aimed at a section of the populace that would not have been able to afford the typical restaurants and that no preference was given regarding allocation of resources or staff. Their reassurances did little good and a public perception war was launched for each new offering made by the centers, including afternoon tea, the use of centers for private functions, advertisements, and higher-class neighborhoods (Hammond, 1956). The one arena the centers had access to that the caterers did not, was the ability to expand into new markets and loans for equipment from the MOF. In fact, the Excess Profits Tax made it almost impossible for smaller caterers to expand their existing business (Hammond, 1956). The only location where caterers tried to recreate the center format – Rhyl – was dismissed as being inadequate to local needs.

The centers, as part of the Essential Work Order of 1942, had to pay wages to employees at rates suggested by the Joint Industrial Council. By 1944, at least three-quarters of local councils were doing so, with only 40% of all employees nationwide being listed as voluntary in nature and these only for an hour or two at a time when conditions demanded additional assistance (Hammond, 1956). Overall,

wages were like those found in commercial restaurants and offered opportunities for entry into the Food Service sector where there might not otherwise have been.

#### DOING BUSINESS WITH GENDER: FEMALE COOK AND WAR-TIME MEALS ADVISERS

As noted, the primary goal of the centers was low-cost, nutritional food. However, an inquiry into the nutritional quality of the offerings varied drastically across the country. Vitamin C content was especially low and the caloric value of most meals averaged around 630, almost half of the preferred 1,000 calories the MOF and MOH recommended. The Ministry attempted to fix such deficiencies by establishing War-Time Meals Advisers and, eventually, Cook Advisers to train local cooks. Only twelve of the latter were appointed and with limited War-Time Advisers, the positions were eventually merged. One option was for professional chefs, often women, to become travelling teachers/advisers. These positions were run by both the MOF and the MOA and often had the backing of specific industries, such as the Electrical Board or Milk Marketing Board.

Sisters Elsie (1893-1990) and Doris Waters (1899-1978), who had become “the most successful female double-act in the history of British music hall and variety” with their comedy act *Gert and Daisy* were one such (Dixon, 2013). Born in the East-London community of Bromley-by-Bow to lower-middle class parents Ted and Maud Waters (amateur singers and parents of six children), the pair attended Coborn School for Girls and the Guildhall School of Music, making their first appearance on BBC Radio in 1927. They created the iconic characters *Gert and Daisy* (Elsie and Doris, respectively) in 1930 (Dixon, 2013).

During WWII, they broadcast hints for cooking and home maintenance, gave cooking demonstrations under the MOA (Figure 89), and were given government passes to make trips to entertain troops stationed around the world.

Figure 89: 'Gert and Daisy', MOA Cookery demonstration, 1940

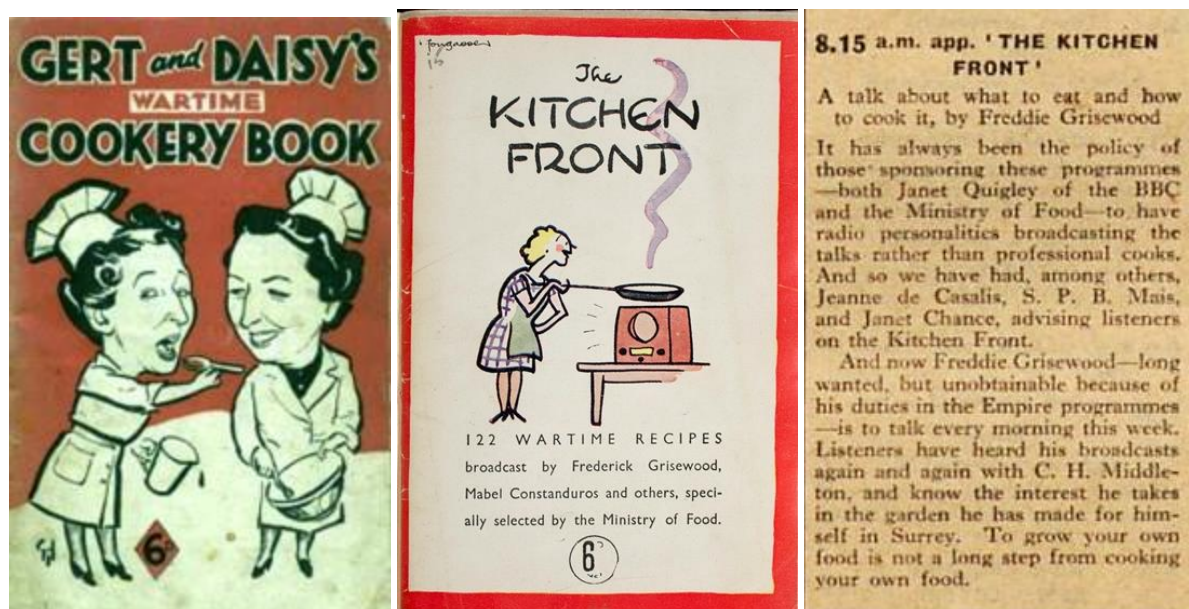


Source: (Getty Images, 1940)

They performed *Feed the Brute* for two-weeks in April 1940, a five-minute program performed at the end of the 6 o'clock evening news to give advice and recipes (Figure 90). As Doris explained in a 2013 interview:

We were put on the air for a fortnight after the 6 o'clock news. It was a terrible time. They had a terrific response to these broadcasts. The Ministry of Food gave us the subjects we were to put forward, like 'Grow More Green Vegetables' or 'Eat More Oatmeal,' and we thought: 'Gawd, what's funny about oatmeal?' We used to give recipes. ... They had 60,000 letters at the Ministry of Food in a fortnight after our broadcasts and we thought that this was something so big that we had to do something about it...we asked the Ministry if they would like us to go around and attend these meetings that were arranged through the gas companies and the electricity companies. The Ministry realised that women would want help with rationing, because they lived out of tins even in those days. And we said that wherever we were appearing, we would attend these cookery demonstrations. We used to do five a day sometimes, trying to get people to save food (Dixon, 2013).

Figure 90: Covers of Gert and Daisy's Wartime Cookery Book and the MOF's The Kitchen Front leaflet



Source: (BBC Home Service, 1940; Cooke, 2013; Dixon, 2013)

Notes: From the Radio Times, week beginning 11 October, 1940. Listing for The Kitchen Front, Monday, 14 October, 1940, 08:15.

Following the *Feed the Brute* sketches, the MOF created *The Kitchen Front* (13 June 1940) to promote their Food Economy campaign. The radio program had a regular audience attendance of 5-7 million and was one of the BBC's most popular shows during the war. Mass Observation, who analyzed public response to the April broadcasts, "found that positive comments outweighed negative by 8 to 1, and that the information given on food was regarded as useful"<sup>96</sup>. 'This experimental series was an undoubted success, and revealed a valuable new method of giving out serious educational instruction to millions of housewives'" (Cooke, 2013). The MOA found the medium of radio to be more effective than the print media of the period and used it extensively to influence opinion and behavior during the war. *The Kitchen Front*, however, did not change the eating habits of the nation in the long-run, it would take a different form of mass media to do that (BBC Home Service, 1940; Dixon, 2013).

Another popular presenter on *The Kitchen Front* was Marguerite Patten, who was born in Bath in 1915, but raised in Barnet, Hertfordshire. After her father died when she was twelve, she started helping her mother cook while her mother went back to work as a primary school teacher. After school she became

<sup>96</sup> 300 London and Lancashire listeners were interviewed regarding the program (BBC Home Service, 1940; Dixon, 2013).

an actress for nine months, and then moved to Frigidaire (1935) where she was a senior home economist explaining the benefits of the new refrigerators and cookers. Her background in repertory assisted in becoming one of the highest paid females in the electrical industry at the time. The Electrical Association for Women in London offered trainings and support for women in the field, of which Patten took advantage of during the two-years she worked for them (1938-39) (Patten, Smith and Imperial War Museum, 1996).

As WWII loomed, the position ended and she moved to Lincoln where she started to give cookery demonstrations for the electricity company in collaboration with the local authority (1940-41); a large part of her demonstrations dealt with cooking on rations and antiquated equipment such as oil and paraffin stoves. She was later brought on by the MOF as a home economist where she travelled the country demonstrating ration cooking with the Food Advice Centres in markets, shops, factories, canteens, and welfare clinics. Such centers managed information on rations, cooking unrationed foods, and focused on making sure the public understood who was entitled to extras such as milk and cheese (Patten, Smith and Imperial War Museum, 1996).

She recalled that:

...[h]ome-grown vegetables were a very important part of our diet. We were encouraged to eat plenty of potatoes in place of bread, which used imported wheat, and for the valuable vitamins they contain. Carrots, parsnips and swedes were also used in a variety of recipes and green vegetables were very important and great emphasis was placed on cooking them correctly (Patten, Smith and Imperial War Museum, 1996).

*Figure 91: Marguerite Patten giving cookery demonstration*

Source: (Goodacre, 2015)

An interesting, yet often underreported on aspect of gender in the FNS, is the gendered construct surrounding clothing. Just like in the WLA, preconceived social implications revolve around how certain genders and professions are portrayed. Male chefs for example, are shown in the media wearing chef's jackets, whereas female chefs are often in dresses or blouses (Chen *et al.*, 2020). Of course, wealth and status also altered perceptions around clothing, and the "spread of male fashion to female wardrobes thus had two explanations...high status women adopted...to show their importance...[and] elite women started to adopt male interests, creating a need for more functional clothes" (Daybell *et al.*, 2020). In all the aforementioned photos, the women are shown wearing dresses, reinforcing the feminization of housework and cooking maintaining the concept of separate spheres, even while professionalizing home economy.

As part of the Food Advice division of the MOF (Figure 91), Patten helped take the nutritional information provided by researchers such as Widdowson, Sinclair and Wills, and then combine them with her training as a home economist to create economic recipes and menus. She pushed for less food waste within the home, but acknowledged that the restrictions of rationing and the issue of transportation, required more creativity from the home cook.

People so often say to me 'Look we're an island, we're surrounded by sea, we could get plenty of fish.' No, we couldn't get plenty of fish, our trawler men, our trawlers were used for other

purposes, and therefore our supply of fish was not as large as one would imagine...But if you lived away from the coast transport was difficult and often it took too long to get the fish, say to a place like Birmingham, and therefore you'll find a lot of my recipes have got spiced fish, curried fish, savoury fish, in other words we weren't turning bad fish into good fish, but we were rather camouflaging the rather odd taste (AP Television and Universal Archives, 2009).

Food Advice Centers (Figure 92), like the ones Marguerite Patten visited, were created, and maintained by around 15,000 volunteer food specialists (teachers of domestic science, dieticians, school meals organizers, hospital, and public health workers, etc). such centers were geared towards women who were the primary food purchasers and cooks in both homes and catering services. Studies of women's magazines<sup>97</sup> from 1940-1954 (the entirety of rationing) showed that print media was commonly used to promote nutritional information and the patriotic nature of appropriate cooking to keep the population fed during the war. They also actively promoted rationing policies, including food pricing and food subsidies, and used easy to understand 'common' language and images to promote Government schemes such as appropriate diets (Barker and Burrridge, 2013). The addition of radio, and then television, assisted in the dissemination of such information beyond the MOF Advice Centers.

*Figure 92: MOF advice exhibition, London, 1943*



Source: (Cook's Info, no date)

<sup>97</sup> Those being 150 issues of Woman and Home and Woman's Own.



## DOING BUSINESS WITH GENDER: WOMEN IN THE DISTRIBUTIVE TRADES

The Cookery Advisers were necessary in teaching the public how to deal with war-time restrictions, but they were not the only ones taking on these tasks. As we saw, the marketing of commodities changed food consumption patterns and ultimately the nutritional content of the household diet with an emphasis on healthier, fresh foods being more readily available for those families with excess spending money, while the rationing programs of the wars assisted in greatly reducing the socio-economic gap regarding purchasing power. At the same time, the association of science and the domestic duties of a housewife offered new avenues for women of various classes, however, most were geared towards middle-class women, with those of the upper-classes moving into full-time research scientist roles.

Distributive trades is one of those terms that says very little about what it means and yet is of vital importance to keeping an economy running. Defined as any employment related to the wholesale and retail trade, including household goods, when discussed in relation to food production it usually refers to grocery sales and transportation (Anderton *et al.*, 2011). The link between grocery shops (managed by the MOF during WWII) and public perception has three primary agents: the grocer/shop assistant, the consumer, and the Government or marketing agency overseeing it. By managing all aspects of food processing and sales, marketing, health and safety, price controls, suppliers/distributors, transportation, etc., the MOF can be considered the primary government 'agent' on this side of the farm gate. Modern policies are a bit different, but the Groceries Code Adjudicator, an independent regulator of retailers, can be thought of as a simplified modern version (UK Government, 2022).

From an employment standing, the role of women in the distributive trades during WWII fell into several categories, but none were more obvious and yet overlooked than the shop assistant, especially at grocery stores.

Mr. Rhys Davies, Westhoughton, explains that (UK Parliament, 1940):

...of considerable importance to the 2,500,000 shop assistants of the country, ...[is] the important question of shop hours, for although the issue may not be of great consequence to some people, I assure [the] Honourable Members that it is of the utmost importance to the large number of young men and especially young women employed in the distributive trades.

When we are at war, one of the first industries to be upset is the distributive trade. It employs more people, and certainly more young people, than any other three industries in the



land...[and t]he majority of the young persons employed in the distributive trade[s] are young women and girls, and they are naturally more easily exploited than in almost any other occupation... When a young assistant employed behind the counter for a wage of, say, £2 10s. a week is conscripted for the Army, a woman takes his place at a wage of 30s. a week.

When I speak of the regulation of hours of labour in shops in relation to young persons, I ought to make it abundantly clear that there is no regulation whatsoever of the hours of labour of an adult man or woman in shop life. Strangely, legislation in this country has always safeguarded women and young persons in factories, but has never safeguarded women employés (sic) in shops.

Mr. Jagger, Manchester Clayton, also spoke on the topic, but from the point of view of rationing (UK Parliament, 1940):

The whole scheme of rationing, the carrying-out of which is placed upon the shop assistants, has been carried through without the shop assistants being consulted. To the shop assistant it represents additional work. Rationing alone will add hours and hours to the unpaid overtime of practically every shop assistant in this country who is not powerfully enough organised in his trade union to be able to get payment for overtime.

Yorkshire grocery shop assistant, Kathleen Hey writes in her Mass Observation diary on 3 September 1941: "Curious how 'het up' everyone gets over food, much more than over the war, or raids or road accidents or America coming, or the blackout. They are resigned about all these latter things, but food really hits the tender spot" (Hey, 2016). Hey, who worked with her sister at her brother-in-law's grocery in Dewsbury, often discusses her frustration at both the Government for their lack of consideration when implementing changes to the rations and at the customers who could not be bothered to look up the information for themselves and instead argued that it was the shopkeeper's duty to manage their ration points, coupons, and books. Similarly, when Lord Woolton promotes the British Restaurants, she notes that the nearest is a 2d. bus ride away and that the relative poverty of the area precludes most from eating outside the home even if the local culture allowed for such.

As Dr. Sian Nicholas explains, "nothing signals an emergency as much as disruption to food in the shops" and nothing creates an emergency better than a World War (BBC Home Service, 1940). Though, WWII was not the first-time confusion around rationing and home food production in gardens and allotments occurred. While WWI saw some level of both, the new mass media of WWII brought the issue to the

press in a variety of ways and highlighted the rural/urban divide. In addition, education and comprehension around Government nutritional programs were portrayed in confusing ways, with the biggest issue being the lack of incorporation of the information into practical and easy to use bites. Prof. V.H. Mottram, in an article presented to the Royal Institution of Great Britain (1940) describes the housewife's difficulty in understanding and utilizing the nutritional information provided to them.

She would have to know and cater for many different daily needs of calories, of two types of proteins, of at least four inorganic substances – two metals and two-non-metals- and of seven different vitamins....[She] buys her foods at six different shops or possibly departments in the department store...it would be almost impossible for the housewife to cater [to the family] scientifically (Drummond, 1940).

Such concerns were one of the reasons behind the MOF's continued attempts at teaching the public about food and food production through mass media. Yet the question of how effective such materials is less than comprehensive. Analysis of the public's perceptions, then, needed to be undertaken and their views integrated into the MOF schemes. We have discussed MO before and how the project allowed certain programs to be evaluated directly after they occurred, however, the MO also requested diarists from around the country to keep journals about their experiences and answer specific questions in periodic letter communications called 'directives.'

These diaries give an interesting insight into the everyday lives of the people who wrote for them, but the process for becoming an MO diarist was not equal across the country and those dairies utilized in this research are again limited by what was available for access at the time of writing (Summerfield, 1985). Of the 200 diarists during the war, this research was only able to review two individual diaries and two anthologies due to availability during the COVID-19 lockdown. As such, the selections should be taken as general context instead of specific notations on what food access was like, what the rural/urban interaction entailed and the general understanding of food, nutrition, and women's daily tasks.

#### *NELLA LAST AND THE MASS OBSERVATION DIARISTS*

One of the most prolific MO diarists during WWII was Mrs. Nella Last, whose memoirs became the basis for the television show, movie, and play - 'Housewife, 49'. Living in Barrow-in-Furness, in Cumberland, she raised two sons during WWII and wrote extensively for MO for over thirty years (Last, 2006). Barrow was known for its shipbuilding yard, where some of the Royal Navy was built, including the Royal Navy's

first submarine in 1901. Germany targeted the shipyard during WWII, with the most damage (named the Barrow blitz) occurring between April and May 1941 where eighty-three people were killed and around 11,000 homes damaged or destroyed. Some residents took to the hedges living wild to avoid the bombing while others evacuated permanently (Wikipedia, 2022).

Tuesday, 19 December, 1939

There was very little bacon in town today and women were anxiously asking each other if they knew of a shop which had any in. We eat so little bacon and cheese, but I'll get my ration and start using it in place of other things – meat and fish – in my cooking. Fish is very dear and, in my budget, not worth the price for the nourishment. I've always been used to making 'hotel' meals, as the boys call them – soup, a savoury and a sweet. If one is a good cook and manager, it's the cheapest way in the long run – cheaper than getting a big roast and chops and steaks for frying (Last, 2006).

Nella Last's discussion on the scarcity of goods predates food rationing, which began on January 8, 1940. Limited food options predated many of the Government's official rations and the very item she complains about - bacon - was one of the first items to be rationed during WWII. Similar issues arise during large-scale disruptions in supply chains, such as was found during the COVID-19 pandemic (Costa-Font and Revoredo-Giha, 2020; Workie *et al.*, 2020). An item to keep in mind though, is that solicitors, bank managers and other professionals - like the Lasts - earning over £1,000/year, would have been financially quite well off, and as such, her commentary about food needs to be taken from an upper-middle class viewpoint. Table 28 shows specific rationing changes from 1940-1954, these changes were initiated to mitigate access issues and promote specific foods that had been fortified with vitamins.

Additionally, typical urban amenities like running water were oftentimes absent in rural communities. Nella describes a trip to see her aunt and cousins in the Lake District just weeks after food rationing began, such trips became less frequent as the war progressed due to petrol and tire rationing/shortages, although other diarists describe trips via rail and bus, including WLA members.

Saturday, 21 January, 1940

Aunt Sarah was placidly filling a pan with snow to boil for washing-up, for the river where she gets her washing water was frozen. She said they had been lucky enough to fill all their buckets and jars the day before, as she had thought the pump might be frozen today. She said if they

could not get water from the pump for a while, there was always snow for the kettle; and when I felt shocked at boiled snow for tea, she said logically enough that snow, rain and well-water all came from the same place in the first instance! Not a word of grumble out of her, bless her (Last, 2006).

*Table 28: Key dates in food rationing, 1940-1954*

Date	Item
January 8, 1940	First foods rationed were butter (4 oz), sugar (12 oz) and ham or bacon (4 oz), per person per week
March 11, 1940	Meat added to the ration by price: per person up to 1 shilling and 10 pence on meat, any meat, any cut
July, 1940	Tea 2 oz./person/week
March, 1941	Jam, marmalade, syrup, and treacle added (8 oz. per month)
May 5, 1941	Cheese added to ration list. 1 oz./person/week
June, 1941	Cheese changed to 2 oz./person/week
July, 1941	Sugar ration doubled for summer months to encourage people to make their own fruit preserves
November, 1941	Controls on liquid milk
January, 1942	Rice and dried fruit added
February 9, 1942	Condensed milk, breakfast cereals, tinned tomatoes, tinned peas, and soap added
July 26, 1942	Sweets and chocolate added
August, 1942	Biscuits added
December, 1942	Oats (flaked and rolled) added
1943	Sausages added
June, 1943	Jam (or syrup) ration could be taken in sugar instead
May 2, 1945	Bacon ration cut from 4 oz. to 3 oz., cooking fats from 2 oz. to 1 oz., and part of the weekly meat allowance (reduced to 1 shilling and 6 pence by this point) had to be taken in corned beef
July 21, 1946	Bread rationing introduced
1947	Potato rationing introduced
July 25, 1948	Flour and bread rationing ends
May 19, 1950	Rationing ends for fruit (tinned and dried), jellies, mincemeat, syrup, treacle and chocolate biscuits,
1950	Sliced, wrapped bread allowed again at stores
October 3, 1952	Tea rationing ends
February 5, 1953	Sweet (candy) rationing ends
September, 1953	Sugar rationing ends
July 4, 1954	All remaining rationing ends

Source: (Cook's Info, no date)

One of the interesting aspects of the diaries is the description of very mundane cultural aspects of the locations of the diarists. Though most were in urban centers close to London, the Lasts lived in Cumberland on the waterfront.

Friday, 8 November, 1940

It's the custom for the fish and fruit shops in Barrow to print their special outside the window in a small brush dipped in whitening: 'SPECIAL! RABBITS. CRABS.' The better-class shops never do, and I was really amused by one such shop today, for on both windows – it's on a corner – was printed neatly and in extra-large letters:

NO EGGS  
NO LEMONS  
NO ONIONS  
NO LEEKS  
NO PAPER BAGS

I wondered how many times Mrs. Jones had had to say those words before, in exasperation, she printed them on the window.... (Last, 2006)

An additional aspect is in how households were changing during the Wars. The idealized concept of a nuclear family was turned on its head as families were split up and moved about the country due to war work and evacuations, meaning the person holding the ration books might not have any familial connection as the definition for household mentioned in Chapter 2. Hotels are a great example of this.

Ms. Elsie Matthews (née Duncan) ran a small farmstead hotel in Sussex during the war. As the owner and primary cook, she held on to all her guests' ration books as well as her own families':

Catering for the guests was very difficult...My brother, who was a market gardener, was exempt from war service and helped me by supplying some fruit and vegetables. I remember my brother growing lots of lettuces that he was unable to sell. When overseas visitors arrived in this country they were given ration cards that would last for two or three days. I used back coupons to obtain peanut butter, treacle and marmalade, which all made the table better for my visitors. I got milk from the farm on the estate in which my homestead was situated. With the milk I made egg custard and junkets. I had two Jersey cows that I milked myself. I used to make custard with Birds Custard Powder...It was better for me if the guests were out at lunch time since that allowed me to use all the rations for the evening meal. I used to cycle three miles to the village

where I could buy turbot, plaice, cod, shrimps and smoked haddock when available. Fish was not on ration. Meat was ten pennyworth a ration. Since I used much of my rations for the guests I became very thin (Matthews and Wymondham Learning Centre, 2005).

Her story recounts some of the issues around obtaining food during the war and the management that she needed to do to keep the hotel running. It also gives a small insight into how rationing physically affected the women who were attempting to juggle all of these divergent tasks. Many reports noted how physically fit the populace was due to the better diets and hard work, but few discuss the differences between the genders or the adverse effects when the recommended nutritional guidelines were not met (Orr, 1936; Winter, 1980; Schultz, 1999).

By 1941, rations had been cut (sugar to 8oz/week and tea to 2oz) with margarine and cooking fats joining the ration books. The confusion about rations was found on both sides of the counter. Grocery shop assistant, Kathleen Hey in Dewsbury, Yorkshire, notes in her MO diary:

Friday, 29 August, 1941

People coming to register for onions. Bert [(her brother-in-law)] will not put their names down until he knows what to do from the Food Office. Have no faith they will waste paper over onions. What is to prevent a person from putting her family's name down at several shops? This is going to be another irritating business and for little profit (Hey, 2016).

The next day she remarks that-

Saturday, 30 August, 1941

Auntie remarked that Marks & Spencer were piled with green tomatoes, some of them only as big as a goose-berry. It is evident that growers have been stripping the vines to get them on the market before the price went down on Monday and now it is not to go down and serves them right (Hey, 2016).

Mrs. Townbridge, a middle-aged housewife from Bradford, argues in her MO diary that:

10 October 1941

...I do not agree that the 3rd and lowest grade of workers should be described as 'Sedentary workers and everyone else who eat at home, or in restaurants and luxury hotels.' People who eat at home (and people who eat in luxury hotels, surely) have only the food which they have

coupons. People who feed in restaurants and canteens have their rationed foods at home, and what they eat in restaurants and canteens as extra. This is absolutely unfair (Sheridan, 2000).

Working in a grocery shop, Kathleen Hey's diary often describes issues with customers comprehending the changing rationing systems and in acquiring items from farmers. She also discusses evacuees, bomb shelters, trips to Blackpool (where they had lunch at Woolworths), and commentary of issues around the nation, including the miners' strike in Barrow; one wonders what Nella Last might think of her scathing description?

Monday, 27 September 1943

I could forgive anything of anyone who has to live in such a God forsaken hole. I spent half a day there in 1940, when things were booming, and thought I had never seen such a dreary, depressing place with thousands of prams full of pale sickly babies (two or three in each), and horrible grubby shops. The only decent looking place was a cinema outside the station – where we got a jolly good meal (Hey, 2016).

By the end of the war, the general attitudes of MO diarists were bleak and fed-up. Mrs. Eddie Rutherford, a forty-three-year-old housewife from Sheffield married to a timber merchant and football fanatic, was originally from South Africa. Her entries describe daily occurrences that mostly annoy her and showcase an inherent bias between male and female rations in the shops.

Thursday, 2 August, 1945

Had lunch in town with a friend yesterday. Cost her 6s./- for the two of us. I thought it poor value. Soup, a miserly piece of cod with three tiny new boiled potatoes, about two dessertspoons of peas. Then a scrap of pastry and three small plums. We noticed that the male regulars in the place...all got a very different lunch from ours, ample and varied (Garfield, 2005).

The gendered difference in the lived experience of housewives and shop assistants, shows the difference in class and access around the country. Kathleen Hey would have been considered lower-middle class, as her family owned their home and business, but she herself had no external financial support outside of her family employment. While Nella Last would have been considered middle to upper-middle class and a full-time homemaker and mother. Their access to food, both as consumers and producers, and commentary on that access, shows that there was a sharp split in both gender and socio-economic condition. The MOF, in a bid to curb such class bias, established several propaganda and

policy campaigns to increase food production in urban and peri-urban landscapes, and marketing of specific foods and menus for the housewife to purchase based upon nutrition and availability emphasised within the rationing schemes.

#### DOING BUSINESS WITH GENDER: STATE PROPAGANDA AROUND URBAN FOOD PRODUCTION

As part of the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) during WWI, the Government sent out land inspectors to evaluate the potential for unused and waste land in London and other urban centers for use as allotments. By late November 1916, the passing of the Cultivation of Lands Order allowed the BOA to seize all unoccupied and unrated land in the boroughs and urban districts. However, the BOA left it to the many civic organizations to both seize and rent the land, which led to an uneven distribution wherein some societies were loath to seize land at all and others seized land without the owner's consent. They then turned around and lent it at a high rate, profiting from the quasi-illegal activity (Poole, 2006). Regardless of the initial concerns, within six months there were 8,000 members in the Vacant Land Cultivation Society (VLCS). The newfound enthusiasm for allotments found WWI food concerns eased slightly as plot holders grew an abundance of potatoes, cabbages, turnips, beans, peas, and salad crops, and in the Spring of 1917, school gardens joined the urban allotment and the rural railway worker in preparing food on seized land (Poole, 2006; Wall, 2016).

Not everyone was happy to work their own bit of land and concerns over vandalism swelled along with enthusiasm, with several complaints lodged with the Home Secretary who passed the burden on to the Food Production Department. Their recommendation was for plot holders to set up voluntary night patrols and, in the case of the London County Council (LCC), prison time of six months and up to a £100 fine could be imposed on vandals showing the increased concerns over food availability (Poole, 2006). Less than four months later, on November 11, 1918, WWI ended and with it, DORA, and the BOA's power over land cultivation. Or, at least it should have, however the Act was extended until after the growing season in 1920 in most areas, and 1923 in others, mostly due to demand for allotments, especially amongst the returning servicemen (Archer, 1997; Poole, 2006).

No official census was taken of allotments during WWI, though the BOA estimated around 1.5 million were in operation during the height of the war with slightly less at 1.3 million by 1920 (Poole, 2006). It should be noted that allotments at this time were primarily a response to the loss of available food production land during enclosures in the seventeenth century and worked by male laborers (working-class) as a supplemental food source for themselves and their families. Women's activities within them



were limited to assisting with weeding, hoeing, and possibly during harvest. During the Wars, women took a more active role simply due to the lack of male laborers. However, these numbers reverted after the Wars and by the late 1960s, 96.8% of allotment holders were elderly, low-income men (Buckingham, 2005).

During the 1920s, information on home gardens and gardening in the media was confined mostly to daily newspapers and magazines such as *Amateur Gardening*, *Popular Gardening*, *Garden Work for Amateurs*, and *My Garden*, while professionally<sup>98</sup> trained and employed gardeners read *The Gardeners' Chronicle*. By 1924, public broadcasts on the new British Broadcasting Company (BBC, founded 1922) were hosting practical gardening bulletins written by the Royal Horticultural Society's Frederick Chittenden, director of Wisley Gardens, and well known female gardeners, including Marion Cran and Vita Sackville-West (Buchan, 2013).

The 1920s also saw more government oversight of allotments, which were now under the Allotment Act of 1922, which defined an allotment as no more than 40 rods and was used mainly for the purpose of vegetable and fruit production for the occupier and his family. This was due to two main issues faced by plot holders, the first being that the demand for allotments far outstripped the availability. As a result of the increased demand, some councils were subdividing plots with little notice to the holders, who argued that the compensation they received did not adequately cover the loss of their time and effort (Poole, 2006). The second issue was that many holders had been using the allotments to produce food and flowers to supplement their income, and losing such land reduced this enterprise. While the average rent for an allotment was roughly 18d per rod, minus water, on average a 10-rod plot<sup>99</sup> could produce "vegetable crops to the value of £9, although £3 had to be deducted to cover the initial cost of rent, manure, seeds and tools. The remainder contributed a substantial saving within the household budget" (Poole, 2006). For comparison, a male agricultural worker in 1920 could expect to take home between 30-33s./week or £82/year, meaning that in the best case scenario, an allotment could provide 7% of a rural agricultural workers' income (Mejer, 1951).

The concern over tenancy eventually led to the MAF addressing the problem and, in 1931, amended Section 8 of the Allotments Act (1925) under the Agricultural Land Utilisation Act to declare that the local councils could not "sell, appropriate, use or dispose of the land for any other purposes other than

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<sup>98</sup> Here we are referencing those gardeners employed by estates and gardens such as at Kew or businesses such as at hospitals and municipal gardens.

<sup>99</sup> 1 rod = 5.027 sq. meters. A 10-rod plot was equivalent to 0.025 hectares or 1/16<sup>th</sup> of an acre.

for the use for allotments without the consent [of the MAF]" (Poole, 2006). Demand spiked once more in 1933 when a quarter of the workforce (some 3 million people) became unemployed during the second agricultural depression. Ironically, it was the housing boom of the Interwar years that dropped the number of allotments available, as the new houses were often built on former agricultural or waste lands on the edges of cities and towns which had been turned into allotment sites under DORA (Buchan, 2013)<sup>100</sup>.

The number of urban allotments outstripped those in rural locations by 1936 (4:1), partially due to the difference in population between the regions and partially due to access to 'waste' land. By 1939 there were an estimated 3.5 million private gardens in England and Wales, however, it was still a small fraction compared to the countries' estimated 45 million inhabitants (Buchan, 2013). At the same time, the need for gardening advice in urban centers was more prevalent than in rural communities, which prompted the MAF to hire John Stoney, the Horticultural Superintendent for Staffordshire, to create special advice bulletins especially aimed at the allotment holder (Storey, 1936; Poole, 2006).

The MOA and various marketing agencies (and the WI) encouraged women to spend time gardening, running advertisements for gardening equipment and clothing, in addition to running gardening articles in women's magazines, although these often contained just as much cooking and handicraft information as they did gardening; still, the MOA reported that only 36% of the WWII Dig for Victory (Figure 93) leaflets were being requested by women, versus 44% by men, although this does not consider households where the husband might have requested the item, but was utilized by both the husband and wife or just the wife (Buchan, 2013).

The few televisions available by the beginning of WWII also hosted gardening shows, as did commercial ventures such as shops. By the time WWII was declared on September 3, 1939, the total number of allotments had dropped to 815,000 (Poole, 2006). At the same time, public perception of women gardeners was a constant debate within the horticultural community, even though garden centers employed women workers. The Women's Institutes, taking on the task of both food production, companionship, and education of countrywomen, constantly fought back on the idea that women were incapable of managing a garden or allotment. The February 1940 *Gardeners' Chronicle* wrote that:

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<sup>100</sup> Some 4 million homes, built at the end of WWI during the housing boom, often had gardens attached (Buchan, 2013).

The National Federation of Women's Institutes plans to make a survey of all village allotments and derelict gardens with a view to putting them to the best possible use in growing foodstuffs and feeding material for pigs and poultry [with the permission of the owner]. A scheme has also been evolved where Institute members will, where necessary, carry on all the work of cultivation of plots owned by men called to the services (The Gardeners' Chronicle, 1939b; Way and Brown, 2010; Buchan, 2013).

Lord Ernle, during WWI, had declared that allotments did more to "steady the nation's nerves" than anything else, while the National Allotments Societies Secretary, G.W. Giles promoted their production of food and their morale lifting capabilities (Buchan, 2013). Legislators in Parliament were keen on both allotments and kitchen gardens for their economic, recreational, and even spiritual advantages (Buchan, 2013). Their assumptions became the basis for the *Dig for Victory!* and *Grow More Food* campaigns of WWII. A series of 'Dig for Victory' leaflets were produced (26 total) to direct the novice gardener on every aspect of production s/he could need. Half a million leaflets had been produced and distributed by 1942 to the now nearly 1.4 million plot holders, almost double the 1939 number. The leaflets were produced with cheery, yet simple wood-block design and could be folded to fit into one's pocket, making them easy to transport to and from the garden (Poole, 2006; Ginn, 2012).

The design of the pamphlets was also aimed at promoting the willingness and hardworking nature of the allotment holder. The boot on spade image and the phrase 'Dig for Victory' (Figure 83) was picked up by the MOA and press to promote the home production of food schemes across the country (Poole, 2006). Likewise, editorials started to appear that pushed for every civilian to take up the cause. *The Gardeners' Chronicle* on September 9, 1939 wrote:

Everybody whose whole time is not engaged in other forms of national defence, and who has a garden or garden plot or allotment, can render good service to the community by cultivating it to the fullest possible extent. By that is meant not only getting the largest amount of produce from the soil, but also in keeping the ground in good heart, for the war upon which we have entered may last a long time and therefore next year must be considered as well as this year (The Gardeners' Chronicle, 1939a).

Although the media and MOA pushed for Dig for Victory and other gardening schemes, surveyors found a wide disparity in the quality of gardens and while they were keen to discover how enthusiastic women were as the primary gardener, they had problems finding enough to interview. Where they did, their

reports showed that women managed just as well as the men did, but typically had more help with the heavy digging and building aspects (Buchan, 2013).

Figure 93: Dig for Victory leaflet, 1945

## Making the Most of a Small Plot

DIG FOR VICTORY LEAFLET NO. 23

To make sure of vegetables—especially winter greens to keep us healthy—every able-bodied household that has a garden or can get an allotment must grow them. Every small garden, every small allotment must do its "bit."

The plan overleaf, which will appeal specially to women and children who may not be able to tackle a man-size plot, shows how best to crop your small plot so that you get a few summer vegetables as well as health-giving winter greens.

With its aid, a few hours a week in the garden or on the allotment will help you to get through a lean winter and keep fit.

If you are a beginner, you should get the two free leaflets "How to Dig" and "How to Sow Seeds" from the Ministry of Agriculture, Lindum Hotel, St. Annes-on-Sea, Lancashire. They show you the best methods in pictures that are easy to follow.

**Follow this Plan**

ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE

**THIS PLAN WILL GIVE YOU YOUR OWN VEGETABLES ALL THE YEAR ROUND**

**A**

**B**

**SEED BED**  
TOMATOES

**COMPOST HEAP**  
MARROW

**BROAD BEANS**  
1 DOUBLE ROW

**PEAS**  
2 ROWS

**ONIONS OR SHALLOTS**  
4 ROWS

**POTATOES (EARLY)**  
2 ROWS

**RUNNER BEANS**  
1 ROW

**SPINACH BEET**  
1 ROW

**SPINACH**  
2 ROWS

**PARSNIP**  
3 ROWS

**BRUSSELS SPROUTS**  
3 ROWS

**KALE**  
3 ROWS

**SPROUTING BROCCOLI**  
2 ROWS

INTERCROP AND FOLLOW WITH SUMMER LETTUCE

FOLLOW WITH LEEKS 4 ROWS

Rotation Diagram

A	B
B	A

ALLOTMENT OR GARDEN  
PLOT ... 45 x 30  
APPROX. 5 SQ. RODS  
POLES OR PERCHES

**TABLE OF PLANTING AND PERIOD OF USE**  
*WINTER SUPPLIES PRINTED IN GREEN*

CROP	TIME OF SOWING	DISTANCE APART		PERIOD OF USE
		Rows	Plants	
BEANS (Broad) .. ..	Feb.-March	1 double row	6 in. by 9 in.	July
BEANS (Runner) .. ..	Mid-May		9 in.	July-Oct.
BEEF .. ..	April	15 in.	6 in. (thin)	July-April
BROCCOLI (Sprouting) ..	Mid-May	2 ft.	2 ft.	April-May
BRUSSELS SPROUTS .. ..	Plant Mid-July	2½ ft.	2½ ft.	Nov.-Mar.
CARROTS (Early) .. ..	March	2½ ft.	2½ ft.	Nov.-Mar.
KALE .. ..	Plant May-June	1 ft.	6 in. (thin)	June-Sept.
LEEK .. ..	April	2 ft.	2 ft.	Jan.-April
LEEK .. ..	May	2 ft.	2 ft.	Jan.-April
LEEK .. ..	Plant Mid-July	1 ft.	6 in.	Mar.-May
LETTUCE .. ..	Plant July	9 in.	9 in.	May-Oct.
LETTUCE .. ..	March and every 14 days	Between other crops	9 in.	May-Oct.
MARROW .. ..	May	3-4 ft.	3-4 ft.	July-Feb.
ONIONS .. ..	Mid-Feb.	1 ft.	6 in. (thin)	July-June
PARSNIPS .. ..	Mid-Feb.-Mid-March	15 in.	6 in. (thin)	Nov.-Mar.
PEAS .. ..	March and April	2½ ft.	3 in.	June-July
POTATOES (Early) .. ..	March	2 ft.	1 ft.	July-Aug.
SHALLOTS .. ..	February	1 ft.	6 in.	Jan.-Dec.
SPINACH (Winter) .. ..	Sept.	1 ft.	6 in. (thin)	Spring
SPINACH BEET .. ..	April	8 in.	8 in. (groups)	July-Oct. and Jan.-June
TOMATOES .. ..	Plant end May		15 in.	Aug.-Oct.

Printed for H.M. Stationery Office by T. G. Porter (Printers) Ltd., Leeds. 51-3308

Source: ref. 2004,060 (Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1945a)



An interesting aspect of the MOA Dig for Victory posters is that most of them show men. In the Dominions and the U.S. (Figure 94), posters included or were aimed at women, but in the U.K. (Figure 95), most show a business-suit wearing male gardening or bringing food back from the allotment. Such an oversight in marketing may have been one reason why the returned numbers for females working urban allotments were so low.

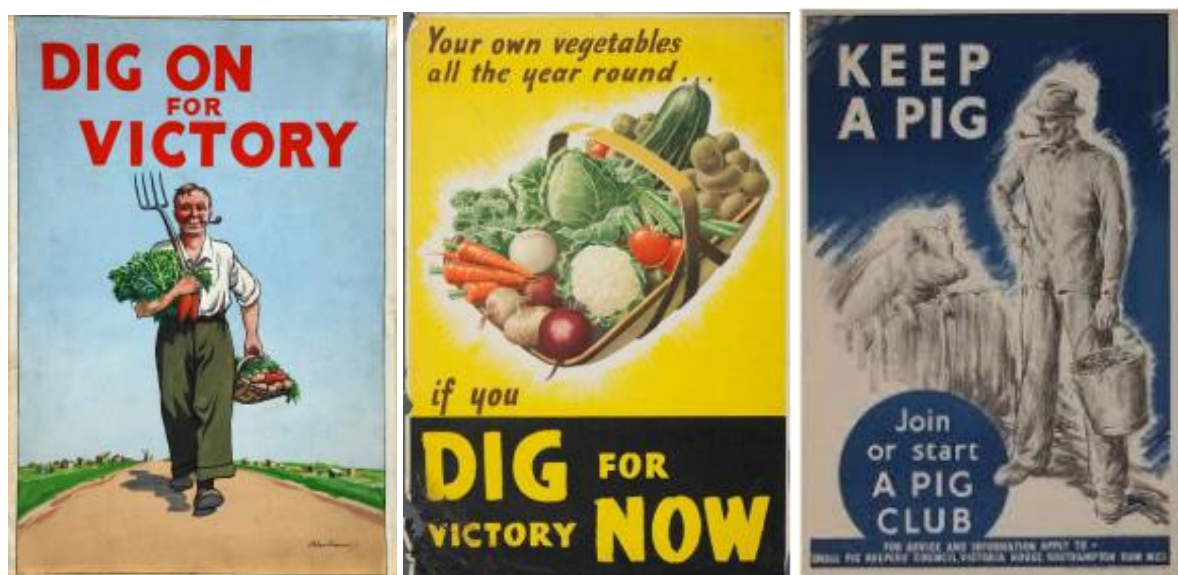
*Figure 94: Victory Garden posters - US*



Source: (Przybylek, 2020)

Notes: Image 1: "Plant a Garden for Victory," probably 1942. Image 2: War gardens over the top, 1919. Image 3: 1940's WWII War Victory Garden Grow Your Own Vegetables.

*Figure 95: Victory Garden posters*



Source: (Ministry of Agriculture, 1942b)

In photographs and artwork, however, the ratios were reversed, with women and children often the focus of government propaganda pieces. Comparing candid home photography versus government photographs allows us to discuss how the public perceived food production and while urban and peri-urban food production included both the allotment and the backyard garden, how such gardens were arranged and which members of the family oversaw them is a matter of debate. The RHS Lindley Library, in 2019, exhibited several images from WWII showcasing urban and peri-urban food production, and it is useful to look at just what these images can tell us<sup>101</sup>.

*Figure 96: Backyard Garden by Carla Ferri*



Source: (BBC, 2019)

Notes: Carla Ferri: "My mother's sister had a house with a nice garden, five minutes' walk from Holloway Prison[, north London]. A few vegetables were grown but the best achievement was a chicken pen built by my father and of course the eggs were always for me."

In the above image (Figure 96) we see two distinct chicken pens with at least four chickens, all hens, since you do not need a rooster to produce eggs for eating. The pens themselves are cobbled together from chicken-wire and spare branches, corrugated metal (probably from a repurposed Anderson shelter) and are fit into the available space in the back garden. Here, the little girl is all smiles in her

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<sup>101</sup> The photos from part of an exhibit at the RHS Lindley Library and are in RHS gardens from 14 October 2019 (BBC, 2019).

dress, her hands holding the hem up to protect the eggs she has collected. Her notation states that the pens were built by her father, a great achievement for him, while her job was in collecting the eggs.

Comparatively, Figure 97 was staged by the MOA in 1942. The title 'Britain's youth prepares: Girls create allotments on bomb site, London.' The image shows:

Members of the Westminster unit of the Girls Training Corps look on as Miss B Tarver, a Ministry of Agriculture expert, explains radish sowing to them as they work on the creation of an allotment in what was once the garden of 145 Piccadilly, the former home of the King and Queen. Bomb damaged buildings can be seen behind them as they work. According to the original caption, Miss Tarver also runs the Ministry of Agriculture's demonstration plot in Hyde Park (Ministry of Agriculture, 1942a).

The caption focuses on the fact that the girls shown are part of a training corps and that a MOA expert was called in to explain the science and function of the allotment. The formalized nature of the allotment under MOA direction is in direct countermeasure to the 'scruffy' look in the preceding home garden and showcases the discrepancy between government initiative and home practicality. We can tell the photo was staged by the clothing and angle of the photograph. The first being impractical in nature (the expert is wearing thin heels, let alone the tighter skirts/dresses, and the latter being the angle showing all the girls' faces and what they are doing with minimal background exposure.

*Figure 97: Britain's Youth Prepares, 1942*



Source: (Ministry of Agriculture, 1942a)



Photographic images and allotment leaflets were not the only form of propaganda aimed at the urban and peri-urban dweller. Evelyn Mary Dunbar (b. 1906 in Reading, Berkshire) was the fifth and youngest child to Scottish born tailor, William Dunbar and Yorkshire born Florence, who was a keen gardener and still life artist. Educated at the Rochester Grammar School for Girls and the Rochester and Chelsea Schools of Art, Dunbar applied to the Ministry of Information in 1940 to become an official war artist with the War Artists' Advisory Committee (WAAC), where she became the only female artist to be continuously commissioned (and paid) throughout the war.

Her love of gardening and horticultural experience led her to illustrate several gardening manuals and books for the WAAC, but her most notable contributions were as an artist in residence for the Women's Land Army. "Dunbar documented women's changing role in society, but with such flair and imagination that they can equally be appreciated for their masterful use of colour and form" (Meier, 2015)<sup>102</sup>. She visited Sparsholt Farm Institute to see dairy training and, after her marriage to agricultural economist Roger Folley in August 1942, she followed him on his Royal Air Force (RAF) commissions to various locations, including Monmouthshire, Berkwickshire, Hampshire, and East Malling. She painted WLA members and their work in each location, including her last work for the WAAC, 'A Land Girl and the Bail Bull' (1945) (Figure 98) which is unusual in its composition.

[This picture was] painted at Strood towards the end of the war, about 1944-45. It is an imaginative painting of a Land Girl's work with an outdoor dairy herd on the Hampshire Downs. The bail is the moveable shed where the milking is done ... the girl has to catch and tether the bull: she entices him with a bucket of fodder and hides the chain behind her, ready to snap on to the ring in his nose as soon as it is within her reach (Dunbar, 2018).

It is significant that the Land Girl is alone. Previously almost all Dunbar's Land Army paintings had shown the women working in teams and as part of the War Effort. Here the young woman's solitude or separateness is insisted on. The effect is to dramatise a confrontation between her and the bull...The encounter is allowed simply to be, and to honour the mystery of being (Blake, 2019).

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<sup>102</sup> Quoting Pallant House Curator Katy Norris.

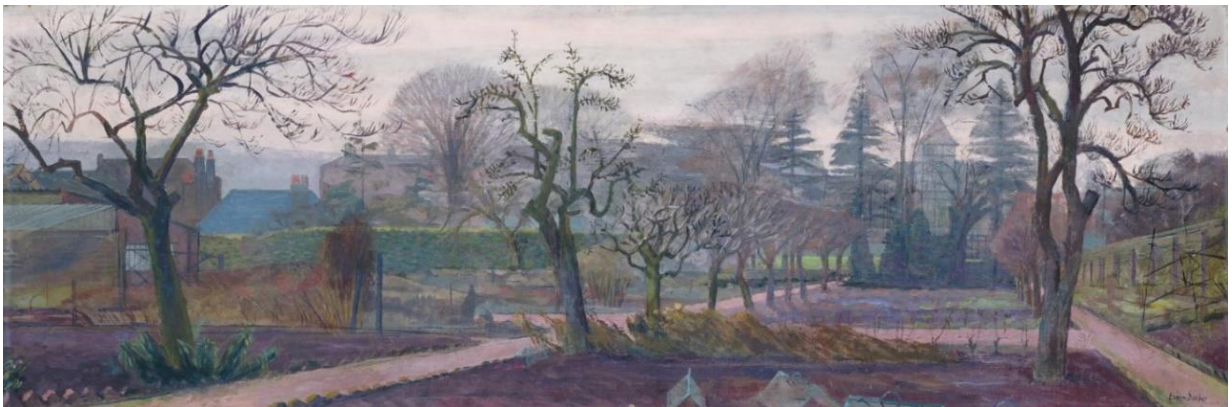
*Figure 98: A Land Girl and the Bail Bull, 1945*



Source: (Dunbar, 2018)

Not only was Dunbar the only female full-time artist employed by the WAAC, her art work shows women's relationships with food and agriculture in a practical, descriptive format without the glamor or gore often associated with propaganda pieces at this time. There is a simplistic 'this is how it was' feeling to her work that allows for the viewer to take from it what they will. By the time Dunbar's work was showcased, most of the initial prejudices of women agricultural workers had diminished, and though her work remained largely obscured after her death in 1960, they offer a glimpse into the daily tasks associated with food production and the public's acquisition of it. The former through the WLA and allotment holder (Figure 89), the later through the housewife and grocer (Figure 99).

*Figure 99: Winter Garden, 1929-37*



Source: N05212 (Tate, 2022)

Figure 100: *The Queue at the Fish-shop*



Source: Art.IWM ART LD 3987 (Imperial War Museum, 2014)

This last image (Figure 100) shows several different aspects of food production: 1) the number of people queuing and the fact that only four of them are men shows that much of a woman's time was spent waiting to be able to get food for the family; 2) the colors used show a dreary environment leading one to feel depressed and sombre when viewing the work; 3) the implied anxiety by the rushing woman on the right and 4) the feeling that this is an everyday situation as shown by the military personnel riding the bike on the left as he glances at the line, but his blank expression and the movement of the bike do not stop<sup>103</sup>.

One of the aspects Dunbar does not showcase is the discrepancy between male and female urban allotment holders in regards to numbers. In August and September 1942, 3,000 gardeners were surveyed by the MOA which found that only 55.2% of households were growing vegetables across the country, although 91% of all rural households grew them. In the North, barely 39% had vegetable plots and in urban centers, flowers still dominated production with just over 51%. As the war continued, the numbers got worse and in June 1944, "less than half of urban households could be persuaded to cultivate vegetables and fruit: when all households were added together, 34.4% grew vegetables and fruit in their gardens, 6.5% grew them in allotments, 4.4% grew them in both gardens and allotments, and 54.7% did not grow them at all[; while only] 10.9% of households cultivated an allotment" (Buchan, 2013).

The North-West of England (Cumberland and Westmorland) returned the lowest numbers, with barely 28% of households growing vegetables. The North-East fared a little better at 32%, with the South-West

<sup>103</sup> The artist herself is depicted as the only forward-facing woman in the center bottom of the canvas.

coming in at 58%, and the South-East (Berkshire, London, etc) the highest at 68%. Surprisingly, inner London fared just as bad as the North-West with 23%, although peri-urban homes with attached gardens showed figures of 50%. Likewise, 58% of urban or peri-urban working-class households and 31% of middle-class ones “had neither a garden nor an allotment in the summer of 1944” (Buchan, 2013). Such low results could have contributed to the low-rate of increase in vegetables consumed in the house each week (only potatoes, cabbages and rhubarb showed purchase decreases). It was estimated that garden produce at the peak of summer still only represented a 20-30% decrease in sales of fresh vegetables regardless of the push of gardening supplies such as spades and seeds in retail shops (Buchan, 2013).

The low numbers could show that Victory gardens were more about solidarity than actual survival, with the catchy, colourful signs and nostalgic views in journals and modern media suggesting that it was more about the perception of doing one’s part than the actual numbers of food obtained (Ministry of Agriculture, 1942b; Steinhauer, 2020). “We lived in the suburbs of London and, in response to the admonishments to ‘dig for victory’, my mother grew more vegetables in our small garden, although she didn’t know how to control the maggots and they were often inedible” (Gibson, no date). While current rates show a growing trend for more women into the allotment and garden, at the same time we have seen that urban and peri-urban food production remains the purview of the middle-class hobbyist and home gardener, with less emphasis on gender and more on availability of time and resources (Buckingham, 2005; Diver, 2020; Smithers, 2020; Webb, 2020; Niala, 2021). The promotion of such propaganda and marketing along with consumption patterns shows that policy changes were effective ways of changing consumer purchases, but did the women purchasing the food promoted by nutritionists and rationing schemes understand why they were being pushed (both at home and in the catering businesses)? And did their cooking habits change beyond the war period? A look at cookery books may hold the key to these questions.

## WHAT COOKERY BOOKS CAN TELL US ABOUT GENDER, EDUCATION, AND ACCESS TO NUTRITION AND FOOD

Though food and its production were of interest in the media long before WWII, the changing structure of mass media (print, radio, television, etc.) offered various opportunities for the dissemination of knowledge about the various aspects of the Agri-Food sector especially to the ‘housewife.’ In the U.K., food and recipes had been discussed in monastery manuscripts, medieval cookery books, and was a key

economic and cultural feature during colonial expansion. The U.K.'s first gardening manual was printed in 1558 by Thomas Hill titled *A most briefe and pleasaunte treatise teachyng how to dresse, sowe and set a garden* (The Gardeners Trust, 2015). While, Petrus de Crescentius's *Ruralia commode* (1471) is considered the first printed book on agriculture, husbandry, and horticulture. During the eighteenth-century, the bulk of British agricultural manuals were written by Richard Bradley, William Ellis, William Marshall, and Arthur Young. Early books focused on specific topics, such as Leonard Mascall's *The Government of Cattell* in the sixteenth-century and on the more practical nature of agricultural work and scientific experiments (Fussell, 1937). Other materials were published in the newspapers and magazines of the day, such as John Houghton's periodicals on various aspects of husbandry (beginning September 8, 1681) (McCutcheon, 1923)<sup>104</sup>.

For women writing about agriculture, publications were less frequent. Beatrix Potter, Lady Eve Balfour, and Caroline Marriage (under the pen name 'Countrywoman') became popular in the early 1900s (Verdon, 2010). Urban food production, in the age of mass periodicals, radio and television saw an explosion of information aimed at the home cook and gardener. Women wrote for both urban and rural periodicals, including *Woman's Life*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Farmer and Stockbreeder* and *Farmer's Weekly*, and published cookery books and domestic manuals becoming the 'voice' of the housewife. As the BBC declared in 1940, "to grow your own food is not a long step from cooking your own food" (BBC Home Service, 1940).

The sentiment embraced the concept that one needed to be an active participant in both sides of the farmgate by growing, buying, and cooking food grown in the U.K. For female cookery experts Elizabeth Craig, Florence Greenberg, Marguerite Patten, and sisters Elsie and Doris Waters, media was the way to provide the required information to do just that. They, and others like them, ruled the airways and press by the 1920s and throughout WWII and helped explain and popularize Governmental rationing schemes. Their contributions to the general public's (and women in particular's) understanding of food and nutrition cannot be understated. "To many people today [home economists] have become a dying race, which is a pity because we are needed more than ever. Our role is to educate people, to help them in the home. In this recession we really need to sort ourselves out" (Marguerite Patten, 2022).

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<sup>104</sup> The first being titled: "Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade."

## DOING BUSINESS WITH GENDER: FEMALE COOKERY BOOK AUTHORS

Scottish born Elizabeth Craig (1883-1980) was one of the first modern celebrities in the British cookery world. One of eight children to Rev. John Craig and wife Catherine Nicoll, Craig attended George Watson's Ladies' College in 1896 at age thirteen. After college (1899), she trained as a journalist in Dundee and took a three-month cookery course, the only such training she had in the subject. By 1915 and the outbreak of WWI, she became one of the first female editors for *Women's Life* magazine. She married American war correspondent and broadcaster, Arthur Mann in 1919, and when the war ended, she became a freelance journalist writing her first cookery feature in *The Daily Express* in 1920. Additional books and articles during this period guided young, middle-class women on how to keep a home without the benefit of domestic servants (something that was becoming more prevalent in the post-WWI era) and had sections on budgeting and cookery techniques. She wrote for a variety of journals, newspapers and had over 70 books published by her death in 1980 (George Watson College, 2020).

Most prolific during the 1930s, her weekly pieces for *Farmer and Stockbreeder* were utilized extensively by countrywomen across the nation. She included recipes, household hints, economical ways of hosting dinner and tea parties, and ways to stock and store foodstuffs in the days before refrigeration which focused mainly on seasonal produce, preservation methods, cooking techniques, and holiday fare. She began her June 3, 1935 article entitled *Gooseberries: Sweets for the Present and Preserves for the Future*, "Now that our gooseberry bushes will be asking us to rob them, let us see how they can help us, not only to vary our menus but to supply our store cupboards. Here are some recipes I am proposing to use this season" (Craig, 1935b). Additional article titles such as *Bottled Fruit and Vegetables* (January 1, 1935), *Making the Best of Old Potatoes* (March 11, 1935), and *Prepare for Hot Days* (June 10, 1935) cover the limits of a household without ready access to a refrigerator along with ways to limit food waste in a simple, yet effeminate literary style (Figure 101).



Figure 101: Ad for 'Family Cookery' by E. Craig

## FAMILY COOKERY



Miss Elizabeth Craig.  
—Portrait by Dorothy Wilding

### A Complete and Practical Guide to Modern Methods in the Kitchen

READERS who follow Elizabeth Craig's articles in these pages week by week will be interested to know that our contributor has just produced another cookery book.\* Written for the beginner as well as for the experienced cook, this volume of nearly 900 pages should

Bath and Chelsea buns, Dundee cake, Kentish oastcakes, Yorkshire parkin, etc.

Other sections deal with Carving, Kitchen Equipment, and Weights and Measures; and at the end there is a glossary of cooking terms that should be particularly useful to the novice. Each of the numerous photographs illustrating the text was specially taken in Miss Craig's own kitchen and under her supervision. The attractive red cloth cover is washable, fadeless and waterproof—a great advantage in a book that gets constant handling.

\* "Family Cookery," by Elizabeth Craig. Published by W. Collins, Sons and Co., Ltd., 48, Pall Mall, S.W.1. Price 7s. 6d. net.

### Seeds for Present Sowing

POPULAR strains of hardy annuals, biennials, perennials and vegetables, particularly suitable for sowing in spring or early summer, are described in a special seed catalogue issued by Messrs. Sutton and Sons, Reading. The list also contains prices of fertilisers and garden tools.

### Cane and Wicker Chairs

AN easy way to clean cane and wicker chairs is as follows: Squeeze the juice of two lemons into half a pailful of hot water. Brush the chairs to remove as much dust as possible, then wash with a clean brush dipped in the lemon solution, and dry quickly in the sun. K. E.

prove a valuable addition to the equipment of every kitchen.

While the book contains a large collection of modern recipes from all parts of the world, the old favourites are also given, including many dishes "native" to certain districts, such as

Source: (Craig, 1935a)

Her articles were often paired with similar topics written by both male and female writers. For example, her March 4, 1935 article, *My Ways with Pork and Bacon*, was in the same supplement as *Neglected Pig Delicacies* by George H. Purvis and *Kitchen Economy* by E. Hiles. *Tea in the Garden* (July 15, 1935) dovetails with *July – The Raspberry* by Cecily M. Baillie Hamilton (discussing how to plant and two recipes), *Summer Pests* by R.L.C., and "Home-made": household recipes from the note-book of a Country Chemist. Additional articles appeared covering topics such as the *Rural School*, *Herb Gardens* (by a 'Countrywoman,' Caroline Marriage) and practical and experimental farming techniques, such as the *Contrasting Rations* article discussing poultry farmer Miss M. McMurray<sup>105</sup>.

Her book publishing career began in WWI, when she worked for the MOA as a travelling lecturer on the most economic use of rations, a format and topic that many of the women employed by the MOA undertook in both world wars. Publications during WWII include *The Way to a Good Table: Electric Cookery*, which was published by the British Electrical Development Association (1937), *Elizabeth Craig's Simple Gardening* (1938), *Cooking in War-Time* (1940), *1500 Everyday Menus* (1940), and *Gardening*

<sup>105</sup> *Farmer and Stockbreeder* article 'Contrasting Rations- Maize meal v. Middlings for chicks- a fattening experiment,' August 19, 1935.

with *Elizabeth Craig* (1940). While her cookery books promoted local and seasonal foods, her gardening books focused on home production of food just as rationing was hitting its peak: “if we had better food, we would have better health...a well-stocked garden/allotment is just as important as a well-stocked store cupboard” (George Watson College, 2020).

Never one to ignore what was in front of her, she altered her cooking methods and suggestions as the times demanded, publishing *Housekeeping: A book for the single-handed housewife* (1947), *Elizabeth Craig’s Practical Gardening* (1952) and *Collins Family Cookery* (1957 and 1971), which included recipes that revelled in the end of rationing and required ‘six eggs and large slabs of butter’<sup>106</sup>. While most of her books were aimed at the housewife (some assumed the use of domestic servants showing her own perceptions of class and affluence), by the 1970s she published *The Business Woman’s Cookbook*, geared towards the new working woman. The changing themes found within the cookery books follows new food preservation techniques, kitchen equipment, and the move from domestic servants and staff to managing a home by oneself while attempting to juggle home and work. Her last book, a revised edition of *The Scottish Cookery Book*, was completed in the hospital at aged 97; she died shortly afterwards in Berkshire (George Watson College, 2020).

Like Craig, who had little formal training in cookery, Jewish cookery book author Florence Greenberg *née* Oppenheimer (Figure 102) was a self-taught cook, although her extensive knowledge of health care assisted in her understanding of nutritional and dietary needs of her readership. Born on 13 April 1882 in Islington, London, the fourth of eight children to Alexander and Eliza. Alexander was a wealthy Dutch meat importer who had moved the family to England in the late nineteenth century. The family lived at Beresford Road Canonbury in North London and Florence attended the Lady Eleanor Holles School in Middlesex until she was 17 and spent a year in boarding school at Bonn on the Rhine (Germany), before returning home to help her mother run the family for the next ten years. She also did charity work on the East End, where poverty was rampant (Romans, 2017). Her father originally refused to allow her to train as a nurse, since he had misgivings about women nursing men, although her brother eventually convinced him to allow her to train at the Royal Sussex County Hospital in Brighton in 1911 at the age of 29. When she passed her exams the year war broke out, she signed up for the Queen Alexandra Nursing

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<sup>106</sup> Some of the changes included the inclusion of new kitchen equipment such as electric cooker (she also discusses oil, gas and solid fuel cookers popular in the pre-war era), mixers, table cookers, coffee percolator and waffle irons (Craig, 1957).



Service Reserve and served as a nurse on hospital ships from 1915 to 1919 in Egypt and Palestine (Russell, 2014; Association of Jewish Ex Service Men and Women and London Jewish Cultural Centre, 2018). “I don’t think there are many people who have been privileged to have had two interesting and rewarding careers – one in nursing and the other cookery” (Association of Jewish Ex Service Men and Women and London Jewish Cultural Centre, 2018).

*Figure 102: Florence Greenberg, author of the Jewish Cookbook*



Source: (Association of Jewish Ex Service Men and Women and London Jewish Cultural Centre, 2018)

She married Leopold Jacob Greenberg at the West London Synagogue in May 1920 shortly after they met. Greenberg, a widower twenty-years Florence’s senior, was the editor for *The Jewish Chronicle*.

Soon after we were married, my husband said to me that he wished I would write cookery articles for him for the paper, and I told him not to be funny – I had no literary ability. He said: ‘What do you want literary ability for. You are a marvellous cook.’ Of course, I couldn’t refuse; so, I contributed recipes regularly every week for 42 years. This started my cookery career.... (Romans, 2017).

It was the combination of her knowledge of health care and her passion of cookery that made her so interesting for this research. Leopold’s death in 1931 devastated her. His successor asked her to put some of her recipes into book form, which allowed her to concentrate on something productive and fill the gap she saw for a modern Jewish cookery book. In 1934, *The Jewish Chronicle Cookery Book* was published, which sold over five thousand copies at 3s.6d. that first year, and for which she is most famous for. In 1941, right before the second edition was to come out, the offices of the Jewish Chronicle, and the text, were destroyed in the blitz, however, her notary for both the book and her

weekly articles, gained the attention of the BBC and the Ministry of Food. The BBC hired her as a broadcaster for their 'The Kitchen Front' tv/radio broadcast and the MOF as a lecturer in Food Rationing and Dietetics from 1939-1945 advising Jewish women how to use their rations during WWII (Russell, 2014; Romans, 2017). As Florence explains in her journals:

They had no one who knew the Jewish Dietary Laws, so they would like me to talk to Jewish groups. I explained that I wasn't a lecturer, and really I couldn't undertake it. She said 'Mrs Greenberg, I haven't been talking to you for the last half hour without realising that you are just the person we want, a practical housewife "to get it over from me to you".' I felt I must do it after that, and I accepted the job (Romans, 2017).

Greenberg took cookery samples for display during her talks to Jewish mothers and children that had been evacuated to Bedford, Oxford, Cambridge, Somerset and Devon, and her growing popularity offered her the ability to produce the *Jewish Cookery* under her own name in 1947 (Russell, 2014). Considering that in 1947, fewer than 2% of British households had refrigerators, her tips, and tricks on preserving food in the larder was both practical and necessary due to Jewish dietary laws. However, the number of laws was limited to just a single paragraph focusing on "the separation of the Jewish kitchen into respective departments for meat and milk [to]... govern its actual planning and arrangement," although she does include tips and a small Chapter on 'traditional Jewish food,' including Passover recipes. The 57-Chapter book is sparse on instructions and aimed at the seasoned cook, either Anglo-Jewish or recent immigrants (mostly from Germany, Poland, and Russia), and the traditions reflected feature those found in central and eastern Europe, as shown in the Ashkenazi selections. Additional 'continental' styled meals and recipes start to appear in later editions and "answer an aspiration to assimilate, while the food of Jewish and eastern European heritage assuages a longing for the familiar and culturally significant. The breadth of the book resolves these tensions by allowing its reader to be Jewish, eastern European, British and continental" (Russell, 2014).

Greenberg wrote for *The Jewish Chronicle* for over forty years, from 1920-1962 and, as Jewish historian and political analyst Ilana Bet-El (2017) explains, "entire generations of British Jewish brides, in the United Kingdom and abroad, reared families on the polite principles of cooking introduced by Greenberg: simple, precise, comprehensive and rather boring;" boring due to the restrictions a war-time ration diet entailed, not necessarily because of the recipes themselves. By the 1953 edition, the book was around 500 pages and included more traditional Jewish recipes, and focused on home economy and

rationing, which was still in place in the U.K. By the 1977 edition, glossy pictures and more lavish meals were being shown in a bid to compete with modern cookbooks. At the time of her death in 1980, the book had been reprinted 13 times and 105,000 copies had been sold solidifying her place in Anglo-Jewish households the world over (Romans, 2017).

Craig, Greenberg, Patton and other female cooks pared their understanding of food and nutrition with government rationing and nutritional guidelines to create recipes and menus both home cooks and cafeteria cooks could use. But how well were these recipes received and did they actually serve a purpose? By evaluating cookery books and government pamphlets, we can evaluate the language used to write the books and see which micro and macro nutrients were being promoted by ingredient selection. Likewise, evaluating a single 'basic' recipe throughout the study period as written in different media formats allows us to establish a cross-generations trend in understanding.

#### COOKERY BOOK ANALYSIS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING RECIPE AND MENU SELECTIONS (FIRMS)

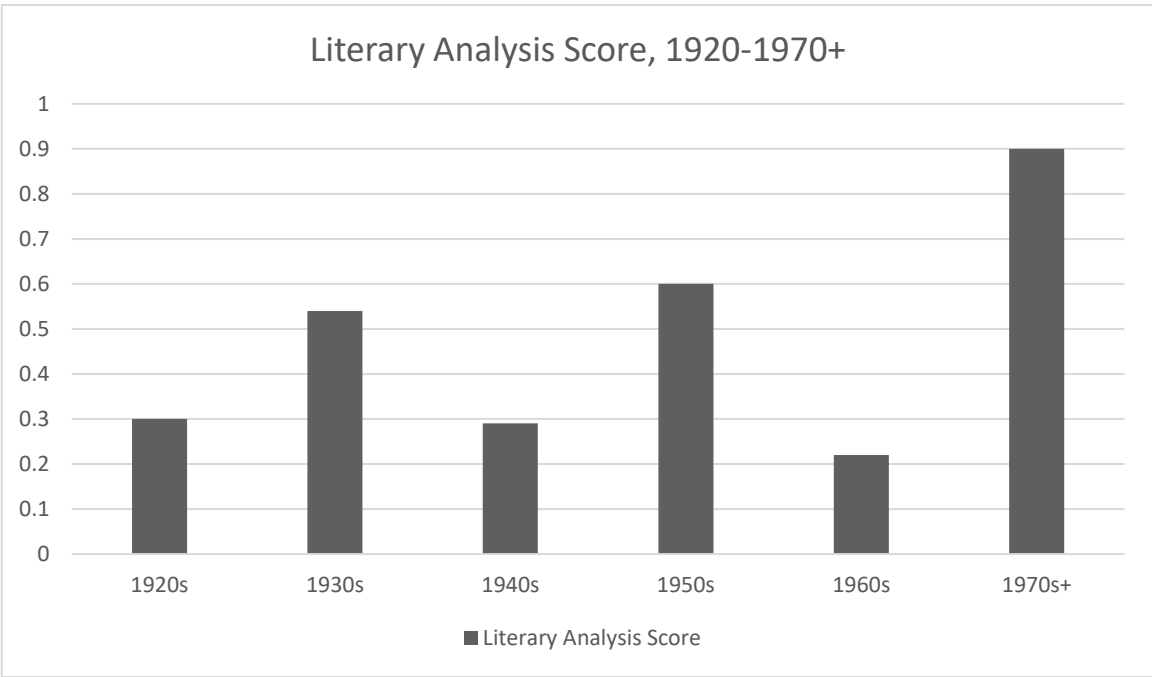
An important functional principle of rationing was that the Government ensured that the consumer had confidence that their ration entitlement would always be honored. This is where the home-cook comes into play, and where traditional feminist scholars either focus on how home food production limits women's capabilities or use food as a way to expand the role women had within the household (Gavey, 1989; Corfield, 1997; Stovall, Baker-Sperry and Dallinger, 2015; Parker *et al.*, 2019). However, since the goal of a feminist epistemology is not to create bias, but to mitigate it and the above literature tropes are inherently biased, the goal of FIRMS is not to focus on women producing food, but on those factors that influence the understanding of food from a gender specific standpoint.

As described in Chapter 2, the FIRMS calculations use at least two points of time to compare the types of foods available (HDDS), their nutritional values (WDDS), and the way knowledge was transferred between generations via a literary analysis score (LAS). To calculate changes over time, one must first define the periods to compare the aggregate score for each decade provided by the cookbooks available (1920s, '30s, '40s, '50s, '60s, '70+). Some decades did not have menus available and are noted as such. The second step is to calculate the LAS, HDDS and WDDS for a weekly menu for each period. Finally, we compare the aggregate percentage for each period across time. All calculations and recipes/menus can be found in *Appendix 6 and 7*.

*FIRMS ANALYSIS, LAS 1920-1970+*

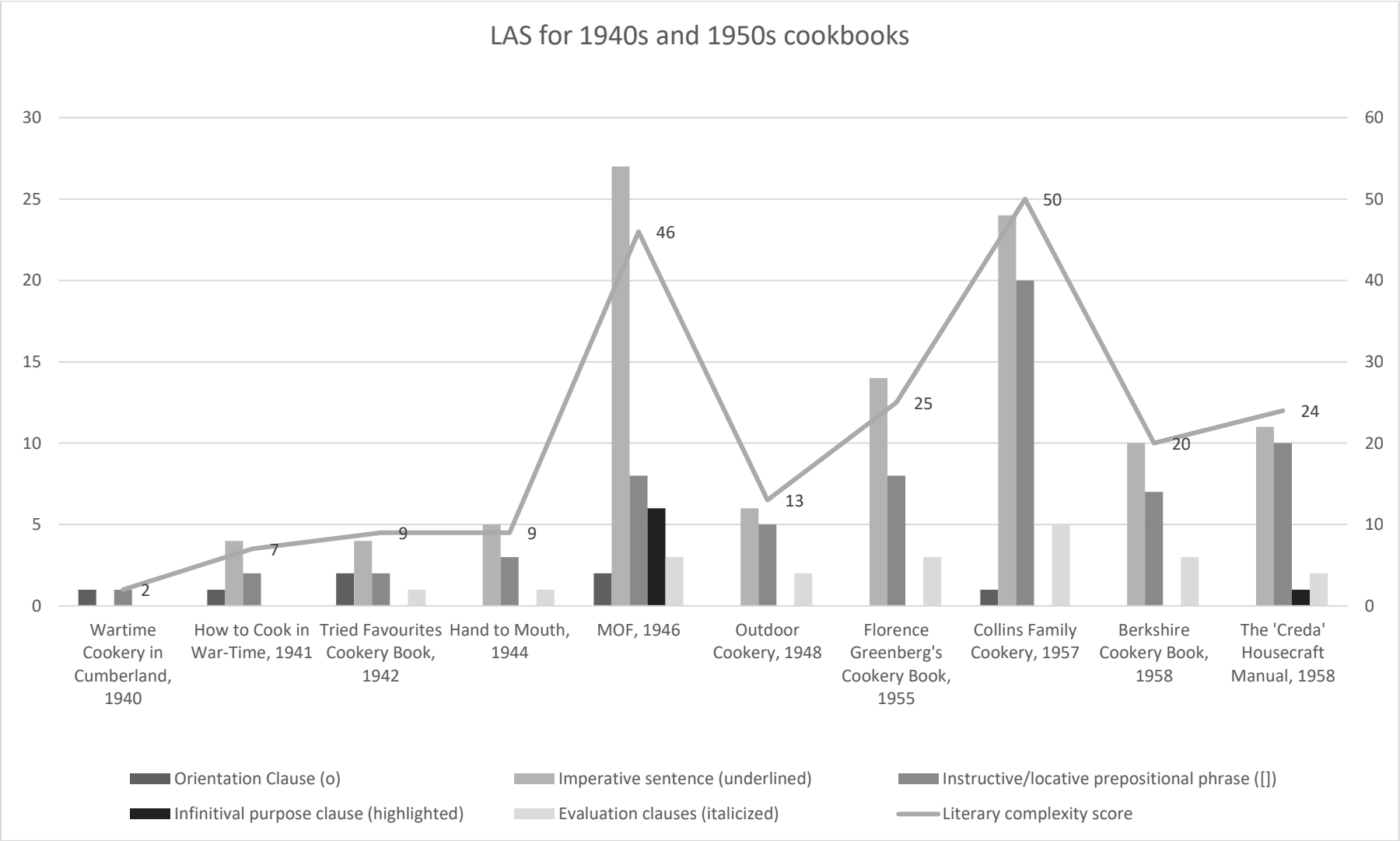
The first analysis undertaken was to calculate LAS differences between decades. That is, the difficulty level of the short crust pastry recipes provided in Chapter 2 (Figure 103).

*Figure 103: LAS for each decade utilising available cook books/menus, 1920-1970+*



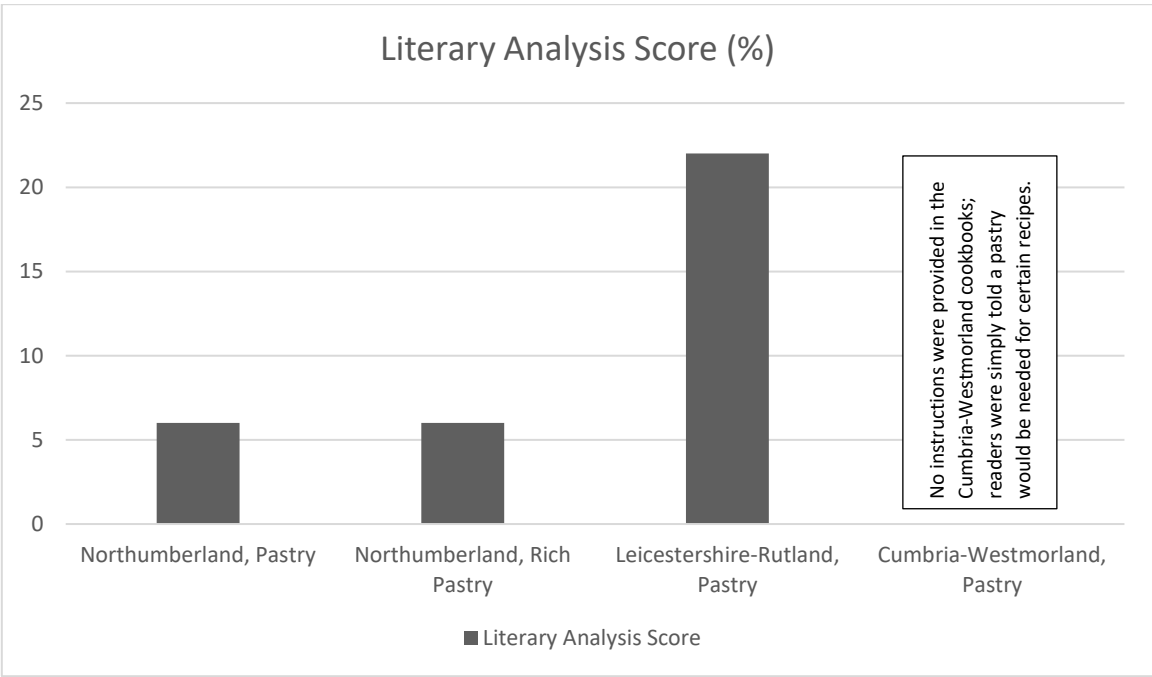
Lower numbers equate to less information being shared with the reader. The 1970s+ had the highest amount of written information provided per recipe as shown in Figure 103. We interpret such results to mean that the provided cookbooks were being written for novice or new homemakers/cooks. The 1970s books could be construed as outliers, as three of the four books included recipes from 1917/1918 until 1978/1992; the fourth book is listed as a Diamond Jubilee celebration cookbook, but there is no explicit explanation as to when the recipes correlate to; because of this, the 1970s numbers should be looked at separately.

Figure 104: LAS breakdown 1940s and 1950s



A further breakdown of each of the cookbooks in the 1940s and 1950s shows an interesting notation regarding imperative sentences (those action tasks such as mince, cut, or boil) (Figure 105). The Ministry of Food, Florence Greenberg’s Cookery Book, and the Collins Family Cookery all score the highest in this category, yet, other than Collins, which also has a high number of instructive phrases, the rest of the points are relatively low. What this means is that the terms themselves are being used to move the direction of the process along (i.e., mix flour [into] bowl, [then] add...). This format cuts down on a lot of descriptive text, but leaves next steps clear to the reader. The instructive clauses all increase post-WWII, clearly showing the trend of explaining *what* and *why* more frequently and in turn, catering to a less experienced audience.

Figure 105: LAS (%), regional WI cookbooks covering 1917-1992



*The Berkshire Cookery Book* opens with a forward by Doris Cumming (the book’s ‘voice’):

If one were asked to name the craft which interests and unites all housewives, the answer would be “cookery” ...To make the book useful, also, to the untried cook, a few basic recipes and helpful notes have been added, where necessary, in the hope that it can be a good standby and in constant use....It may be thought that, in the future, pre-packaged and prepared food will replace the individuality of home cooking. Although these commodities may have to take their place in the running of a busy home and cannot be ignored, tradition and craft have too strong a hold on the memory to be lost easily...(Berkshire County Women’s Institutes, 1958).

This sums up the book as well as the general view and voice of community or specialist cookbooks by focusing on regional variations and traditions to maintain a sense of community. Of the 316 recipes broken-down into 14 categories, a range of levels including novice, beginner and expert/catering can be found in the Berkshire book. Likewise, international meals such as Borsch, Moussaka, Spanish Stew, Goulash and Kessel are provided. Several recipes are Russian, Hungarian, or Polish in origin and showcase a part of the community which is still active in Reading and Berkshire.

On the other hand, the Cumbria-Westmorland Federation of Women's Institutes' *Diamond Jubilee Recipes* cookbook from 1978 shows 80 savoury recipes and 56 sweets with only 12 recipes from other countries and never more than two from the same region. Of note is the higher propensity of offal based or off-cuts, lean and minced meats, and egg/cheese dishes in the Berkshire cookbook while the Cumbria-Westmorland book showcased richer foods requiring a higher amount of fats, tinned goods, and alcohol; granted the cookbook does cover a slightly longer time period when such items would have been off-ration and available, so a point-by-point comparison cannot be made in full.

At the same time, by looking at the regional WI cookbooks that cover 1917-1992, we can see (Figure 105) that Leicestershire-Rutland's WI had the highest number of descriptive statements catering to novice cooks (22% vs. Northumberland's 6%), with Cumbria-Westmorland giving no instructions, leading us to assume a higher level of basic knowledge on behalf of the reader. Novice cooks would then need to rely on alternative cook books or outside instruction (via a cookery course or family/friend).

#### *FIRMS ANALYSIS FOR THE 1940S AND 1950S COOKBOOKS*

Due to menus only being available for the 1940s and 1950s cookbooks, we will limit the total FIRMS score to these decades.

*Table 29: FIRMS Analysis for the 1940s and 1950s cookbooks*

<b>LAS, 1940s</b>	<b>HDDS</b>	<b>WDDS</b>	<b>Total FIRMS Score</b>
.71	.659	.553	.64 or 64%

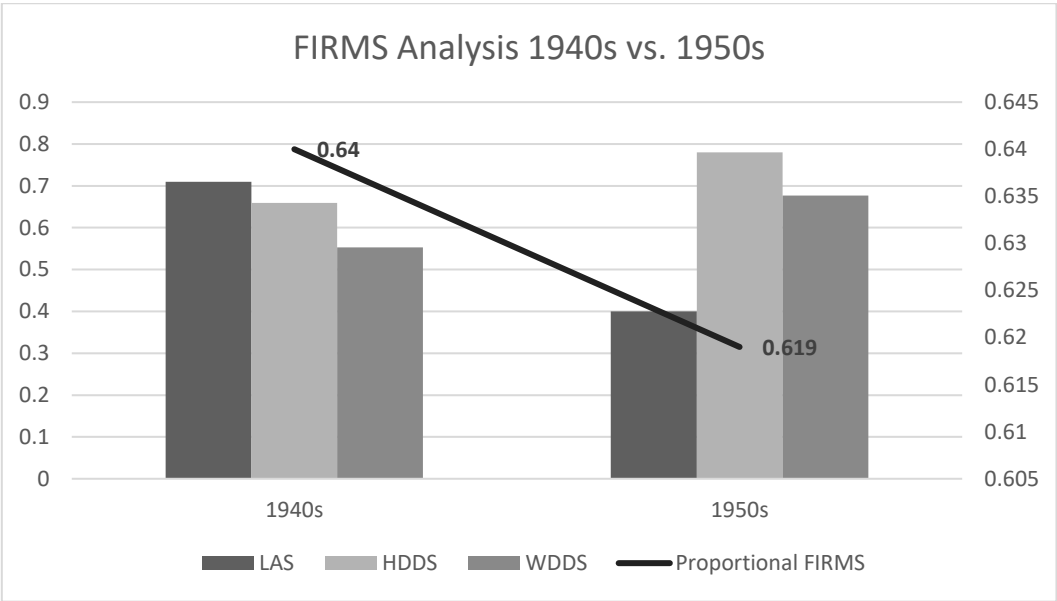
<b>LAS, 1950s</b>	<b>HDDS</b>	<b>WDDS</b>	<b>Total FIRMS Score</b>
.40	.78	.677	.619 or 61.9%

While there is not a huge discrepancy in total FIRMS scoring (~2%) between the two periods, by looking at the individual scores (Table 29), we can see a drastic change in the amount of information provided to

the reader (LAS) which was noted above. We can also see roughly a 10% difference between the HDD and WDD scores, which shows an increase in nutritional availability and variety. When we look at the menus themselves (see *Appendix 6*), we see most of this is made up of additional meal courses (such as supper or tea), especially in the 1950s cookbooks.

However, it is important to keep in mind that these menus may not be accessible to everyone based on cost of ingredients. Similarly, a household would need to have a refrigerator instead of a pantry for the ingredients to remain fresh; something that more families had access to in the 1950s, but this was not universal across the country with rural infrastructure often lagging several years behind their urban counterparts (Golding, 1937; von Braun, 1995). Such available kitchen equipment would change the menus utilized predominantly based upon ingredient shelf life.

*Figure 106: Graphical representation of the FIRMS Analysis for the 1940s and 1950s cookbooks*



The proportional FIRMS data (Figure 106) shows the total combined LAS, HDDS, and WDDS numbers and the trend line between the two decades. Here we can see that the combined 1940s rates (0.64) are higher than those found in the 1950s (0.619). Although the individual scores for HDDS and WDDS are higher in the 1950s. We can deduce that the assumed knowledge in the 1940s was higher, i.e., the readers of the cookbooks are assumed to have more experience in the kitchen than in the 1950s. We can also deduce that rationing had its intended effect because the HDDS and WDDS are closer together than in the 1950s. However, the data from the 1950s shows that the availability of different types of foods was higher than in the 1940s and that these foods were being used (or at least recommended) in



higher proportions than in the 1940s. While none of this is a surprise, this is the first-time cookery books as material culture have been analyzed in this manner.

To this end, the results of our FIRMS analysis showed that during the 1940s, Government controls over food supplies meant limited resources and relatively consistent menu selections were promoted in the various media options, of which, we found that radio and television made the biggest impact on consumer spending. We also find that the recipes being written had a relatively high level of assumed knowledge on behalf of the home or domestic cook and while cookbooks offered a variety of recipes, the basic menus were relatively simple in structure and focused on minimizing waste - be it food, fuel, or time – all of which were some of the goals of the MOF's Food Advice Centres many of the leading female food voices were employed by. This inevitably meant that while nutritional needs were being met, variety was lacking in the household diets of the time.

On the other hand, the 1950s saw an increased level of consumption to bolster morale and the nation's economy post-WWII. We also find that the cookbooks of the 1950s began catering to a younger, or at least less knowledgeable, consumer base, as the length of instructions increased drastically, often including notations on what might go wrong or variations on themes. Additionally, tea/supper menus start to drop off, which correlates to the increase in workers purchasing meals in factory canteens or the many restaurants that grew up in the post-war period and may have been augmented by the burgeoning frozen meal industry (Hamilton, 2003). A final point of note, none of the WI cookbooks listed example menus, at the same time, they had the lowest literary scores and were clearly written for women well-versed in both the science of cooking and meal planning. This correlates with the average WI member being of both middle-class and middle-years and the number of WI sponsored cookery demonstrations and trainings provided to their members.

#### *EVALUATING KNOWLEDGE TRANSFERENCE INTERGENERATIONALLY*

Post-WWII, the understanding of FNS moved from government leaflets and demonstrations, into the educational arena as part of the new "Domestic Sciences" courses. Ms. M. Hildreth, wrote the Elementary Science of Food textbook for use in Domestic Science classrooms throughout the U.K. in 1952 and is a great example of how the more scientific aspects of these courses were combined with the practical how-to homemaking guides. She states in the preface that the book is:

suitable for use by teachers and pupils in all types of secondary schools, to women in technical colleges preparing for cookery examinations of the City and Guilds of London Institute and

similar bodies, and to students in domestic science training colleges...[and that it is] essentially a simplified version of “Foods and Nutrition” written by the late W. Munn Rankin, former president of the Federation of Textile Societies (Burnley) (‘Federation of Textile Societies’, 1933; Hildreth, 1952).

The material within gives a valuable insight into the transference of knowledge to the next generation (post-transitional period) and shows a direct correspondence to Sinclair’s caloric requirements with a few simplifications to showcase the changing structure in post-WWII Britain. While Dr. Wills’ Folic Acid (B<sub>9</sub>) is not listed explicitly in Hildreth’s textbook, the book does explain that for Vitamin B, certain foods and food preparations are preferred to keep the nutritional levels high (Hildreth, 1952):

National flour contains 85% of the wheat berry and thus retains the greater part of the original thiamine and, in this respect, is superior to pre-war white flour.... Thiamine [(B<sub>1</sub>)] is destroyed by high temperatures and particularly so in the presence of soda. There is some loss in the canning of meat and processed foods because of the high temperatures used.

For riboflavin (B<sub>2</sub> found in milk products), boiling does not destroy the vitamin, but “losses do occur during frying, roasting and canning because of the temperature reached;” while niacin (B<sub>3</sub>), can be found in Marmite, potatoes, and herrings and is a necessary vitamin for nursing mothers and very active men (Hildreth, 1952). Similar issues occur with folic acid (B<sub>9</sub>), as high cooking temperature destroy the nutritional quality, hence for dark green vegetables like spinach, a prime B<sub>9</sub> source, it is recommended to blanch as little as possible or eat the vegetable raw. Likewise, the water used should then be used in stocks or soups, as whatever vitamins were lost to the water would be available in such a preparation.

As mentioned, the textbook breaks down each nutritional category as listed by Sinclair and the amount of each needed by the various groups, although they do alter the categories for women into: 1) nursing mother, 2) expecting mother, and 3) sedentary, showing an inherent bias by the author, which seems counterintuitive considering the book specifically states this is for women attending technical colleges and contains quite a bit of chemistry and biology, including human, animal, and plant. Likewise, there is no delineation between body types, age, ethnicity, or height/weight, which Dr. Widdowson and Dr. McCane noted were required to develop appropriate ratios (Table 30).

*Table 30: Dietary requirements by age, gender, and activity level*

<b>Daily Calorie Requirements and Outputs</b>	
<b>Man (weighing 70 kgs. or 11 stones)</b>	<b>Calories</b>
Sedentary (clerk, tailor, shoemaker)	2,600
Moderately active (carpenter, painter, farmer)	3,000-3,400
Very active (mason, navy[sic])	3,400-4,500
<b>Woman</b>	
Sedentary	2,100
Moderately active	2,500
Very active	3,000
<b>Child</b>	
Between 7 and 9 years old	2,000
Between 10 and 12 years old	2,500
Girl between 13 and 15 years old	2,800
Between 16 and 20 years old	2,400
Boy between 13 and 15 years old	3,200
Between 16 and 20 years old	3,800

Source: (Hildreth, 1952)

Lists of various foodstuffs within the textbook show both numerical and graphical representations of the percentages of protein, fats and carbohydrates, the rates of which are found within Sinclair's records and highlight the differences between fresh and dried milk and eggs, as well as the fortified and promoted National flour, showing that the information from WWII was being passed down to the next generation, even if University Nutrition programs were closing.

This combination of government and scientific understanding appearing in the formalized educational nutrition guides shows one aspect of knowledge transference between generations and why such formalized education was important to the homemaker. Since rationing continued until 1954, education would be necessary for those entering nutritional programs, but the addition of such information into the standard curriculum of secondary schools shows that there is also the understanding that the subject matter is essential to the general wellbeing of the civilian public as well as for the specialists in the field, though it was still assumed that women such employment was aimed at women and girls. Likewise, with the collapse of the domestic service industry and the expansion of the supply chain into new industries (such as refineries and food processing), more opportunities arose within the distributive trades in the post-WWII period, emphasizing a need to instill in the younger generations the knowledge they would have traditionally received (in part) in the home.

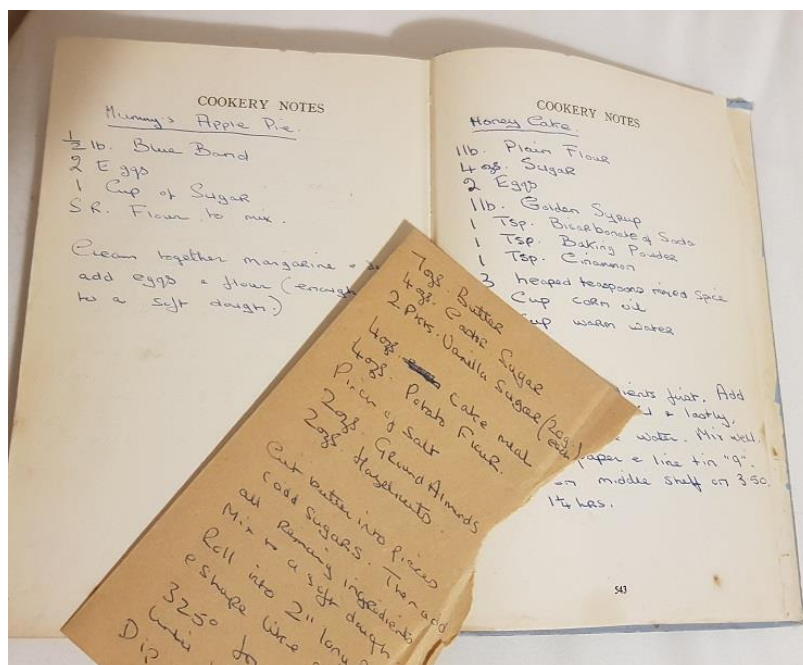
When reviewing knowledge transference, regardless of topic, one must also take into consideration the retention of such knowledge. The Ebbinghaus Forgetting Curve states that there is a 50% drop in new knowledge retention in a single day, yet continual renewal of the knowledge or skill brings the percentage back up to just under 100% (Chun and Heo, 2018). If we apply this to cooking by reviewing menu and recipe selections, we find that those cookbooks geared towards individuals who cook daily retain more of the basic skills and knowledge, requiring less information to be presented, i.e., what we are calling ‘assumed knowledge.’ Such “continual renewal of knowledge”, is found within those cookbooks created for community or specialist organizations, such as the WI, as their members are anticipated, or expected, to cook more frequently than the national average (Chun and Heo, 2018). This is confirmed by the FIRMS data that identified the larger trends in knowledge acquisition and retention through the shortcrust pastry recipe. In this case, we found that, for the skill of cooking in England during the study period, retention of cookery skills averages less than 10-years nationally.

Substantial debate between the importance of cooking skills and source of such skills has typically followed two forms: 1) teachers and the education system and 2) mothers in the home (Caraher and Lang, 1999; Caraher *et al.*, 1999; Lavelle *et al.*, 2016; Lam and Adams, 2017). This research shows that both are needed, along with the addition of social organizations through a novel approach to the debate by evaluating cookbooks from a literary and nutritional format. We find that while the general press was aiming to expand upon the novice home cook’s understanding, women were more likely to pass on knowledge through practical hands-on experience and use such written texts as references once they achieved a set level of mastery commiserate with their own needs and interests. Additionally, this part of the research helps us to identify where there are gaps between the consumer and the Agri-Food supply chain. By identifying how a populace’s understanding of food production and utilization of those products works, we can look at where agricultural education, marketing, and processing can be bolstered, either by increasing information sharing or employment within those industries.

However, cookbooks are mostly a middle-class construct and need to be viewed as such. The ability to purchase a book to teach you how to cook, or at least provide a variety of recipes, would be beyond the income of many of the lower working-classes, yet would perhaps be a gift for a new wife or young mother. In my own family, my grandmother was given a copy of *Better Homes and Garden’s New Cookbook* in the 1950s. When my mother married in the 1970s, she received the new edition of the same book, and when I left home in the 2000s, I received my own copy. It was a tradition from mother to daughter and though my mother only ever made cookies from it, I have vivid memories of propping

the book up on the counter to cook from it. So, to do the books under review in this Chapter. Many of them are stained and splattered with food, marked with pen and pencil, and have handwritten notes and recipes in the backs and on papers and envelopes found within their covers. We can see those recipes that were well known (such as 'Mummy's Apple Pie' in Figure 107), with few instructions, and those that might have caught the owners' interest and been written, possibly in haste, on the envelope.

*Figure 107: Handwritten notes in the back of Florence Greenberg's cookery book*



Source: (Greenberg, 1955)

Cookery books offer one small slice of the learning pie, but they do give a practical insight into what changes have occurred in regards to social and personal interest and their intricacies allow us to categorize them by education, culture, and income-level. In 2017, Samin Nosrat published Salt, Fat, Acid, Heat: Mastering the Elements of Good Cooking. Her book is commonly referred to as a coffee table book - large, dense, with lots of text, colorful drawings, and lots of personal stories. Yet it is also a resource, almost a textbook, in explaining where and how ingredients work and includes the science behind them (Nosrat, 2017). It also includes a forward by Michael Pollan, one of the primary spokespeople for the modern slow food and organic food movement, who is often quoted saying "don't eat anything your great grandmother wouldn't recognize as food" (Matthews, 2007). The revision of cookery as a science, steeped in chemistry and biology, harkens back to the domestic science classrooms of WWII and the post-war period, and reminds us of the role such coursework has in a typically 'feminine' domain.

Likewise, looking back at the cookery books our grandmothers and great-grandmothers used, we get to see the types and combinations of foods available at the time, while the distribution networks for those books and the advertisements found within them allows us to evaluate how far and in what form, their readerships took, while evaluating how they were written offers insight into who was cooking and for how many.

## A DISCUSSION AROUND FEMALE AGRI-FOOD WORKFORCE COMPLEXITY DURING PERIODS OF CHANGE

The Agri-Food sector in England (both historically and at present) has been oversimplified to the point where we no longer recognize what constitutes either Agriculture or Food. The actuality of both sectors is much more complex and includes everyone within the Farm to Fork (F2F) supply chain (Wozniak, Lück and Wessler, 2014; König and Araújo-Soares, 2023). We have seen a wide variety of jobs represented (mostly in the food sector) and looked at where women have been included as a way of showcasing those positions and people who have traditionally been left out of the general discussion on Agri-Food policy.

While our research showed that women were underreported in many of the national census records, their exclusion does not necessarily affect the overall trends for the purposes of *this* inquiry. This is due to the often seasonal or part-time labor they provided on farms. Instead, we found that the more concerning aspect is the unwillingness to commodify household labor to establish who in the household is responsible for what type of work *in addition* to the seasonal/part-time work women provide from the agriculture side, and the variations in professionalization of work from the food side in industry and home work. This supplemental, unlisted labor, when evaluated with appropriate wages, would drastically change the narrative around housework, should it become part of the general discussion.

At the heart of female employment in England during the study period were policy changes around equal pay and equal access to employment routes within both sectors. Though women's experiences since the end of WWII have drastically changed, with seven-in-ten women engaged in the labor market today and accounting for nearly half the workforce, yet the fact of the matter is that while the wage gap has decreased, it is still there (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2020). Women continue to be placed within employment sectors focused on caring and nurturing roles (nursing, teaching, etc.) and are constantly underrepresented in leadership roles and top occupations in maths and science fields and the average gap between male and female mean hourly earnings is around 20.8%, marking the U.K. as having the fourth

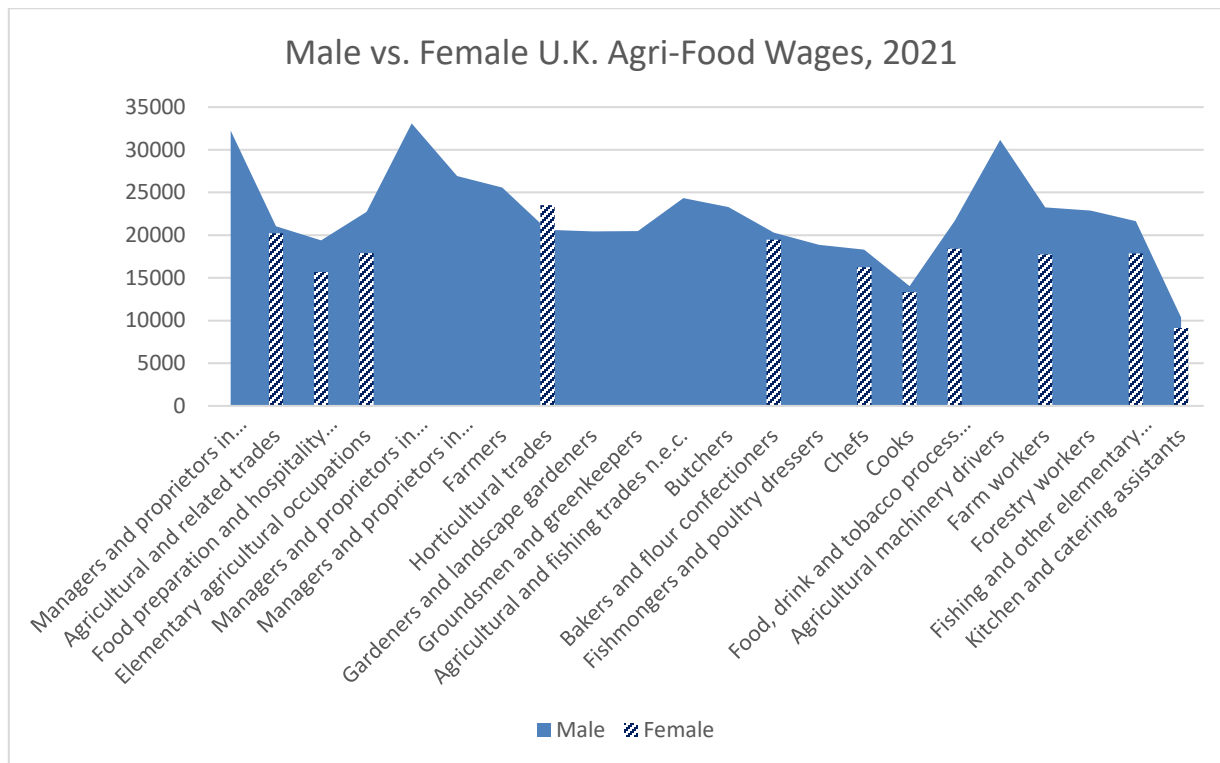
highest discrepancy in the EU28 (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2020). Part of the discussion then, must be on public perception around why women are still seen as different than men such as the art of Evelyn Dunbar versus the propaganda of the MOA's WLA photographs, while the other half must be on how education (and qualifications) impact their employability in the Agri-Food sector such as found in the WI's RDE programs.

If we extend our time period just a bit, we find that policies post-WWII affecting the Gender Wage Gap (GWG) focus on the 1970 Equal Pay Act, which was supposed to provide equal pay for equal work, though it did not go into effect until January 1976, and while it substantially closed the hourly wage gap, it did not end wage inequality. The second policy was the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, which made it unlawful to treat women less favorably than their male counterparts and made it so married and single women would be hired/retained under similar circumstances. This same year the Employment Protection Act for paid maternity leave and right of reinstatement was enacted (Wilkinson *et al.*, 2020). Though there were other policies put in place throughout the years, these three showed the greatest changes in male and female wage rates as they applied towards entrance into the labor market and, for the purpose of general comparison with current issues, mean that policy-wise, there should be no difference for employment for the two genders. However, this is not the case.

One of the issues in determining if such wage equality policies are being thwarted is access to trade unions and formal job evaluations, of which we have shown that historically, both were limited, if not out-right barred, for women in the Agri-Food sector. Since women still make up over four-fifths of part-time workers in the U.K., and experience in part-time work has been shown to have no impact on subsequent earnings potentials, the social norms governing gender roles and the continued placement of women into caring positions and their forced maternity leave should they wish to have a child, shows that women in the U.K. "suffer a wage penalty when becoming mothers, whereas men appear to benefit from a fatherhood premium" (Joshi *et al.*, 2019; Wilkinson *et al.*, 2020). These two points reinforce those issues around childcare and 'women's places within the home' that was prevalent during the study period, showing that while the verbiage around a woman's sphere of influence may have changed, the dialogue has not, and that our initial position that we could use a historical period as a proxy to a modern one (WWII and BREXIT/COVID-19) is thus confirmed. For example, during the height of COVID-19 (2021) U.K. women were reported as earning 4.9% less than men in agriculture and related trades with 10% less in elementary agricultural occupations, while female cooks earned 5% (female chefs 2.7%) more per hour, all of which is in line to the historical data (Figure 108; see Appendix 8). What this means

for future policy makers, is that the wage gap and the penalization for having children, is detrimental to a household's total income, purchasing power, and economic viability.

*Figure 108: Gender wage gap, U.K. 2021*



Source: (Office for National Statistics – Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE), 2021)

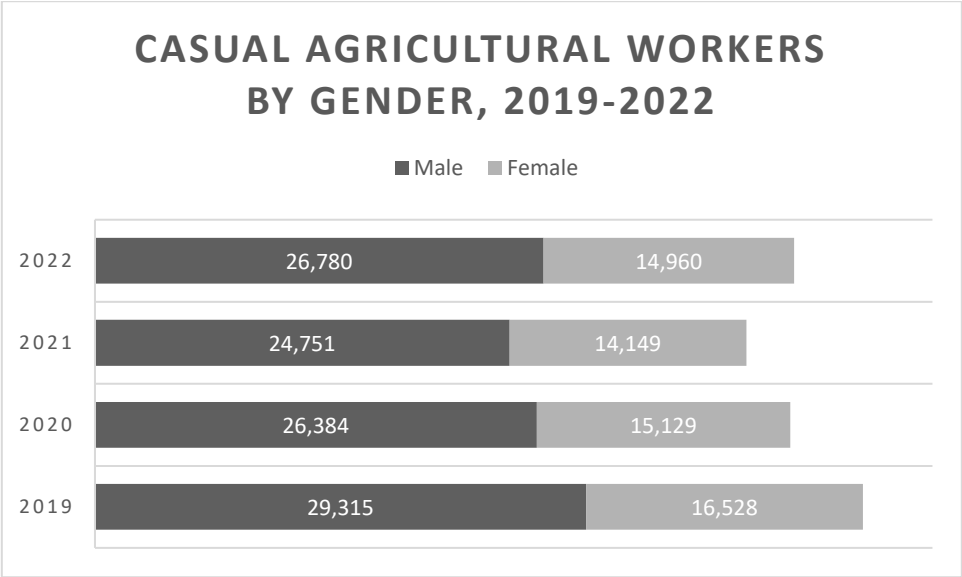
Similarly, education in the historical data was shown to play a key part in agricultural employment options for women, but not in the way many would initially think. The modern concept of higher education equalling higher paying jobs, does not work for the bulk of agricultural employment, in either the historical or modern data. The June 2022 DEFRA Agricultural Workforce survey showed breakdowns by Full and Part-Time employment for 1) Farmers, partners, directors, and spouses, 2) Salaried managers, 3) Regular workers, and 4) M/F for Casual workers. While the dataset was split relatively evenly between Farmers (179,769) and Workers (109,167), males outnumbered women in casual work almost 2:1 with horticulture showing a third of respondents (171/512) needed seasonal labor amounting to 7-9 days of work in 2022; half of what was reported in 2021<sup>107</sup> (Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs, 2022b, 2023). This is reminiscent to the employment rates and seasonal labor issues

<sup>107</sup> It should be noted that the average response to the sampled survey ranged between 16-20% for the horticulture inquiry (Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs, 2022b).



found during WWII of which the WLA and WI were attempting to supplement (Figure 109, see Chapters 1 and 3).

Figure 109: Casual Agricultural Workers by Gender, England, 2019-2022



Source: (Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs, 2023)

The research shows that FNS employment options offer the greatest potential for change for female employment. From cooks to researchers and those positions within the distributive trades, entry points are both lower and have higher potentials for advancement or new entry for women. Likewise, educational options are more varied. While FNS vocational programs such as cookery offer quicker turn around and lower financial investment, HE programs for research in agricultural research, nutritional research, education, medical, or advisory work offer another avenue for women who have HE qualifications. However, for agricultural laborers, such HE coursework is less desirable than the semi-formalized apprenticeship style onsite trainings Fis and YFCs provided. At the same time, this Chapter’s research shows a prevalence for women performing cooking operations within the home and in catering establishments. Therefore, it is our belief that by increasing the scientific aspect within schools, along with the links to the commodification/commercialization of home economy through mass media such as television and internet, public perception and knowledge transference has the highest potential for change/growth.

## SUMMARY

In this Chapter we have looked at the professionalization of Agri-Food research, their connection to women's social networks, and how their contributions have been researched, formalized, and imagined during the study period. We have evaluated some of the key government policies changes that had the greatest impact on employment and access for women and we have analyzed one way in which women internalized changes in scientific understanding around food selection. We have seen that women's social networks promoted community values, and when partnered with the State, used women as a means of influencing consumer purchases to coincide with government rationing schemes. Though the admittance of women into Food and Nutritional Sciences advanced the Government and public's understanding around food preservation and utilization, it was the increase in rings on the F2F supply chain – including in the distributive trades and food catering establishments – that offered the greatest options for female FNS employment. However, these positions are typically non-advancement options, with lower pay-scales than scientific or research positions. In the final Chapter, we will discuss where our findings fit into the wider literature, some of the implications and recommendations for policy makers, as well as avenues of further study.

## CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this thesis, we set out to identify and evaluate policies and social challenges that typified barriers women faced within the Agri-Food sector from 1920-1960 and how they worked within, and around them, to enact localized change. The goal of which was to establish a more thorough understanding of the period so that those changes that worked could be utilized during similar periods of transition or crisis, while foregoing those that did not. Each chapter's discussions and summary highlighted the key concerns and findings of the section, and emphasized the linkages between Government funding promotion of female agricultural education, as well as the intricate role of women's social networks in establishing communities beyond women's official legal standing. We explained the FIGS framework we used for categorizing those identified barriers found within the historical records: government policies, social ideologies, and educational access being the most prevalent. We then reviewed what reactions such barriers were met with: social changes through media, legal changes through policy design, employment through VOC or HE education, etc. Finally, we asked which gender socialization processes (opportunities, incentives, concept of identity) were being affected and their outcomes to enhance regional stability through workforce development by increasing human capital versus industry expansion. The FIGS framework is less about specific topical issues and more about establishing parameters for researchers and policy makers to work within, i.e., making sure that discussions regarding cognition and motivation are asked from both male and female perspectives as well as the employer and employee level. Inclusive policy design and development, which has been the primary argument throughout this research, is dependent on monitoring and feedback and as such, this research falls within the latter feedback category.

Chapters 1 and 3-5 showed that while women have been involved in every aspect of food production and utilization, they are traditionally not the focus of the sector, and their generally low employment rates mean that, to date, they have not had the same type of voice that their male counterparts have had. A review of employment opportunities in the case-study counties versus national rates showed that, historically, it was a combination of traditional domestic servant employment opportunities, low agricultural pay, and the casual nature of women's agricultural work that had the greatest impact on female agricultural labor rates, with migratory patterns being the largest discrepancy between the counties. Their inclusion showed that traditional practices had greater impacts on cultural identity and public perception than did Government propaganda and policies, and the further away a county is from the South-East and London, the less Government oversight and education/employment options.

Women in the agri-food sector had. Additional issues arose regarding the limitations of female trade union and social organization access, although the later, when partnered (but not run by) the State, had the greatest impact on the women's concept of self, rurality, education, and policy changes (here through WI membership as compared to the WLA).

At the same time, general low financial investment in rural communities by the Government in rural infrastructure affected employment and migration in these areas, while quick reforms of public opinion appear to be dependent on periods of transition. In this case, it was during periods of stress and the immediate period thereafter, such as a war, that Government policies seemed to enforce quick change. In the U.K., such post-war policies included the National Health Service, town and country planning, and educational reforms (Greengross, Grant and Collini, 1999; UK Parliament, 2023a, 2023b)<sup>108</sup>. Once that period was over and peace restored fully, the general culture was quick to re-establish social norms. In this instance, the social pressures around middle-class women working were more of a concern to the Government than those in the lower-working classes, especially as they arose around population concerns and the replacement of returning male servicemen by lower-paid females. The key to workforce development in the Agri-Food sector then, was identified as human capital versus industry expansion. This offered the most opportunities for regional stability through the redistribution of resources from the producer to the consumer and society while still maintaining separate spheres of influence and legitimized the redistribution of power between the genders while increasing market elasticity.

As such, we can state that while women were an increasingly important employment labor group for the Food sector, they were stymied by Government policy and public perception as Agricultural labor. The continued reinforcement of separate spheres offered limited access to equal status with males in similar positions and relegated women into sub-standard positions both within the home and employment avenues. One location women stood out, was in the distributive trades. These middle-tier positions as marketers, purchasers, and sellers of commodities both on and off-farm, offered ways for women to increase their human capital, while still maintaining the public's perceptions of appropriate female work and increased their potential for part-time work when in conjunction with household duties.

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<sup>108</sup> All three mentioned programs were initiated in mid 1940s. The New Towns Act of 1946, Education Act of 1944, and creation of the NHS in 1948. The programs sought to balance access rights across the country and were initiated during and at the culmination of WWII.

## IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDED FUTURE POLICY OPTIONS FOR INCLUSIVE FEMALE AGRI-FOOD EMPLOYEMENT

The gender critical historical analysis of our research has shown a direct link between our within-case determinants of Government policies, education, and employment, using the biographical aspects for our micro-scale, the policies and demographic data for the macro-scale, and the case study counties and women's networks to establish the knowledge transference and impact at the meso-scale. Women hold a unique position within the fields of economics and workforce policy as they both produce and care for the workforce, and are themselves, members of said workforce. As such, the inclusion of them into the wider policy and economic dialogue needs to take place, however, we argue that such discussions need to follow an MMR format, as it is not just the economists or politicians who need to look at inclusive gender relationships. The Agri-Food sector itself is rather diverse, and as such, the inclusion of the four dimensions of food security are the same as the dimensions for employment and education (availability, access, utilization, and stability). Their inclusion within the FIGS and FIRMS frameworks offers a new slant to gender critical literature and when including discursive and material culture analysis, creates the potential for a more robust analytical discussion within the fields of rural studies, gender studies, education, and museum studies.

We found that the lower salaries provided to agricultural workers, regardless of gender, and the low need of either professional certification or educational degrees for laborers, means that the Government has been promoting the wrong aspects of both sectors. Following through with this line of reasoning, the research shows that funding to agricultural education programs should be readdressed with more vocational training programs instead of higher education programs for those in the labor category. As discussed in Chapter 3, the historical records from Cambridge and the FIs showed three educational tracks for women:

- Lower to middle income<sup>109</sup> women graduated from the FIs and National Colleges and went into dairy, poultry, and horticulture in entry level positions.
- Middle class women went into the same fields but attended the more specialized agricultural and horticultural colleges and held higher positions or managed their own farms.
- Middle to upper class women attended the universities with the aim of:
  - 1) becoming advisory staff or
  - 2) becoming researchers.

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<sup>109</sup> Incomes are based on pre-graduation levels.

Some used their degrees to help them manage their own farms or large estates.

Such tracks are the most clearly defined argument for funding agencies, and yet, the more practical FI and YFC, which would assist with these discrepancies, have been left off the modern narratives.

Likewise, the split of Food and Nutritional Sciences from Agriculture in the universities is problematic from a public comprehension perspective. Many dietitians do not understand how the food they are evaluating is grown and many agriculturalists do not see the end-product they produce. By merging the two University departments into one department of Agriculture, Food and Nutritional Sciences, there would be greater comprehension of the Agri-Food supply chain, including better options for evaluating employment into the distributive trades post-Higher Education. While the reintroduction of YFC and FI programs along with Domestic and Consumer Science coursework in primary and secondary schooling and promoting the course as a Science, Technology, Engineering, and Maths (STEM) program with more chemistry and biology similar to coursework found during the study period would offer initial avenues for students to select either vocational or HE tracks early on. Additionally, promoting home economics within cookery shows and other social media would assist in linking food and science, as we have shown that there is a higher rate of engagement with the more modern media formats.

The split between semi-formalized and formalized agricultural education lends itself to the continued division of male and female farm ownership/management. This is due, firstly, to the cultural tradition of male inheritance and secondly, to the traditional gender division of labor on-farm, which typically gives more on-farm training to males versus females. We have also shown that women were pushing for entry and completion of HE opportunities and that female graduates took on more managerial or research positions and included teachers and advisory officers for the LEAs, CWEACs, and ministries. Yet, the Government's funding schemes often hindered unifying Higher Education's agricultural opportunities by dividing funding between the MOE and MOA. Likewise, more women currently complete Higher Educational coursework in agriculture than men do in the U.K., while rates of farm ownership or management for women are listed as considerably lower than males, although the structure of the census inquires may be obscuring such ownership data. This discrepancy can be adjusted in the following ways: onsite training, access for women, inclusive policies, mentorships, and changes to ownership identification.

Practical skills trainings were the preferred avenue for farm laborers and their children and were both praised and condemned in the press, more for the limited scope than the practical training and, when used as part of the WLA and LSA formats, did little to alleviate the lack of knowledge for new entrants.

The short-courses that did work were those utilized as part of the WI trainings. Short intensives for interested parties in small, practical settings with community members showed greater participation rates than university trainings, and though retention of knowledge might be less in this case, the addition of a community to refer to and the ability to go to multiple trainings without changing the structure of one's homelife allowed for more dissemination of knowledge across the community and intergenerationally.

Outside of employment, the other key issue we initially noted was access. Rural women and girls continue to have less access to land, agricultural services (extension, financial, or business development), and the labor market (FAO, 2020). Similarly, women and minorities are significantly under-represented in most farming organizations and trade unions (both historically and in the modern context), and while 54% of the U.K. agricultural workforce is made up of women, few are in positions of authority (Diver, 2020). The National Farmers' Union (NFU), the largest agricultural organization in the U.K., only elected their first female president in 2018, 110-years after the organization's founding (Press Association, 2018). In this instance, it is the position of this research that there needs to be changes from the top-down *and* bottom-up; those parts of FIGS identified as Structural (top-down) and Social-Interactional (bottom-up) Levels.

From the top down, policies need to be established to increase female representation at the national and regional levels of primary farming organizations. These might include the NFU<sup>110</sup>, the Royal Agricultural Society, and national breeds associations. In addition, a quota system of 30% should be put in place for C-level<sup>111</sup> positions as this has been identified as the point of critical mass for a change in procedure to maintain itself (Dahlerup, 1988). Likewise, mentorships to promote positions within the organizations themselves and women's only farming networks should also be implemented to encourage participation and 'validity' of female farmers bridging the top-down and bottom-up levels (Scott, 2021). The Women in Food and Agriculture Mentorship Program is a one such option. The first cohort brought together over 340 stakeholders across the world in 2022 to support women within the food and agriculture sector (Alltech and Women in Food & Agriculture, 2022). Mentorship has been shown to be beneficial, especially for new or younger members of a group, with compatibility between

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<sup>110</sup> Minette Bridget Batters (née Hill, 1967) is a British farmer who is the President of the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales for 2020–2022. She is the first female president in the organisation's 110-year history (Press Association, 2018).

<sup>111</sup> CEO, CFO, COO, etc.

the mentee and mentor, as well as the voluntary nature of such mentorship having been shown to be key to maintaining a non-judgmental and non-directive relationship (Turner and Warren, 2008).

Such mentorship programs should be linked into the New Entrant Support Scheme underway from the U.K. Government, of which 54% of the 200 current pilot program participants are identified as women since 80% of all the participants were listed as coming from a non-farming background (Leveson-Gower, 2023). These new farmers would benefit from having a cohort of mentors to speak to regarding farm and farm business issues that they have come across, while local social organizations such as the Women in Farming network (part of the Yorkshire Agricultural Society), the WI, and local councils can assist from a grass-roots, collaborative approach working from the bottom-up (Yorkshire Agricultural Society, 2021; Leveson-Gower, 2023). These mid-level organizations offer both social engagement and political agency, which allows for greater change from a policy side without losing the networking aspect of smaller, local organizations, which we have shown through the WI was instrumental in bridging the rural-urban divide<sup>112</sup>.

Inheritance and farm ownership laws are another way that men and women are treated inherently different. Historically, males have been listed as the owner on farms and farm businesses in titles and deeds due to space constraints (modern Scottish smallholding regulations still only allow for a single name to be entered) which limits showcasing women's inclusion for ownership (Tindley, 2018). Offering multiple names of ownership on Government forms would increase public perception and policy standing. It is the recommendation of this research that on-farm training and management should be promoted to all interested family members regardless of gender. The reintroduction of the Fis and YFCs would assist in equalling the balance between male and female training, as historically they were relatively even and promoted within the rural agricultural community.

At the same time, new entrants into farm ownership are predominantly limited by financial access. Establishing a network between farmers with available land and infrastructure, banks or grant agencies, and new entrants would offer new routes to encourage farm ownership. Likewise streamlining the legal paperwork required for smallholders (farms under 50 hectares<sup>113</sup>) would open additional pathways for

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<sup>112</sup> We are not advocating that smaller organizations do not affect change, we are simply stating that, for large-scale change, mid-tier organizations would be more efficient.

<sup>113</sup> "A smallholding is a home with a piece of land larger than a garden but smaller than most farms. This land can be used to grow crops or rear animals. Generally acknowledged to be anything with fewer than 50 acres of land, smallholdings can range from small, allotment-style plots to, essentially, small mixed farms" (Addland, 2021).



small-scale entrepreneurial enterprises and rural growth. Incentives, or options for childcare and farm apprenticeships, also need to be addressed. Most women involved in agriculture tend to participate in a casual or part-time nature due to additional duties within the home. By offering options for these women, either through more nursery/day cares, or communal assistance, a higher proportion of women would be available for full-time agricultural employment should they chose to do so.

From the Food sector side, the contributions of scientific researchers, nutritionists, and home economists have often been ignored completely in the historic records mostly due to the way their research was funded. Government agencies often did not disclose the research behind their policies and as such, the men and women involved in Food and Nutritional Science research were inherently silenced by the Government itself, albeit without any overt bias over their inclusion, while the materials they garnered have become part of the ubiquitous production of food within the home.

While the marriage bar limited women's general employment, the exclusion of such a bar in the sciences offered increased employment opportunities within government advisory services until such was enacted. This left the work of nutritionists and food advisory positions as the only recourse for women in this field, and though their employment was broader in scope, their pay rate was lower, even though their insight into food choice and use formed the basis for the rationing systems in play during the World Wars and general nutritional knowledge still in use today. Their entry did offer a new career path for those interested in food or medicine without going into those fields; however, the shift in focus to women as agents of food preparation, does not necessarily translate into a modern context, yet the notion of a scientifically literate homemaker does. Especially in the post-BREXIT, post-COVID environment where financial literacy (around household budgeting) is just as important as the science of nutrition in regards to food production.

We would argue that one of the primary issues with the current Agri-Food sector in England is the decentralization of government oversight in an age where most of the nation's food resources are imported, just like in the Pre-War period, and that by allowing outside agencies to supply the nation, England (and the larger U.K. supply chain) will forever be playing catch-up to market shocks. It must be noted though, that while we are not arguing for full Municipal or State ownership of agricultural lands, we are arguing that any future policies must consider that localized agricultural and food production will never be stabile if the Government and public do not start valuing and placing appropriate financial rewards in place for such production. Likewise, price control and subsidies of the most used imports

needs to be put in place to keep profit margins down and minimize final consumer costs. Government controls over food supplies meant limited resources and relatively consistent menu selections were not only promoted in the media, but that price controls were put in place to affect consumption changes in the nation's larder. These changes were also found within cookbooks of the period, especially Government-sponsored or specialist cookbooks. We found that the discrepancy in assumed knowledge between community cookbooks and general cookery books produced for the mass media show an inherent classist attitude. Community cookbooks were aimed at middle-aged, middle-class housewives with experience in cooking a variety of meals and utilizing local resources. These cookbooks showed less instructions for basic cooking and offered more ethnic or intricate recipes than the nationally produced books, which devoted more space to simplified explanations in basic cookery skills and recipes.

Part of the classist concept could be mitigated by the Government following a one-size fits all policy. Such an action covers a majority of the populace and is easier to produce, distribute, and maintain than localized or specialized distributions and follows along with the limited access and resources of the WWII period. Though the marketing materials aimed towards the general public did not garner the same results as specific marketing towards home cooks, the results from the study period show that television had the largest impact versus print media; and the diaries and commentary in the press showed that material needed to be presented in short, simplified bites of information to be retained by the general public. In the modern context, with access to the internet, there is no reason for such regional limitations. Creating short posts available online with varying levels of difficulty and regional speciality would offer more routes of access for the home cook and housemaker.

An inclusive government policy surrounding food from F2F has been shown to directly impact both the consumption and production of food resources, mostly due to the ease of inclusive administrative paperwork and funding. However, the retention of knowledge of how to use such food stuffs is minimized within communities wherein the predominant homemaker is 1) away from the home for extended periods and 2) is not involved within the cultural aspects of the community (through community organizations). Our results show that modern policies reflecting the need for increased green infrastructure would benefit from the historical research showing that when discussing urban and peri-urban food production, it is the inclusion of an awareness of where science, culture, education, and consumer purchasing power overlap that should be considered as part of the Government's overarching Agri-Food policy. It is imperative that the Government factor in the amount of time allotted to household management, employment away from the home, and access to education and social

organization membership to increase women's potentialities in both the agricultural and food sectors. Their willingness and the sector's ability to pay a living wage for their employment, offer the most financially viable option for increasing U.K. sustainability in future periods of transition as per the historical research presented herein.

## LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH POTENTIALS

One of the issues with gender history is the tendency to raise new debates without creating new doctrine. As Corfield (1997) states: "when general long-term trends are invoked, such as the separation of work from the household and the banishment of women from a public world of production into a private sphere of demure domesticity, there is no agreement as to how, why and especially when change occurred." Our proposal was to put those pieces back into the discussion. In business, the lack of discussions regarding gender is easy to see. At the 2006 Association of Business Historians, there were no papers on gender history, showcasing a pervasive ignorance of looking at business from a gendered lens in the modern context, although gender historians as we have noted have been quite pervasive (Honeyman, 2007). More recent calls for papers have included gender, but their focus has been on gender differences in the workplace, HRD, and employment legalities, not the question of how women fit into ownership rates, specific sectors, or the linkage to education. While this research hoped to highlight some of the historical aspects and their links to current practices, it too semi-fails in moving the narrative forward into the modern period. However, the primary methodological goal of the research was to show new avenues to look at, specifically around FNS and education, and while the research is perhaps more generalized than others, the variety of MCA used shows how future researchers can take an inquiry from an intersectional approach instead of a purely quantitative one and the potential for such inquiry to be used as a proxy for predictive historical analysis and a measurement of social capital amongst social organizations (Karlan, 2005; Buchanan, 2016; Otremba, 2020).

The question of predictive analysis aside, designing a framework where gender is the focal point and applying such to a forecasting model of policy development is one option that can be used in both historical and modern contexts. We showcased a few such items in this research. The first being a brief review of the policies and public perceptions in place prior to the historical period as a way of understanding how the study period issues came to be, the second looking at the historical period in the case-study counties compared to national rates, and the third, looking at the historical period and where similar trends could be found within contemporary issues arising from BREXIT and COVID-19. While the case-study counties proved less specific than initially hoped due to a lack of similar artefacts to review,

general trends were able to be discussed. Additional county inclusion would increase the specificity and identify any outliers that might have been missing from the identified samples, as would additional cookbooks to establish how trends might appear within alternative community groups (ethnic, religious, etc.). Likewise, applied gender critical history of specific types of businesses within the Agri-Food sector, would also be a valuable addition to flesh out the FIGS framework, especially if applied to assessment of management teams, HRD practices, or correlating education, experience, and employment pay scales as these issues are where the historical data and modern data show the greatest overlap (Cortada, 2000).

## CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

We began this research with three research objectives: to identify the historical and political barriers to women in Agri-Food, the intersectionality of social organization membership and the State for legitimization of employment, and the role of such in internalizing scientific understanding of food and nutrition. We found the greatest barriers were legal constraints and public opinion and that once the legal issues were minimized (Chapter 1), it was the public that insisted on gendered divisions around Agri-Food employment and that changing internal perceptions was just as important as external ones (Chapters 3 and 5). We also found that the Food sector offered the most options for breaking barriers, mostly in new fields where no previous gender standards existed and the distributive trades where employment straddles the line between masculine and feminine roles (Chapter 5).

While such results were not exactly unexpected, the type of role women's social networks played in legitimizing and yet reaffirming gender roles was. The Women's Land Army, which was created with the express purpose of female agricultural employment had less of a long-term impact on public perception, Government policy, and employment trends, then did the Women's Institute, which was designed to be a social organization for rural women to find companionship with others in similar situations (Chapter 4). However, by establishing firm ties to the MOA, MOE, trade unions, and rural communities, they were able to push for more funding to educational programs (Chapter 4), more employment opportunities in the food and distributive trades (Chapter 5), more social acceptance in the public sphere, and more community activism for rural infrastructure programs and social activities that continue to this day (Chapters 3-4).

The use of MCA (Chapter 2), though cumbersome in a larger inquiry such as this one, does offer unique insights as shown by the cookery book analysis (Chapter 5). Yet while the strength of MCA is the breadth of analysis possible, its' weaknesses are the depth that one can achieve with only a single type of item

and the ability to locate appropriate sources (Chapter 2). Of great help in the initial inquiry portion of the project was the establishment and utilization of the FIGS framework, and though it does little to assist once a chosen methodology and format is selected, its use during the analysis portion to confirm where gaps are in policy development was helpful. Overall, we believe both FIGS and MCA are good starting points that future research can expand upon within any gender critical historical analysis.

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## APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: Ethnographic study questions

Appendix 2: Interview transcripts

1. Kath Green Interview
2. Frankie Cordwell Interview
3. Roy Barwick Interview
4. Barbara Cornwell Interview
5. Shelia Hope Interview

Appendix 3: List of successful female farmers

Appendix 4: Rural Domestic Economy coursework

1. List of courses offered at NFWI Berkshire
2. NFWI courses in Berkshire with attendance rates, 1940-41
3. Images of Newton Rigg Agricultural College, Cumberland
4. Images of Denman College, Berkshire

Appendix 5: Female non-paid labor calculations

Appendix 6: FIRMS- LAS calculations

1. FIRMS Recipes, 1920s
  - 1.1 The “Daily Mail” Cookery Book, 1920
  - 1.2 Mrs. Beeton’s All About Cookery, 1927
2. FIRMS Recipes, 1930s
  - 2.1 Good Eating – suggestions for wartime dishes, 1939
3. FIRMS Recipes, 1940s
  - 3.1 Wartime Cookery in Cumberland, 1940
  - 3.2 How to cook in war-time, 1941
  - 3.3 Tried Favourites Cookery Book, 1942
  - 3.4 From Hand to Mouth, 1944
  - 3.5 Easting for Victory (Ministry of Food leaflets, 1946)
  - 3.6 Outdoor Cooking, 1948
4. FIRMS Recipes, 1950s
  - 4.1 Florence Greenberg’s Cookery Book, 1955
  - 4.2 Collins Family Cookery, 1957
  - 4.3 The Berkshire Cookery Book, 1958
5. FIRMS Recipes, 1960s
  - 5.1 More Westmorland W.I. Recipes, 1960s
6. FIRMS Recipes, other
  - 6.1 Northumberland Cooks Corner, 1917-1992
  - 6.2 The Country Kitchen Cook Book, 1918-1978

### 6.3 Diamond Jubilee Cookbook, 1978

#### Appendix 7: FIRMS - HDDS/WDDS calculations

##### 1. HDDS and WDDS - 1940s

###### 1.1 Wartime Cookery in Cumberland, 1940

###### 1.2 MOF, 1946

###### 1.2.1 "One-pot" meals (Leaflet No. 35; 1946)

###### 1.2.2 High Teas and Suppers (leaflet No. 7; 1946)

###### 1.2.3 Suggestions for Breakfast (Leaflet No. 3; 1946)

###### 1.2.4 War Cookery Leaflet (No. 18)

###### 1.3 Outdoor Cooking, 1948

##### 2. HDDS and WDDS - 1950s

###### 2.1 The 'Creda' Housecraft Manual, 1958

###### 2.2 Collins Family Cookery, 1957

#### Appendix 8: Pay gap dataset

#### Appendix 9: AccessEd Curriculum- Agricultural Education

#### Appendix 10: AccessEd Curriculum- Inclusive Media Studies

## APPENDIX 1: ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY QUESTIONS

WLA members:

- Personal Information:
  - Can you tell me about your family background before the war?
  - Where were you born and raised?
  - What did your parents do? Did your mother work outside the home?
  - Where were you when you heard that war was declared?
  - How did you think it was going to affect you?
  - Joining Up:
    - When and why did you join the Land Army?
    - How did you hear about it?
    - Could you tell me about how you signed up? Did you have to go for a medical?
    - How did your parents react when you told them you'd signed up?
- Training:
  - Did you go for training? If so, how long were you trained and where?
  - Did you have any choice as to where you were sent?
  - How long did you have between notification and training?
  - Was this the first time you'd left home? How did you feel about that?
  - Can you describe the training to me?
  - Did you come from an agricultural background or attend a university for agriculture?
  - What was the training like?
  - How did you feel doing the work?
  - What were the trainers like? Did you get on with them?
- Billeting:
  - Did you billet with other girls?
  - How many?
  - What was the billet like?
  - Did you get on with the other girls?
  - Were there ever any problems?
- Work:
  - When and where were you sent?
  - What did you do?
  - What was your work schedule like?
  - What about your pay?
  - How long were you there?
  - What were the clothes like? Did you have enough clothing or did you share with the other girls?
  - What was the work like? Did you feel adequately trained or did you have a lot of on-farm training?
  - What was your billet like?
  - Did you get on with the farmer?
  - What about the family?
  - How did they make you feel?
  - Were there other workers?
  - How did you get on with them?
  - Did you ever go home?



- Were you or the other girls homesick?
- What did you do in the evenings?
- Did you go somewhere else?
- Community:
  - What was the community like you were sent to?
  - Did you go out or have much interaction with the community?
  - How did the community treat you?
  - How did you feel about that?
  - What was your relationship with the other girls?
  - What was the food like?
  - Were you required to do chores?
- Marriage and Family:
  - When did you leave the Land Army?
  - Can you tell me about that?
  - What did you do after the war?
  - Where did you go after the Land Army (urban, rural, etc.)?
  - Did you ever marry?
  - Where did you meet your spouse?
  - Did you have children?
  - Did you work outside the home?
  - What did you do?
  - How did the work you did in the Land Army affect your life after the war?
  - Did you have any children?
- Overall, how do you feel about your time in the Land Army?

Farmers:

- Personal Information:
  - Can you tell me about your family background before the war?
  - Where were you born and raised?
  - What did your parents do? Did your mother work outside the home?
  - Where were you when you heard that war was declared?
  - How did you think it was going to affect you?
  - Can you describe your family to me during the war (wife, children, etc.)?
- The Farm:
  - Can you describe the farm/market garden?
  - How many people worked on it?
  - What were their responsibilities and how much did they get paid?
- Land Girls:
  - Overall, what was your opinion of women working on farms before the war?
  - When did you decide to utilize the Land Army?
  - How did you go about securing the girls?
  - How many did you hire and for what pay?
  - What were their responsibilities?
  - What was the reaction in the community when you hired them?
  - What did other farmers in the region think about them?
  - How did they perform?
  - Were they adequately trained when sent to you?

- How much time did you need to take to train them?
- What were they very good at?
- What did they struggle with?
- How did you get along with the girls?
- Did you put any girls up at the farm?
- What were the billets like?
- Were the girls required to do any chores?
- Overall, what was your opinion of women working on farms after the war?

WI members:

- Personal Information:
  - Can you tell me about your family background before the war?
  - Where were you born and raised?
  - What did your parents do? Did your mother work outside the home?
  - Where were you when you heard that war was declared?
  - How did you think it was going to affect you?
  - Where you married at the time you joined?
  - Did you have children?
  - Did you work outside the home?
  - What did you do?
  - How did the WI affect your life after the war?
- Joining Up:
  - When did you join the WI?
  - Why did you join up?
  - How did you hear about it?
  - Could you tell me about how you signed up?
- Duties:
  - Can you describe your duties to me?
  - How did you feel doing the work?
  - Did you go out or have much interaction with the community?
  - How did the community treat you?
  - How did you feel about that?
  - What was your relationship with the other women?
  - What were your favourite duties?
  - Which one's did you like the least?
  - Where there ever any problems?

## APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

The following transcripts allowed the researcher the ability to take a critical perspective of primary and secondary sources even when not citing directly. They allowed for contextualisation and perspectives on pieces of history noted, but not explained in the literature, and allowed for a British perspective beyond the media stories.

### 1. KATH GREEN INTERVIEW

Friday, 18 September 2020

Interviewer: Caroline Street

Transcriptionist: Carolyn Ward, CJW Transcribing, [carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com](mailto:carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com)

Part One

A (no recording) -- When we first started, they had a few sheep, but they had, they were mostly at Chilling.

Q Oh right.

A But, after we left, well, after we went, they, when the war was on, they didn't do lamb.

Q No?

A He just had a few pigs in the yard in a big sty, and----

Q Yeah.

A -- three horses. They had three.

Q Yeah.

A Prince, Damsel, the white one----

Q Oh, Damsel's the one that's in that picture with you and Mum.

A Damsel, we used to have Damsel, and then there was Prince and Captain.

Q Yeah.

A Two others.

Q And were they----

A Prince was---- He was quite, a very mild horse, really----

Q Yeah?

A -- really, you know, you could do anything with him, and you could with Damsel, but Captain----

Q Yeah.

A -- the other one, he was a spritely devil.

Q Was he?

A Yeah. You had to be careful with him.

Q Yeah.

A (Laughter)

Q Did you, did you use them for ploughing?

A Yeah.

Q Were they used for ploughing, all, all three of them?

A Yeah, we used to use them, and we used to have them on when we were harvest----

Q Pulling the----

A Our carts.

Q Pulling the carts, yeah, like that picture. Yeah.

A But as---- We had the tractors as well.

Q Yeah?

A Of course, that's where---- We used to drive the tractors----

Q Right.

A -- but they used to use the horses as well, for horse hoeing between the rows----

Q Yeah. So did the, did the Land Girls do the horses as well, or did the men tend to do the horses, or did you do everything?

A We did everything.

Q Yeah?

A We used to go in the stables and put the harness and that all on the horses----

Q Yeah?

A -- and get them out the stables, and----

Q Mm hmm.

A -- when, take them out to the fields. We used to do a lot of horse hoeing in those days, and rolling the ground then----

Q Oh right, yeah.

A -- ready for the potatoes, you used to roll the ground, then----

Q Yeah.

A -- Annie was over, making the furrows, you know, the ridges for the potato----

Q Yeah.

A -- for us to walk in and plant them by hand.

Q Mm.

A We never had a machine.

Q No.

A Not 'til---- Latterly, they did. They had one of the first potato planters.

Q Oh, really? What, at Mortimer's?

A And it was a circular thing----

Q Yeah?

A -- three of us, there was a seat for three, and it was like little tiny, about as wide as my hand that would hold a potato----

Q Yeah?

A -- and it was circular, and it went round in a circle, and we had to keep, keep a potato----

Q Keep putting potatoes----

A -- on each one----

Q -- on each----

A -- and, of course, the faster the tractor went, the faster that went round and round.

Q Oh, really?

A We had a heck of a job to keep getting a potato on.

Q I'm sure.

A 'Cause you had the potatoes---- (inaudible) the potatoes in front or the back, in a box, on the machine.

Q Yeah.

A In front of us, I think, the potatoes were, in the box.

Q Yeah.

A So we had to keep getting that----

Q (Laughter)

A -- (inaudible)

Q Ooh.

A Of course, if you missed one, you missed a potato plant.

Q You had a gap.

A It went down the chute.

Q Yeah, yeah. So, did it cause accidents sometimes, or you just had to be---- I expect you had to be quite careful you didn't get caught in it, didn't you?

A No.

Q No?

A No, no.

Q It was all right?

A We just used to sit on the seat and----

Q Yeah?

A -- and we had, they had---- We didn't have them at farm, but some of the farmers had them for cabbage planting----

Q Oh right.

A -- as well, and then you had to put them in a little narrow thing.

Q Yeah? And it pushed them into the ground?

A And that was planted by machine.

Q Right. Yeah. So----

A And I can remember one, one time of day, Tom Parker----

Q Yeah.

A -- at Fareham----

Q Yeah.

A -- they had, I think there was two or three days for demonstrations----

Q Oh right.

A -- demonstrating all the new machinery----

Q Oh. Yeah?

A -- and then we all had to go over there and then all work on some of the machines.

Q Oh right. So that you could demonstrate to people?

A Yeah. Well, we walked behind some of them and some of them you sat on.

Q Yeah? (Laughter) I expect, I expect that was quite interesting.

A Eh?

Q Quite interesting, doing something different.

A Yeah.

Q Yeah. So, did you meet Tom Parker much? Tom, Tom Parker?

A No, he were----

Q No. (Laughter)

A He was. We never worked for him----

Q Yeah.

A -- so I didn't know him.

Q No. When I lived up at the farm at Droxford, when I was married to John Horn----

A Oh yeah.

Q -- he, they, there was always a lot of friction between the Horn family and the Parker family, or--

--

A Yeah, I think there would be.

Q But I, I don't, I don't know where that originated from, whether it was----

A No.

Q But Tom Parker, I think he was quite a strict man, wasn't he, quite a----

A Oh, he was---- I don't know. He thought he was Lord of the Manor.

Q Yeah, yeah. Yeah, that's the impression I got, that he thought he was above, above other people. Yeah. So---- Yeah.

A Thank God we never had to work for him.

Q No, that's right.

A It was bad enough some of the girls worked for Roberts.

Q Oh yes. Yeah. He could be a bit of a taskmaster, I think.

A Yeah. He wouldn't let the girls smoke. You weren't allowed to smoke.

Q No?

A Not while you was----

Q Hmm.

A You know, but some of them did, on the quiet, but----

Q Yeah.

A I mean, while you're working, I can understand that, I can agree with that really----

Q Yeah.

A -- but, I mean, I used to smoke, but I didn't, only smoked in me dinner hour.

Q Yeah.

A I didn't while I was---- Never while I was working, ever.

Q No.

A But if I'd finished---- I had one at dinnertime and one when I was walking home to meet Mrs Brown.

Q Yeah.

A 'Cause we had to walk to meet the van.

Q Yeah.

A (Laughter)

Q Yeah.

A (inaudible) Nellie sometimes, Nellie used to get walking back here nearly to (inaudible).

Q Oh, did she?

A And we used to---- Hill's always had lorries. They used to collect the milk.

Q Oh yeah?

A And they would go round to the different farms on those days and collect the churns.

Q Yeah?

A And sometimes, very often, if we were walking along the road, we'd see one of those and they'd stop and pick us up----

Q Oh, would they?

A Yeah, bring us down here as far as the station.

Q Oh right. And----

A So we had to walk from there to the hostel.

Q Oh right. Yeah.

A (Laughter)

Q And after a whole day's work, that must have been pretty tiring.

A Yeah. Mm.

Q Yeah. Must have been quite exhausting.

A Well, Mrs Brown only had one van to take us all round to different farms, all over the place.



Q Yeah. Yeah. Yeah.

A Then she got, we got another lorry----

Q Yeah?

A -- an Army lorry, Bedford----

Q Yeah?

A -- and I learnt to drive. That's where I learnt to drive.

Q Oh really?

A Yeah. I drove a Bedford lorry.

Q Oh right. Yeah.

A We'd take the girls to work in a Bedford lorry. (Laughter)

Q Did you get----

A Great big things.

Q Did you get some good instruction with that, or was it like the, like when you learnt to drive a tractor, just stick you on it and let you get on with it?

A Mm. Yeah.

Q Did they teach you, the driving? Did they teach you to drive the Bedford lorry?

A No, they---- Yes.

Q Yeah?

A The girl that taught me had been in the WAFS.

Q Yeah?

A She was a driver----

Q Ah, right.

A -- in the WAFS----

Q Yeah?

A -- and, a Miss Wray, and she lived at Preshaw, the Preshaw Estate----

Q Oh right.

A -- (inaudible) work for Preshaw, chap on Preshaw.

Q Mm hmm.

A She lived up Preshaw and she was in the WAFS, and then, when she came out, she got a job with the WarAg, as we called it, as a driver.

Q Right. Okay.

A And then----

Q And what----

A -- we were going to have, get rid of that lorry----

Q Yeah?

A -- and have smaller vans, which I had, I drove different ones. About once a fortnight, you know, they'd change it. They were all ex-service----

Q Yeah.

A -- vans.

Q Oh right.

A And I had a Hillman, I had a Morris van---

Q Yeah?

A -- and a Bedford lorry.

Q Yeah?

A All different sorts. (Laughter) Just, just enough for the girls (inaudible)----

Q Yeah.

A -- to take seven at a time----

Q Yeah.

A -- and go round the different farms and drop them off.

Q Mm hmm.

A And then I worked out at Locks Heath----

Q Yeah?

A -- down at---- It's called Peters Road.

Q Oh right, yeah. I know Peters Road. Yeah? Yeah?

A And that brings you out at----

Q Yeah.

A -- on the main----

Q On the main----

A -- road.

Q Yeah, on the main sort of Southampton----

A Because it's on an estate now, a big bungalow estate.

Q It is. It is. I've got some friends who live just round the corner from Peters Road, yeah. They've built even more there in the last eighteen months, two years, they, some of what was fields are now also----

A Yeah.

Q -- estate now.

A And there was a big nursery down there as well.

Q Yeah. Yeah.

A Some of the girls used to work in the nursery----

Q Right.

A -- growing the tomatoes, and I worked for a Mr Hook.

Q Uh huh.

A And he had, well, it wasn't a very big piece of land, and I worked for him.

Q Uh huh. Yeah.

A He used to, he used to ring up and ask for me.

Q Oh, did he?

A So I used to go and work for him.

Q Yeah?

A And he---- Well, sometimes he employed two of us, but mostly only me.

Q Yeah.

A This was after all week, when we'd finished at Brinich(?).

Q Yeah. What did you do there?

A And he had all soft fruit.

Q Oh, fruit? Yeah?

A Strawberries----

Q Right.

A -- gooseberries----

Q Yeah.

A -- blackcurrants, raspberries.

Q Oh, all sorts.

A All soft fruit.

Q Yeah. Yeah.

A Raspberries.

Q They didn't have any fruit at Mortimer's?

A No.

Q No? It was all----

A No, they was just potatoes----

Q -- potatoes and----

A -- mostly, and corn.

Q Yeah. Right.

A And so that's where we did our harvesting, there.

Q Yeah, that's right. I've seen some nice pictures of the harvesting.

A But those days, Caroline, you had to walk---- The potatoes, potatoes, they grew a lot of potatoes.

Q Yeah.

A You had to walk through the rows of potatoes with a little hand hoe and hoe, by hand!

Q And those fields are enormous.

A Yes!

Q They're big, aren't they?

A It took us a fortnight. We---- And then we had to plant them by hand.

Q Yeah?

A Walk up the rows.

Q Yeah.

A At Hook's, you used to have the horse to make the furrows----

Q Yeah.

A -- and we used to have to walk in the furrow and drop a potato at each toe you walked.

Q Yeah? (Laughter)

A You started to walk up the row, up the ridge----

Q Yeah.

A -- and you put a potato at your toe----

Q Yeah?

A -- and you put the next foot and you put a potato.

Q Put a potato at your toe? Really? Oh right.

A That's how you did them.

Q Really? Yeah?

A And then, afterwards, they got a machine----

Q Yeah.

A -- and you had one (inaudible) that sort of way, when it went round----

Q When it went round.

A -- and went fast, and we couldn't keep up with it.

Q No, no, and then you'd end up with them missed.

A Oh dear!

Q So it was more accurate, using your feet?

A Mm?

Q It was more accurate. At least, at least you had time to get----

A Yes, but if you weren't careful, you'd kick your next, you'd kick the potato----

Q (Laughter)

A -- when you was walking, you'd kick it.

Q (Laughter) Bit of football. Oh dear. How funny. Yeah.

A (Laughter) Then they brought out all the machines then to plant them----

Q Yeah.

A -- all different sorts. So they did for cabbage planting.

Q Yeah? Did you----

A It wasn't all done by hand. After a while, they got machines out to plant them.

Q Yeah, yeah. And now it's all automated, isn't it?

A Mm. Mm.

Q I think the tractors now, when they're going round the corn, it's all done with a computer so that, when they're spraying and things, it knows where to go, so the person in the cab doesn't drive the tractor, it takes itself round, but somebody has to be there to, in case, in case something goes wrong.

A Oh yeah. Yes.

Q But now it's all automated, really automated.

A Yeah.

Q So it's very clever.

A You see on there (inaudible) mowing, on the grass.

Q Yeah. Yeah, I didn't see that. Mm.

A I saw on the telly, the thing that, that cuts the grass, they just put it on----

Q Oh, and they put it down and it just goes around.

A Remote control.

Q Yeah.

A Yeah.

Q Yeah. Yeah. When, when I was on holiday----

A There's clever blokes that go and invent them.

Q Yeah, yeah.

A Aren't they?

Q And it's all right until they go wrong, and they go, go through your flower patch, or your vegetable patch and cut it all down. (Laughter) I know, a few years ago, I was in Austria, on holiday, and I could see this round thing just moving around the lawn----

A Mm?

Q -- and I went, "What on earth is that?" and somebody said, "Oh, it's, it's a grass cutter." Very strange. Yeah. So---- Yeah. Did you have to take a driving test for driving the lorry----

A Yeah.

Q -- after the, the lady---- Oh, you took a driving test.

A After I'd learnt to drive on the Bedford lorry.

Q Yeah. Yeah. So you took a driving test at the end?

A At---- I had that, yes, in Portsmouth.

Q Oh right. Oh, down in Portsmouth.

A Where the first traffic lights were.

Q Oh right.

A (Laughter)

Q Was that the first traffic lights in this area?

A They'd got---- Yeah (inaudible).

Q Yeah, yeah.

A So I had to get to know them.

Q Yeah. So complicated. Mm, yeah.

A And I bought myself a Lambretta scooter.

Q Oh, did you?

A Yeah.

Q Oh right.

A I had a, a win on ERNIE, you know, the----

Q Oh, did you? On the pools?

A No, not ERNIE, on----

Q On the lottery? Not the----

A What are the other things that you had?

Q Premium Bonds?

A Yeah.

Q Premium Bonds, yeah.

A I had that.

Q Yeah?

A £100.

Q Gosh, that was a lot then.

A And that bought me a Lambretta scooter.

Q Really?

A Yeah.

Q That was----

A And, actually, I got it from a place in Fareham.

Q Yeah?

A It was a shop near the station then----

Q Yeah?

A -- that opened, and they sold them in there, and that's where, I think that's where I got it, in Fareham----

Q Yeah?

A -- and it was £138.

Q Really? Gosh.

A I don't know what---- You can't buy them now, can you?

Q No. Well, no, they've got different ones. I haven't even looked at----

A Yeah.

Q -- scooters and motorbikes for years now, so----

A No.

Q Yeah. Because you know I sold Mum's old bike on eBay?

A Yeah.

Q And it hadn't been used for three years.

A Hadn't it? No.

Q And it was all---- You couldn't start the engine, and I put it on eBay, I'd never sold anything on there before, on the computer, I put it on, and it, I put a starting price of £10, and I said to Mum, "We might just get £10 for it", and she said, "Oh well, never mind, just see what happens", and two people were bidding against each other, one in London and one from up north, and they bid against each other and each time I went to see her or phoned her up, I'd say, "There's another £50 gone on that, there's another----" And, in the end, we got £411, and we thought we might get ten. It was like, gosh! In one week, we got £411----

A Yeah.

Q -- and we were so shocked, when the guy came to pick it up, I said to Mum, "Oh, I told him it was rusty, I told him that the chrome was all rusty, but he'd said it doesn't matter, but if he's funny about it when he sees it and it's not what he's expecting, maybe we could knock the price down." So we agreed we'd sell it for less, two hundred or something, if he wasn't happy, and when he looked at it, and I said, "Oh, you see, this is the chrome, this is where it's not, not right", and he said, "Oh, that's fine", he said, "it'll be okay", he said, and he got a wad of notes out of his pocket and counted them all out and, and we, afterwards, we sat in the kitchen, in Mum's kitchen, round the----

A Yeah.

Q -- at the dining room table, we were just sat opposite each other in her kitchen, with the money in the middle, and we were just looking at it, going----

A (Laughter)

Q -- "Well, that was easy", and we were just shocked. We were just shocked.

A Yeah.

Q Because there was supposed to be a few coppers as well, he was going to count out the odd bits of change to go with the £411, and I said, "Oh, don't worry about that. That's okay." (Laughter) But we were just---- We were so flabbergasted----



A Yeah.

Q -- I think, I think that we were so shocked by it all, we, we didn't even make a cup of tea or coffee, we just sat there looking at it, going----

A (Laughter)

Q -- "How did that happen?"

A Yeah.

Q It was funny. But we were very naïve, but, yeah, so---- And, of course, Mum had all the books of all the information about the bike----

A Mm.

Q -- and, in fact, I think, I think if we'd advertised it with all the documentation, we'd have probably got even more for it.

A Yeah.

Q But never mind. But he---- We were pleased with what we got, but he said, "Oh, he said, you don't usually get all this with it." He said, "It's all in perfect condition as well, all these books." Mum said, "Oh yeah, I've kept them all properly."

A Mm, yeah.

Q Yeah. So, she had it all just so. They, you know----

A Well, I had---- It wasn't a bubble car, but it was a three-wheeler----

Q Oh right.

A -- and the, the little wheel that was at the back, two wheels at the front----

Q Yeah.

A -- and you opened the front to get in.

Q Yes. Yeah. One of the people on our ground had one of those.

A Mm.

Q Yeah. One of the chaps who worked for my dad----

A Mm.

Q -- or his father. Yeah.

A Yes, I had one of those.

Q Yeah.

A I got it in Southampton. I swapped my---- I had a scooter, a Lambretta----

Q Yeah.

A -- and of course it got a bit cold in the winter, and I had a bit of a spin on the ice----

Q Oh yeah.

A -- (inaudible)----

Q Yeah.

A -- they only had small wheels on those, and I suppose the ice, I didn't realise it, the front wheel twisted, and I fell off, came----

Q Oh right.

A Fell off, and I went, "Oh, I'm not keeping that any longer."

Q No.

A So I went into Southampton - I can't remember the name of the place I went in Southampton - and exchanged it----

Q Yeah. So----

A -- for this three-wheeler that I had.

Q Yeah.

A Oh, I can't remember what it was called. Oh. It was---- Two of you could sit in the front.

Q Yeah?

A Anyhow, I had that for a while, and then----

Q Yeah. So did you use----

A -- (inaudible) the clutch was at the side, your gears were on the side of it----

Q Yeah?

A -- and I was going down the, the drive, up the farm, and I suppose I, I didn't, I went over a bump as I changed gear and of course it broke.

Q Oh right.

A So a chap by the name of Wilf Hoare at----

Q Oh yeah, yeah, I know.

A -- (inaudible)----

Q I know. Yeah, I remember the name.

A Yes? Well, he used to do repairs. He had it----

Q Yes, yeah.

A -- and repaired it, and I said to Kath, I said, "Well, I'm not going to keep it much longer, I'm gonna change it."

Q Yeah.

A So we advertised in The Echo, and a young lad wanted it.

Q Oh right.

A His, his father rang, could he come and have a look at it, and so I let him have it.

Q Yeah.

A And I think I had £100, I let him (inaudible)----

Q Yeah?

A I advertised for more than that, but he was a young lad.

Q Yeah.

A He'd been saving up for one of these, he said, so I said, "Oh, well, I'll let you have it for £100 then."

Q Yeah.

A So he had it for £100, so----

Q So I guess this was----

A -- that was a little bit towards the other things.

Q I guess this was after the war that you got the----

A Yeah.

Q Was it after the war you got the Lambretta?

A Mm hmm?

Q Was it after the war that you got the Lambretta?

A Oh yeah, yeah.

Q Was it quite a bit after?

A Yeah.

Q 'Cause I don't suppose you could get things----

A No.

Q -- during wartime?

A No, no.

Q No.

A No, it was after the war.

Q So, when you, when you got rid of your little three-wheeler one, is that when you got a car?

A Yes.

Q Yeah.

A I got it at Godridge Ewings(?).

Q Oh yeah.

A Used to be at Hedge End.

Q Right. Yeah.

A Well, the chap that lived next door to us at The Elves worked for them.

Q Oh right.

A So I went in to see him----

Q Yeah.

A -- and he (inaudible)----

Q Oh right. Good. Yeah.

A -- had a Mini.

Q Did Kath drive then as well?

A Not then, she didn't, no.

Q No. She learnt afterwards?

A She didn't (inaudible) for quite a while, 'til after she came, we were nineteen, she came home in 1946----

Q Yeah?

A -- sometime then, after that, she learnt to drive.

Q Right. Yeah.

A Bill, Bill Pritchards and, oh, what's the chaps that's got the driving now that, bottom of (inaudible) Hill?

Q Oh, right. What, Silverlake's?

A Yeah.

Q Silverlake's? Right?

A Yeah, when they first started, 'cause he was in the Air Force to start with.

Q Oh, was he?

A Yeah.

Q Yeah.

A When he first came back.

Q Yeah.

A And they started that car place down there.

Q Yeah.

A And a chap by the name of Pritchard----

Q Right.

A -- from Curdridge. He came from Curdridge.

Q Yeah.

A And he started to work for them as well----

Q Uh huh.

A -- as a driver, and a teacher.

Q Right.

A So that's who taught Kath to drive after she came home.

Q Yeah.

A But I, I----

Q Yeah.

A -- learned about, oh, '42, about 1943/44----

Q Yeah.

A -- when I started to drive.

Q Yeah. So, Kath was, Kath was away a lot of the time, when you were on the Land Army----

A Oh yes.

Q -- Kath was----

A Yeah, she was in the----

Q -- away?

A -- in the Air Force for four years.

Q Right. Did she travel a lot?

A Oh, she went to all over the place, then she---- Where did she---- Oh, different parts of the country, different----

Q Yeah.

A St Athan's was to start with.

Q Right.

A That's where she went in first, and then went round and, oh, what's the name of that place out in Ireland? She was in Ireland for a while.

Q Oh right. I'm not sure. Don't know.

A Oh!

Q Yeah.

A Used to go to Liverpool, anyhow, and go across----

Q Did she?

A -- from Liverpool.

Q Right. Not across to Dublin or somewhere or----

A No.

Q No. I wouldn't----

A Larne? Larne?

Q Oh Larne? That rings a bell.

A Yeah. That's in Ireland, Northern Ireland she was.

Q That rings a bell, but----

A Larne.

Q Oh right. Yeah.

A I think it was Northern Ireland.

Q Yeah.

A I think that was the name of the place.

Q Did she enjoy it in the Air Force?

A Pardon?

Q Did she enjoy it in the Air Force?

A Oh, I think so, yeah.

Q Yeah. Must have been very strange, coming back----

A Yeah.

Q -- afterwards.

A Yeah. Well, her parents didn't really want her to.

Q Didn't they?

A No.

Q No?

A Didn't want her to join.

Q No.

A Didn't want her to leave home.

Q Mm.

A But she said yes.

Q Yeah.

A She said, "Other people are, are going, and I'm not going to be said in Curdridge that I was a coward."

Q Right. Yeah. I can imagine, I can imagine her saying that.

A So she went and joined.

Q Yeah.

A Volunteered.

Q Yes.

A Well, I did. I didn't wait for them to call me.

Q No.

A I went, I volunteered.

Q I remember you saying before, you----

A My parents didn't want me to leave home, but----

Q No.

A -- (inaudible) to be registered for something at eighteen.

Q Yeah. Yeah. Yeah.

A So I said, "Well, I'm going to go and do what I want to do, not where I'm going to be sent."

Q Yeah. Yeah, have some choice.

A I mean, I didn't want to go into the forces. It was nothing---- I said, "If anything, I want to go into the Wrens." I can't swim, but I said, "I would like to go into the Wrens."

Q Yeah.

A But I didn't do any of that, I went and---- When they started the Land Army, I was interested in outdoors, the garden. I always helped my dad in the garden, and used to do, we had a lawn at the front-  
---

Q Yeah.

A -- of the house, and I used to cut the grass and do the lawn on a Saturday afternoon. Every Saturday, I used to do the lawn and do, help with the garden at the front.

Q Yeah?

A My dad did the garden at the back. We used to grow all our own veg, and that was that.

Q But once, once you'd joined up, were they proud of you having joined up and done----

A Yeah.

Q -- what you did?

A Mm.

Q I expect they were proud of you.

A Pardon?

Q I expect---- Were they proud of you, proud to----

A Oh, very.

Q "Oh yeah, our daughter's there doing----"

A They used to put, in our weekly paper that we----

Q Yeah?

A -- I used to have it, it was called the Long Eaton Advertiser----

Q Yeah?

A -- and Long Eaton is, it's been on here, it's a, a small town.

Q Up in Derbyshire.

A Yeah.

Q Yeah?

A It's only a few miles, like Hedge End is from----

Q Oh right.

A -- here.

Q A few miles away, yeah.

A So this was a small town of Long Eaton----

Q Mm hmm.

A -- is next to our village, Breaston. We live in between Derby and Nottingham----

Q Yeah.

A -- right in the middle, and well, that was that.



Q Yeah.

A Oh.

Q And you were saying they, they wrote in the paper, in the paper, did----

A Mm?

Q You started saying about the paper.

A Oh yeah, they put my---- When it was my birthdays----

Q Yeah?

A -- there was always a list of people that were in the forces----

Q Ah.

A -- and photos----

Q Yeah?

A -- of people----

Q Oh right.

A -- and my mum put my, a photo of me in my Land Army hat.

Q Oh really?

A In the, yeah, in the weekly paper. (Laughter)

Q Ahh. Yeah.

A That's what they did with the other people. That's why they always used to look down, 'cause---

-

Q Yeah.

A -- after I left home, my dad used to send it to me every week.

Q Yeah?

A As well. So----

Q Did you keep a copy of the picture of you?

A Pardon?

Q Did you keep a copy of the picture of you in the paper?

A No.

Q No? No.

A No, I haven't got any photo, pictures of me, or photos of me in my uniform. Of my group, like----

Q Yes, yeah, with all of us.

A -- where it's got---- Yeah.

Q Yeah, with all, all of you, yeah. Yeah.

A Because those, you couldn't get a film during the war----

Q No.

A -- because you weren't allowed to take photos.

Q No. No. Everything's got to be kept quiet.

A You weren't allowed. Olive's John----

Q Yeah?

A -- got that film in Germany.

Q Yeah. So if he'd been caught with the film, would he have been in trouble?

A Yes.

Q Oh right.

A Well, you couldn't buy them.

Q No.

A They never sold them in the shop, in the chemist.

Q No.

A You couldn't buy films.

Q And what did John do? Was he in----

A Well, he got his in Germany.

Q Oh right. Was he in, was he in the forces? Was he in the services?

A He was in the Army.

Q Oh, he was in the Army?

A Yes.

Q Mm. So----

A Yeah.

Q Yeah.

A That's where I met him, at Eve's, at your mum's. We were all there that day, having a day with your mum----

Q Yeah.

A -- and Olive came, after she married him----

Q Yes?

A -- and they came for the day, with their---- Because she used to come and see your mum, Olive did.

Q Yeah, yeah.

A And Joyce. A lovely lot.

Q Yeah, that's right. Yeah. Yeah.

A Oh, we did use to laugh. Good old days.

Q I can see it brings a smile to your face.

A Mm?

Q Makes you smile.

A Oh yeah.

Q It's nice.

A Oh, every day was a good day.

Q Yeah. That's good.

A And we all used to get together and all be working together on the farm.

Q Yeah.

A It'd be lovely.

Q No, that's good. Yeah. Last time I was here, you, you talked about a few things and I said, when I recorded it, I would need to get you to tell me again, 'cause I knew I would forget. Well, I'd prefer to hear it in your words anyway. Yeah. Oh, one of the things---- You told me about when you were, when you had to burn the fields----

A Yeah.

Q -- and Mum caught her trousers on fire. What was it you were burning, what was that?

A What, the potato haulm?

Q Oh, was it? Ah.

A You know, after you've dug potatoes in the fields----

Q Yeah.

A -- the tops----

Q Yeah.

A -- are all brown, you see? They, they leave them to, to die off----

Q Yeah.

A -- before they dig potatoes.

Q Yeah, right.

A Let the potatoes grow full and----

Q Uh huh.

A -- and, as soon as that happens, the top starts to wither----

Q Oh right.

A -- and go brown, and it's after the potatoes have been dug, and we picked them up off the ground----

Q Yeah.

A -- then they go over the ground, or used to, with harrows----

Q Yeah.

A -- and that was the harrowed ground, what had been dug.

Q Right.

A Any potatoes that had been left by the digger, that will bring them all up to the top.

Q Right. Okay. Yeah, as it----

A And levelled the ground up.

Q -- pulled all the---- Yeah. Okay.

A Now, we had to walk over all that again and pick up all those potatoes that had been left behind.

Q Yeah.

A And that's what we were doing.

Q Right.

A And the little, the tops, we had to walk across the field and make them all into little heaps----

Q Oh, I see.

A -- of the, the dead potatoes, like----

Q Yeah.

A -- and set them alight.

Q Yeah.

A And that's what we were doing. And so you set one heap alight, and when it got going, take a piece of that with you----

Q Oh, to get to the next one?

A -- get that burning, to the next one----

Q Oh right, yeah.

A -- and set it alight.

Q Yeah.

A And that's what we were doing.

Q Oh right.

A And she set her, she set her jeans alight. She was walking along the till with her legs burning.

Q And she didn't realise?

A No.

Q No. (Laughter)

A So what we did, we rolled her on the ground.

Q Yeah, yeah.

A To put it out.

Q That was quick thinking.

A Yes.

Q Did---- Had you been told that that was the thing to do or did you----

A Well, I had.

Q Yeah.

A Before I came in the Land Army, I used to belong to the Red Cross.

Q Oh yes. And so that was already----

A So you have----

Q Yeah.

A -- training for that, they told you that.

Q Because---- Yeah. Yeah. It's interesting. So even back then you were taught----

A I used to be the model.

Q Oh really?

A Well, I used to belong to the Wolf Cubs----

Q Uh huh.

A -- I was one of the leaders in the Wolf Cub pack.

Q Right. Oh yeah, yeah.

A We had twenty-six little boys as Cubs----

Q Oh right. Yeah.

A -- and my brother, my youngest brother was a Cub----

Q Yeah.

A -- and that's what started me, and I used to go and help----

Q Oh right.

A -- the leader.

Q Yeah?

A And I used, every Monday night, I used to take my brother----

Q Yeah.

A -- (inaudible) to the Scout Hut----

Q Yeah.

A -- and learn all the tricks of trades and that, and then that led to the British Red Cross----

Q Right.

A -- having lectures and training----

Q Yeah.

A -- for the war.

Q Right.

A And our local doctor used to come. It was Monday evenings. I'd go there for lectures and learnt how to do first aid.

Q Right.

A So I used to be the model.

Q Oh right.

A And have my arms and---- Have me head all bandaged.

Q Everything, everything bandaged up. (Laughter) Oh dear.

A That taught me quite a bit.

Q Yeah. Yeah.

A First aid.

Q Yeah. Did lots of---- Did----

A My dad did a bit of first aid work in the factory where he worked.

Q Yeah.

A He was interested in it, and he----

Q Yeah.

A And firefighting. He did that where he worked, and my young nephew, well, Dot's, my sister's son, Graham, he did training as well----

Q Yeah.

A -- and he was their chap at the factory. He worked at Rolls Royce.

Q Yeah.

A He was their first aid man in Rolls Royce.

Q Right.

A And my brother joined St John's Ambulance.

Q Oh right. So it's lots of the men did that?

A Pardon?

Q Lots of the men did that sort of thing.

A Yeah.

Q Were you one of the few woman who did it?

A Yeah. Yes.

Q Were there other women who----

A Not then.

Q No?

A Mostly men.

Q Yeah. But, but you got into it because of the----

A Yeah, yes.

Q -- Scouts.

A And the Red Cross started during the war----

Q Yeah.

A -- beginning of the war----

Q Yeah.

A -- for women.

Q Right.

A Not men; just women.

Q Right.

A We used to have lectures in our local school----

Q So it was all----

A -- with our local doctor. They used to come.

Q So it must have been all quite a big change with them all learning----

A He wanted them all.

Q Yeah?

A So the Scout-Mistress and the Cub-Mistress that I used to work with, "Come on, Kath", she said, "you be the model."

Q Yeah. (Laughter)

A So I used to have my arms bandaged, my legs and my head. (Laughter) I didn't mind. I was learning.

Q Yeah, that's right. Yeah. I expect some---- I expect, sometimes, you thought, "Well, that wouldn't support anything."

A Yeah. (Laughter)

Q "That's not very good."

A No.

Q No. That's it. So---- Yeah. I think, last time, you were telling me about the sizes of the field at Mortimer's. You----

A About what?

Q The sizes of the fields.

A Size?

Q Yeah, of the fields at Mortimer's. Were they quite----

A Well, I didn't really know. The one we worked on, that took us a fortnight, was 44 acres.

Q Oh really? And that----

A That was the one near Chilling, Warsash side.

Q Yeah. Because I know it's a big field. I still walk round it----

A Yeah.

Q -- sometimes. Yeah.

A That was 44 acres, I know, one of them.



Q        Yeah.

A        'Cause I know when we were harvesting, when they first cut the corn, round the outside is cut first----

Q        Yeah. Right.

A        -- (inaudible) and that was---- It took us all day to walk round that field to stook the corn.

Q        Oh right. Really? Yeah. Yeah, just from doing the outside.

A        Yes.

Q        And then you had all the middle to do.

A        Then you had the middle to do.

Q        Yeah.

A        It took us a fortnight. I do know that.

Q        Yeah.

A        I do know. Those were the days, standing up the sheaves. Oh, I loved that.

Q        Yeah?

A        And then harvesting, when we used to have to---- We always had to load the carts.

Q        Yeah?

A        Lovely. And in the (inaudible) very often in those sheaves, when you went to take them apart, there used to be little field mice nesting.

Q        Really? Yeah.

A        Oh, they were lovely little mice.

Q        Yeah.

A        The mice, field mice, are.

Q        Yeah.

A        They're lovely, and their ears are just like paper.

Q        Oh yeah?

A        You can see all the veins in the ears.

Q        Yeah. Yeah.

A        'Cause I used to pick them up, you know, 'cause---- The others wouldn't. "Ooh, ooh."  
(Laughter)

Q        Yeah. Yeah.

A        Ah, they're lovely little mice.

Q Yeah. You said you got one in your blouse once though.

A Oh, that was when we were thrashing.

Q Oh yeah.

A I was on the straw rick----

Q Mm hmm.

A -- in what we called the pitch hole, where it first comes up, and you pass it on to the chaps and people that were working----

Q Oh right.

A -- (inaudible) of the rick.

Q Yeah.

A And, all at once, I felt something move. Blimey, I thought, and we were thrashing as well, and I felt something moving, and it was a blooming mouse had got down----

Q In your, in your blouse.

A -- and I'd never felt that down go there.

Q No, no.

A 'Cause you've got this movement.

Q Yeah.

A So I grabbed hold of it and squashed it 'til it stopped kicking. (Laughter)

Q That's----

A And then when---- The copse was at the side, kind of a copse where we were working----

Q Yeah.

A -- and I went in the copse and took my blouse off.

Q Oh, did you? (Laughter)

A Took me shirt off to get rid of the mouse.

Q Oh! Oh.

A But you didn't---- I never felt it.

Q No.

A But it could have gone up----

Q That's funny.

A Well, it couldn't have gone up me trousers because I had my wellies on.

Q Oh right, yeah.

A I always wore wellies, 'cause we had nothing else to wear, only Wellingtons in those days.

Q Yeah.

A You didn't have boots and shoes. It was latterly that they gave us some leather boots to wear---

-

Q Oh right.

A -- and leggings----

Q Yeah.

A -- instead of Wellingtons, and I remember that winter, we never had any wellies.

Q Oh really?

A They run out of wellies, and we had to wear these boots, leather boots.

Q Oh right. So did you get wet feet?

A Well, I used to use dubbin, what they call dubbin.

Q Yeah?

A It's thick polish----

Q Yeah.

A -- and you put that on your boot, but you don't polish it.

Q Oh.

A You let it soak into the leather.

Q So it's a waxy----

A That makes it waterproof.

Q -- finish. Oh right. Yeah.

A And I learnt that from my uncle, because he worked on the farm.

Q Yeah.

A He was a cowman, worked on the local farm in the village----

Q Yeah?

A -- and my---- I can see my grandmother now when he used to go in there, 'cause he never got married, my Uncle Bill----

Q Yeah.

A -- and I used to go in there and watch him dubbin his boots.

Q Oh right. Picking up tips.

A Yeah.

Q Yeah.

A Yeah, yeah. Are you going to have a cup of tea?

Q I can get one. Would you like one?

A Yes. Come on. Yeah.

Q Shall we go out and----

A Sit talking.

Q -- make one? Yeah, that's it. That's, that's---- Ooh, and a bit of cake.

A Ooh. (Laughter)

Q I'm a very cake-oriented person. I'll put the kettle on.

## Part Two

A (no recording) -- and I said it was a coincidence that my friend at home was half Welsh and half-  
---

Q Yeah.

A -- Gloucestershire. Her mother was Welsh----

Q Yeah.

A -- and her father was a stationmaster----

Q Oh right.

A -- at Swansea. And they lived in a little village called, they always called it "Dolly".

Q Oh really?

A In South Wales.

Q Yeah?

A (inaudible) that I worked with the Welsh girls.

Q Yeah. So there was Mum, Olive and----

A Joyce.

Q Joyce, that's who I'm thinking. Yeah, dark-haired lady. Yeah, I know---- The other thing you were telling me last time was about the tractor. You said something about the wheel came off.

A Eve, yes.

Q Yeah.

A She was grass-cutting with Mr Smith----

Q Oh right.

A -- and of course they went round and round the same track all the time, the same direction, and all the weight of that tractor was on that one wheel, and, eventually, the axle broke.

Q Oh!

A And the wheel fell off.

Q And it was the big wheel at the back?

A Yeah, the back wheel.

Q Gosh.

A The one with the studs, what they call the "studs" on.

Q Yeah.

A Not a tyre tractor.

Q No.

A It had the studs on.

Q Oh right.

A Yeah, I can remember seeing it. We were all working in the fields and, all at once, the tractor----

Q Must have been, must have been a real shock.

A Yeah.

Q And they weren't hurt?

A Oh no.

Q No. Did they laugh about it?

A Pardon?

Q Did they laugh about it?

A Well, I expect they did (inaudible). Mr Smith, I don't expect he did.

Q No. I expect he had to sort it out.

A Did she tell you that at the weekends, Saturdays, he used to take us to Portsmouth?

Q Yeah? Did he?

A We all had to go to Portsmouth and have a meal.

Q Oh right.

A Oh, I can't remember the name of the restaurant.

Q Right.

A It's opposite, used to be opposite the pool where we could go all swimming.

Q Oh, Hilsea.

A Yeah.

Q Hilsea Lido, sort of that----

A Yeah.

Q -- area, yeah.

A On the other side of the road was this big (inaudible) restaurant.

Q Oh really?

A And that's where he used to take us.

Q Oh.

A We used to have to go and meet him.

Q So who was Mr Smith? He---- Did he just work on the farm?

A Yes. And he had his own tractor there. At one time he had his own farm.

Q Right.

A But I don't quite know what happened. I think his wife died and then he was just left in the---- He lived in one of the farm cottages at Chilling, lived on his own----

Q Yeah.

A -- looked after himself.

Q Did he get on well with the Land Army girls?

A Oh yes, we all liked Mr Smith. Yeah.

Q There was---- There was no romance with anyone though?

A Oh, he was too old for that.

Q Oh, was he? (Laughter)

A He was really a pensioner, but----

Q Oh, was he?

A -- they employed him on the farm----

Q Oh.

A -- because he had his own tractor. So he used to do work with his tractor.

Q So that was nice you---- And he used to pay, did he used to pay for you all to have a meal?

A Mm.

Q Did he used to pay for you all?

A Yeah.

Q Yeah?

A We all had to go on a Saturday.

Q Right.

A And it used to be, we were down in Fareham, and we used to get on the bus to the restaurant.

Q Right. And he, and he paid----

A Oh yeah.

Q He paid for it all?

A He paid for us all.

Q Oh, golly. How lovely.

A We had to. We couldn't refuse.

Q No? He'd have been offended?

A Yeah, I think so.

Q Yeah.

A Well, we never really knew the names of---- We called them by their surname always. 'Cause, I mean, it was student on the farm that we worked with.

Q Yeah.

A We used to call them by their Christian name.

Q Yeah. Did any of the Land Army girls get together with any of the chaps who were on the----

A No.

Q -- farm, or not really? Not to mix work and pleasure?

A Mm?

Q Would it have been frowned upon?

A Suppose so. I don't know.

Q No? You had a job to do and you got on and did it.

A Well, I once went, one Saturday afternoon, to watch the football with Des, Desmond, with the son that was----

Q Oh yeah.

A -- Desmond, from on the farm.

Q Yeah?

A But I worked with them---- We used to go, as you know, work with them on our own on the machines, and I used to go and work with Des----

Q Yeah?

A -- on the drill when we were drilling the corn----

Q Yeah?

A -- and he asked me if he'd like, I'd like to, would I go with him on the Saturday to, to the football.

Q Oh right.

A So I went to watch Derby County v Portsmouth.

Q Oh, did you? And who----

A I met him at Fareham.



Q Yeah? And who won?

A And he picked me up in his car and took me to, to watch Portsmouth v Derby County play.

Q Did Portsmouth win?

A Aye.

Q Yeah?

A So that pleased him. (Laughter) But that was the only time I went with him. There was nothing---- But it was funny once, I went to the pictures on my own in Fareham, this would've been before Kath came home----

Q Yeah.

A -- I went to the pictures on my own quite a bit, on a Saturday----

Q Yeah.

A -- and it was just about the end of the picture, well, it was run continuous in those days, at some of the cinemas, and some of them there was two separate shows, and there was this one Saturday I was in Fareham and there was an empty seat next to me----

Q Yeah.

A -- and just before it was time for me to come out was, who was to come and sit next to me but Des.

Q Oh right.

A But I didn't let on to him.

Q Oh, didn't you? (Laughter) You kept quiet. How funny.

A I kept quiet. But I think he recognised me when I got up to come out.

Q Ah. You'll never know.

A No.

Q Yeah. I know in Mum's, in Mum's diaries, she often put about going to see a film or going to the theatre.

A Mm.

Q So---- Yeah.

A Always on a wet day.

Q Oh right.

A If it rained, it was, "Ooh, lovely, we can all go to the pictures." And that's what we did.

Q Yeah.

A And in the week.

Q Yeah.

A Sometimes we nearly used to take a row up because we all used to get on the bus at, up at (inaudible)----

Q Yeah.

A -- and we'd go in, all go to see the same film.

Q Yeah. So did you usually go into Fareham?

A Yeah.

Q Yeah.

A I can't remember how much we used to pay to go in the cinema.

Q No? Was it quite cheap though?

A About sixpence, I think.

Q Yeah.

A But if you want to go in the circle, you had to pay more.

Q Oh yes. Yeah. A lot of things, they're being----

A Well, before I came down here, we used to go every Saturday to the pictures----

Q Yeah?

A -- Saturday nights----

Q Uh huh?

A -- catch the five o'clock bus in the village into the town; tuppence that used to be.

Q Oh yeah. Was it? Yeah?

A And that's what we used to do very often. I had a boyfriend then. We used to go on a bus on a Friday and Saturday----

Q Yeah.

A -- in the village. He used to come, call for me from home----

Q Yeah.

A -- used to go on the five o'clock bus (inaudible) queue 'til six o'clock, then go into the cinema, then come out, nine o'clock, walk home, save bus fare.

Q Can I have one of your biscuits? Yeah. Oh, really? Mum used to tell me a story about one time when she was sent, it might have been with Mr---- No, it wasn't with Mr Smith, it was someone who wasn't so good. She was sent to, with the lorry, she was sent to Wickham Station to pick up some things off the train, but they were really big sacks, and Mum used to say to me that one of the chaps, other people, who was picking things up from the train, said to whoever was with Mum, "What did they send

a girl with", you know, "with you for, why didn't they send a man? She, she can't carry these things." So they must have been the heavy sacks that you were talking about. You were saying last time----

A We used to get them from Titchfield Mill as well.

Q Oh right. Some of the sacks were really heavy.

A Yeah, we went for the corn when we were harvesting, they used to put them on the thrashing machine to get the weight, get----

Q Oh right.

A -- the grain, 2½ hundredweight.

Q 2½ hundredweight?

A The sacks were, when they were full.

Q Yeah. And that was the grain. I think it might have been, would it have been fertiliser or something? It was something, and it was big sacks, and she---- Anyway, the other man said, "She's not going to help you do that, I'll help you. This is stupid."

A Yeah. Must have been fertiliser. Must have been----

Q Yeah.

A -- 'cause that used to come in sacks----

Q Oh right.

A -- because sometimes it used to get damp and it used to get so solid and hard.

Q Oh really?

A And we used to have to tip it in by the side of the, the, in the piggery, by the side. This is what we all used to do: tip it out and use one of those rubber things and break it all up and re-sack it.

Q Oh right.

A Because it used to go solid----

Q Oh right.

A -- with the damp.

Q Yeah.

A (Laughter) Oh, the things we had to do.

Q Yeah. But you all seemed to be quite strong.

A Mm.

Q Mum never really talked about people getting injured or problems.

A No, they didn't.

Q You were tough. Tough.

A Yeah. (Laughter) Well, the potatoes, when they were sacked, put in a sack, were a hundredweight.

Q Yeah.

A And we used to load the lorries with them, get them up on our shoulder and carry a hundredweight sack of potatoes to the big lorry----

Q Oh really.

A -- to take into the docks----

Q Oh really.

A -- (inaudible).

Q Yeah?

A People by the name of Popeheart(?).

Q Oh. Oh right, yeah.

A They used to come and collect them, 5 ton a time.

Q Yeah.

A And they used to sort them all by hand then, in the barn.

Q Yeah?

A They were all tipped loose in the barn from the field, and the people at Titchfield used to come, the women at Titchfield used to come.

Q Oh right? Yeah.

A And bring their kids as well. There was a chap by the name of Gray, Sid, he used to drive the tractor with the digger----

Q Yeah.

A -- and spin them out----

Q Yeah.

A -- and spin them a patch, 'cause they did it piecework.

Q Right.

A So they all had separate patches (inaudible).

Q Oh right.

A And they got paid sixpence a sack----

Q Oh right.

A -- for every sack of potatoes they picked.

Q        Yeah.

A        And we did it one day, when Jean Harding, little Jean used to work with me then, used to work in pairs, up a row of potatoes----

Q        Yeah.

A        -- and there was six of us and Al Jeakin(?), a chap that worked on the farm, worked with us, used to strike that row out between six of you, so you had a patch each----

Q        Yeah?

A        -- two of you on that patch, and, from there to there, that was your patch on the field, to pick up those potatoes. (Laughter) And then the boss came along, old Mr Mortimer, Sonny(?), and he used to sit there. He was---- He was never, hardly sober.

Q        No?

A        And he used to sit and shout from his (inaudible). We used to say, "Look out, here comes Sonny. Look out", we used to say. (Laughter)

Q        Yeah.

A        Pick up the potatoes.

Q        Did----

A        That was our special bit.

Q        Did you get paid---- Did you get paid for piecework, or did you just get----

A        You don't have (inaudible) about doing it, piecework. A penny a sack.

Q        Oh. Gosh.

A        That's all we got.

Q        Right.

A        The women at Titchfield that was doing this, they got sixpence.

Q        Yeah. That's not on, is it?

A        No. But we still did it.

Q        Yeah.

A        Because we used to try to do thirty a day.

Q        Oh right. Yeah?

A        So that was half a crown.

Q        Ooh.

A        That was all.

Q        Yeah. No. Not much at all.

A No. It was a lot in those days.

Q Was it? Yeah. Was it? It's hard, thinking about the old money and thinking----

A Yeah.

Q -- what it was like.

A And that's like me, I didn't like working indoors really.

Q No.

A When I worked in the factory.

Q Did you? Yeah?

A When there was no other jobs. There weren't nothing for women outside in those days.

Q No. Was that before the war?

A Yeah.

Q Yeah.

A When I was fourteen, I left school----

Q Yeah.

A -- I left school on the Friday night, and I got (inaudible) work on the Monday in the local hosiery.

Q Oh right.

A Pure silk stockings.

Q Oh right. So what were you doing with them?

A Well, it was funny. It ended up, my brother-in-law in the end, he worked in the factory, making them.

Q Oh yeah?

A Downstairs, below, he made the stockings, but they're not made in the round, they're made flat.

Q Oh right.

A Because they had a seam----

Q Had the seam down the back.

A -- down the back.

Q Oh yeah.

A And fashion marks, ours. So, he was downstairs, making those, and I was upstairs in what they called the Warehouse Department, where they were all (inaudible) the factory at the far end where the girls used to seam them----

Q Oh right.

A -- work on machines to make the seam----

Q Yeah.

A -- to seam them together, and also some of them worked, linkers, what they call linkers----

Q Oh right.

A -- they linked the toes and heels together.

Q Oh right. Yeah?

A So then you want to fashion round the toe and round the heel.

Q Oh right. Yeah, yeah.

A And the other girls were linkers. As I say, the seamers seamed them.

Q Oh right.

A And they were sent to the dyers, because they were all different colour cotton----

Q Right.

A -- and different colour silks, before they're dyed.

Q Yeah.

A Some were white; some were pink and some were yellow. It all depends what dye they were going to be taken to.

Q Oh right. Yeah?

A So that's how you get a different dye with a different colour.

Q Yeah. Oh.

A So---- And they used to send those to the dyers at a place called Leek in Staffordshire.

Q Oh yeah? I've heard of Leek.

A And then they were brought back to the warehouse where I worked in great big skips, where they had to be paired, examined, to see----

Q To check they were all right.

A -- find the faults----

Q Yeah.

A -- and if there was holes in. Some of the girls examined them, and you picked them up when they're flat, on your table, you had a measurement mark, size 8½, 9, 9½, 10, 10½ and 11 inch.

Q Oh right.

A That was feet.

Q Oh.

A Not legs.

Q Oh right. Yeah?

A The length or leg depended on the size of the foot.

Q Oh right.

A And in welt, in the welt was little tiny holes----

Q Uh huh.

A -- which told you what size that was, and there was one hole for 8½, two holes for 9 inches and three holes for 9½, and, after that, it went up to 10 and 11.

Q Oh right.

A And then I had to mend them. I had to learn how to invisibly mend.

Q Right. So if they had, if they had a fault in them, they didn't just get thrown away, they were, they were----

A Pardon?

Q They were mended rather than---- It wasn't a case of, "Oh, that one's got a problem with it, I'll throw it away."

A Oh, no, no, they all were mended. They were what we called perfect mending----

Q Yeah.

A -- and second mending. A first mender, you couldn't tell----

Q No.

A -- it had been mended. That was in the silk mostly.

Q Yeah.

A The pattern marks. And the welts were cotton.

Q Oh right.

A And when you did some of those, they were bigger holes----

Q Oh right.

A -- and that was what you called second mending.

Q Oh right.

A But you still couldn't tell where they'd been mended.

Q So did you do that with----

A A hook.

Q Oh, a hook?



A I had a hook to pick up the ladder. I've still got it.

Q Oh right? Yeah.

A Have you seen one? You've never seen one?

Q No.

A No?

Q No, no.

A Well, you sit there, and I'll show you what I---- I'll show you. A bit of history coming out.

Q Oh yeah, that's right.

A I'll show you my hook.

Q Yeah.

A I showed it to one of the girls yesterday----

Q Oh, did you?

A -- that came, one of the----

Q Yeah.

A -- carers, and she stood and, she couldn't believe---- "I can't believe what I'm looking at", she said.

Q No. No, it sounds----

A (inaudible)

Q -- really interesting.

A I'll go and get my hook. I'll show you what I used to do.

### Part Three

Q It's like a treasure trove. So were these for round your arms?

A Your armbands.

Q Oh.

A When you had your overcoat on, you had that round your arm.

Q Oh, really?

A On your left arm.

Q So it went---- And why, why have you got all different ones?

A For different years.

Q Oh, for different years? So----

A Each. What's on that one? That is six months' service.

Q Oh right.

A And then when you got more than six or whatever, there.

Q Oh, you got that----

A That's a year. That's a year.

Q Ah.

A That's a year. And there. Each diamond is a year.

Q Oh right. Ah.

A And that's me badges.

Q Oh yeah. They're lovely. Yeah, I've got Mum's badges.

A And if you had one given you---- I haven't got it here? Oh, I might have.

Q At the special thing we went to in, in Winchester----

A Pardon?

Q When, when we went to the thing at Winchester, to the cathedral----

A Yes.

Q -- they gave you another badge then, didn't they?

A Yes.

Q Yeah, I've got---- I've got Mum's from that as well.

A (inaudible)

Q Yeah.

A That's another one.

Q Oh gosh.

A There's six months' service on that.

Q Yeah? So these represent eight years?

A Yes.

Q Eight years.

A And this is five years, or is that six months and then four years?

Q 4½ years.

A 4½ years. One, two, three---- And six years.

Q And so is this two years or three years? Are these two halves?

A Yeah. Three. That's three years.

Q Three years.

A I never asked to be released.

Q No?

A I don't agree with the letter I had.

Q No? Did you bring your---- Did you bring a bicycle with you?

A No, I didn't. I left it at home.

Q Yeah.

A 'Cause eventually, years and years after, we had them at the hostel, six bicycles----

Q Oh, six bikes.

A -- were delivered----

Q Yeah?

A -- for the girls to use, 'cause we weren't, we never worked on local farms then.

Q No. No.

A We were always taken far and wide to work.

Q Yeah.

A Different farms. Eventually, they bought six bikes.

Q Yeah? And who provided those? Was that the war?

A That---- (inaudible) At least we got our train fares when we travelled.

Q So the red one's 4½ years? This one here is 4½ years? 4½?

A That one's four.

Q And this one's three?

A Three? Yes.

Q The green one with the red on it is three----

A Yes, three.

Q -- because there's two big triangles which are six months each, and then two of the smaller ones around the "WLA", which are a year each, so that's three, and then the next one, this is six years.

A 6½.

Q Oh yeah, 6½, because you've got a big one on the side.

A 'Cause it's got the big diamond at the end.

Q Yeah. It's funny that, isn't it? How a big diamond's worth more than a little one, but I suppose they're like two little diamonds in there, aren't they? They're lovely. Haven't you kept them in lovely condition? And then of course, your, your on you were given---- Which anniversary was it this was given for?

A Pardon?

Q Which, which year was it we went to this?

A (No audible reply)

Q Really? Oh my goodness. And that's what you used to----

A Pick ladders up with.

Q Oh my. That's tiny. Tiny, tiny, tiny.

A And when you look at a pair of silk stockings----

Q Yeah.

A -- and you see the, where the ladders are----

Q Yeah. I can hardly see---- I can hardly see the hook on the end of it.

A No, you can't.

Q It's so small.

A I used to use that. I had two, but one went very rusty and broke.

Q Oh right.

A I haven't got that. I've only got that one left.

Q How long did you do that for with these stockings? That must have been really---- Didn't it give you a headache?

A No.

Q No? You're made of sterner stuff.

A I did it from when I was fourteen to when I was twenty, when I left school at fourteen until I came in the Land Army when I was twenty.

Q Yeah.

A And when we, every week, each member of the factory was stopped a penny a week from their wages for the hospital.

Q Oh really?

A And you had no option. You were stopped a penny.

Q Oh really? So was that just Derbyshire that did that or was it----

A Yeah.

Q -- all over the country?

A I don't know.

Q No, I don't know.

A That's what they did where I worked.

Q Yeah.

A That was the, the bus service.

Q Yeah?

A Barton's, our local bus service. Single, 2 pence. December 13th.

Q Oh, has it got the date on it?

A I expect we were going into Nottingham. Oh no, Long Eaton, I expect.

Q Yeah?

A Yeah. Two singles, tuppence. That was into the, into the town where Judy lives.

Q Yeah?

A A few miles away, but it was only tuppence to go in.

Q Yeah.

A And then, I don't know what date that is, 24 December 1943----

Q Oh really?

A -- I weighed 9 stone 8.

Q Oh!

A That's the girl I worked with.

Q Yeah?

A At her wedding.

Q Oh really?

A And she got married----

Q Yeah?

A -- the girl I worked with.

Q Did you go to the wedding? Did you go to the wedding, Kath?

A Eh?

Q Did you go to the wedding?

A No.

Q Ah.

A He was in the Army, in the local ordinance.

Q Yeah.

A And she met him at a dance.

Q Yeah?

A His name was Maurice Chew----

Q Oh!

A -- C-H-E-W, and he came from Marple in Cheshire.

Q Oh right.

A And that's when she---- she got married in our local church.

Q Yeah? Oh look.

A St Michael's Church.

Q Did you stay in touch afterwards?

A Pardon?

Q Did you stay in touch with her?

A No.

Q No?

A But it was very, very funny. My sister went to live in one of the local bungalows----

Q Yeah?

A -- when they built the new bungalows, and she went to live in one----

Q Yeah?

A -- and, after a few years, one of the (inaudible)----

Q Yeah.

A -- her sister came to live----

Q Oh right. Really?

A -- next to her----

Q Yeah?

A -- and she went to see her.

Q Yeah?

A It were very, very funny, that was.

Q Yeah.

A Yeah, it's the Titchfield Home Guard.

Q Oh really.

A And right on the end row is Des Mortimer, 'cause he was in the Home Guard.

Q Oh right?

A Now, that's him, sitting.

Q Oh right.

A Yeah.

Q Oh really?

A Yeah, that's him sitting----

Q Yeah?

A -- with his hands on his knees.

Q Sitting on the chair----

A (Laughter)

Q -- (inaudible) chair.

A Eventually, he got married and he went to live in the old cottage that Mr Smith used to live in, and he had, there was two cottages, all, you know, together----

Q Yeah.

A -- and he and his wife, they went to live (inaudible) it into one, I think----

Q Yeah.

A -- and he went to live in the cottage at Chilling.

Q Oh right. That's seen, that's seen a fair old service, hasn't it?

A Pardon?

Q That wallet has seen a fair old service.

A Yeah, my dad's.

Q Was it?

A Yes. He gave it to me when I came, 'cause I didn't have a wallet in those days.

Q Yeah?

A I bought myself one afterwards. Because you couldn't get them.

Q No.

A And my dad gave me that. So that's old.



## 2. FRANKIE CORDWELL INTERVIEW

Wednesday, 4 November 2020

Interviewer: Tamisan Latherow

Transcriptionist: Carolyn Ward, CJW Transcribing, [carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com](mailto:carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com)

Q (no recording) -- No, I can see, it's, it's---- That's awesome that you still have it. I was hoping that you could, that we could maybe start off with just a little bit of background information on you, where you're from, when you got involved, what your parents did, anything like that that you could tell me a little bit about.

A The reason I got involved was I was evacuated to Wales in the war, and I was evacuated onto a farm.

Q Okay.

A When I came home - my father made me come home to go to work when I was fourteen, and I worked in an Army depot, and, as soon as I was seventeen, I joined up.

Q Was there any particular reason why you joined the WLA versus one of the other organisations?

A Because I'd done farming, I'd done milking; I'd done everything.

Q So it was just, it was something that you were already familiar with. The farm that you were at, was that something that had electric on the farm or were you hand milking? What was----

A Hand milking.

Q Hand milking.

A Hand milking. Before I went to school.

Q Kids nowadays have it easy, huh?

A Well, the farmer made us learn, on the farm, to milk a cow before we went to school. In West Sussex. West Sussex.

Q West Sussex. Okay. Awesome. What about your---- Before, before the war, before you were evacuated, what was your home life like? Did you have siblings or----

A One brother and two sisters.

Q And did your parents both work outside of the home, or did your mom stay at home?

A No. My father, unfortunately, was a coal miner, and he died young, at forty-nine, with pneumoconiosis.

Q Oh.

A Now the word's "silicosis".

Q Yeah. I'm sorry to hear that.

A But my mother never went to work.

Q If I can ask, how did that work if, by the time that your dad passed, were you already working to help the family or, if your mom did not work----

A He died the day after I was twenty-one.

Q Okay. That's not a fun birthday. I'm sorry about that.

A And I got a card, but he was already dead.

Q Oh.

A (inaudible) day.

Q Oh. When, when you---- Where were you whenever war was declared, what area were you in?

A Greenford.

Q Greenford? Okay.

A In my mother's home, Greenford. It was my home then.

Q And then, from there, you were evacuated to Wales?

A I was evacuated to Wales from twelve to fourteen, and my father wanted me to come home and go to work.

Q Did you know the people that you were evacuated to or was it just a random family that was taking in?

A Just sent off one night on the train, got there in the dark. We were all petrified, all crying our eyes out.

Q Oh.

A I went with my brother.

Q Okay.

A I've lost him since.

Q Oh man. And so you were evacuated to a farm, you were there for two years and learned the ropes from the farmer. Did they have any help on the farm, or was it a smaller----

A (inaudible) land girl.

Q Two land girls? Okay.

A And then, when we---- Eventually, we went into a hostel with about twenty-six girls, and that was also in West Sussex.

Q Wow. And then, at seventeen, you went back into the, or you joined the Land Army, I should say. Did they send you for training or were you sent directly to a farm, since you already knew how to do it?

A (inaudible) training, we never had---- There was no training. You were just sent down to a place and just got on with it.

Q And where was that located? Where did---- Where were you sent?

A I told you, West Sussex.

Q Oh, West---- That's, that's where you were sent. Okay. Okay. Sorry. Was the farm that you were sent to predominantly dairy, or did they have, was it arable or----

A It was a general farm.

Q General farm.

A Just a general farm, yeah.

Q And what----

A (inaudible) threshing. We had to do the thresher machine. Now they've got combine harvesters, as you know.

Q Mm hmm. What about the----

A We had big old steam engines.

Q So it was the steam engine stuff?

A Yes, a proper steam engine. Yeah. We sent---- They sent a video to that gentleman that you know, and all my photographs are on there, on the thresher machine and everything.

Q Oh okay. Great. I think I have most of his photos, so I'll have to double check to make sure that I have that one for you. Were you pretty much involved in everything, just as a general farmhand, or did you specialise in any particular field?

A No.

Q No? Just general----

A We all had to have special training on the thresher machine----

Q Okay.

A -- because if you fell in the feeder, it was curtains.

Q Oh! It's terrifying.

A (inaudible) died.

Q Were there---- Was there ever a problem on the farm, or an injury----

A Pardon?

Q Was---- Where there ever any injuries on the farm beyond little cuts and bruises, or, since the threshing machine is so dangerous?

A No, not that I remember. Only that one incident.

Q Okay.

A Because it was so serious, we all knew about it, obviously.

Q Okay. What was your---- Did you have other girls on the farm with you?

A Yeah, there were twenty-five of us in the hostel.

Q Okay. How did that---- How did you like being in the hostel?

A Not bad. I tell you what, they were better days in the war. This, this---- The war, it's better than this is, now.

Q Was it, do you think, just because of the general attitude of everybody for getting work done and pulling together, or do you think there's some other reason?

A Well, we didn't have muggings and thugs them days. We didn't. We never had them.

Q Was there----

A And we used to thumb it up from West Sussex, thumb it up in the backs of lorries. None of us got murdered.

Q Right.

A That was, that was the safe days.

Q Was there---- Outside of the work on the farm, did you have any social activities in the community?

A Not really, because we were so out in the country----

Q Okay.

A -- but we were near Ford Aerodrome, the Fleet Air Arm base, and we used to get invited over to their place for social nights. If you look up "Ford Aerodrome", we were near there.

Q Okay. When you say, "social events", what type of events are you talking about, is it, were they dances, were they----

A We played darts and dancing as you say, but, apart from that, nothing, because there weren't the activities there are now.

Q Okay. Each location seems to have its own different one, so it's interesting for me to hear what was around your area. What was the general opinion of people that you dealt with towards the Land Army? Were people generally very happy to have them, or were they kind of like, "Why are these girls doing this work?"

A No, we were quite welcomed really, quite welcomed onto the, their farms.

Q That's good to hear. The, the hostel itself, was it well equipped? In other words, did you have indoor plumbing, did you have a bath inside, or were you out in the garden?

A It had all that, so whatever stories you hear, we had a hostel, we had bunk-beds and we used to say our boxes, we used to put our boxes with our uniforms in all round the fire in the---- And put - we used to call them our "coffins" - all round the fire in the middle of the, the middle of the room, and the warden used to lock up at ten, and us, with some of the other girls from London, used to get out the windows after. (Laughter) 'Cause it's---- We had to be in so early.

Q What time did you start work?

A Half past five, six, in the winter. I mean, in the summer, we could be out until it was dark, harvesting.

Q Okay.

A Doing the threshing and stooking the, the hay.

Q Did you have any POWs or extra helpers on the farm, or was it just the land girls? You did?

A Yes. And we, we weren't allowed to talk to them.

Q Oh okay.

A But we got, we got talking to them and sharing our cigarettes, and we got told off, obviously, and then we got banned, we got, we got banned for so many weeks when they started fraternising with us, and then they, they said, well, how could they expect us to work all done on a farm in isolation, with them, and not talk to them, and, you know, become friends with them? So, eventually, if you read the paper that long ago, they lifted the ban.

Q Okay.

A And we went into Chichester to the pictures one night, and we were allowed to meet up with them and go to the pictures, and they, they looked quite respectable until it started to rain and they put their overcoats on, and it said "POW" on the back. Otherwise, people would never have known they were German prisoners.

Q Was it just German or did you have Italian also?

A No, we only had German where we were.

Q Just Germans.

A And when we look back, we, I always say we were so young, seventeen and eighteen, we didn't know what politics was all about, and war.

Q Yeah.

A It's true.

Q Were there ever any issues or any social problems that came up with having that many girls in one location? Did anyone ever get, like, homesick or not want to be there?

A We only had one incident where - it's on the other video that they've got, if you can, if they show you it - where we had one girl who wouldn't wash.

Q Oh gosh.

A She was one of those, you know, she just didn't like water, I think, and so we kept telling her to get a shower, and she didn't, so we put her in the shower with all her clothes on. But that's all on the other video. Happy days.

Q What did you---- Or I guess I should say were there any, anything that happened during your work on the farm that you thought was either an interesting story or something that you don't think people realise that you did at that time, or that you were responsible for?

A People don't realise. I talk to people even nowadays and they say, "You didn't have to do that. You didn't have to shear sheep and things like that." I said, "We had to learn it all, as we went." We didn't go away for training, we just learnt as we went. Those were---- The only thing was I got a, a proficiency medal. That was for Billingshurst Agricultural College. I went away and done an examination test and I won the proficiency award and got the---- And I've got the certificate for my medal.

Q Oh great. Was that something that that WLA kind of pushed for you to do, or was that just your own initiative of saying, "I want to do that."

A No, we were asked did we want to do it, because it was a, a course on everything to do with milking, shearing, digging, everything.

Q Okay.

A And I think about six of us went, and I got me, I got me proficiency medal to prove it.

Q I don't think I've actually seen one of those. I think a lot---- I've seen the standard, the standard medals, but I haven't seen any of the proficiency ones.

A That's the proficiency one.

Q Oh, nice. Very cool.

A Yeah. So I've got that, and I've got me one from Gordon Brown.

Q Great.

A And that, to me, it's not marvellous, but it's a medal, isn't it? That one.

Q Right, yeah, the----

A You saw the medal, did you? Did you?

Q Yes, those are, those are the ones that I've seen. Yeah.

A And I, I got, I bought my badge and put it on a blazer.

Q Were you given the full uniform whenever you signed up? Yeah?

A I'll tell you what though, you know those videos that are made about the Land Army, "Land Girls"----

Q Yes.

A -- they're, they're rubbish. Number one, we didn't have makeup. We didn't have half the things that---- I've got two here that they'd bought for me, and so many, I saw so many write-ups about them being a load of rubbish, and they were. I hope you didn't make them.

Q No. Yeah. No, I can tell whenever it's a docudrama versus a realistic----

A I mean, they had, their nails were done and everything. We never had none of that nonsense.

Q Did you---- I've heard horror stories about the black boots. Did you use them or did you----

A I never saw black boots.

Q You never saw them?

A (inaudible) pair of black boots.

Q Did you have the brown ankle----

A Brownie---- We didn't have---- There's several things on these, these videos we didn't have.

Q Interesting. The, the one thing that we keep finding in the museums appear are the, the black boots are never worn, and, after looking at them, I can see why, they are horrible boots.

A Never worn? I never even saw them. I don't think, I don't think---- In my three years in the Land Army, I never saw anybody with black boots.

Q Yeah. That's because they were horrible.

A You know the---- You know the hats?

Q Yes.

A We thought we were being flash. We sewed green braid to tie under our chins, and we were out in Chichester, Chichester Square one day, and one of the officers from Horsham came out with a pair of scissors, in the middle of the town, and cut them all off and embarrassed us.

Q Was it just because it was against the regulations for the uniform?

A It was, it was a, an insult to the uniform to cut the braid off. They weren't meant to tie under your chin like a bonnet we were told.

Q Interesting. Were you---- What was your pay-scale like? Do you remember if you were paid piecemeal or were you paid a set price? Do you remember?

A Yeah, we used to get paid every week.

Q Every week.

A 19/6 one week.

Q Okay. Were you at the same farm the entire time, or were you moved around?

A No, no, I stayed in West Sussex all the time.

Q Okay.

A We could have moved round if we'd, you know, not liked it or something, or, or we could have been kicked out if we'd done something wrong.

Q What was the farmer's family like? Was it a full family or was it just a, kind of a tenant farmer situation? Do you----

A I kept in touch with mine. I even went down to see them, since I've been married, and I've been married since 1950, and I've been, been down to the farm and to the old, to see my old school, village school. Yeah.

Q Let's see. Did you ever----

A Are you going to---- Are you going to join the Land Army? I, I think they want one.

Q Oh----

A They're bringing, they're bringing over all these foreign people to pick fruit. Why?

Q 'Cause they're cheaper than the British.

A Well, they should get a Land Army like the National Service for the men.

Q It would definitely be interesting. I'd love to see a bunch of seventeen-year-olds out there; see what happens. I think that would be quite interesting.

A They wouldn't have a clue.

Q Did, did you ever take advantage of being able to go home. Did you ever use one of the travel vouchers, or did you stay on the, the farm most of the time?

A I never saw a travel voucher.

Q You guys didn't get the travel vouchers? Okay.

A We used to thumb it up from Sussex. You couldn't do that now.

Q No.

A Or I even rode my bike up from Sussex, all over Bury Hill and everywhere, because there was no traffic in those days.

Q Right. Interesting. What was the---- You said that the farm was rather rural. Was there a community close by that you could go into or visit, or was it really just out in the middle of nowhere?

A No. We used to go to the Fleet Air Arm base at Ford Aerodrome, and we used to have social nights where they, their officers invited our people from our camp, from our hostel. We used to do, you know, social nights.

Q Okay. What was---- Were there any stories that you can remember or things that came up that you're like, that just really stick in your brain as memories? Do you have any, any little anecdotes or stories about your time on the farms?

A No. The only thing that sticks in my mind, after, after work, we used to arrange to meet the German prisoners of war at the back of their camp, where they could, you know, go, and we used to meet them there, and they, and we got caught. They had the searchlights out, looking for us, looking for them, and we were with them, but, you know, they, to me, they were a laugh. They were happy days. I never cried to come home.

Q Okay. What did you end up doing after the war?



A After the war, I went into a garden centre in Ealing, and then---- I've only had five jobs since the war, and I finished work at eighty-six.

Q Wow.

A I was working in an office until I was eighty-six, 'cause my doctors were amazed. They'd say, "How can you use a computer? How can you use----" And I say, "Well, I worked. I learnt."

Q That's great. You don't get that very much anymore.

A And do you know my biggest begrudge at the moment? I worked 'til I was eighty-six, and they've taken my television licence away, haven't they? And they even had the---- My last three television licences lasted three years, you didn't have it for every year, and after mine finished they wrote and reminded me that I'd have to buy a full television licence. So I went out and bought one, well, I didn't, I sent a cheque and I got my new television licence, and I'm waiting for them to come and knock on my door and say, "Have you got a television licence?" and I shall stick it up their nose.  
(Laughter)

Q The licence is very weird. We don't have that in the United States, so I, I didn't understand that when I got mine----

A (inaudible)

Q Yeah, I'm from Florida.

A Oh.

Q Sorry.

A I've got a friend in Chicago.

Q Well, it's a lot colder there.

A He worked, he worked over here with my people, and he went, he married an American girl, and he, he controls 190 yellow school buses over there.

Q Wow.

A I've been over---- I've been over there twice. Yeah. He went over there as a driver, but you've got so many states, haven't you, he had to learn all the, the licences for all the different states, and he passed it and he's director now of 190 yellow school buses.

Q Wow.

A He's done well.

Q That's impressive. I would not want to be on a school bus. I didn't even like whenever, having to deal with anybody under the age of seventeen. Because I was a high school teacher, so I had thirteen-year-olds that really should not have been in high school.

A His daughter, he's got two now, (inaudible) and she, she just started university this year. Yeah.

Q Wow.

A And his brother-in-law was a lot to do with the police in Wisconsin.

Q Okay.

A Yeah. And my girls, my family, go out to a ranch in Colorado every year, when possible, and my grandson's been working on a ranch in Colorado, but he came home 'cause he's trying to get his visa, because they've been out every year - he's twenty-three now - and he can't get his visa. He got engaged to an American girl about four months ago. She came over and she had to go into isolation.

Q Right.

A They, they rented her a cottage in the Cotswolds. He saw her back on---- Because they live at Heathrow. He saw her back to America and now he's fighting hard to get a visa to go back there. He's got engaged and that's it.

Q Yeah. I'm not sure what's gonna happen with the political situation regarding visas for anybody at the moment.

A What do you think of your friend, Trump?

Q (Sigh)

A As bad as that, Tamisan?

Q My family's all public servants, so we are not keen on the current administration, we'll put it that way. It's----

A Yeah. I don't even vote anymore.

Q Yeah.

A I haven't done for years.

Q How did---- Were you, were you able to hear about what was happening with the war, or was it very piecemeal whenever you were on the farm? Did you have a lot of access to hearing about what was happening?

A No. All I knew was from my mother. She used to write to me. She couldn't afford a phone.

Q Okay. What did---- You worked in the garden centre after the war. Did you---- Was that kind of where you stopped with your agricultural background, or did you continue to work in different types of agricultural fields afterwards?

A No.

Q That was it?

A No, not once I got married.

Q Okay. Didn't marry a farmer's son?

A I was engaged to a farmer's son.

Q You were?

A I came home on leave and met my husband on my mother's doorstep. He was an insurance agent, and I met him in the November, came out the Land Army and married my husband, in 1950, and I've got seven kids to prove it.

Q Wow. You should get a medal just for that.

A I, I've got identical twins of sixty----

Q Ah, okay.

A -- the baby's fifty-four. He's a lifesaver in a leisure centre. Then it's the twins, then I've got a daughter, forty, sixty-four, I think, I've got a son of sixty-eight, who retired from British Airways, and he's retired to Somerset. He bought a 17th Century old school, and it's all been modernised and it's beautiful.

Q Oh lovely.

A He makes his own honey and everything, his own cider.

Q Nice.

A Keeps bees.

Q Where---- I guess my, my---- So what I'm trying to find out is how women, especially women like the Women's Land Army, with the girls coming from mostly urban backgrounds, how they got on in a rather rural country environment.

A We had arguments when we used to sneak out, after closing time, when they, the warden used to lock the door, but we made sure we left the window open, and not only me, about six of us, and the girls who had always lived a secluded life before joining up, would say, "We'll tell you on, we'll tell on you!" We used to say, "You dare!" (Laughter)

Q Were you able to keep---- You said that you went in and you've checked kind of on the farmer periodically, but did you get to keep in touch with any of the girls that you billeted with?

A My friend, we used to go up the Cenotaph every year, and she died this, this year, last year, yeah. She lived in Yorkshire and we'd been friends ever since the day we joined up.

Q Wow.

A Yeah. She, she died in---- She used to come down every year to go to the Cenotaph with me. I've got photos of us in the house of the, up at the Cenotaph, with the flag.

Q Fabulous. Do you think it was something that a lot of the girls did, where they kind of created lifelong friendships?

A Yeah, I should think so, because we were so, we were so, always together.

Q Were there any activities that you absolutely hated, that you were like, "God, why are they making me do this again"?

A Let me think. (After a pause) Potato digging, 'cause it was back-aching.

Q Okay.

A But I think most enjoyable was harvesttime. I loved harvest.

Q Did they do anything special for, either at the end of harvest, for, as a festival, or was it just----

A No, we used to have harvest suppers and, you know, a good sing-song.

Q Great. Were there any---- Were you ever involved or did you ever deal with the, like, other organisations, like the Women's Institute, or was it really just the girls and the farmer, and that was kind of it?

A Just, it was just the girls from the Land Army.

Q Okay.

A Then they didn't want to make us official, because we weren't the Army or the Navy or the Air Force, they didn't want to put us on the statue, but they did in the end, didn't they----

Q Mm.

A -- up in London. Westminster, is it? Yeah, I think it's Westminster. I've been up there.

Q I'm gonna pause just a second because my, apparently my battery is dying.

A My husband was in the Army in the war. He was in Africa.

Q Who was in---- What was---- Wait. What was in Africa?

A My husband.

Q Your husband was in Africa?

A In the war, yeah.

Q Was he stationed there?

A No, he, he just was fighting out---- He was training to fight. Sierra Leone. All they've done since is fight one another. Where are you based here?

Q I'm in Reading.

A Yeah?

Q So----

A I saw from the paperwork the name Tadley was mentioned. My friend lives in Lower Tadley.

Q I'm not---- I'm not certain---- Oh, it's probably, it's probably for one of the, the museums. So I'm involved with the Museum of England Rural Life here in Reading, but they've got kind of satellites in other locations, so that might be where that, that came from, but I'm based in Reading and, with lockdown, I'm not going anywhere, so I'll be here for a while.

A (inaudible) granddaughters are teachers----

Q Yeah.

A -- (inaudible) school. One's a head of science in one school and one's teaching primary, seven to nine-year-olds.

Q Do they enjoy it?

A They love it. The eldest one went to Oxford.

Q Okay.

A The next one went to Roehampton, and I've got a niece in Wales who's a schoolteacher. We've got some brainy girls in my family, not from me, from their granddad.

Q Well, anybody that goes into teaching and enjoys it is a, definitely has an uphill battle as we, we change with this new online learning and distance learning. It's definitely harder than whenever we're in the, in the classrooms, I think. So I wish them all sorts of luck.

A I mean, the kids don't---- My grandchildren and my great-grandchildren don't believe it when I say we had to leave school at fourteen, and we never had any exams. I never had, never took any exams at school because, in Wales, they were only little village schools, about thirty-five kids.

Q I think my smallest class I taught was thirty-five.

A (inaudible) everything---- Eh?

Q I think the smallest class I ever taught was thirty-five, and for that to be the entire school would be interesting.

A And you've given up Florida to come over here?

Q Yeah. I don't actually like the heat, but----

A I've never been to Florida.

Q It's hot.

A I've been to Chicago, as I say, three times, but I don't, I don't like Chicago, because I feel I'm---- It's so big. We went in a building in Chicago, ninety-six floors up, for a meal. Oh!

Q Yeah. The big cities are hard, but, then again, I don't like London because it's a big city also, so--  
--

A Yeah.

Q Reading's easier to get around; it's smaller.

A Oh, Reading. My uncle lived in Reading. He's dead now. Reading's quite---- And my---- I've got nieces just outside Reading. Yeah.

Q You---- What year did you join up, was that, was that '46, did you say?

A Pardon?

Q What year did you join up? I want to make sure I have it right on my paper. Was that 1946 or---  
-

A '45.

Q '45, okay.

A '46, yeah.

Q Okay. Where were you when you heard that war was over; do you remember?

A Greenford.

Q Greenford.

A I was out, playing in the street, when the war was declared.

Q Okay. Was there, was there a time where you---- I'm trying to think of the best way to phrase this. Was there ever a time when you, when you had any issues with people, either they, maybe they didn't recognise the Land Army uniform, or they weren't familiar with what the Land Army did? Did you ever have any, any times when people weren't maybe as nice? I've had some of the women that I've spoken to say that some of the general public didn't know what they were or who they were.

A It wasn't so well known as the other forces. I don't even know how I got to hear about it.

Q Okay.

A I remember my father saying to me, "If you join up, don't come crying to me to get you out." Because if you joined up and you wanted to get out, you had to pay. You just couldn't walk away.

Q You had to pay to leave? You had to pay to leave, or did you have to submit an application or something?

A No, you, you had to apply to leave.

Q Apply to leave, okay. I've had a little bit of---- Maybe you can clarify, did you join up for a set amount of time, intervals, like, for six months at a stint, or did you just join and then, whenever you were done or they were done----

A No, you didn't have any pressure on you when you (inaudible) wanted, it was your own----

Q Okay.

A Some girls were so naïve, they left. You know, they just said, "We're leaving next week."

Q Okay.

A I've got my release papers somewhere.

Q Do you remember what it was like, did you deal with rationing on the farm, or did you---- Was that all dealt with because you were in a hostel? Did they manage your food for you or were you in charge of it?

A We had a little green box. When we were out in the fields all day, we were given---- We had a little green lunch box, and we were given bread and cheese sandwiches, and the DU.K.e of Norfolk, who owns Norfolk Castle, well, Arundel Castle, at the time, he said bread and cheese was enough for women.

Q Okay. I think it would be interesting to have some of these gentlemen actually do the work you guys did on the rations you did and see how well they do.

A Yeah, that's true.

Q Did you do your own cooking, or was that something the hostel did?

A (inaudible) in the kitchen. The hostel, no.

Q Interesting. If there was one thing that you could take away from your time in the Land Army that you would want to tell people, what would you tell them?

A       Honestly? The happiest time of my life. We were never bored.

Q       All right. That's most of what I had. Basically, if you just had any stories or anything else that maybe you, you have memories of that you wanted to share?

A       Just a minute. I think they're my photos. I'm not sure. (After a pause) (To Frankie's daughter) You haven't seen that---- You haven't seen that brown photograph album? If you want the WC, it's in there, behind me.

Q       Okay.

A       I was just trying to put my hands on my album, but I don't know where it's got to. Yeah, I've got an album, the one that we've done the video of.

(Frankie confers with Paula)

PAULA: Tamisan, would you like us to take photos of the photos and send them to you?

Q       That would be lovely. I think the quality would be a lot better. So anything that you're willing to share, I would love to get copies of to look at.

PAULA: Yeah. Okay then. We'll do that.

A       Yeah, I've got, I've got an album here somewhere. I can't put my hands on it right this moment.

Q       Okay. That's fine. And anything that comes up that, that you think of, that you would like to share at some point, I'm always available via anything like this, or via email. We can always do a phone call if there's anything that comes up and you're like, "Oh, I remember this one really funny story where so and so, you know, did something silly", that would be lovely, anything like that.

A       Yeah. When they took our, cut our ribbons off in Chichester, that would've been a great photograph. We were so embarrassed.

Q       It seems kind of harsh that they would, that they didn't just come up and be like, "Remove them, please", you know?

A       "That's no, that's no way to wear your uniform", clip.

Q       That sounds like somebody was having a bad day and took it out on you.

A       Yeah.

Q       Was, was that type of reaction unusual?

A       I suppose so. Shock. They were shocked to think we'd sewn ribbons on our hats. I mean----

PAULA: Can you think of any other stories?

A       There's, there's your hat, and we'd put these ribbons down so the wind didn't blow it off.

Q       Right.

PAULA: Can you think of any other stories, she was asking. Can you think of any other stories?

A I was saying we all, always used to thumb it up from Sussex. I'll send---- I'll put her in the Land Army, shall I? (Laughter) She's my middle one of seven. She lives in, in California.

PAULA: Yeah?

A Yeah. Florida.

PAULA: Oh----

Q That's okay, I've lived in California too, so no worries.

PAULA: Can you think of any more stories for her? She's struggling for stories from when you were there. Did you get up to anything naughty or funny or----

A No, I'm not (inaudible) to be naughty.

PAULA: Well, that's what she wants to hear. It doesn't matter----

Q Yeah! We always hear the nice ones.

A I told, I told her about getting out the windows at night, when the doors were locked.

PAULA: Yeah. Anything else?

Q What was it like when you first started working with, when you were milking? What was that like, when you first started? I've had some stories where I've heard the girls getting hit in the face with the cows' tails and----

A Well, you---- Yeah, you've got that all the time, because I even had that when I was at school, before I, you know, working on the, living on the farm. That's horrible.

Q Were there any of---- Whenever you were trying to learn something new, were there any stories that came up with maybe one of the girls did it completely wrong or, or that were, that ended up being funny because something happened?

A You're going back a lot of years.

Q I know. I'm sorry.

A (After a pause) No, they were good old days. But you can't remember everything. I don't suppose any of the girls I was with are still alive, because we all kept in contact for years.

Q Did you ever go to the, the, like, the fifty-year reunions and the VE Day reunions and so forth? Did you ever participate in those?

A No, 'cause the reunion, I look about them on the computer, and they're all too far away to go on my own, because I've been ill since last November.

Q Okay. Okay.

A When I look at my---- When Paula does the photographs, I look at them and I think, "How did we get away with it?" We're standing right next to a load of hay and we're smoking! I couldn't---- I've got the photos to prove it if I could find them. I just couldn't find---- I'll find them, and she'll photograph and send them to you.



Q No safety and health, huh?

A I got some out the other day and I said to---- They must be somewhere here. They've got to be somewhere here.

PAULA: And where did you get your cigarettes from? Tell the lady where you go the cigarettes from.

A Oh, sailors. Sorry? Used to scrounge all of our cigarettes off the Fleet Air Arm, and we used to have a tot of rum, in the rum bosun's office on the Fleet Air Arm base. Oh, we might be getting some other girls into trouble.

PAULA: Not now.

Q I think the statute of limitations is over for that. You're probably safe.

A As I say, they're all dead now, bless them. I can't think where that album is. I had it here, showing somebody the other----

PAULA: That's all right (inaudible) she's just trying----

A Eh?

PAULA: -- to make a story of your stories.

Q Yeah, and when you do find it, if you think of stories as you're going through it and you want to chat or, or record them, that's great. Sometimes it's easier when you've got the visual in front of you to remember what's happening. I'm like that for just last year.

A But hard work doesn't kill you. Does it?

Q No. It does make your back hurt, but----

A Yeah, and it tires you out, but I don't regret it. I never regret a minute of it. Come on, Paula, tell me where I've put that----

PAULA: (inaudible)

A It is, 'cause we could some of the photos up there.

PAULA: No, she wants us to send them to her. It'll be clearer.

Q It's fine. Whenever you do find it, if you could do a scan or a cell phone photo of it, I think you'll get a lot clearer photo, and then that'll look a lot nicer than through the computer.

A Who did Tony send them photos to yesterday?

PAULA: You know the video that Mum sent to you the last time, her last interview----

Q Yes.

PAULA: -- could you extract, can you extract the photos from there or were you not able to?

Q I should be able to do screenshots. I haven't had a chance to go through them yet.

PAULA: That's all right. So that---- We'll also do what you've asked, yeah.

Q Okay. So I'll be going through those probably tomorrow, and then I can try and pull some video, some screenshots of that as well, and then if there's maybe one or two that are really interesting and if I don't have a great video of it, I'll send an email and just kind of tell you which ones.

PAULA: I'll still do them anyway.

Q Oh okay.

PAULA: They might be clearer.

Q Fabulous. Thank you. The only thing, I guess, left is just a little bit of, just paperwork-wise. I did send the participant agreement and the recording agreement, so, at some point, if somebody could make sure that everybody signs appropriately and just take a photo of it for me so that the university doesn't yell at me?

A The more she talks, the more I think I'm listening to Rita. That's my friend in Chicago.

Q Oh. Oh gosh, I really hope I don't have a Chicago accent. (Laughter) But, yeah, whenever you get a chance, if you could send me those documents as well, that would be awesome, and then----

TONY: I'll get it, I'll get them signed for you and we'll, I'll get them WhatsApped over to you, love.

Q Fabulous.

TONY: All right?

Q Thank you. I appreciate it. Yeah, and any, any future stories, if you think of something whenever you're looking at your photo album later and you want to share those, I would love to hear them.

A They're on the, they're on the computer, on the----

TONY: I'm sure----

A -- Land Army sheet, on the Land Army page.

TONY: I'm sure she'll think of something after you've gone off, Tamisan----

PAULA: (inaudible)

TONY: -- you know, three years of being there, there must be more than what I've just sat here and listened to. You probably---- I'll probably have to give her the camera on her own, so she can talk with nobody knowing what they did get up to.

Q That's always the situation. You can't think of it when someone asks you and the minute they hang up, you're like, "Oh yeah, I remember that."

TONY: Yeah.

Q Or the next time you take a shower. That's always a great time to remember stuff. (Laughter)

A It's the same as people say why am I called Frankie. When we joined up, any girl that joined our lot took on a boy's name. I'm not Frankie; only since I was seventeen. So I'm not officially Frankie, but everywhere I go, every paper I sign, if they're not official papers, I'm Frankie. I hate my name.

PAULA: (inaudible) name----

TONY: Go on, tell her. Tell her what your name is.

A Do you know what my name is?

Q No. Now you have to tell me.

A You must know, on those papers you've sent.

PAULA: I don't think so.

A Eh?

PAULA: Don't think so.

Q No.

TONY: No.

Q Your Skype name says, "Frankie" on it, so now I'm interested; now you've got to tell me.

A Yeah, Hilda.

Q Well, you could be a Frozen character.

A Pardon?

Q You could be like one of the characters from the movie, Frozen, there's a character named Elsa, so you're really close.

A No, Hilda.

Q Oh, Hilda, with an H?

A Hilda Ogden.

TONY: Yeah, Hilda.

PAULA: Hilda. Tell her (inaudible)

Q Why did you choose Frankie then? Was that just the first name you thought of, or----

A Yeah, I think so, because my friend, who, I told you, died last year, she suddenly became Leslie, and we had a Jackie, and we had a Bobbie. We all took boys' names.

TONY: Yeah, you all changed your names, didn't you?

PAULA: Yeah.

A Eh?

TONY: That's part of the story, that is, where you all changed your names.

A Yeah, we all changed our names to boys' names.

Q Why did you do that? Do you remember?

A 'Cause we were stupid. (Laughter)

TONY: What was it, because you were doing men's jobs?

A Yeah, I think so.

TONY: Yeah, yeah.

Q Was---- When, when you first joined up and you got the uniform, was that the---- I don't know, I guess if you were using them before, but was that the first time you'd worn trousers as part of like a job, or did you wear them on the first farm, when you were younger?

A No, you didn't---- No, I---- We never had jeans in those days. I never, I was never wearing---- I've never worn a pair of jeans, even now.

Q Was that very weird, getting used to trying to wear, wear trousers versus----

A We didn't have trousers; we had breeches.

Q Breeches.

A And on those films, on those videos and everything, you'd look on there and you'd think, "Well, what are they talking about?" You see them in breeches that we never had.

Q You didn't have the jodhpurs with the little extra padding on the sides?

A Yeah, and your socks used to come, your socks used to come up to there, like that.

Q Mm hmm.

A There are so many lies in those videos, those films they made of them.

Q Interesting. It sounds like you had a different uniform than some of the, the ones that we've collected, which is kind of interesting.

A I don't know where they get these---- I'm gonna put up a thing on the Facebook page, "Can one of you land girls on here tell me what were the black boots we were supposed to have had", because I've never seen a pair of black boots in the Land Army.

Q Interesting.

A And you say women have spoken to you about black boots?

Q Yeah. I've actually got a few pairs at the museum, that's, in the, in the archives. They're over, over the ankle, but, like----

A Yeah?

Q -- regular-size, like, hiking boots, black leather, and they've been, they've got the, the nails on the, you know, on the----

A I've never heard this before.

Q Yeah. And----

A I suppose that might have been in the First World War.

Q Oh, we've got them for the second also, so that's why I was, it was interesting to figure out maybe where parts of the uniform changed. Depending on maybe when the people joined up, they might not have had any.

A I'm gonna search for that now, black boots. There's a song about black boots, isn't there? Black boots, I ask you. I don't know where they get them from. But people, people pay money for old uniforms, don't they?

Q Yeah. If you can find them. It's hard to find actual uniforms. Most of the time you just get the reproductions.

A No, mine's all original.

Q Okay. Well, great. Thank you so much for taking the time to talk to me today. I know it was kind of a little bit last minute for everybody. I appreciate it. This is definitely going to help in my research and I'm looking forward to putting it together. I will, of course, make a transcript of this, and send it over to you, so you will have a transcript of what we've talked about as well, and when I finally put something together with this, I will be more than happy to send you a link.

A I'll find that album tomorrow, when I've got more time. I'll get Paula and Tony to do it.

Q Okay.

PAULA: And, Tamisan, where is your museum?

Q The Museum of English Rural Life or "The MERL" is here in Reading.

PAULA: And is it open to the public?

Q It is open to the public. You can---- There's kind of three different aspects. You have the actual museum that you can go in, and it's free and open to the public. You have the archives, the paper archives, which are open to researchers. You just, you have to schedule. With COVID, everything has to be scheduled now. And then we have the object archives, which are the things like the outfits and the equipment, which you can either see, just as part of the museum, or you can schedule a time to go in and actually look at them in more detail. That is also one of those things that you have to schedule and inform them which pieces of the equipment and so forth you want to look at. But if you go to the MERL website, and if you just type in, "M-E-R-L" and "Reading", you're going to find us, but if you type it into Google, you can find the website and then you can go and see which items we have in the collection as well.

PAULA: Yeah. Oh right.

Q So there, there is a Land Girls and a Land Army online, virtual, items up right now. I think they're still up. I don't remember if they stopped November 1st or not, but there are several different blog posts and pictures and you can see one of my blog posts on Amelia King, who was the first black land girl. So, if you're----

TONY: (inaudible)

Q I think she's doing it while we're talking.

A I'm just trying to look at the Land Army. They get some good discussions on there.

PAULA: So if I can get Mum to do anything with any stories, if I video them on WhatsApp and send it to you, would that help?

Q        Yeah, that would be lovely, or Dropbox, or any of those types of things. If you need me to give you links to stuff, let me know. I think I can do a Dropbox if it's too large, or I can, I can mail you a recorder if you want to do that. Whatever is easiest for you guys. But, yeah, any stories that might crop up now that we've got her thinking about it.

PAULA: Get her to make notes.

Q        Yeah. That would be great. And then I can always transcribe any videos or audio recordings if you come up----

PAULA: Okay.

Q        -- anything, but----

A        Oh, she'll love it. They're, they're getting---- They love to get involved. They still do work.

Q        Well, I've given you a project to do as we go into lockdown again.

PAULA: Thanks, Tamisan.

Q        I know that was a grudging thanks, but---- (Laughter)

A        Where's my iPad, Paula?

PAULA: We'll do that in a minute, when Tamisan's finished, yeah.

Q        Okay. But that's pretty much it, unless there's anything else that you want to know or have any questions about.

TONY: Got any more questions for her?

A        No. I'll, I'll sort out the photos and I must try and think of something.

Q        Well, thank you very much for taking the time and for chatting.

A        I, I just remembered the night they had the searchlights out looking for us and the German prisoners, and we all got, not expelled, what was it called? And my father said, "Don't you come home here again."

Q        Oh.

TONY: I think you did say that.

PAULA: Yeah, I think you said at the beginning.

Q        Were you just sitting around and talking, or was it a little bit more than that? I'm trying to think about how to delicately say that.

A        What, when the searchlights were on? They were trying to find them. They were supposed to have been in the camp.

Q        Right, but they were, they were with you guys, right?

A Yeah, that---- They sneaked out.

PAULA: Yeah. Tamisan said were you just sitting around, talking, or doing other things?

A We didn't do those sort of things in those days. (Laughter) We had a kiss and cuddle and that was all.

TONY: It stopped at that, did it?

A Yes.

PAULA: I thought you lived for the day.

TONY: But they didn't have wandering hands?

A No!

TONY: No, of course not. They were young boys.

A You know what our title was, don't you?

Q No.

A Women's Land Army.

Q Yes?

A "We Laid Anywhere".

Q Yeah, I have heard some of those, yes. (Laughter)

TONY: Yes.

PAULA: Especially with the German soldiers.

Q Well, thank you again. I appreciate it. If you have any questions, feel free to reach out. As soon as I get the transcript done, I'll send it along to you for your records. If there's anything that maybe I didn't catch or I missed on the, the transcript, I'll highlight it and maybe just ask you to clarify a name. Normally, for me, it's names. I don't recognise city names or towns.

A What birth star are you?

Q What what?

A What birth star are you?

Q Oh, I'm a Scorpio.

TONY: Scorpio.

Q Yeah. My birthday's actually this week.

A Yeah, I was gonna say, it's this week, is it?

Q Yep.

A Yeah, Scorpio.

Q But I'm the nice one; I'm not the scary one. (Laughter)

PAULA: She hasn't got a sting.

Q Oh no, I do, I have a husband, so I definitely have a sting, but not, not towards most people.  
(Laughter) But----

A Right. Come on, you've worked a long day today. So have you. You've got to get home yet. Oh no. Where are you? You're at Reading?

Q I'm at Reading, so, yeah, I don't leave my room. It's very depressing, but it is what it is. It's safe. All 200 square feet. But I appreciate it. Thank you, guys, so much. If you need anything, let me know; otherwise I'll get this out to you in the next few days probably. Okay?

A Okay.

PAULA: Lovely. Thank you.

Q Thank you, guys. Have a good one.

A Bye.

Q Thank you. Bye.

PAULA: Bye then.

TONY: Bye now.



### 3. ROY BARWICK INTERVIEW

Thursday, 8 October, 2020

Interviewer: Tamisan Latherow

Transcriptionist: Carolyn Ward, CJW Transcribing, [carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com](mailto:carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com)

Q Okay. So, my project is looking at women's participation in agriculture here in the U.K. between 1920 and 1960, which is why I wanted to look at the Land Army and the Timber Corps because they were so instrumental, and because they have, they really held that position between a lot of mechanisation on the farm and not having a lot of mechanisation.

A Yes, they did.

Q So I wanted to kind of see how they dealt with it, what their stories were, what their feelings and how the general public perceived them as well. So, I'm hoping that you have information for me.

A Yeah, yeah. So, what---- Did you want me to tell my story or----

Q Yes, I would love to know, if you could tell me who you are, your story, and then we'll kind of delve into all this really awesome stuff that you have.

A Okay. Well, I was a farm pupil in 1944/45, up until 1946, and then I was called into the Army myself, so I left the farm of course. But I worked with the land girls through those years, from 44/45/46, and you have to see the thing in context, and that was we were at the height of the war and the rationing was very, very severe. When I say "severe", it was extremely severe. I have got a note somewhere of what it was, but it's, I'll work my way through this box in a minute. And so, we just had to get as much land as possible into cultivation, and in order to do that, the Government introduced various bills into Parliament, and one of them was that any land that was not being cultivated, that they had the right to bring this land into cultivation by an Act of Parliament, and in order to do that, they set up what were known as War Agricultural Executive Committees. Now, these committees, they had very, very considerable powers, and if you had land that was uncultivated, you'd be given the opportunity to cultivate it and, if you didn't do so, it would be taken over and cultivated by somebody who could do the job. But, of course, we not only had that situation, but we were calling men up, by that time it was national conscription. So, all the men between 18 and 40, I think it was, they were being called up into the Armed Services. So, of course, where were we going to get the labour from? And the Women's Land Army had existed on a small scale in the First World War, and the Government then decided that they would recruit a Women's Land Army, which is what happened, and the, the thing about it was that they were all volunteers, there was no compulsion, every girl in it was a volunteer, and they were a wide spectrum of ages and a wide spectrum of social and economic spectrum, right across there. But one of the things that the Land Army had, that they didn't ask for a birth certificate. Now, the thing about that was that all a girl had to do was to convince their recruiting officer that she was 18. Now, for all sorts of reasons, mostly home life and so on, a girl that was 17, if she wanted to leave home, she could volunteer for the Land Army, say she was 18, and this wasn't checked up. Now, the other services, that was the Air Force, Army, Navy and so on, the girls had to produce birth certificates, but not for the Land Army.

So there were quite a lot of fairly young girls who came into the Women's Land Army, and a lot of them, of course, they'd never been away from home before and they had Land Army hostels, the girls that lived in the hostels, and then they were bussed out to various farms on a daily basis, and then you had other girls that were, on a more permanent basis, they were allotted to a farm and then, normally, they lived in lodgings, sometimes in the farmhouse but not always, and they lived in lodgings and, and

worked from there and so on. So that was how the---- That was sort of---- Okay, that was how we started.

Now, to start off with, a lot of the farmers, "Oh no, no, this won't work. We---- These girls won't be able to do it", etcetera, etcetera, etcetera, but of course they could, and it was quite remarkable what they did because a lot of these girls, going back then, okay, how can I put it, I'm trying to catch the difference in time. Okay, nowadays, you go on the bus, you may have a woman bus driver, for example.

Q Mm hmm.

A That certainly was not the case then. There was quite a division between jobs that were done by men and jobs that were done by women, and so people thought, "Well, how are we going to train these girls?" and they trained them very quickly. There was a girl trained for a tractor driver, her course was six weeks, which wasn't very long, and also, we had quite a few heavy horses, were still working on the farm, and some of these girls, they weren't very big, and it was remarkable the way that they were able to adapt and handle these horses. Of course, sometimes it didn't work out, sometimes the horses would run away and all sorts of things, but they were caught, the horses were caught, and the girls carried on working with them. And what the, the farmers, they found out that they were jolly well going to have to use the Land Army, otherwise they wouldn't have any staff to run the farms, and the girls proved themselves in a tremendous way, and that was they not only started off by being somewhat prejudiced against the girls; they ended up by phoning, trying to get them, because there were more jobs needed doing than there were girls available.

Now, one of the jobs that the farmers found the girls were particularly good at was rearing young animals, and I've got some notes in here about it, but some of the girls were put in charge of, say, rearing calves, for example, and what they found was that the mortality rate dropped with the girls. It was often said, "Well, the girls look after the calves better because of their maternal instincts". Well, I'm not going to go into that one, but, however, it was possibly that was the case, but the dramatic drop in, in small animal death rate was dramatic, as much as a third, that the girls were looking after these young animals, and that was, that was fine.

Now, I worked with them. The farm I was working on at the time was mainly horticulture, market gardening, so we had lots of girls - this is before the days of chemical weed control, or very little chemical weed control - so of course we had to have a lot of girls for hoeing weeds, which was a laborious and back-breaking job, but they did it. And so that was sort of working with them. You've got to take something else in mind: the vast majority of these girls, they were in the prime of life really. I mean, you know, and all sorts of things. In the summer, the girls were issued with overalls, dungarees and so on, but they weren't issued, I don't think that they were issued with shorts, I don't think they were, so they used to roll them up, and then they would get, you know---- So these girls were not only in the prime of life, but they were all sort of beautifully sun, sunburned, you see, and so that was, that was, was, was fine.

And the girls that lived in the hostel, I thought that they had the best part of it to be honest with you, because most of them, lots of military units, camps, were springing up all over the place, and mostly in--- - When I was in the Army myself, we, they used to organise dances and so, of course, they used to organise transport to go to the hostels and pick up the girls to bring them to the dances, but they had very, very strict rules, and they had to be back by, it may have been ten, but possibly eleven, and the girls all had to be back, so, not only they had to organise transport to bring them, we had to organise transport to get them back, otherwise they'd find themselves locked out, and some of the matrons that run the, ran these hostels, they were pretty strict. And so that was---- So I thought the girls, on that,

had a better social life than the girls that lived independently, because very often they lived in remote places and far away from any towns, far away from cinemas and all that sort of thing, and also a lot of the girls that lived in the villages, they were involved in, in dairying, and that involved getting up at about four or half past four in the morning, 'cause milking used to start at five o'clock in those days. So, they had to get there on a dark winter's morning, so they couldn't be too far away from the farm, 'cause they had to be either walking or cycling distance, and it was a cold, wet job, and I've done it myself, milking cows at five o'clock on a winter's morning is no, is no joke. So, they did have a very, very hard life.

As I say, I was called into the Army myself, and so I went off, I didn't see any more of the land girls, and I didn't really think about it a lot until I was, I had to change trains at Darlington station, which is in the north of England, and when I was changing trains, they had, at Darlington, a lot of, it was a bit terminus for troops in those days, people were changing trains for all over the place - I was myself - and this girl came up to me and she said, "Would you----" Cigarettes were very, very short at the time, and she said, "Would you buy me a packet of cigarettes in the NAAFI?" Now, that was the Navy Army and Airforce Institution. I had very little time because I was changing trains, so I said to her, "Well, you know, you----" And she was in uniform. I said, "You can go in and, you know, buy the cigarettes", and she said, "I can't, they won't let me in, they won't serve me." I said, "Oh crikey." Anyway, she gave me whatever it was, a shilling or two, in those days, I quickly went in and bought her the cigarettes and gave them to her, and then I carried on and changed trains. I've often regretted I never even asked her name, but I was changing trains and I didn't have an awful lot of time.

So that was an incident that stuck in my mind, and I didn't think about it again really until more recent times. And that was, I think, in about 19---- Well, it was one of the anniversaries, it's probably the anniversary of VE Day, fifty years or something like that, and we had the local agricultural show here, and so we thought we would organise something. At that time, of course, there were quite a lot of the old land girls still alive. Unfortunately, they're not now, but they were then. So, we thought if we get a bit of publicity, we could do a drive-past, we would do a drive-past at the, at the local agricultural show, and we would get somebody to take a salute and do something for the land girls, the old land girls, and also the NFU said, "After we've done this, we'll organise a strawberry and cream tea for the girls, afterwards." So, we did all that.

Now, in conjunction with that, I think, in the farming press, they, a thing came out and they asked for, anybody had any memories of the Land Army, if they would write sort of a little article, you see, and so that's how I became interested again, and that was a copy of what I wrote. You can see what I wrote at that time.

Q Do you mind if I take a photo?

A No, by all means. No, take a photograph of anything you want.

(Break in recording)

A -- hoeing crops. The amount of manual labour was, was terrific. Very, very little---- And although tractors were beginning to come in, mostly coming in from America at that time, there were still a lot of horses working. You know, it was---- The working week was 50 hours in those days. That was the average, that was the standard working week. And also, you've got to remember these girls were very, very poorly paid. I forget what it actually was, but I expect you'd be able to find this out. I think it would have been a matter of less than £1 a week, I think, because they got the---- Their board

and lodgings was deducted, and so then they were just paid whatever it was, and it certainly wouldn't have been much. I don't think it would've been much, much more than £1, I don't think.

Q        Okay.

A        And then, of course---- But, of course, they had their board and lodgings, and they had their uniform of course, and so that's, that was it. And then what happened, before we did our----

Before that, the Queen Mother, Queen Elizabeth, as she was at that time, was the patron of the Women's Land Army. Now, she had been the patron throughout the war, and she continued to be the patron after the war. Now, then the most extraordinary decision was taken. The Women's Services, that was Army, Navy and Airforce, they were to get a grant, and then they were also to get another grant, sort of an educational grant of money, because they had to re-establish themselves to come back into civilian life, and so that was awarded to all the girls in the services, but the Women's Land Army would be excluded, so they didn't get it. But then there was an Act, you can only regard it, I don't know how you can regard it, it was almost a spiteful thing, that they said all the girls that served in the other services would get the 1939-1945 medal, everybody would get it, but not the Women's Land Army, and they were excluded from it.

Q        And that's because they were considered a private organisation or----

A        Well----

Q        -- like they were just hired on as individuals instead of through the services themselves?

A        Well, it was an extraordinary thing because I think one of the land girls, I forget her name now, but anyway, she tried to fight the battle for them, and she actually got an interview with Winston Churchill, and he wouldn't, he wouldn't change his mind. And so that was that bit.

And then what happened after that was quite extraordinary, that, on the Remembrance Sunday, when they have the service at The Cenotaph in Central London, all the Armed Services are given a little slot to march past after the service, and everybody was given a slot except the Women's Land Army, and their request was turned down. Why, I just don't know. It was an act almost of spite. I don't know.

But, however, just to return to the King and Queen at that time, they attended an event in Kent. Now, it was quite extraordinary. King George VI, at this event, he said - how he came to say it, I don't know, but he did, it was reported at the time - and he said, "I---- The Queen and I think that the Women's Land Army have been very, very badly treated", but of course the King and Queen can't do anything in political matters, as you know.

Q        Right.

A        Any rate, it still left the Queen as the patron of the Women's Land Army. Now, I can't remember the year but, however, what happened then was that the Queen, on her own initiative, she organised a standing down parade at Buckingham Palace, and the girls came from all over the country, different contingents, the girls came from all over the country, and they were all, all in their uniforms, and they came to Wellington Barracks in London, and they marched down, behind the band of the Irish Guards, they marched down from Wellington Barracks to Buckingham Palace. Her Majesty reviewed them and then gave a speech afterwards. So that was entirely on the Queen's own initiative that she did that. So, they did get recognition, but not in the way that one would have thought they would have got it. So that was that bit, and, as I said----

Now, since then, we have done a few events here in the village, re-enactments in a way, of the Women's Land Army. We've usually had a horse and done a demonstration of harnessing up and all that sort of thing, and then we've done a commentary, and I've managed to get, not here today, but my granddaughter helps me on all this, we've managed to get quite a bit of the old Women's Land Army uniforms, the felt hats and so on. So, we were able to, to dress the girls up in period, and so that, we've done that about three or four times here, in the village.

That was my story really, and that brings us virtually up to date, but it was very largely the things I say which prompted me to do it was this little experience that I had and which I have remembered over so many years, and, at the end of the day, why they treated the girls so shabbily, I shall never, ever know because, in many ways, the girls in the Women's Land Army, they had a harder job than the girls in the services. The girls in the services had all the glamour, and the Women's Land Army had all the work.

Q Right.

A And they were denied---- I mean, how much it would have cost them to give all these girls the defence medal, God above knows. Hardly anything. I don't know, a few quid. Why that was done, why they didn't pay them the various gratuities that the other girls got, I really don't know, but it wasn't until fairly recently, when Brown was the Prime Minister, he then decided that---- Of course, by this time, of course, I'm talking about just a few years ago now, practically all the land girls had----

(Break in recording)

Q Are these former land girls? Is she a former member?

A Yeah, yeah, they're all former land girls. They, they did this reception for them. It's 2009.

Q Oh, they re-did the, the symbol on the cake. That's great.

A So these are just copies of what I've already shown you, but they're----

Q Okay.

A -- enlargements, I think. I think just----

Q Another Dig for Victory one.

A (inaudible) out.

Q I've seen all of them but that one. I haven't seen that one. That's kind of hilarious. The squander----

(Break in recording)

Q -- the most terrifying work ever was trying to walk up the stairs after dark with a toddler in one hand and an oil lamp in the other, trying to reach for the shiny light, and not die.

A No, that's right. That's what---- You're quite right. That's a very good memory, because a lot of the girls, having come from an urban situation, of course, they had all these things and, suddenly, they found not even, a lot of the, once you got out of London, you didn't even have proper sanitation. I mean, it was a difficult thing for them. But this is a photograph of one of the events that we did, and you see we've got the----

(Break in recording)

A -- and they, they had, they had that, and that's---- And, I mean, as Churchill said at the time, although we got 300,000 men back, we lost a lot of men, but as Churchill said, we're not going to win the war by having defeats, and of course he was quite right. And so, the invasion---- The Germans were just 22 miles across the Channel, and when they had, they'd swept across Europe, and they were victorious, and the British Army had fallen back in disarray. Had the Germans followed the SS(?) up, I don't know what would have happened, because the Army were absolutely, almost, well, they were decimated. The whole of the British Army we'd sent to France, and they had been overrun, defeated and so on, and it was a tremendous defeat, and of course that wasn't the end of it. I mean, we started to be defeated by the Japanese in the East. We lost Malaya, we lost Singapore, and also there was great concern here about Australia, because, you know, Australia's got a massive coastline, very sparse population, and so how were we going to defend it? How were we going to defend Australia and New Zealand if the Japanese decided---- We'd already been defeated in Malaya, we'd already been defeated in, in Singapore, and the Japanese were then turning their attention to, to Burma and to, eventually go to India. On the other hand, we were trying to fight a war here in Europe. You know, we were really, really up against it. I mean, we were losing---- I've got the figures somewhere. We were losing---- Something like three merchant ships a day were being sunk. This is why, of course, we had such tight rationing.

Q Mm hmm.

A And, you know, we, we literally had our backs to the wall. There was no doubt about it. And, you know, people started to wonder, you know, what was going to happen, what was going to happen next. I mean, I don't know if you've ever seen these programmes, Dad's Army, about the Home Guard---

Q Yeah.

A -- well, okay, that's a, a comedy thing, that's absolutely fine, but it wasn't at the time. The Home Guard was a desperately serious flipping business, and the---- Of course, a lot of people that had been in the First World War, they were too old to be called up for the Second, but, even so, they were still only in their late forties, and so they were all volunteering for the Home Guard, because we really thought that we would be invaded. I mean, it wasn't something that might happen, you know, people really thought it would. I mean, they started---- Everybody had gas masks and, and so on. It---- We were, we were up against it, there's no doubt about that. And, fortunately, of course, it all turned out differently, but---- And also, there was, I think it was America, America was very sympathetic towards our cause and all the rest of it, but they weren't actually in the war.

Q Yeah.

A And, I mean, we just couldn't see, unless America came in, unless we had their industrial capacity, their manpower and all the rest of it, we just couldn't see how we were going to get out of all this. Of course, after, after Pearl Harbour, of course, the Americans came in with a rush but, prior to that, there was very, very great anxiety, particularly regarding New Zealand, particularly regarding Australia, because had they have been attacked, I don't, we couldn't have done much. I mean, they were talking about there would be a Far Eastern fleet, but then we were defending our home waters. I just don't know what would have happened. It's that background that you've got to see all these things in, what---- It was a different time and----

Q Do you think having women being put into traditionally men's roles, do you think that was just kind of like the last straw that just kind of were pushing people a little bit over the edge about the frustration level, or do you think it was just something that was happening at the same time, just----

A Without the girls, we would not have won the war. That's what I think. And, you know, it wasn't only that, but, I mean, you know, we had the girls that were doing the nursing on, with the, all, the Blitz and all that sort of thing, and also there was a terrific feeling, everybody had to do their bit, you know? That was a terrific feeling. And there was no doubt about it, the girls volunteered in tremendous numbers, and of course it affected it, nothing was ever going to be the same. I mean, you know, when the war was over, the whole status of women and everything else, and then you had various legislation started to be introduced. I mean, I don't know why it doesn't work today, but one of the big things after the war was equal pay for equal work.

Q Mm hmm.

A And it was that girls were to be, if they were doing equal work, they would get the same pay as men.

Q We're still trying to get that.

A Still trying to get it, that's quite true. That hasn't really come about. But it---- So that was one of the war aims, and of course the National Health Service was another aim, but that did, that did come about.

Q I got us totally off track, sorry.

A Yes, yes. Right. I'll make my way through this. Oh, that was part of the drive-past that we did, with the Women's Land Army.

(Break in recording)

A -- for the duration of the war, and so that was that. That was that bit. Right. We won't (inaudible)---- By the way, now, what I've done, on, just behind you, there's everything to make a cup of coffee if you would like to make yourself a cup of coffee.

Q Thank you. I appreciate it.

A What have I got here? Patriotic songs. Rule Britannia. I think you've seen all those.

Q Did you ever deal with the Women's Institute?

A Yes. The Women's Institute, I have been in touch with them, and they gave me, in the beginning, when we first started doing this, they gave me the names and got me publicity of some of the old land girls. That's how I got in touch with them. They, they knew them. These are all---- They're just scenes of the village. I may have some other stuff on the WLA. Hang on a minute. Oh, somebody gave me that. That's just the---- They are land girls. That was just, just one of the, somebody in the village gave me that. I don't quite know who it was, but----

(Break in recording)

A -- they had bicycles and they used to cycle out, and, at Christmas-time, many of the farmers used to invite them in for Christmas dinner, and that was all right. Now, their attitude was, again, it was different. The Germans used to say to me, "Oh, we're going to end up by fighting on the same side".

So, you've got to bear in mind I was 17 or 18, I didn't know much about politics or anything. That's what they used to say to me. So, I used to say, "Well, how do you figure that out? They used to say, "Well, when you invade Europe, the communists will sweep in and, unless we stand against them, Germany will be the buffer. Communists will, will overrun Europe." So, they said, "We're going to end up by fighting on the same side", and that's what they believed.

After the British liberated the concentration camp at Belsen---- And I have to say something about that, because it was a very, very principled thing that happened. We had been told that, about concentration camps, in 1942, there'd been statements in Parliament and all the rest of it. Now, you see, a lot of people didn't believe it because I know my mother was doubtful about it, because she said, "I think, you know, its wartime propaganda, because how can it be that a country like Germany, as a cultured country, with theatres, operas, music, it's got some of the finest cathedrals in Europe, how can they be doing this?" You see? So, a lot of people didn't really believe, they didn't know whether, what to believe. They didn't know whether it was propaganda to galvanise people to fight the war, they didn't know whether it was something that was really happening or not, but of course it was happening, statements were made in Parliament, because, by that time, somehow or other, I don't know how it was done, but somehow or other, the British had got survivors from the concentration camps, they'd been able to get them, get them back to this country, so in fact it was all true. But after the British overran Belsen, in 1945, we read about it in the newspaper but no, no television, but the thing about it was that the newsreel had got in, newsreel cameras had got in to Belsen, Global British News and Pathé Gazette and so on. Of course, the stuff had to be sent back to this country and it had to be edited and so forth and so on, and then distributed to the cinemas. Now, people were queuing up, and I was one of them, at the cinemas, to see these newsreels, and of course we saw the horror, and it was terrible. I mean, how should I say? People gasped and women were crying, and, you know, we saw what, what had happened, and so then we knew what the situation was, that this was true, and that we had no alternative, we had to stop what was happening. And so even people that had been doubtful about fighting the war, people who'd been doubtful about it all, they then changed their mind completely. You know, we had to stop this. And then, of course, after---- The British were the first to overrun a concentration camp, then of course the Russians overran Auschwitz and all the rest of it, that we all know about.

But the other thing was that, nowadays, there's an awful lot of criticism about the British bombing of Germany, but at that time, there wasn't, because people over here, we had all suffered the Blitz in London and all the rest of it, once they saw these newsreels, well, that was the end of it. That was---- There was hardly any opposition then to the war. People that had been opposed to it; they changed their minds. I think the only big thing about it was that it was almost beyond belief. We just couldn't believe that a country like Germany, as I say, a cultured, civilised country, to behave like this was just beyond it. And so that was the, that was just part of the background to, to what was going on.

Q Mm hmm.

A Right. That, you've seen. They're all recruiting programmes, which you've got. What's this here? Now, this is---- This is the---- This was the event that we were going to do, that was including the Land Army, but it, it didn't----

(Break in recording)

A -- and so on, and I, you know, I can only sort of say what I saw with my own eyes. I mean----

Q Yeah, of course.



A -- I, I don't know. I think, you see---- I mean, obviously, the land girls, when they were off duty, they used to put their uniforms on and go down to the, go down to the pub and have a drink, that sort of thing. So there probably would've been a number of soldiers posted in the area that would be there, and there would probably be a bit of music or dancing, or something like this, but, you know, as far as I know, there was nothing out of the way. It was just a normal boy/girl relationship as far as I ever saw. But, of course, you've got to remember, a lot of the land girls, they had boyfriends who were in the services. So, of course, they used to write on a regular, a regular basis, and then of course, unfortunately, they would get telegrams, you know, or they'd get to know that their boyfriend/husband/fiancé had, was a casualty. So that, of course, happened, and---- But you know---- (After a pause) Ah, that's just an article there, more recently, about the---- There's the women's crew, just photographs. I don't know what date this is. This is quite recent, 2013, the girls here. That's First World War, then of course you've got your land girls and Timber Corps doing various things. Right, we're getting towards the end. Well, you don't want to see that. That was myself as a young soldier.

Q Look at you, all prim and proper, here.

A Yes, it was in dress uniforms.

(Break in recording)

A -- bodyguard, although they've still got horses, like our Household Cavalry has, you see, they're also trained as parachutists and armour, the same as the Household Cavalry here, they only do so long as cavalry and then they have to do a certain amount of training as, as armour, so they'd got the two disciplines, which is what happened.

Now, this here, I'll tell you about this. This happened here. This was given to me by a girl that lived here, and this was a collection of photographs of her mother, who was in the Women's Land Army.

Q Is the daughter still----

(Break in recording)

A Well, the events that we were going to do for VE Day, of course they didn't happen, they were all cancelled, but the Imperial War Museum, in London, they'd taken the recruiting banner from the First World War, Second World War, WLA, and they'd altered it a bit and they'd altered the wording but, as I say, that was done, and we were going to use that, but we didn't because the event didn't happen----

Q Right.

A -- (inaudible) "Proudly She Served", but that was subsequently. It's all been cancelled.

Q Yes, it's definitely messed everybody's scheduled up.

A Oh, absolutely. I'm just about fed up with it because, as I say, all the social events, I used to go up to London once a quarter and have, have lunch with our old military friends and, and so on. Of course, that didn't happen. Our coffee mornings didn't happen. I used to go to exercise classes once a week, they don't happen. So, everything, all of my little social events just don't happen anymore. Are you sure you wouldn't like to have a cup of coffee before----

Q No, that's----

A Are you sure?

Q I've got caffeine with me, so---- But thank you.

A You've brought it with you?

Q Yeah.

A Right. Now, what was this one?

Q I think it came out of this packet.

A Oh, grow your own. Yes, that's interesting because, even then, now the, the housewife there, the way she's depicted----

Q Mm hmm.

A -- everybody had their, had their rules, but of course I was reading in the paper quite recently, well very recently, this week, I think, it was an interesting thing, it said that the girls between the ages of, I think, 18 and 24, I think it said, there's, the highest increase in suicides is in that age group. Now, you know, that, to me, seems to be very, very strange. How is it that the girls in that group should want to head the list of increases in, in suicide? So, there's something that we're, we're doing wrong, whatever we might have been doing wrong in the past, I don't think we had a lot of girls committing suicide, at least I don't remember it. I don't know. And also, the other thing which I'm very, very critical in this country - I'll keep your card, I'll put that on top - is, is the way that house prices have absolutely rocketed out of all sort of reason. So, you have a situation where no married couple now, young couple getting married, can live on one wage. They've got to have two wages coming in. I mean, after all, I've got three grandsons, and, one of them married, the others, other two are not, but, you know, even if the girl, say she wanted to stay at home, say, look after young children or something like this, she can't really because they can't do without her, without her wages, and I think this is socially destructive. But, of course, I would say that, wouldn't I, because I'm a man of my own generation, and I'm bound to be. But I think it is socially destructive. I think you must have a situation - I'm not saying anybody be forced to do anything - but I think a viable option should be that if any young mother wants to stay at home to look after her young children, when they're very young - when they get old, that's, that's a different matter - but I don't think that that has any less value than a girl following her own career, and I think what's happened since the war has been socially destructive.

Another thing too, these girls, presumably, what is their family doing? I mean, surely somebody in their family must see that---- Perhaps not, I don't know, or perhaps they don't live near their family anymore, but, you know, I can't help feeling that, in my generation - you're not going to like this at all - but in my generation, the thing was, and it was quite generally accepted, that you looked after your womenfolk. That was a generally accepted thing.

Now, I read a bit in the paper that, and this sounds ridiculous to me, but evidently if you're say---- It gave an example that if you were boarding an aircraft and you said to the girl, "Oh, let me help you put your case up into that thing", that that, now, is what they call sexually patronising. Now, how can that possibly be? To me, it's not anything at all, it's merely showing good manners, that if you can help a girl put her case up, that's absolutely fine. I mean, the last time I flew, I came back, I was, a young lady said, "Oh, I'll help you get our luggage off the carousel", which is absolutely fine, she was young, so she obviously thought I'm pretty ancient, so she gave me a hand. To me, that's just good manners, it's not anything else but that.

Q I'd love somebody to help me, but I'm short, so I can't reach them very well.

A No, that's right. That's right.

Q But----

A You know, and I just---- I must be getting old now to---- Fortunately, I've got five grandchildren, so they, they keep me, keep me pretty much on the ball as to the way things are going, but there we go. It's a different, a different world and, gradually, my generation, like the old Land Army, we're gradually dropping off the end of the perch and, soon, the wartime generation, of course, will be, will be gone. But I think it's going to be a bit better this time, because a lot of organisations have taken the trouble to, to record things, and----

I was going to give a talk - it didn't happen, again it was cancelled - I was going to give a talk to the deaf group. They were going to visit the barn and they wanted somebody to give them a talk on the 1940s and they asked me if I'd do it, and I said, yes, I, yes, I would, and so I did want to include a bit about Belsen and the holocaust, so I was in touch with the Holocaust Museum in London and they sent me quite a bit of, quite a bit of, of information, and---- So I think that that is good, that it is properly recorded and future generations will be able to see, with the photographs and the old newsreel, particularly the old newsreel. They sent me some, but they said, you know, not to view it, because they're not showing it anymore because, evidently, it causes people to be upset. And I said, "No, it won't upset me because I've already seen it, years ago, when it first came out." But I think that is, is good, that they've got that. Future generations will be able to see exactly what happened and what man's inhumanity to man is capable of. It's a---- There we go, that's a generational thing, and so---- But I think that is good, that, that is good.

But there's one part that---- I haven't been in touch with them again because the talk I was going to do didn't happen, but there is a thing which I can never get my mind around, and that is the ordinary people, the, just ordinary people that live a normal life, they must have known about what was happening. I can't believe that you could do something on a scale and people not know about it. You know? Of course, I didn't live in Germany and I suppose they were probably nervous to say anything, but there must have been people that knew what was happening and who didn't like it, didn't approve of it, but, on the other hand, the thing which I did do some research on was Holland, and, I mean, you know, we don't associate the Dutch people with doing anything like that, but, I mean, they did, and most extraordinary that the Gestapo in Holland, they paid a bounty, I think it was £42 in English money, that if you denounced a Jewish family you'd be paid, you'd get a bounty. I mean, it's so awful. I mean, people---- How many people did they take, took up this offer? I don't know. But, even so, the, that was part of the war effort, so I suppose there is some connection between the WLA, because, without those girls, we, we would have starved to flipping death, I think.

Q What was it like after the war, like in the, in the early fifties? What was that like, as a farmer and dealing with agriculture? Did you still have girls, even if they weren't just part of the WLA, but girls working on the farm at that point?

A Yes. Some of them---- Yes, they did, because the, the, they couldn't disband the WLA just like that. There were two, two parts to that question. First of all, in the First World War, they had released the services more or less straightaway.

Q Okay.

A It led to terrific social problems and, of course, it led to unemployment. So, what the Government then said, after the Second World War, they'd learnt that lesson, that people would be, be

released in groups, and that is, the basis was, the first in, the first out. So those that served the longest, they came out the first. And so, they couldn't suddenly - I don't know what the Land Army was at that time, 60,000 or something like that, I think - but they couldn't suddenly take all the land girls; agriculture would have collapsed. So, they, again, they were---- The Land Army was run down between 1945, the end of the war, and 1950-something, I think, before the last girls left----

Q I think it's '53.

A Something like---- Oh, '53. Oh, you're there, are you, you've got it?

Q I think so, yeah.

A That was it. It was run down slowly, over that period of time, and then what was happening then was the number of men on the farm was, were never required in that number again. It also corresponded, as the Land Army ran down, mechanisation came in, and this was particularly so with chemical weed control and insect control, of course. We suddenly learned how to do that with, with the sprays. They came in on a very, very, big scale. So, the number of workers wouldn't have been required at any rate, the agricultural land force was, was declining. What exactly are you studying at Reading?

Q So I'm doing my PhD in - it's a really long name - agricultural, environmental and food economics, but I'm not doing anything economics-wise, so, technically my degree is with the School of Agriculture under an economics field, but what I'm focused on is how women's participation in the British agricultural sphere changed----

A Right.

Q -- that sphere, but also changed home life, changed food production and how women became integrated into the supply chain.

A Yes.

Q So women lorry drivers, women farm owners and managers, women's interests in agricultural colleges and becoming scientists, like dairy scientists for working on tuberculosis and so forth. So it's a very, very big field, because I'm covering everything.

A I see.

Q The Land Army is kind of the key point, but I'm also talking to the Women's Institutes and the friendly societies and trying to just get as much information as possible, because they all kind of talked to each other----

A Yes.

Q -- at some point, even if it was just during harvest seasons with, or village activities for those villages. My thought process is, well, I believe that women are way more entrenched in the agricultural and food production sphere than what people typically think----

A Yes.

Q -- and I'd like to try and pull out their stories to kind of showcase what exactly they're doing and how they've changed things. World War II was chosen because you had that period of pre-industrialisation and post-industrialisation----

A Yes.

Q -- you had the time period where women weren't allowed to vote and then they were allowed to vote----

A Yes, yes.

Q -- and that, of course, then gives a political voice.

A Yes.

Q And then of course, the, the technology changes with, as you said, with newsreels coming out and people talking more and seeing more of kind of global----

A Yes.

Q -- perspective, and it's also that period, as an American, I get to say this with a little bit of your kind of, the British heyday of colonisation and then kind of post-colonialization----

A Yes.

Q -- also, because you had a lot of changes happening at that period. And then just the general concept of women not being in the home. As you said, they, they were going out into the workforce, they were going into Higher Education, they were finally allowed to go into different positions. You had women MPs.

A Yeah.

Q And that was such a huge deal. And all of that happened right in that 1920 to 1960 time period. So, it's a really big historical shift----

A Yeah.

Q -- and I think, from, as a, as a female looking at it, I have a slightly different perspective maybe then as a male looking at it, because of the comparison versus what I might have grown up with and how my family taught me women could or could not do certain things. So, it's interesting kind of to look at it from multiple perspectives.

A Right. Okay.

Q So I'm---- I have kind of two points for this project. It's to find out as much information as I can, but also to figure out how to take that information and turn it into something that we can explain to the public.

A Okay.

Q So----

A Well, that leads me to something else that we, I didn't mention, and that is have you got - if not, I'll find you some - have you got any photographs of the---- You see, when the war ended and the chaps started coming back, fiancés, boyfriends and whatever, there was a, quite a sort of a, a deluge of marriages, because these land girls, obviously their boyfriends, a lot of them had not been here. So, it was quite common at that time to see the land girls used to do a guard of honour outside the church for them. There were quite a lot of land girls got married immediately after the war. Have you got any photographs of that?

Q I've seen some, but I don't have any, so if you have some, that would be amazing, because that's the one where they would, they would hold up the rakes or the shovels or something, right?

A They used to hold up rakes and all sorts of things. Now, why didn't I come across that? (After a pause) That's not it. I'm sure I had photographs. I don't know how it is---- I sort of went, don't know how it was I didn't come across it, frankly. That was----

Q I didn't see them in there.

A It wasn't that one. It wasn't that one. I'm sure I had something. (After a pause) Actually, talking about people being released, a lot of the British troops had been sent out to the Far East, to India and so on----

Q Mm hmm.

A -- they went out in 1939 and they were out for five or six years, without any home leave at all. I mean, the Government was very, very nervous, when the war was over, they were nervous that there would be social breakdown because these chaps were coming back and some of them, if they had, say, a young child when they went, when they came back, the child would be about seven or eight, and suddenly this man would be coming back and introduced into the family.

Q Right.

A And so the Government were very nervous at that time that there would be some kind of social breakdown, and then of course there were cases whereby they could come back and find that there would be a child in the family that couldn't possibly be theirs.

Q Mm hmm.

A So the Government feared there would be a terrific surge of divorce. Well, there---- Divorces did go up but the thing---- It didn't happen on the scale that the Government had thought. The social breakdown wasn't that large. It did happen, but it was controllable. But---- So that was another thing that occurred. I'll just look in there.

Q The Government was pushing for an increase in children also, weren't they, wanting to rebuild the population? I've seen that a few places, but I wasn't sure if it was something that the general public maybe was aware of.

A I don't know. I don't know that one. Just a moment. Why haven't I got that? I'm sure---- If not, I'll go through it at my leisure and - I've got your card now----

Q Yes.

A -- - I'll send it----

Q Yes, and you can always reach me on email. If I don't respond via phone, email's probably the quickest way to----

A Yes, I can probably scan it to you. I tell you what I do find interesting. When I was young, of course, there were an awful lot of - going back, say, to when I was about 10 or 11 - and I had about three, three aunts, and because of the number of men that were killed in the First World War, there were an awful lot of girls that didn't get married between the wars, and they filled an awful lot of jobs,

particularly school teaching and all that sort of thing, because they had this whole source of, of labour that was there that was provided by these single girls.

Anyway, I had these three, three aunts, who I remember particularly, and I, and they were very, very forcible ladies, I can tell you, and also, when I was in the Army, the nursing---- There was only one person that the soldier feared more than the sergeant major, and that was the nursing sisters. My God, they were hard-bitten, and what used to happen, if a chap ended up in hospital for whatever reason, if he sort of misbehaved himself with some of the nurses, the matron would come round and give them a dressing down, and then she'd say, "Enema!"

Q Ooh!

A And they'd say, "Oh no, I don't need an enema." "Yes, you do." That was the way. They didn't mess about in those days, you know, that was the way---- And these nursing sisters, my God, they, they were hard-bitten. If you knew what was good for you, you didn't mess with the nursing sisters, I can tell you.

Q I don't think you mess with anybody who handles needles----

A Yes.

Q -- and sharp objects for a living.

A Yeah, absolutely. Absolutely. I'll have to put this into some sort of order, actually. I just keep--- - I have good intentions, then I put it all back and forget about it, but---- I'm annoyed about that because I'm certain---- What I'll have to do, I'll dig it out and I'll scan it over to you.

Q No problem. Do you remember the food very much?

A Well, actually, it must have been a nightmare to women. I mean, my, my mother, I had a brother and sister, the three of us, how she managed I don't know, but she did. But of course, the thing, one of the good things about it was that - thank you - the vegetables were never rationed.

Q Right.

A So that, you could get. Vegetables were okay. But what---- I can always remember my mother complaining. She said, if only---- What you couldn't get was cooking fat.

Q Right.

A Butter, or any kind of cooking fat was very, very short indeed, and I know my mother always used to say, "If only I could get fat", you know, she could make chips or all this sort of thing, but of course that wasn't available, and so we didn't have a---- Meat ration, we had it, but we only had meat once a week, but you've got to think of something else, and that is people often say about rationing, and it was very, very severe, there was no doubt about that, but an awful lot of families, they didn't live very high off the hob. I mean, 1930s, people were desperate. You know, I mean, people were losing their businesses, people were losing their jobs. So, it isn't as if people were living very lavishly before the war. So it wasn't all that big a step to, you know, not to, not having an awful lot of food but then, on the other hand, you had some people, I know there was one Member of Parliament, Dr Somerville, I think her name was, and when they came, issuing ration books, she took hers back and said, "Give my ration to the children", and there were quite a number of people who did that, because if they were vegetarians, as I say, vegetables were not, not rationed at all, and bread wasn't, it was rationed right at

the end of the war but, for most of the war, bread wasn't rationed. So, bread they could get, vegetables they could get, and, as I say, there were a number of people who, who handed their ration books back and said, "Give my rations to the children", and she was one, Dr Somerville was one.

And so, you could have an entire---- Well, I don't know how many people in the world are vegetarians, but a good number, aren't there, and in India more than half the population's vegetarian, so you can live perfectly satisfactorily if you can get a supply of vegetables, which is what they, what they did. But, as I say, I can remember my mother complaining about not being able to get any cooking fat. That was hard. But when you're, you know, you're at school, you don't appreciate what's going on really. I mean, you remember certain things, but other things are, you don't remember.

I mean, the air raids, when they started to launch the V1 and V2 rockets at the end of the war, I remember that more clearly because one of those, I was standing at the, in the street and one of those doodlebugs, as we used to call them, landed and it killed about nine people, just fairly near to where I was, but the strange thing was that people accepted casualties. You know, say, that, that day, I carried on. Everybody did. People carried on going to work and all, all sorts of things. So, people did accept casualties. The thing that was very, very hard, I think, most people did feel, I remember two occasions when a school was hit, and when children were, were killed. That---- And it didn't---- It did the opposite to, I think, to what, what the Germans, and eventually the British, thought, and that was it hardens people's resistance. That's what happened here at any rate. They thought that they would kill people's morale, and that didn't happen, but people were very---- They wanted revenge, there was no doubt about that. And when we read that there'd been a thousand bomber raid on Berlin or something, people said, "Well, it'll jolly well serve them right. It's no more than they did, did to us." Today, we see it differently. We all know that violence breeds violence and it doesn't get you anywhere, but, at that time, that was not the feeling. People, particularly people who had lost family members and so on, they were looking at, there would be some reprisals, and there was, but of course, looking back on it all now, we realise how hopeless and stupid the whole damn thing was. But violence begets violence, and it gets you absolutely nowhere, absolutely nowhere. But there we go, we carry on. Are you quite sure you won't have a cup of coffee before you go?

Q No, I'm, I'm okay, but thank you.

A Do you know where to get the bus?

Q Yeah, I just walk backwards.

A You go straight back into the village here, you get to the mini-roundabout, you just turn left. Now, you'll see the bus stop is on the left. Now, fortunately, there is a shelter there, so you won't be standing out in the, in the rain.

Q Well, I appreciate all of your time and effort and your stories. It's great. It's really good for me to hear---- Because all---- So far, all I've dealt with is talking to the women, which is lovely, but I like to hear from the male perspective also.

A Yes.

Q Because you do have that, that, the difference, and it's nice to see where, where things overlap and where they're slightly different.

A Yes, yes.



Q And especially different, different people's involvement in the war. So the fact that you were in the Army and are a farmer is quite, quite a great time period for me to grab information from, because you can tell me about both sides of that, which his really interesting.

A Whereabouts is your home in America?

Q I'm from Florida.

A Oh, Florida? Oh right. Okay.

Q So it's----

A Yeah.

Q This is very weird for me, to be in this weather, but----

A Yeah, well, that was a big mistake the British made, wasn't it? We decided to let, let the American colonies go and build an empire in the east. If only we'd done it the other way around.

Q Just a---- Well, considering what's happening currently in our political climate, you all should have just stayed. I would have much preferred if you guys had just stayed at that point, but----

A Well, of course, that's something else, the background. You have to---- Particularly at the present time, you have to see the empire the way that it was seen by the people at that time. I mean, my uncles and so on, they served in India, in the Indian Army. I also had a great uncle who was a missionary doctor in Africa; he died of some fever out there. But we saw it, in a way, that we were doing good. We didn't see---- I mean, when I was at school, we had Empire Day, and, I mean, a piano used to be taken out into the school playground and a little talk and then we had the afternoon off and all that sort of thing, but we didn't see it as something oppressive or undesirable; on the contrary, we---- Of course, we were probably only told the good things. I mean, you take things that the British did, I mean, like suttee in India, the burning of widows, I mean, the British stopped all that, and we stopped all human sacrifices, and a lot of things we did, but there were probably---- I suppose, when you, when you've got an empire that covers about 25 per cent of the world, you're bound to get mistakes and, and so on, and I mean, it's the same as in---- Well, you've got this going on in America at the moment----

Q Yeah.

A -- haven't you, about families that got some of their wealth from slave-owning----

Q Yeah.

A -- and all that sort of thing. Well, it's all very reprehensible, I know, but then they would have been men of their own generation.

Q It's a hindsight issue.

A Yeah.

Q At the time period, different things were acceptable that are not acceptable anymore and---- Especially, my family's been in Florida for over 100 years, but we've been in the US since the 1740s.

A Right.

Q So we've been in---- They were in the north, so we're a little bit of both, but it's, it's quite interesting to hear how people take their history and which pieces they focus on and which pieces they ignore, and none of us want to hear about the bad stuff, even though it happened.

A Yes.

Q And it's interesting in my area because my community is actually an immigrant community, it's a Greek predominant community.

A That's right.

Q I'm not Greek, but the community is Greek.

A Yeah, yeah.

Q And they were all brought over, the entire town was brought over, basically, from Greece----

A Yes.

Q -- and you still have first generations where nobody speaks English.

A Really?

Q So when I went through primary school, everybody up to age eight was taught in both English and Greek----

A Right.

Q -- and then a rule went by that said, "No, you have to be the same as everybody else in the county, you have to just speak English", and only the Greek students were taught in Greek.

A Yeah.

Q Which is different than in a lot of places. A lot of places in the US you'll get, especially in the south, you'll get it in Spanish. It'll be English and Spanish.

A Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Q Which makes sense, because a lot of the population speak Spanish of some form in that region, but, for our area, even though you had Spanish-speaking communities all around us, our town was Greek, and that's what you had, and all of our festivals, holidays, everything was around the Greek calendar.

A Right.

Q So we had - actually, I think it's still there - you had a day off in high school and all of the schools shut down for Greek Easter, and we all went down to celebrate, even if you weren't Greek, because it was a day off from school, and that's what kids like.

A Yeah, yeah. Yeah, yeah.

Q And food and dancing, which is great. But it's interesting to see the differences. We had---- One side of the train tracks was white and one side was black.

A Yeah.

Q And if you were black in the, up until mid-'60s, you weren't allowed to go to high school in any of the schools in the county except for one. There was one school, and everybody was bussed there.

A Mm hmm.

Q So it's things that are still---- It's stuff that my father, growing up in the area, remembers quite frequently, and I'm from a family of teachers, my dad was a teacher, and I was a teacher, and he's like, "Yeah, when I started teaching, in the late-'70s, this was an issue", because they were starting integration.

A Yeah.

Q Because we were the last state to integrate.

A Oh right. Really?

Q So---- Yeah. They were just like, "No, we're not going to do that. We don't care what you say, Government." So, it was---- It wasn't until '68, '69 that it was fully integrated, which is quite late compared to like----

A Yeah, well, it is.

Q It's interesting.

A You're quite right, but then, on the other hand, well, it's only 100 years since women had the vote----

Q Exactly.

A -- in England, and probably later than that in America, I think----

Q Yeah.

A -- too, if I'm right in saying that.

Q Yeah.

A And, of course, I'm not a Roman Catholic myself, I'm Church of England, but part of my family are Roman Catholic, so of course they are opposed to women being ordained into the priesthood, but, I mean, let me say straightaway, my family, we, there's nothing about, at all, but I did say to them, they are opposed to---- And I say to them, "Well, look, look at it this way: 100 years ago, in England, a woman couldn't be a doctor." Florence Nightingale, when she trained as a nurse, she had to go to France. In the whole of the British Empire, there wasn't one nurses school, and she had to go to France, where they had nursing schools, to get a qualification in nursing. So, I said, "If you look at that, a girl couldn't become a doctor, she, there was no proper training for nurses, all the things, you couldn't go into Parliament, and so I don't, I think that the time will come, whether you like it or whether you don't, you're going to have to, as the Church of England has done, you're going to have to accept women into the priesthood." Because, first of all I started off by being, not wanting the change, but then I changed my mind because I thought, "This is nonsense", because, you know, we'd come through not having women doctors and all the rest of it. Not only that, if you look at the parish situation, okay, you've got burying of the dead, comforting bereaved families, christening children and all that sort of thing, a woman can do that just as well, and in some cases perhaps even better, she can do pastoral work in exactly the same way as a parish priest does it, but then the RC say about holy communion, and I say,

"Well, you know, you've got to look at the whole thing. You can't pick out one little bit." It's like life, you have to look at the whole thing. If you start picking out bits and pieces, you'll say, "Well, it's all bad/all good." So, I do have a, as I say, quite a bit of discussion with the, with them, but I don't bother, I mean, myself, if anybody's married or buried or whatever it is, I don't care whether it---- I go along---- If anybody says anything to me, I just say, "Oh God doesn't mind." So---- But----

Q He hasn't called and told us anyway, right?

A Yeah, absolutely. But there we go. No, I'm just interested to hear about, hear about---- I don't know much about America. I, I have been, but only very, very limited. I went to Los Angeles I think in---- I did a bit of a cruise with my, my wife. My wife died 18 months ago, but----

Q Oh, I'm sorry.

A -- but, you see, my wife was of the British Empire because she was part-Armenian and part-British, and, but she was born, and the whole family were in India, because what had happened is, after the genocide, a lot of the Armenians wanted to live under British rule, so they came across into India, and you've got quite a large Armenian community in India, or you did have, and of course not only did they then marry into other European nations, but of course a lot of them married into the Eurasian families. So, you've got a lot of Armenians and the other part of the heritage is Eurasian. But, of course, they changed their---- They Anglicised their names and everything because they just wanted to get out of Armenia and the Middle East and live under British rule, which of course they had in, in India, of course. They were perfectly free to operate and have their own society, which they did. But---- So, you see, there were people that wanted----

The other point is too, I always say to people, "Well, look here, after the war, there weren't many Jews that wanted to go back and live in Germany, but there were an awful lot of people from British Empire that wanted to come and live and work in England", and so I said, "They wouldn't have done that if we were that bad", you know, and---- But there we go. It's a---- That's another story. But thank you very much for coming along, and I'll dig you out that photograph, which I'll email over to you.

Q Great, thank you.

A And----

Q And thank you so much for all your time, it's----

A No, that's, that's---- But I'm sorry I didn't have it a bit better organised. As I say, you can see what happens, I put it back in there and----

(End of recording)

#### 4. BARBARA CORNWELL INTERVIEW

Wednesday, 2 September 2020

Interviewer: Tamisan Latherow

Transcriptionist: Carolyn Ward, CJW Transcribing, [carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com](mailto:carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com)

A Hello?

Q Yes, Barbara?

A Hello?

Q Hi, this is Tamisan Latherow.

A Hi Tamisan. Just let me get it louder. Hello?

Q Hello? Can you hear me?

A Oh, that's better. I've had to turn my phone up a bit. I've done it now. It's nice to hear your voice.

Q It is nice to hear yours as well. Thank you so much for agreeing to do this interview.

A Well, I'm very happy to do it (inaudible) one little thing will help. I admire what you're doing, and it will take a lot of work, I'm sure.

Q It's been a, it's been a journey, we'll put it that way. (Laughter)

A Yes. And when did you start?

Q Just about a year ago. So, I've been doing my literature review and dealing with all the paperwork and so forth, and I've just started my interviews a few months ago, and then lockdown happened, so things----

A Ah.

Q -- things kind of changed a little bit, and----

A Yes. Yes, I'm sure. Yes.

Q But it's, it's quite nice to be able to speak to people, even if I can't do it in person like I had hoped, that were actually participating in it, versus reading about the experiences.

A Well, I wish I knew how to do Zoom, but I haven't been shown how to do that yet.

Q Not a problem. Basically---- So for this anyway, I don't know if you still have the questions, that can help, but, otherwise, what I'd like to do is have more of a conversation----

A Yes.

Q -- versus just a ask a question; get an answer. That way, if there's any stories or memories or things that you are just like, "Oh, I remember when this happened, that was so weird", that type of thing, if that comes up, then I can include that as well, 'cause that's a lot more important, I think, than your, "Well, from this date to this date, I was at this place and I did this" type of a situation.

A Yes. Yes. Yes. Okay. I'm with you.

Q So, I guess, first off, just to let you know, because I know that we were having issues with the emails with the documents, I have mailed you physical copies of the two documents I need signed----

A Yes.

Q -- as well as a return envelope, so, whenever you do get them, if you could just sign them, saying, "Yes, I understand that I've been recorded and that this is going to go into research"----

A Yes.

Q -- and mail it back to me, I would appreciate that. It'll probably take a few days.

A Now, when, when I post it back, I see it's got Museum of English Rural Life. That is the address I should do on the envelope, with your name at the top?

Q Yes, so I have sent you---- You'll get an envelope addressed to you, obviously, and inside will have the two documents, a return envelope that's already pre-stamped with my address on it----

A Oh, I see. Yes.

Q -- and, and a little, and my business card, just in case, for future reference if you need to get a hold of me.

A Right. Yes. Thank you.

Q So I, I guess the first thing to do is just to, to give a little bit of background for yourself, you were both in the Women's Institute and the Women's Land Army and a farmer's wife, am I understanding that correctly?

A That's right. That's right, yes. Yes. And I must give you a little bit of explanation of how little time I spent in the Land Army, and you'll understand it when I tell you. First of all, when I was about thirteen, I lived on the edge of Brighton, which is a town, and I was very keen to help with the harvest in the summer. I was very interested in farming life, and my father used to cycle past certain farms on his way to---- He was called up in the Air Force. He was working at a base by the sea and he cycled there every day, and he went in and asked the farmer there if I could probably, possibly be any use. So he was pleased to have me. So for the whole of the summer holiday I used to go to that farm. I cycled from Brighton to the farm, which was 12 miles, so 12 miles each way, and I was very, very happy doing that, and we'd go there on a Saturday morning as well, although we finished at twelve.

So I did that from thirteen to seventeen. So I would have every summer on the land, but I was, I was very keen to be a teacher and I wanted teacher training, and, unfortunately, my stepmother, with whom I didn't get on too well, she would not let me finish my schooling in the 6th Form, so I said, "Right, I'll get, I'll get up, I'll leave home, I'll join the Land Army. I'll see if they'll have me", because they were beginning to close down a bit, and this would be in 1947, and I went to see the powers that be in Lewes, which isn't far from Brighton, and, the county town, and they were very happy to take me, even though it would only be for one year, and I was so relieved about that, and I was quite surprised that they were prepared to train me for one year. They said, "No, we're very happy to have you." So I did spend a year in the Women's Land Army, so I can answer you various questions in relation to that as well.

Q Great. So I guess the, the first thing would be, you were, were you trained in Lewes or were you sent away for training?

A Well that's a little bit---- I was sent as from Lewes. They found three farms that they thought I might like to look at, and I could choose which of the, the three I preferred, and the first choice they gave me was one farm near where my father was based in the Air Sea Rescue (inaudible) airport, and it was an area very close to the sea, and they wanted me to drive a milk float and deliver milk all along that route, the seafront, and I thought, "That is not for me. I've joined the Land Army. That's a milkman's job." So I turned that one down, and then there was a second one that I didn't much like the look of, and I was on a bus, coming home from Lewes, back home, and I was going to see my third job the next day, and I was upstairs on the bus and a voice, well, a man tapped my shoulder - I was in Land Army uniform - and I turned round, he'd got his three young boys with him, and he said, "Are you working on a farm?" and I said, "Well, I'm hoping to", and he, he said, "Well, you should try such-and-such a farm, it's where I work, and you will love it. It's in a small village." And that was where I went, and that was where this man worked.

But the training actually, I've skipped a bit, the training was first given---- I was given notification of where to go by the powers that be in Lewes, where I enrolled in the Land Army, and they sent me to a small village called Wadhurst, and I had a month's training.

Q Okay.

A So my choices came after that month. I'm sorry, I should have started at the beginning.

Q No, that's fine.

A And I discovered, with the other land girls I worked with when I was thirteen to seventeen, that all of them had had training on a farm, and the training amounted to doing what the farmer told you, or instructed you to do. There wasn't any other organised training as you would picture these days.

Q Okay.

A So it was something, following the routine and getting used to the job and mastering it. So all the training was done on the farm. So, at Wadhurst, I had that month, and I was sent to a certain village where I was going to stay for the month. She was a very old lady, and she was lovely, and I slept in a huge bed. It must have been a featherbed, because when you got on top of it, you sank down nearly to the, to the---- I was going to say the floor, but not quite. You could get lost in it. And she would pack up my sandwich in the morning, for midday, and I'd have a meal when I came home.

So, after that, my choice of farm happened to be my husband that I've got now, in the long run. He was about the same age as me.

Q Was he the, the son of the farmer or just another worker?

A Yes, he was just finishing---- He was away at a boarding school, and he was just finishing off and coming straight on the farm at seventeen years of age, and he was the first one to deal with me on my first day. He---- The first thing the pair of us had to do - I hope this isn't too much dodging about----

Q No.

A -- I'll be brief - but the idea was that we were going to deliver milk to the houses that were, from the farm, there were about, I'm guessing now, about seven dwellings, and then we had to climb a steep hill, and then there were a few more to do. It wasn't a very big task, and it was soon done within, you know, less than an hour, certainly less, and you'd go to the back door of every house and it would be open, and inside would be a chair, close to the door, and a container would be on there. It wasn't

always a jug, it could be a saucepan, it could be a basin, and a notice saying how much they wanted, a pint or 2 pints or 3 pints, and I had a---- Well, John carried the cans on the first day, then it was over to me, and that was one of the very heavy jobs. Some jobs were extremely painful sometimes. Great big cans of milk. I should have asked him, he would tell me now, how much it was. We had a can that hung over the side by a loop, and it could either measure a pint or a quart, or anything like that, and you would ladle it out of the big can and pour it into the basin or the jug, and the money would be sitting on the, on the chair as well.

Q Was anybody normally there, or was it just left for you to deal with?

A Sometimes. It all depended how early people got up.

Q Right.

A Because I had to be down at the farm at 4.30 a.m.

Q Ouch.

A And we didn't start taking---- Yeah, that was a shock for me, in the dark. We didn't start taking the milk---- And I helped with putting the milk up in some bottles beforehand, and we didn't take bottles there. I suppose we started the milk round sort of soon after seven, half past six to seven, something like that, and sometimes someone would be about. If they were elderly, they wouldn't be about. So it varied. Or children would be there, and you'd chat with them. So it was a very sociable job. But that was only a small part of it.

Q Right.

A The---- The farm I went to for training, they had a lot of cattle, and so they were dealing with a lot of milk, and we had to make sure that the separating machine which took the cream off the top of the milk originally was all working in order and so on, and keep a check on things, but that was only for one, one month. I, I enjoyed it and was ready for the next assignment I was going to get, which was in the small village of Barcombe, where we live now. My husband was born in Barcombe too.

Q Was, was the farm---- Was there electricity and running water on the farm, or was it more, of a more rural situation?

A Well, more rural for---- My, where my husband lived, the house he lived in and (inaudible) others must have been the same, they had a well and, to make life easier, they had a pump fixed, so although it was coming through the well, from the well, it came through a pump, but some of them had to do it by bucket. So where, where we started off with the delivering of the, the can that I was carrying, they, they hadn't got the water indoors, they had to get it from outside, and when we were first married (that was in '53), we had, we had water, but we had no electricity, and we had oil lamps and, when the children came along, especially when they were smaller - we have got six children, three sons, three daughters - the most difficult task with an oil lamp was carrying the youngest one upstairs on your arm, and that would usually be the left arm, and holding an oil lamp in your right hand, holding it in front of the child to get upstairs, the child would be reaching forward, trying to reach the pretty lamp, and you were trying to hold it away and yet walk up straight, going upstairs. That was a very difficult task to do.

Q Wow.



A But I got over that eventually. But we, we did get electricity when number four was born, so that would have been - well, gosh, I've got to work this one out - about, about 1960, '62, something like that. So we had oil lamps for twelve years.

Q Wow.

A But it was very, very, very romantic, having these oil lamps. It was very pretty, but you'd got to put oil in them every day.

Q Right. Was that the same situation later on, whenever you were dealing with farm business? So, if you were outside of the house, was there, was it oil lamp or was it only work during daylight hours? How did you deal with that?

A I think the farm I was on from age thirteen to seventeen, they had got water coming into the house.

Q Okay.

A They were---- Most of their cottages were on, not a B-road, a C-road, I suppose----

Q Oh.

A -- and they had got water coming into the house. And that would be, when I was seventeen, so 1930, '47, well, '43. 1943, I went there for those four years, five years. Yes.

Q Okay. When you were---- As, as a member of the Land Army, you were obviously given a uniform. Were you given a complete uniform by that time period or just pieces? Do you remember?

A Sorry, could you say that again?

Q Sure. The Land Army uniform that you were given, do you----

A Yes?

Q -- remember if it was the full uniform or was it just kind of pieces of the uniform? Some of the people I've spoken to----

A It was very much full uniform.

Q Full uniform at that point? Nice.

A Yes. Yes. And when I went off to, to be selected for teacher training, I was, I went off in my, my Land Army uniform. I think that quite impressed them. I think that helped me. So I was still in the Land Army then, when I went for an interview.

Q Okay. Did you have any other girls that were working on the same farm, or was it just you working with the farmers?

A The one from when I was thirteen to seventeen, I was working with about five other land girls, and it was from them I learnt about the fact that they went off for training to wherever they were sent for a month, on a farm, and I learnt quite a lot from them you know, how to, how to deal with things on the farm. They were very, very helpful, and they were such a cheerful crowd. It was lovely to be with them. Very happy times.

Q What about whenever you were, you went off to the other farm, after training? Were you stationed with other girls or was it just you, by yourself?

A No, no, this was near Groombridge, and this was my first one that I went to before---- No, wait a moment. I shall get you muddled in a minute. I said that I had three to choose from, but I've got to go back a bit. Sorry, it's coming to me now.

Q Mm hmm.

A After the one where I was sent for training and I was there with the old lady, I was told which farm I was going to, and that was at Groombridge. I had no choice there. But there was a, a farmer and his wife, and there was one other labourer who came in and, interestingly, we had a prisoner of war working on that farm, and he was such a lovely man. He used to talk about his family. I hope he got back safely eventually. But he was happy working on the farm, and he wasn't allowed to go back until the time was given to them. I don't know how long they kept them over here.

Q Right.

A And he gave me a propelling pencil, a blue one, that you, you twisted and the, the lead comes out the end, and I've still got that propelling pencil, and he taught me how to make sauerkraut in a, in a wooden barrel. They're, they're very fond of sauerkraut in Germany. So that was our full number: one coming in to help, the farmer was there, working, and the farm labourer and the prisoner of war.

Q Right.

A Now, I learnt from my husband that they had a lot, oh, a great deal of prisoners of war all working on the land, and I don't know how many years it was, I don't know, three or four or what, but they had as many as forty come in on lorries to come and help in the main harvesttime, in the summer.

Q Okay. Was the---- Was your husband's farm a, a mixed, mixed farm, or was it predominantly horticulture or animals?

A It was certainly a mixed---- The one I went to where the prisoner of war was already there -yes, I think his name was Hans, yes, it was - there, they were only dairy.

Q Okay.

A They weren't growing any crops; they weren't diversifying anywhere. But when I came to this farm, here in Barcombe, they, they'd got a much bigger dairy, much, much bigger, and they had young cattle running and, and they, they also grew crops, you know, wheat, oats and barley, and they, at one time, they were dealing in cabbages, and I, well, I should have---- My husband's got a wonderful (inaudible) of his own. He did it for the village, saying what their farm was like, and that is fantastic to read, and they, they sent off thousands of small cabbage by train, because the train stopped in the village. It doesn't now, it doesn't exist now.

Q Okay.

A And so they did diversify a lot, and when my husband took over, he and his brother went in for blackcurrants by the acre. We had---- I think there was three fields of 60 acres of blackcurrants, and they were harvested by machine, but I'm, I'm telling you too much, I think.

Q No, that's okay.

A I mean, I hope you don't mind. The---- After they'd been taken in by machine, there was a notice put in the village shop saying, "Help yourself to blackcurrants, they're there for you take", and people (inaudible) on the bottom of the bushes, which were very prolific, and, yes, they eventually stopped because they could produce them so much more cheaply abroad, and they were sending them over here, so we, we had to dig up 60 acres of beautiful redcurrant, blackcurrant bushes. That was a shame. Anyway, I'm glad I survived.

Q That's good.

A Would you like to know such things as when we were at work, I did make a little list of what I called the "painful jobs".

Q Yes, please. Everybody seems to just want to tell you the happy stuff, and I, I would like to know both, you know, 'cause I know of being on a farm myself that it is not always a happy time, even if you need to keep that smile on your face.

A Oh right. Oh. Oh right. Well, I think I've been very fortunate. I loved it here on the farm, because it was a---- I was the only farm, Land Army girl they'd got then. They had had Land Army girls who had already left, and they would, they would tease you, make you laugh, help you to do something if you couldn't do it. They were just wonderful. So I've been very fortunate.

Q Oh good. I'm glad.

A Now, the, these painful bits. Well, there was---- The first time I, I was struck for pain rather badly was on the farm where it was just the farmer, the helper, the, the prisoner of war, Hans, and myself. That's where I had to learn to hand milk, because it was all hand milking. Well, it wasn't difficult to get the milk running, not at all, and you leant your head against a lovely warm cow. On cold mornings, that was more than welcome, and the milk would go freely, but what, what I wasn't prepared for, the terrible pain it gave my arms from the elbows to the fingertips at night. I'd go to bed and there would be this awful, awful pain in both my arms, of course, and the only near form of relief I could get was to hang my arms outside the iron bedstead. I mean, I stayed in bed and just hung both hands over, down as far as the floor, because it helped somehow, but that went on for weeks and weeks. So that was a horrendous one. So I do know if anybody's going to learn to milk by hand they must expect pain. But when you've got over it, it's okay. It must have taken me, well, three or four months before I got over it.

Now, and the other thing that was a bit tricky, at harvesttime, we, we land girls (inaudible) when I was eleven to, thirteen to seventeen, we would go out into the fields after the thresher, not the thresher, after the sheaves had been cut and they were all in rows, so in, in lines, long lines of course, we had to go and pick up two, one under one arm and one under the other, and in the lovely summer weather we seemed to have in those days your arms were bare, and, and these, these sheaves, the, the straw would dig into your arms and you'd find you'd got what looked like a rash down each arm, and our arms began, became very painful during the time of gathering in sheaves.

Q Okay.

A And of course the other painful one I had was carrying the heavy containers with the, what I called "loose milk", where we ladled them out at the back door. Those, I had two, two of those to carry, and they, they were, seemed really heavy to me. John is just round the corner, I could ask him if he could tell me how, how much they must have weighed, but I'm still with you, Tamisan.

Q Yes, of course.

A John, can you remember how much those cans of milk that we carried might have weighed?

(Interviewee speaks to husband briefly)

A There would be about 4 gallons of milk in those cans, and of course the cans themselves were substantial----

Q Right.

A -- (inaudible), and you, you'd got your funny things happening to you sometimes. This was when I was working on this farm: they sent me off to rake the hay, and it was lying loose in the field and they wanted me to go in with the horse and the, a big metal, a big thing that had got rakes, hooks or like a, not like a scythe, like a (inaudible), big circular things----

Q Okay.

A -- and as I drove the horse along, it would, it would turn the hay right over so it would dry better, later that day and so on, and I hadn't done that job before, and someone came along to, to get me started on it and what lever to pull to turn the hay, and then off he went, and I was some long way from the farm. So I was very happy, sitting up there, horse in front of me. It was a lovely experience, and the hay was turning. Beautiful. But I started on the outside and, of course, went round and round, even though it was a square, until I got in the middle and I thought, "Oh, so I'm here. How do I get out without disturbing the hay?" So I had to go and find someone from the farm, because I couldn't---- I---- There was something underneath my seat, and I didn't see that. So I had to go and find out how to get out of the middle of the field. So I had my leg pulled over that one.

Q Did----

A They loved having something to pull your leg over.

Q Were you working with horses the entire time, or did you have mechanical tractors as well?

A Oh, we certainly had tractors. We had---- There was the grey Fords and then we had the big orange ones. I loved those because they had nice big orange mudguards over their big wheels, and we girls used to sit on each side, on that mudguard, whilst the fellow was driving us to another field. As long as you hung on to each side of your mudguard, you were quite safe. So that was very nice. They had various tractors, and we, we hadn't got a combine at that time, we had---- Oh, it's got a name---- He used to come in every harvesttime and shatter all the corn out of it. I must try John again. The word has lost me.

Q That's okay.

A John, what was the name of the gadget we used when you got the corn out of the sheath? What was the name of the gadget that you used to shake the corn out of the sheaths?

(Interviewee speaks to husband briefly)

A Thrasher, thank you. So easy. Dear oh dear. Right. I must---- I'm trying to make excuses for myself now, but I did have five weeks in hospital in, in March, was it, April, and I have lost a lot of straightforward words. I suddenly come upon somebody and can't remember their name. So that's, that's a nuisance. Anyway, we had a thrasher, and it was a lovely sound, it used to chunter away and all

these, all systems go, and you'd feed it from the top with the sheaves and the grain would be selected to come out of another part of the machine, the thrasher. And it was a noisy thing, and a very dusty thing, because there were clouds of, of sort of straw dust going up in the air, but that came before the combines.

Q Okay.

A Oh, and another thing---- Oh. You must want to ask me some questions too?

Q Well----

A And I was going---- Sorry.

Q No, no, that's fine. This is great information. It helps to give me a very good idea as to what you would have been dealing with on a daily basis.

A Yes.

Q Did you---- What did you do whenever you weren't working? Like, did you have evening activities, community activities, or----

A Well, you see, I said they didn't have crops, but they did have a few potatoes, but not a lot. I think they supplied a local shop in the village with potatoes. (inaudible) potatoes, well, I did get two (inaudible) school fortnight in the summer, when we used to what we called a "harvest camp", and we were deployed from there to go and, and pick up acres and acres of potatoes. I never wanted to see another potato again. So that's the only experience I had otherwise.

Q Mm hmm.

A But I did, on this farm, I had the opportunity, sometimes, to lead the horse when we were dung carting, and that was a regular job at the right time of year, and I used to love leading the horse. We had four horses on the farm. I've got some nice photographs of those. They, the horses were just lovely, and that, as I say, it was nice to be working with them. Now, I was going to tell you a bit about---- Have you heard about harvest ration?

Q No, I have not.

A Well, this was a big thing in the war. Only during harvesttime, all workers on the land were issued with extra rations because they, they decreed that they needed them because they were working so hard, and they had a ration of sugar, they had tea, they had cheese and they had butter. Now, John used to, he used to talk about his mother putting up the rations. She had to put them up every week, and the local village shop kindly supplied her with the right sized little bags to put these in, which was good of them. I don't know the weight of them at all, but it was deemed to be that much extra for each one person.

Q Okay.

A I can't give you the weights, but it was definitely sugar, tea, cheese and butter.

Q Okay.

A And I said to John, before, I kept asking him these different questions, I said, "What about those, all those prisoners of war that came on, on the scene, forty-odd?" They didn't get harvest rations. They were looked after some other way by the powers that be that brought them to the gang.

Q Okay.

A And there was---- Oh yes, I was going to say, do you know, the rations, they, they didn't finish the moment the war finished----

Q Right.

A -- because I went to college in 1948, and we were still on the butter ration then, and there were about two hundred in my year, and we, when we went there, we were issued with a little tiny saucer, like, not good china, but they looked like china, and we were, we had to, well, we had 2 ounces, exactly, on that little piece of, on that little bit of china, and that had to last us a week. Well, I use 2 ounces every time I make my bread. I was doing that yesterday, and 2 ounces of butter is, when you're cutting across a back of butter, the normal size, it would, it would be about, a little over half an inch to cut down, and, that, that sort of size we, at college, had to exist for a week on that.

Q Wow.

A But it did finish quite a bit---- It went on---- I've got the dates somewhere, but I can't see it.

Q I know some of the rations continued even into the fifties.

A Yes. I was at college from '48 to '50, and it was going throughout our two years, yes.

Q That actually leads quite well, I guess, into the Women's Institute work. When did you start working with the Women's Institute?

A I joined when I was twenty-nine. I've still got my little card that I had given me when I joined, and I have had a wonderful time in the WI. It's taken me all over the place. John's mother was in the WI in her early days, but not when I joined. And so I joined when I was twenty-nine, and I'm still waiting for it to open this year. Are we going to open up before Christmas? Been no mention of getting places like that opened yet, with this coronavirus.

So, in the, in joining the WI, I quite soon got on committee, and I think I, I used to do about two years at a time, and hope for someone else to take over for another two years. I think I did about sixteen of those, sixteen two-year stints, in my time, and then I found I, I was taken on board on the, on the county committee. It was, first of all, under a sort of farming capacity, doing a lot of exploring in that, and, but then I went on to head up the voluntary county organisers that we had; I was one myself, and then I was put in charge of that lot, and then, finally, I ended up as county chairman for three years, and of course when you're county chairman you go all over the country to various meetings, big meetings----

Q Right.

A -- and, and also, we had a, we have a - I hope we're going to be able to keep it - we have a wonderful place in Oxfordshire called Denman College----

Q Mm hmm.

A -- and I've been to, oh, about fifty courses there, weekly or fortnightly, and you could choose from anything like advanced driving, lacework, art, cooking. They've got five hundred different courses that they would use, you know, mixing them up, having different courses each year, and I'm afraid, at the moment, it looks as if we're going to lose it----

Q Oh.

A -- because they've run out of money, they've had to---- Well, they have sort of furloughed their staff, they'd got forty or fifty staff, and it looks very bleak, because that---- WI members came from all over the country to Denman College, and it was the best experience out. So, yes, I have loved all my WI work, and now, at the age of ninety, my WI work is joining with a team in the village where we knit squares, sew them together, make blankets of them, and we have made twenty-nine blankets in this lockdown----

Q Wow.

A -- and they're going overseas. They've already gone. So, yes, the WI are very much with me.

Q How did----

A I am a chatterbox.

Q No, that's fine. How---- Did you deal with the, the jam making at all, or was that after----

A That was really before my time.

Q Yes. Okay.

A Yes.

Q Okay. How was the---- After the, after you joined up with the WI, what was their, their primary relationship or goals for the rural communities, do you know?

A I would have a job to tell you that. I don't know about that at the very beginning, but we were very good, even from the beginning, we had a tremendous meeting, in London usually, at the Royal Festival---- Not the Royal Festival Hall, the----

Q Royal Albert Hall?

A Yes, yes.

Q Yes.

A Yes.

Q I've got a great picture of the very first WI meeting from the Albert Hall. It's great.

A Oh, good for you. That is really, really nice to know. We met there once a year, and I've only been there once, when the Queen came. She stayed for the whole of the meeting. It was an all-day meeting, and the, the, the Royal Albert Hall would be absolutely packed. You couldn't put another one in there, you know? And we would, each year - well, you probably know this - we would select three resolutions. I mean, we were the ones who got, first got telephone boxes into villages, because they didn't exist. But that was one of our resolutions. And we were the ones who started up the Keep Britain Tidy. We'd do resolutions from the welfare of women to, and children, to, what shall I say---- Well, we had such---- The resolutions are so different and so far-reaching, and not all of them achieve what we want to, so we had to keep on wording things in a different way to edge the Government on, and---- Now, I do know that the headquarters in London, when we've got these resolutions going, and we'd got, we'd decided on, on one or two in particular, that people from headquarters would select certain WI

members to go in to discuss it with Members of Parliament, in, in some other room somewhere, and they, they'd quiz them a great deal. So we've got a lot to do with getting things done in the country.

Q Right.

A And we also have a bigger organisation which is worldwide----

Q Mm hmm.

A -- and they meet up every three years, they'll have a big meeting in one country or another. So we are far-reaching in all ways, I would say.

Q Okay.

A And they make resolutions too.

Q Right.

A I mean, not all of them are carried out, but we had to keep, keep on persevering.

Q How was the---- How did you feel, like, just your general perception of working with the WI and working with the WLA during the war and after the war? Did it---- Did you feel a sense of accomplishment? Was it something that the general population was aware of was happening and how, how---- Basically, I guess I'm just trying to find out how people felt about your involvement and how you felt about your involvement.

A Right. That's rather difficult. Well, not difficult, because I thoroughly enjoyed everything, wherever I went, so I was very fortunate, fortunate. Well, what I thought was so good about being on the farm was that, well, as people have found out during this lockdown, when they were able to get out, it was such a relief to be able to get out in the fresh air and so on. I found that being with people on a farm was very companionable, very much so, and they cared for one another, and so---- It was quite interesting to hear even those that were (inaudible) the real old accent from their original, where the older ones that I met on the farm when I first started, most of them had got a Sussex accent. It was lovely to hear the real accent that belonged in Sussex, and you felt so much better for, for working out on the farm. You, you know, your whole body seemed to appreciate it. So that's not very helpful to you----

Q Okay.

A -- but it's difficult to describe, and certainly, as you can tell by the variety that comes up in the WI, all of that has taken me to all sorts of places. We've even been abroad because of it and so on, and, well, I've, I've learnt so much from both organisations, so very much, which I'm not---- I know I use the information and I'm not aware I'm using it sometimes, because it sort of comes naturally when you've lived with those sort of experiences.

Q Okay.

A Not very clever, that, but---- I mean, it's not very helpful to you.

Q No, no, that's good. That's---- It's, it's fine. It gives me an idea as to perception,

A Yes. Yes, I was very happy with all of it.



Q Okay. You've gone through more than, more than the questions that I have, so now, basically, if there's any, if there's anything that you'd like to talk about or that particularly stood out in your time with either organisation, that would be lovely, to hear little stories or, or just an anecdote or two of things that you enjoyed or didn't like or, or just something random that you're like, "Oh, I remember that weird time."

A Well, suddenly nothing comes very easily. I was going to mention to you the fact that when we were, we were---- Well, when I was at the farm where there was a small number, where Hans, the one German person on, was on the farm, I found that they, they did look upon the land girls as very good babysitters too. If they were having someone, even for an evening meal with them, they, they'd ask you if you'd mind, "Can we take you over to such-and-such a farm, because they've got young children and they, so they can't come unless there's someone there with her, with them." So we---- I think the, the land girls in the other farm found that too, that people sort of made use of them in that way when they could. But it wasn't a bad thing. It was---- You know, you went to a different house, and it was all right if the children were sleeping, but sometimes you needed to get them back, so you'd have a job to get them to go back to sleep, things like that. But that was another side-line of being in the Land Army too.

Q Interesting. Would you happen to---- You had mentioned that you had pictures. Would you happen to have one or two that you would be able to send a photocopy of to me, or share?

A I've got one with the horses, yes. I'll put on my glasses. Now, how would I do that? I think I, I could, I probably could take it into Boots the Chemist, and they would reproduce it, I think. Yeah.

Q Yes, or, or if you have a, a camera and you just want to take a picture and email it, you can do it that---- Whatever works easiest. If it's too difficult, don't worry about it. I was just thinking----

A No, okay.

Q -- it would be lovely if, if I could include a picture of, of it.

A Yes. Well, I, I could possibly get one of, one of my daughters to do that. They'd do that for me. It wouldn't come yet. We've got the family all around this coming weekend, but it's only briefly, because my husband, John, becomes ninety on Sunday, and it was going to be a lovely big occasion in a village hall. Well, that can't happen, so it's got to be at home. But what I was saying is, after that, I know that someone will be coming to stay for three or four days in, after that, so if it came to you, say, in a month's time or something, I could still do it if that's any help.

Q Yes. No, that's fine. As I said, this is the, kind of the beginning of my interview processes. It'll take another, probably another year, honestly, of trying to get as many people as I can to speak with. So whenever you've got some time, if you could do that, that would be lovely. If not, don't worry about it. I appreciate your time and your willingness to talk. It's been lovely to, to catch up and chat with you.

A Well, I'm glad it might be of some help, if it might be, but, now, I haven't got---- What address am I sending it to, to you?

Q I can email you the address, and it'll also be on that letter that you'll receive from me as well. I'm here in Reading, so it, it'll come to Reading, but I will email you the, my full address and all my contact details and, whenever I've gotten this transcribed, I'll send that over as well, just in case there's a word or two that I didn't catch properly or I spell wrong, just---- Some of the locations here in the U.K. are not spelled the way one would anticipate.

A Sorry, the locations?

Q So, whenever I transcribe our conversation, sometimes the spelling of certain locations are a little bit more difficult than I anticipate.

A Yes. Yes.

Q So I find it's useful to have the actual person look at it and go, "Oh no, that's the wrong city, dear."

A Yes. Oh yes, yes, quite. Yes. Okay. Yes.

Q But---

A Yes, I shall look forward to reading through.

Q But I'll, I'll get this transcribed hopefully in the next few days and then I'll email you the document as well, and I'll send you a follow-up email today with all my contact information for you as well.

A Yes, that would be very good to have it. Yes, and I'll, I'll look after that and, as I say, it may not be for another month or something, but we'll still find the---

Q That's fine.

A Okay.

Q Thank you so much, Barbara. I appreciate it.

A Well, it's been very nice, as I say, to hear your voice, and I, I---- It's good to know that someone's busy on something like that, and I think you will enjoy doing it, won't you?

Q I've loved it so far. Sometimes, some of the research is kind of annoying, but most of it is very, very fun and I get to talk to a lot of really interesting people.

A Yes, yes. Well, that's nice, nice for you to enjoy. Good. Good.

Q Great. Well, thank you again, Barbara, for taking the time, and I'll send you this information and hopefully we'll be able to chat again later.

A Thank you. Thank you very much.

Q Okay.

A And thank you for listening to all my wanderings.

Q Of course. Thank you.

A Bye bye.

Q Bye.

## 5. SHELIA HOPE INTERVIEW

Wednesday, 4 November 2020

Interviewer: Tamisan Latherow

Transcriptionist: Carolyn Ward, CJW Transcribing, [carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com](mailto:carolynatenfield@btopenworld.com)

A: And my brother and I were evacuated with our school on the 3rd of September. And I thought I was having another holiday. I was 17 years old and a friend asked me to keep her company to join the land army to, so I agreed to join with her. And we were called to start in March, 1948. My parents were not happy. One reason being, I had a very good job as a secretary to a local doctor and for another, I was always afraid of animals. I showed them that I had joined to work in, in the all-section farming. So nowhere near any animals, not knowing that my first job would be to clean the bull's pen out with him still in it! Training was one month on a farm in Ravensdale, Bedfordshire. And for one month, mostly we were heading and ditching. My call up papers told me to get a train from Kings Cross railway station at a specific time to take us to Bedford, where we would be met and transported to our training farm.

That was 12 us in all. I can't remember how long it was between notification and training. No, this was not the first time I'd left home. My brother and I were evacuated. The day war broke out on the 3rd of September. I found the training in (no audio) 30, quite enjoyable learning with the other 11 girls. After the month training, we were taken to a host in the next village, Bolnhurst. It was just a wooden building, like an army barracks shaped in at a T design with our bunk beds. One side wash-rooms, the other side beds, and the dining room in the centre. I found all the girls very friendly and helpful. I think the only problem was the cigarettes or lack of them. The local little shops seemed to ration them. They didn't seem to like Land Girls. I didn't smoke. So that didn't affect me.

I do remember the super quilted patchwork downs (down coverlets) made by American ladies. These gave us great comfort on our not so comfortable bunk beds. Each morning during breakfast, the forewoman would tell us where we would be going that day and which number lorry. We had three lorries for our hostel. These lorries also took us into Bedford town Saturday afternoon and to church on Sunday. Our work depended on the time during the year, as to the work needed to be done. I went with five other girls to work on another farm in the next village and I stayed at that farm until I left the Land Army. Our work was very varied as the farm had a large milking herd, pigs and hens, and two working horses and over 400 acres of land. I think our weekly pay was about 30 shillings.

It was a lot less than my secretary's wages and with longer ours too, the lorry would come and collect us at about five o'clock in the evening. And the first thing we wanted to do back at the hotel was have a bath, but this is not so easy because there were just three bath rooms and the hot water didn't last too long. So, that often meant ending up sharing a bath with two or more other girls, but that all added to the fun. We washed our under-clothes, and the work overalls, etcetera, were sent to a laundry cleaner. I thought the uniform was of good quality and suitable for our work, except for the boots. These were extremely hard and tough leather and caused many painful blisters. Wellington boots would've been much more useful. Yes, I did manage to go home some weekends by bus with another friend who lived in London.

I used to go back with loads of bacon that my mom had cooked for us, which was shared around with great enthusiasm. And it was good to see mom and dad. Our evenings were spent doing our laundry and writing letters. I wrote home every Sunday and mom and dad would see it on Monday morning, a jolly good postal service. Then also walking in the village during the nice weather and speaking to the

villagers. The food in our hostel, I must say was not too good, especially compared to other hostels. I suppose it depended on the individual cooks. And I got sick of cheese and jams sandwiches. That was if we didn't get to the jam before the cheese. I know we used to try to stop the baker's van and buy whatever we could.

We were always ready to eat most things. Our farmer's wife was very good to us and often sent out a bag of freshly baked cakes and jugs of tea or soft drink (lemonade). I left the Land Army on compassionate grounds as my father wrote to request this because both my mother and my brother were in bed with severe illness and needed nursing. I was sorry to go, but was glad to be able to help dad to look after mum and brother and, of course, eventually able to get another secretarial job overall. I found the experiences in the Land Army life changing, and although often very hard work didn't do me any harm and one I'm very glad to have done. How does that sound?

Q: That's lovely. Thank you so much, Sheila.

A: Well, I'm glad I phoned you because it sort of been on my mind and I've been worried that you, that it wouldn't have worked and it cause it didn't. The anyway, that's answered most of your questions I think on your questionnaire, has it?

Q: Yes, it has. I really appreciate it. I understand that it's a little difficult for trying to get first person interviews at this point in time. But I really do. This really helps whenever I'm reading books or articles or other people's journals, to be able to kind of contextualise what you were feeling and how it was working for you. So, I really appreciate that.

A: So, was that all right? Did you get it all?

Q: Yes, I did. And it's on my computer and on the little recorder as well, just in case.

A: Oh, good. If you need anything else, let me know. I have actually over the years given talks on the land army to various in institutes and things and it seems to have gone down well because is amazing the number of jobs that you get to do on a farm.

Q: Yeah. I think that's something that a lot of people, they understand that they were working, but I don't think people really understand how, how much work it is work. It is.

A: That's right. How hard it was and the blisters we got on our knees as well. You know, depending on the jobs you were doing, if you were kneeling, you got blisters on your knees as well. But anyway, yes, it was an experience and I, I didn't put it in there, but I did actually marry one of the farmer's sons.

Q: Did you have a farm afterwards? Did you continue to stay on the farm after marriage?

A: We had a house built and worked on the farm because, actually, eventually there were two farms. We rented another farm as well. So, there was always plenty to do, as you can imagine.

Q: Was it difficult to go from living in London to being on a farm? Was that kind of a shock or did you handle very well?

A: Absolutely. I mean, my I did say in my report that I was afraid of animals. I mean, even from, from a kitten onwards, I was scared stiff of animals. Absolutely. My mother tried all sorts of animals to, to get me to like them, but no, I was petrified. So that's why they couldn't understand why I was going into the Land Army and because I did get used to them and I actually got to milk the cows and do all sorts of things.

Q: To go from being afraid of animals to having the two farms. It's an amazing transformation.

A: Absolutely. Yes, it was. And I remember my friends coming to visit me and, oh, I couldn't live in the middle of a field. It was awful, you know, having lived with houses around you, but then of course I realized I couldn't go back to living in the town either.

Q: It is quite a bit of a difference.

A: Yes. There's always plenty to do.

Q: Oh, that's definitely true on a farm.

A: Yes.

Q: Well, thank you so much. I appreciate this.

### APPENDIX 3: LIST OF SUCCESSFUL FEMALE FARMERS

*Table 31: List of successful female farmers*

Date	Name	Location	Type of Farm
7-Jan-35	Lady Loder	Leonardslee, Horsham	Beef
14-Jan-35	Mrs. Elce	Baring's Field, Newdigate	Dairy and Poultry
21-Jan-35	Mrs. Longhurst	St. Leonards	Dairy
28-Jan-35	Miss Andrews and Miss Spencer	Chalvington, Sussex	Dairy and Poultry
4-Feb-35	Miss Miller and Miss Mold	Burwash	Poultry
11-Feb-35	Miss Underwood	Sherborne	Dairy
18-Feb-35	Lady FitzGerald	Buckland, Faringdon, Berkshire	Beef and Sheep
25-Feb-35	Miss Heap	Lilies, Aylesbury	Dairy and Sheep
4-Mar-35	Miss Whitnall	{Hill Farm} East Hannington	Dairy, Pigs and Poultry
11-Mar-35	Miss Brocklebank	Wing Grange, Oakham	Beef
18-Mar-35	Miss Dillon and Miss Corbett	Spelsbury House, Charlbury	Dairy
25-Mar-35	Mrs. Yeomans	{Planners Farm Stud} Bracknell, Berkshire	Horses
1-Apr-35	Mrs. Taylor	{Oare Farm} Hermitage, Berkshire	Dairy and Pigs
8-Apr-35	Miss Tryon	{Hambleton Hall Farm} Oakham, Rutland, England	Beef
15-Apr-35	The Misses Watson	{Woodlands Farm} Scarscroft, Yorkshire	Pigs
22-Apr-35	Miss Calley	Burderop Park, Swindon	Dairy
29-Apr-35	Mrs. Inge	{Thorpe Hall} Tamworth	Beef and Pigs
6-May-35	Miss de Montgeon	{Eastington Hall} Upton-on-Severn	Beef
13-May-35	Mrs. Lucas	{Shillington Manor} Hitchin, Hertfordshire	Dairy and Horses
20-May-35	Miss Craig	{Gosses Farm} Birch Grove, Sussex	Dairy
27-May-35	Mrs. Lynes	{Harp Farm} Bourton-on-the-Water	Dairy
3-Jun-35	Miss Turner	{Whiteman's Dairy Cuckfield, Sussex	Dairy
10-Jun-35	Miss Darbyshire and Miss Lovel	{Dean House Farm} Newdigate, Surrey	Dairy
17-Jun-35	Miss Lloyd Baker	{Hardwicke Court} Gloucester	Dairy and Poultry
24-Jun-35	Miss Jervoise Smith	{Sandwell Farm} Sandwell, Totnes	Dairy and Sheep
1-Jul-35	Mrs. Straker	{Stagshaw House} Corbridge, Northumberland	Dairy, Sheep and Pigs

8-Jul-35	Mrs. Walter Runciman	Doxford, Chathill, Northumberland	Dairy
15-Jul-35	Miss Bolam	{Pondwood Farm} Billingbear, Berkshire	Dairy
22-Jul-35	The Ladies S. and V. Hicks- Beach	Coln St. Aldwyn, Fairford	Cattle, Pigs, Poultry, Sheep
29-Jul-35	Mrs. Henry Lewis	{Combwell Priory} Flimwell, Kent	Dairy
5-Aug-35	Mrs. Bett	{Thornham} King's Lynn, Norfolk	Cattle, Sheep and Flax
12-Aug-35	Miss Flindt	{Little Mowshurst Farm} Edenbridge, Kent	Dairy
19-Aug-35	Mrs. Thornton	{Hampton Lodge} Seale, Surrey	Dairy
26-Aug-35	Miss Hare and Miss Hornby	{Hardwick Court Farm} Chertsey, Surrey	Dairy
2-Sep-35	Lady Joan Legge	{Three Hammers} Coven Heath, Straffordshire	Dairy
9-Sep-35	Mrs. Spottiswoode	{Rooksnest} Lambourn, Berkshire	Dairy
16-Sep-35	Mrs. Fordham	{The Manor Farm} Newton, Cambridge	Sheep
23-Sep-35	Miss Shaw Hellier	{The Wodehouse} Wombourne, Wolverhampton	Dairy and Sheep
31-Sep-35	Mrs. Griffith	{Little Hallingbury Park} Bishop's Stortford	Dairy, Arable and Poultry
7-Oct-35	Mrs. Tory	{Crawford Farm} Shapwick, Blandford, Dorset	Dairy
14-Oct-35	Miss Lloyd	{Pentre Hobyn} Mold, Flintshire	Dairy and Beef
21-Oct-35	Mrs. Howe	{Grove Farm} Bealings, Suffolk	Dairy
28-Oct-35	Mrs. Caddey	{The Manor Farm} Egham, Surrey	Dairy
4-Nov-35	Mrs. Hargreaves	{Knightley Grange} Gnosall, Stafford	Dairy
11-Nov-35	Miss Joan Little	{Armsworth Hill} Alresford, Hampshire	Dairy, Sheep and Pigs
18-Nov-35	Miss Bowen Colthurst	{Kerry Cow Dairy Farm} Layer de la Haye, Essex	Dairy
25-Nov-35	Miss Marjory Lawrence	{Thorpe Farm} Hawkhurst, Kent	Dairy
2-Dec-35	Mrs. Peyton	Colomendy, Flintshire	Dairy and Beef
9-Dec-35	Mrs. Love	{Walcott Hall} North Walsham	Dairy and Beef
16-Dec-35	Mrs. Smith	{Broadlow Ash} Thorpe, Derbyshire	Dairy
23-Dec-35	Hon. Mrs. Adams	Bradfield, Cullompton, South Devon	Poultry

30-Dec-35	Mrs. Butler	{Rednal House Farm} Rednal, Worcestershire	Dairy, Pigs and Poultry
6-Jan-36	Miss Adams	{Oaklands} Halstead, Essex	Horses
13-Jan-36	Mrs. Colin Prince	Alsop-en-le-Dale, Derbyshire	Dairy, Sheep and Pigs
20-Jan-36	Miss Fox	{Maplewell Hall} Loughborough, Leicestershire	Dairy and Mangolds
27-Jan-36	Mrs. Waltham	{Ashtree House} Spalding	Beef, Sheep and Potatoes
3-Feb-36	Miss Harrison Bell	{Sisservernes Farm} Hertfordshire	Poultry
10-Feb-36	Mrs Rowden	{Bromesbarrow Ct.} Dymock, Gloucestershire	Beef and Horses
17-Feb-36	Hon. Mrs. Waters	{Arley Hall} Northwich, Cheshire	Dairy
24-Feb-36	Mrs. Dunlop	{Breezehurst Farm} Crawley, Sussex	Dairy
2-Mar-36	Miss Cross	{Midford Pig Farm} Bath, Somerset	Pigs
9-Mar-36	Mrs. Welch	{Ickleton Abbey} Great Chesterford, Essex	Dairy and Sheep
15-Mar-36	Miss Mitchell	{New House Farm} Treyford, Sussex	Dairy
23-Mar-36	Mrs. Street	{St. Avondale Priory} Wincanton, Somersetshire	Dairy and Horses
30-Mar-36	Lady Curre	{Itton Ct.} Chepstow	Beef and Sheep
6-Apr-36	Miss Joan Edwards	{Bardwell Manor} Suffolk	Veal, Pigs, Arable crops
13-Apr-36	Hon. Mrs. Pomeroy	{The Hemploe} Welford, North Hamptonshire	Dairy
20-Apr-36	Mrs. Champion	{Ticehurst} Tostock, Suffolk	Dairy
27-Apr-36	Mrs. Evelyn Rich	{Wretham Hall} Thetford	Dairy and Horses
4-May-36	Mrs. Arkwright	{Halton House} Warwick	Dairy
11-May-36	Lady Warwick	{Easton Lodge} Dunmow, Essex	Dairy and Sheep
18-May-36	Mrs. Hollas	{Parsonage Farm} Highworth, Wiltshire	Dairy
25-May-36	Lady Robinson	{Kirklington Hall} Newark	Beef
1-Jun-36	Mrs May	{Tiptree Priory} Witham, Essex	Beef
8-Jun-36	Miss Wylie	{Reabrook} Minsterley, Shropshire	Dairy and Sheep
15-Jun-36	Miss Bassett	{Hilltop Farm} Ashover, Derbyshire	Dairy
22-Jun-36	Miss Rosamond Harrison	{Maer Hall} Staffordshire	Dairy and Horses
29-Jun-36	Mrs Howard Palmer	Heathlands, Wokingham, Berkshire	Dairy

Source: (Special Female Representative, 1935c)



## APPENDIX 4: RURAL DOMESTIC ECONOMY COURSEWORK

### 1. LIST OF COURSES OFFERED AT NFWI BERKSHIRE

Each course was to last between 2-3 hours with instruction in a farm setting as the preference (Agriculture and Horticulture Sub-Committee, 1930).

#### Sec. 1 Poultry Keeping

- Hatching and rearing.
- Selection of the layer-winter egg production. Breeds, etc..
- Health of poultry- prevention and cure of disease.
- Feeding and housing.
- Methods of marketing eggs and poultry. Presentation of eggs.
- Trussing and dressing of the table poultry.
- Preparation of the Christmas bird.
- Feather: their preservation and use.

#### Sec. 2 Dairying

- Lectures:
  - How to keep milk sweet in the home.
  - The value of clean milk as food.
  - The food value of cheese and butter.
  - The cream trade and the food value of ice cream.
  - Common faults in butter making.
  - Simple methods of preserving butter and general hints on showing butter.
  - The bacteriology of milk.
- Demonstrations:
  - Junket making.
  - Cream cheese and sour milk cheese.
  - Ice cream making.
  - The packing of dairy produce.
- Organized courses:
  - Butter making (6, 8, or 10 classes).
  - Cheese making (6, 8, or 10 classes).

#### Sec. 3 Gardening

- Soil cultivation; manures and how to apply them.
- Propagation of plants; seeds, cuttings, root division, budding grafts.
- Bulb cultivation for home decoration and for spring display outdoors.
- Insect pests and friends; the spraying of plants.
- Pruning and training of fruit trees.
- Fruit culture in small gardens. Importance of berried fruits which can be preserved for winter use - selection of suitable kinds, preparation of soil, planting and further management.
- The vegetable garden; how to crop in order to obtain the best value.
- Spring gardening. Useful hints for vegetable, fruit and flower sections.

#### Sec. 4 Bee Keeping

Introduction to modern bee keeping, comprising information that beginners require when commencing to keep bees and during their first year.

- Occupants of the hive - structure of the hive.
- Management, spring feeding, production and extraction of surplus honey - wintering.

#### Sec. 5 Utilization of home-produced foods

- The care of foods; hints to ensure cleanliness in preparation, storage, etc.
- When, what, and why we should eat.
- Vegetable soups and the stock pot.
- Nutritious supper dishes which can be prepared quickly.
- Over-night cookery; use of the hay box, etc.
- Re-heating, general principles; demonstration of various dishes with fresh vegetables.
- Country supper dishes, easily and quickly prepared.
- Bread-making; whole meal vs white flour, etc.
- Home curing of bacon and ham; the preparation and use of other pig meat.
- Methods of cooking poultry (including old fowls).
- Methods of cooking eggs, some uncommon egg dishes.
- Chicken dishes, fricassee, soups, broths, etc. with special reference to their food value.
- Vegetable cookery; casserole, soups, salads, etc.
- Potato cookery (stews, soups, stuffed, fried, cheese, etc.).
- Food values for vegetables and salads.
- Vegetable preservation by brining and pickling.
- Savory vegetable and rabbit dishes.
- Pickles, chutneys, and sauces.
- Various ways of cooking an apple.
- Fruit bottling in water and syrup.
- Fruit canning with machine.
- Jams, jellies, etc.
- The pulping of fruit and the use of pulp.
- Herbs, growing and preservation.
- Dishes for children and adults employing eggs, milk, and cheese.
- Attractive cheese dishes.
- Dinners for school and field.
- Preparation of suitable country fare for Christmas.
- Utilization of honey and other hive products in the home.

## 2. NFWI COURSES IN BERKSHIRE WITH ATTENDANCE RATES, 1940-41

Table 32: WI Completed courses from Dec 11, 1940-Mar 3, 1941

Completed courses			
Centre	Subject	Date(s)	Attendance
Harwell	food production	Dec 11	48
Leckhampstead	one-pot cookery	Dec 11	17
Hurst	Milk	Jan 1	37
Calcot	Cookery	Jan 8	
Faringdon	cookery	Jan 9	
Embrook	cookery	Jan 14	
Crowthorne	dairying	Jan 14	30
Hagbourne	dairying	Jan 15	54
Shaw-Cum-Donnington	RDE	Jan 30	
St. Sebastians	horticulture	Feb 4	
Sindlesham	RDE	Feb 3	
Farley Hill	jam making	Feb 4	20
Chaddleworth	soft cheese making	Feb 6	7
Bucklebury	RDE	Feb 6	
Bucklebury	horticulture	Feb 7	
Hungerford	vegetables throughout the year	Feb 11	50
Appleford	gardening	Feb 11	
Charlton	war time cookery	Feb 11	17
Woodley	gardening rotation	Feb 12	48
Harwell	cultivation of vegetables	Feb 12	48
Shefford Woodlands	fruit preservation	Feb 12	23
Childrey	growing of vegetables	Feb 13	14 avg
		Feb 20	
		Feb 27	
		Mar 6	
Ardington	economical use of vegetables	Feb 13	23
Sunningwell	how to eat wisely	Feb 13	30
Compton	whole-milk soft cheese	Feb 19	
Wargrave	practical hints on poultry keeping	Feb 19	52
Earley	food production in gardens and allotments	Feb 20	
Long Wittenham	milk	Feb 20	
Cumnor	war time cookery	Feb 21	60
Padworth	vegetables throughout the year	Feb 26	28
East Challow	clean milk production	Feb 27	
Buckland	food production in gardens and allotments	Feb 28	26
Sunninghill	fruit preservation	Feb 28	15
Cholsey	gardening	Mar 4	
Bisham	domestic economy	Mar 5	35
Brightwell	gardening	Mar 6	
Childrey	communal feeding	Mar 7	17
Hungerford	war time cookery	Feb 17	

		Mar 3	
		tbc Mar 17	
		tbc Mar 31	

Source: (Berkshire County Women’s Institute, 1949)

Table 33: WI Arranged courses from Mar 10-Nov 13, 1941

Arranged courses		
Centre	Subject	Date(s)
Barkham	vegetable cultivation	Mar 10
Milton	war time jam making	Mar 11
Warfield	preparation for spring planting	Mar 12
Wargrave	gardening	Mar 12
Hampstead Norris	soft cheese making	Mar12
Brimpton	fruit preservation without sugar	Mar 12
Bradfield	horticulture	Mar 13
Tilehurst	onions, tomatoes, carrots	Mar 13
East Hendred	gardening	Mar 18
Tunney and Fyfield	RDE	Mar 19
		May 16
		May 23
		June 16
		June 23
Sutton Courtenay	fruit bottling	Mar 20
Winkfield	horticulture	Mar 20
Buckland	fruit preservation	Mar 21
Pangbourne	war time cookery	Mar 25
Chaddleworth	nature's most valuable food	Apr 2
Hampstead Norris	war time jam making	Apr 2
Beenham	horticulture	Apr 3
Burghfield	milk production	Apr 3
Finchampstead	fruit preservation	Apr 3
Charlton	gardening	Apr 8
Hungerford	war time jam making	Apr 8
Stanford Dingley	vegetables throughout the year	Apr 9
Shefford Woodlands	vegetable culture	Apr 9
Tilehurst	hay-box cookery	Apr 10
Theale	gardening	Apr 15
Hare Hatch	cookery	Apr 17
Pangbourne	fruit preservation	Apr 18
East Ilsley	war time cookery	Apr 22
Beedon	war time jam making	Apr 23
Aston Tirrold	cookery	Apr 24
Radley	whole-milk soft cheese	May 1
Purley	war time dishes	May 7
Basildon	war time jam making	May 8
Thatcham	war time jam making	May 9
Hampstead Marshall	war time jam making	May 13
Milton	fruit preservation	May 13

Wargrave	nature's most valuable food	May 14
Long Whittenham	war time jam making	May 15
East and West Hendred	war time jam making	May 20
Stanford-in-the-Vale	war time recipes	May 21
Waltham St. Lawrence	fruit preservation	May 22
Grazeley	dishes for meatless day	May 27
Streatley	war time jam making	May 28
Coleshill	fruit bottling	May 29
Woodley	war time jam making	June 4
Cold Ash	war time jam making	June 4
Burghfield	pickles and chutneys	June 5
Twyford	gardening	June 5
Barkham	war time jam making	June 9
Kintbury	war time jam making	June 11
Grove	war time jam making	June 17
Compton	war time jam making	June 18
Old Windsor	fruit preservation without sugar	June 25
Hurst	fruit preservation	July 2
Charlton	fruit preservation	July 8
Abingdon	fruit canning	July 17
Coleshill	clean milk production	July 31
Cookham Dean	junkets	Aug 7
Grazeley	junkets	Aug 26 or 27
Lambourn	"our friend from the farm"	Sep 3
Shefford Woodlands	domestic economy	Sept 17
Letcombe Regis	war time cookery	Oct 2
Windsor Great Park	war time cookery	Oct 8
Northcourt	milk dishes	Oct 8
Uffington	war time cookery	Oct 13
Knighton	domestic economy	Oct 14
Arborfield	storage of fruit and vegetables	Oct 14
Lambourn	emergency meals	Nov 5
Waltham St. Lawrence	soil fertility	Nov 13

Source: (Berkshire County Women's Institute, 1949)

### 3. IMAGES OF NEWTON RIGG AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, CUMBERLAND

*Figure 110: Images (a) and (b) of Newton Rigg Farm School, 1896*



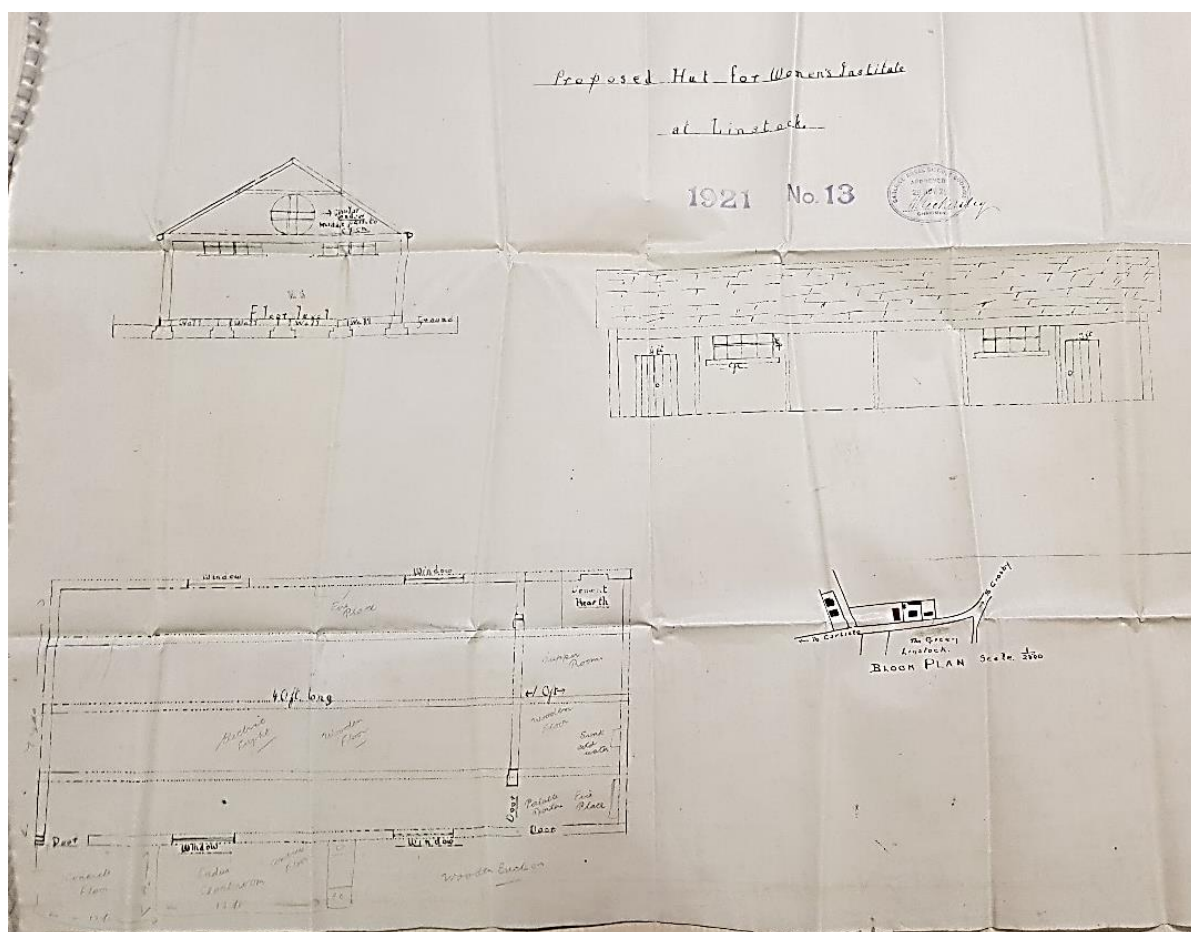
NEWTON RIGG FARM HOUSE, 1896.



MAIN ENTRANCE AND DINING-HALL.

Source: (Joint Agricultural Education Committee for the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1954)

Figure 111: Proposed WI hutments at Linstock, 1921



Source: (The Women's Institute, 1921)





**Cumberland and  
Westmorland  
Dairy School & Farm**

**This is to Certify**  
that *Nancy Messenger Hewitson*  
attended a course of Instruction  
in *Dairywork including Buttermaking, Cheesemaking  
and Soft Cheese-making, Poultry Keeping &c.*  
at this **School** from *6<sup>th</sup> August*  
to *28<sup>th</sup> September 1929* and passed a  
satisfactory examination in *Practical*  
*Dairying* on the *26<sup>th</sup> 12<sup>th</sup>* day of *September 1929*.

*Clement Fagham* **Examiner**  
*S. S. Stoney Dodson* **Chairman of Governors**  
*G. B. Brown* **Secretary**

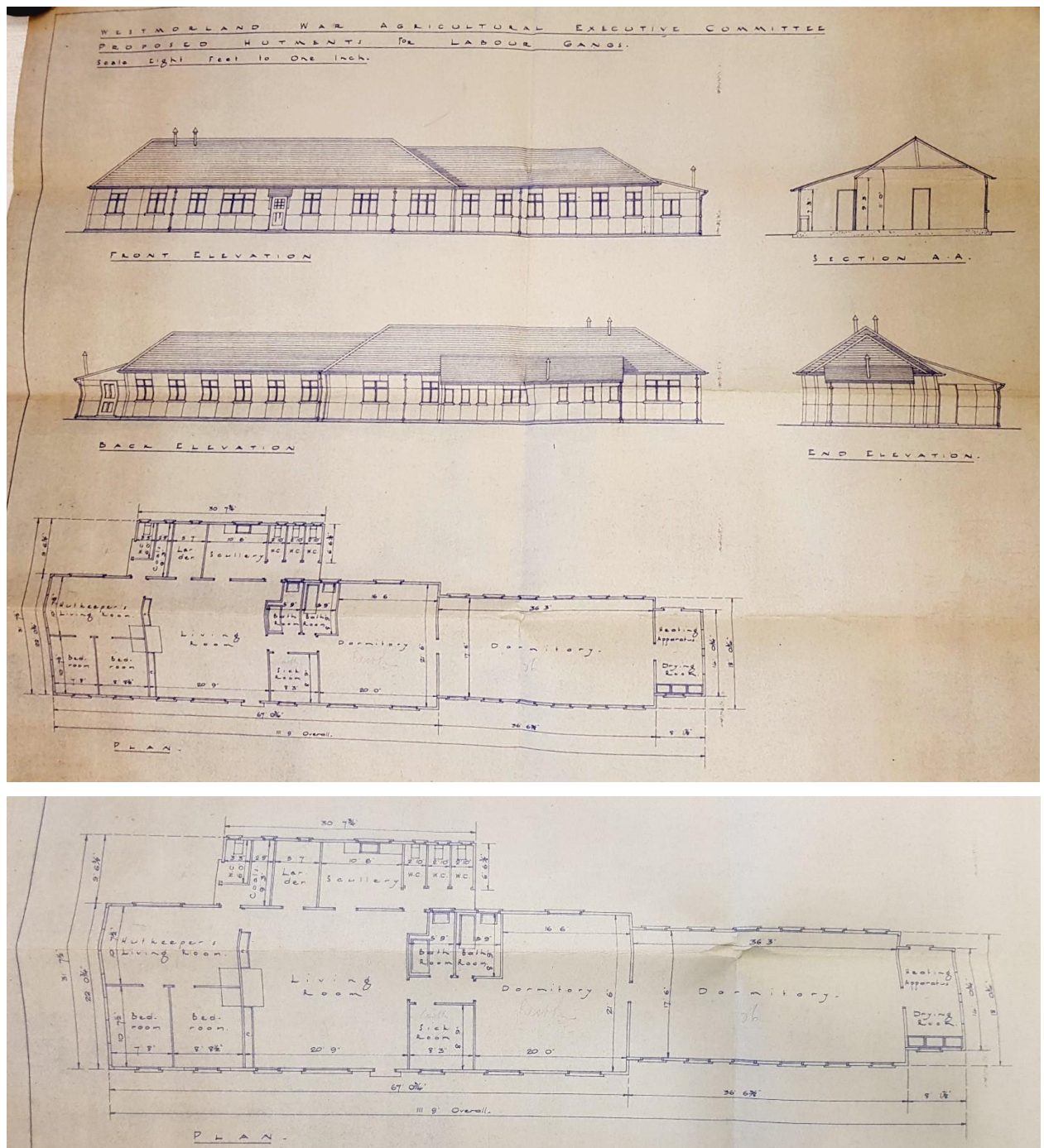


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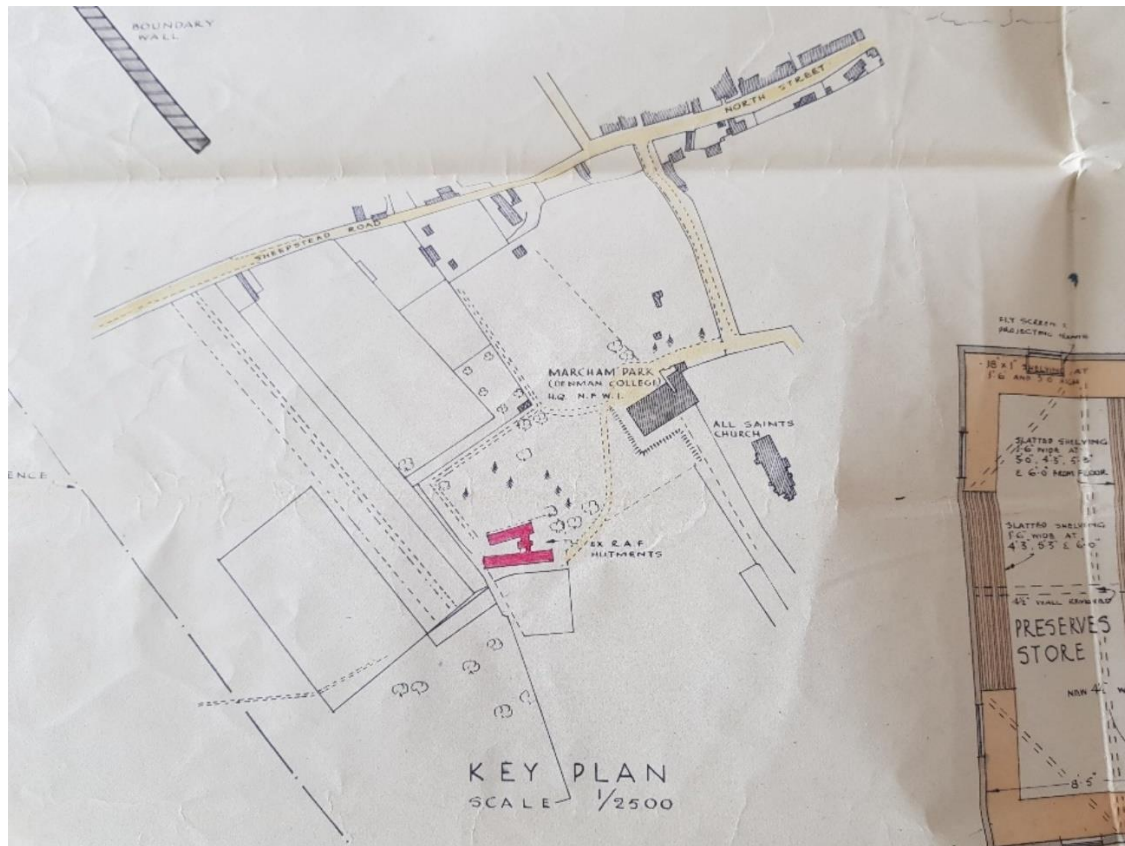
Figure 113: Proposed WLA Hutments, Westmorland WAEC (images a and b)



Source: ('Westmorland WAEC WLA, WSMBA 11/2/75', 1945)

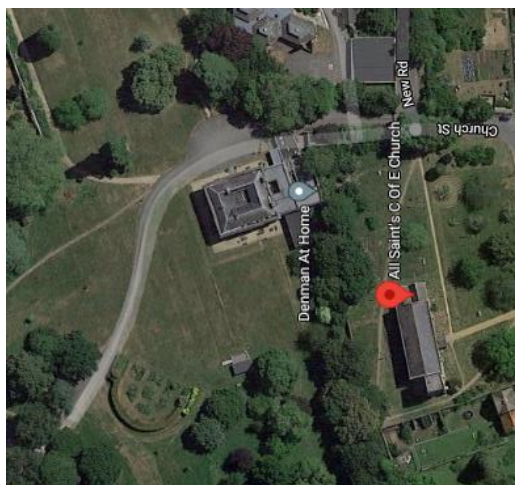
#### 4. IMAGES OF DENMAN COLLEGE, BERKSHIRE

Figure 114: Denman College, Marcham Park blueprints



Source: (Denman College, 1951)

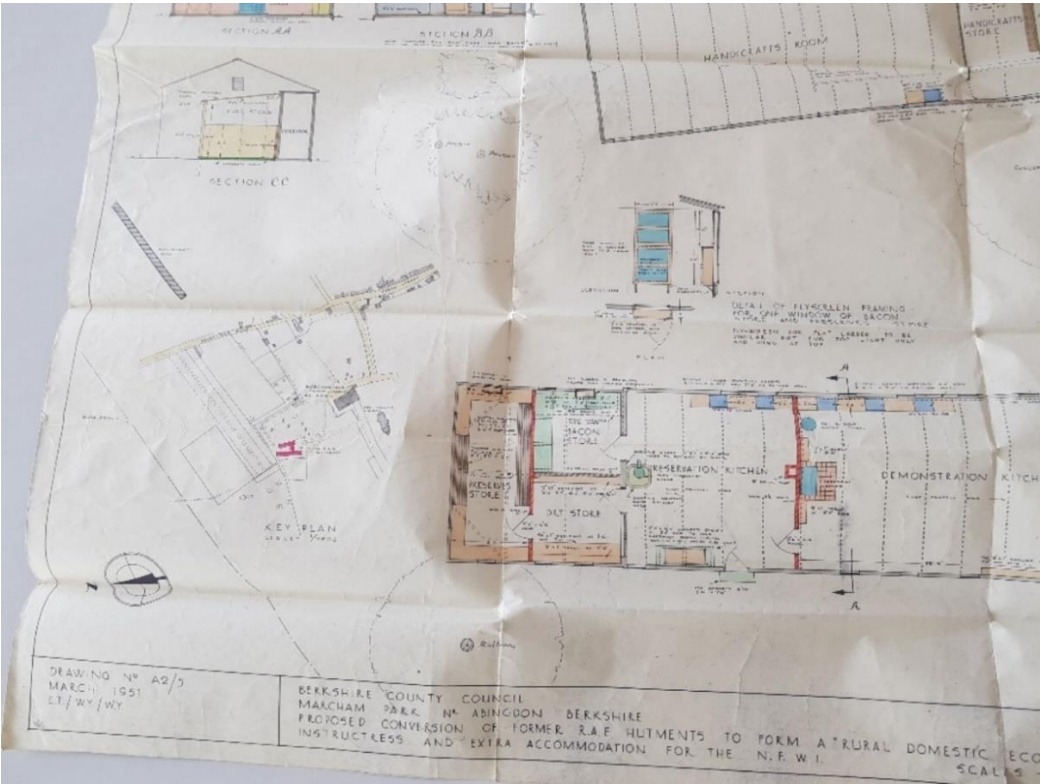
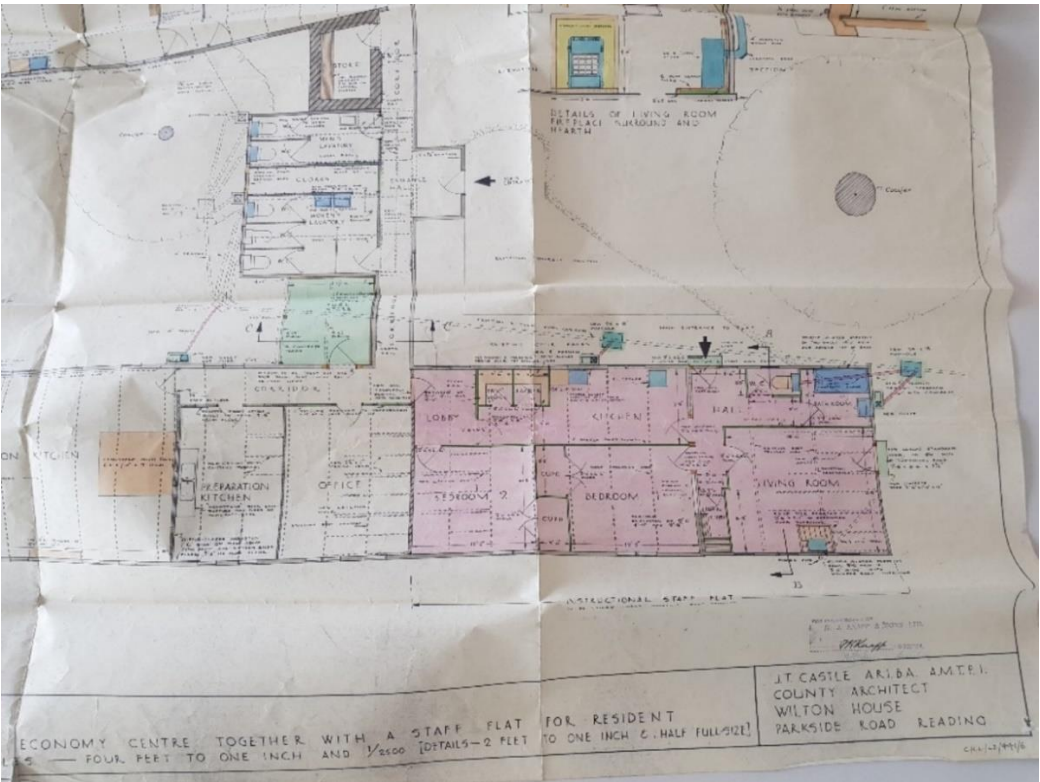
Figure 115: Google Earth image of Denman College

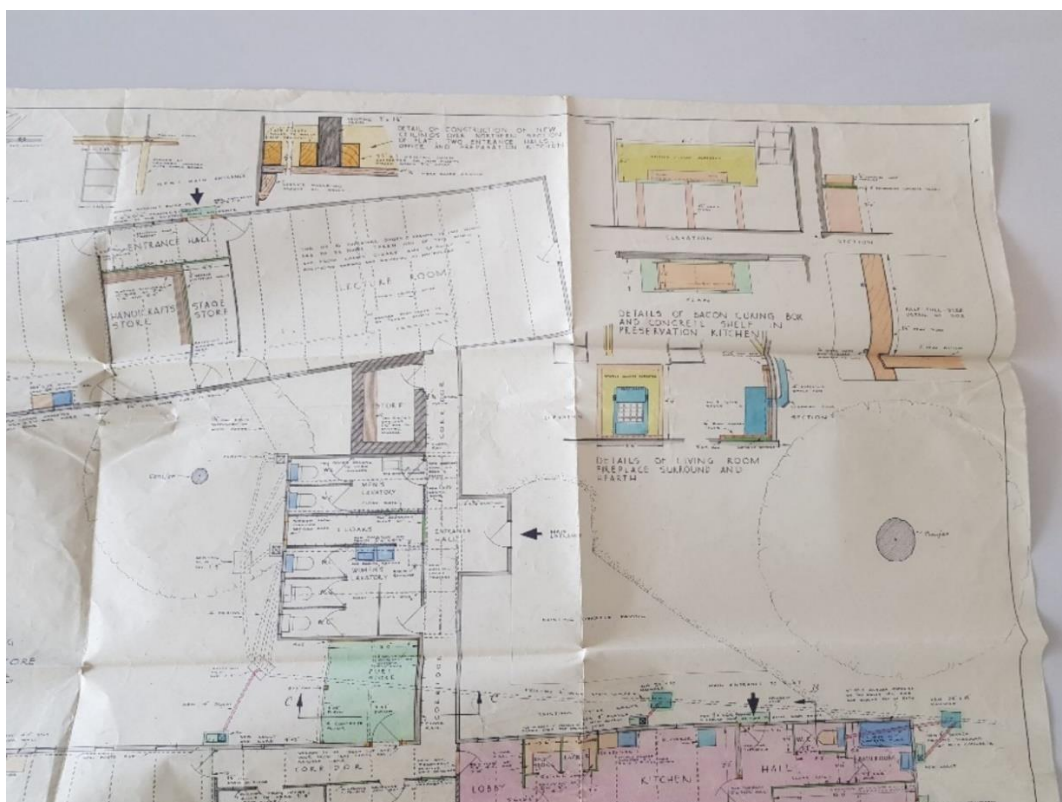


Source: (Google Maps, 2021)



Figure 116: Figures (a), (b), (c), and (d) of Denman College, Marcham Park blueprints





Source: (Denman College, 1951)



*Figure 117: The old RAF hutments at Denman College; figures (a) and (b)*



Inside the RDE centre: Figures (a), (b), (c), and (d)







Source: Marcham Society via email correspondence (May 20, 2021) (Denman College, 2021).



## APPENDIX 5: FEMALE NON-PAID LABOR CALCULATIONS

Table 34: Agricultural wages in shillings/week and pounds/year

	1945/46	1946/47	1947/48	1948/49	1949/50	1950/51
Minimum MEN's weekly wage for the standard week (1)	72.20	80.10	90.00	92.30	94.00	99.40
Weekly contract wage (2)	76.11	86.20	95.30	96.10	99.40	104.30
Avg. line 1/yr	625.73s	L31.29				
Avg. line 2/yr	659.62s	L32.98				

	1951/52	1952/53	1953/54	1954/55	1955/56
Minimum MEN's weekly wage for the standard week (1)	108.20	113.10	120.00	124.10	132.80
Weekly contract wage (2)	113.40	119.80	126.80	131.70	140.50
Avg. line 1/yr	1125.28s	L56.26			
Avg. line 2/yr	1179.36s	L58.97			

	1956/57	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60	1960/61
Minimum MEN's weekly wage for the standard week (1)	141.00	149.40	155.70	158.50	166.90
Weekly contract wage (2)	148.60	157.10	163.40	166.80	175.00
Avg. line 1/yr	1466.40s	L73.32			
Avg. line 2/yr	1545.44s	L77.27			

	1945/46	1946/47	1947/48	1948/49	1949/50	1950/51
Minimum WOMEN's weekly wage for the standard week (1)	49.68	55.2	62.1	63.48	64.86	68.31
Weekly contract wage (2)	58.22	65.32	71	73.13	75.26	78.81
Avg. line 1/yr	430.56s	L21.53	L72.23 (inc. domestic servant rate)			
Avg. line 2/yr	504.57s	L25.23	L75.93 (inc. domestic servant rate)			

	1951/52	1952/53	1953/54	1954/55	1955/56
<b>Minimum WOMEN's weekly wage for the standard week (1)</b>	74.52	77.97	82.8	85.56	91.08
<b>Weekly contract wage (2)</b>	85.2	90.17	95.85	100.11	107.21
<b>Avg. line 1/yr</b>	775.01s	L38.75	L89.45 (inc. domestic servant rate)		
<b>Avg. line 2/yr</b>	886.08s	L44.30	L95.00 (inc. domestic servant rate)		

	1956/57	1957/58	1958/59	1959/60	1960/61
<b>Minimum WOMEN's weekly wage for the standard week (1)</b>	97.29	102.81	106.95	109.02	114.54
<b>Weekly contract wage (2)</b>	113.6	121.41	125.67	129.93	136.32
<b>Avg. line 1/yr</b>	1011.82s	L50.59	L101.29 (inc. domestic servant rate)		
<b>Avg. line 2/yr</b>	1181.44s	L59.07	L109.77 (inc. domestic servant rate)		

#### Notes

1) Using 1961 minimum wage in cash only (69%).

2) Using 1961 contract wage only (71%).

#### Calculations:

Avg. line 1/yr. = [(add line 1 numbers)/# of items (ex. 6)]\*52 = shillings

Avg. line 1/yr. = total shillings / 20 = pounds

Differences between male and female rates = 1-(Avg. MALE line 1 / Avg. FEMALE line 1) to give %

Use combined domestic servant rate instead of FEMALE rate for that %.

## APPENDIX 6: FIRMS- LAS CALCULATIONS

### 1. FIRMS RECIPES, 1920S

#### 1.1 THE "DAILY MAIL" COOKERY BOOK, 1920

##### Short Crust Pastry

(o) Hot oven. Time, according to the use to which the pastry is put.

Ingredients.- ½ lb. of flour; 3 oz. of fat (dripping, lard or clarified fat); ½ teaspoonful of baking powder; cold water to mix; pinch of salt.

Method.- Sieve the flour, salt and baking powder [into] a basin, rub [in the fat and mix all to a *stiff dough* [with] the water. Flour a board and rolling pin. Roll out the pastry to the required thickness and use for meat pies, tarts, etc.

A richer pastry is made by using ¼ lb. of margarine or butter to ½ lb. flour, and mixing with sour milk, or milk and water.

Reasons for failure.-If mixed too wet the pastry will not roll properly; and it becomes *sodden and heavy*. If put into too hot an oven, the pastry does not rise well, and becomes *hard*.

#### 1.2 MRS. BEETON'S ALL ABOUT COOKERY, 1927

##### Paste, Short Crust.

Ingredients.- 8 ozs. of flour, 2 ozs. of butter, 2 ozs. of lard, 1 yolk of egg, 1 teaspoonful of baking-powder, a good pinch of salt, about 1/8 pint of water.

Method.- Rub the butter and lard lightly [into] the flour, add the baking-powder, salt, yolk of egg, and as much water as is necessary to form a *stiff paste*. Roll out to the required thickness, and use at once.

Time.- ¼ of an hour. Average cost, about 4 ½d. Sufficient for 1 medium-sized tart.

##### Paste, Short Crust, Plain.

Ingredients.- ½ lb. of flour, 3 ozs. of lard, clarified fat or dripping, 1 teaspoonful of baking-powder (heaped), ¼ of a teaspoonful of salt, about ¼ pint of water.

Method.- Pass the flour, salt, and baking-powder [through] a sieve [into] a large basin, then rub [in] the fat, add the water, and work [into] a *smooth paste* [with] a knife. Roll out to desired shape and

thickness, and use at once. **When required for fruit tarts**, 1 tablespoon of sugar should be added to the above ingredients.

Time.- ¼ of an hour. Average cost, 3d. Sufficient for 1 medium-sided tart.

Paste, Rich Short Crust

Ingredients.- 1 lb. of flour, ¾ lb. of butter, 2 yolks of egg, 1 level tablespoon of castor sugar, 1 teaspoonful of baking-powder.

Method.- Rub the butter lightly [into] the flour, add the baking-powder, sugar, yolks of eggs, and a little water if necessary, but this paste must be *rather stiff*, and when butter is soft or the paste is being mixed [in] a warm place, only a few drops of water may be required. Roll out thinly and use at once. The crust for fruit tarts should be lightly brushed over [with] cold water, and dredged [with] caster sugar [before] being baked.

Table 35: LAS 1920s

Book, Year	Daily Mail, 1920	Mrs. Beeton's All About Cookery, 1927	Mrs. Beeton's All About Cookery, 1927	Mrs. Beeton's All About Cookery, 1927
<b>Recipe</b>	Short Crust Pastry	Paste, Short Crust	Paste, Short Crust, Plain	Paste, Rich Short Crust
Orientation Clause (o)	1	0	0	0
<b>Action</b>				
Imperative sentence (underlined)	13	4	7	8
Instructive/locative prepositional phrase ([I])	5	1	5	5
Infinitival purpose clause (highlighted)	3	0	1	0
Evaluation clauses (italicized)	3	1	1	1
<b>Literary complexity score</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Weighted score</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>28%</b>

Inverse Averaged LAS Score for 1920 = 70% or 0.70

## 2. FIRMS RECIPES, 1930S

### 2.1 GOOD EATING – SUGGESTIONS FOR WARTIME DISHES, 1939

#### Short Crust

½ lb flour

2 ozs. cooking fat

½ teaspoon baking powder

Sieve flour [with] baking powder. Put fat [into] the [middle] of the flour, cut it quickly with a knife. Rub fat [into] flour as finely as possible, [till] mixture is almost *like breadcrumbs*. Follow the Golden Rule of pastry mixing and use as little cold water as possible, keeping the dough as *dry* as you can, *smooth but stiff*. Knead lightly [till] it leaves the side of the bowl *quite clean*. Roll out. Officially recommended.

If pastry is for a sweet pie or tart, a teaspoonful of sugar added [with] baking powder to flour improves the flavour. If for a meat pie, a saltspoonful of salt may be added. National flour is better [for] a little seasoning.

Table 36: LAS 1930s

Book, Year	Daily Telegraph, 1939
Recipe	Short Crust
Orientation Clause (o)	0
Action	
Imperative sentence (underlined)	13
Instructive/locative prepositional phrase ([])	8
Infinitival purpose clause (highlighted)	3
Evaluation clauses (italicized)	3
Literary complexity score	27
Weighted score	54%

Inverse Averaged LAS Score for 1930 = 46% or 0.46

### 3. FIRMS RECIPES, 1940S

#### 3.1 *WARTIME COOKERY IN CUMBERLAND, 1940*

##### Short Crust Pastry and Suet Pastry and Puddings

[o] One-third the amount of fat to flour.

1 teaspoon salt, 1-2 teaspoons baking powder [to] each pound of flour.

#### 3.2 *HOW TO COOK IN WAR-TIME, 1941*

##### Pastry without fat

[o] The Ministry of Food are recommending this pastry be eaten hot. Mix [together] 8 ozs. of wheatmeal flour, 1 level teaspoonful of baking powder, a pinch of salt. Stir [in] nearly  $\frac{1}{4}$  pint of cold milk or milk and water. Roll out and use.

#### 3.3 *TRIED FAVOURITES COOKERY BOOK, 1942*

##### Short Crust

3 teacupful of flour,  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb. butter or dripping, 1 teaspoonful sugar, 1 teacupful cold water,  $\frac{1}{2}$  teaspoonful baking-powder.

Rub the dripping [among] the flour, add the sugar and baking-powder; make [into] a *stiff paste* with the water. Roll the paste out rather *thinly*.

Or,

$\frac{1}{2}$  lb. flour, 2 oz. butter, 2 oz. lard, 1 teaspoonful sugar, 1 squeeze lemon juice and a little cold water.

#### 3.4 *FROM HAND TO MOUTH, 1944*

##### Short Pastry

$\frac{1}{2}$  lb. flour

4 oz. fat

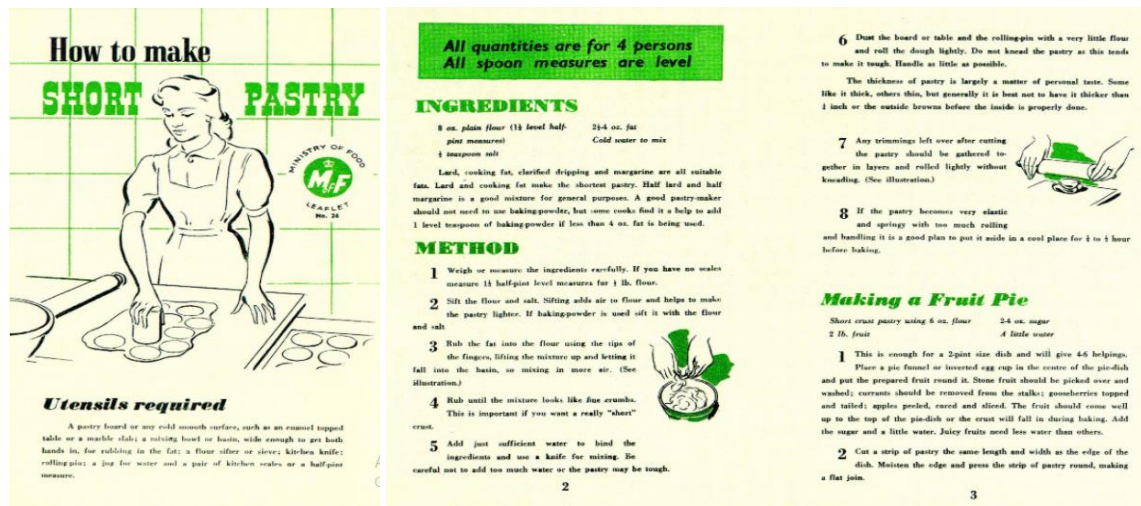
2 teaspoons castor sugar

Small teaspoon baking powder

Rub the fat well [into] the flour, mix very *stiffly* [with] cold water, roll out once and use. Omit sugar [for] savoury dishes.

### 3.5 EATING FOR VICTORY (MINISTRY OF FOOD LEAFLETS, 1946)

Figure 118: MOF Leaflet No. 26 "How to Make Short Pastry"



Source: (Ministry of Food, 2007)

Short Pastry (leaflet No. 26)

Utensils required

A pastry board or any cold smooth surface, such as an enamel topped table or a marble slab; a mixing bowl or basin, wide enough to get both hands in, for rubbing in the fat; a flour sifter or sieve; kitchen knife; rolling pin; a jug for water and a pair of kitchen scales or a half-pint measure.

[o] All quantities are for 4 persons. All spoon measure are level.

Ingredients-

8 oz. plain flour (1 1/3 level half-pint measure)

¼ teaspoon salt

2 ½-4oz. fat

Cold water to mix

[o] Lard, cooking fat, clarified dripping and margarine are all suitable fats. Lard and cooking fat make the shortcrust pastry. Half lard and half margarine is a good mixture for general purposes. A good pastry-maker should not need to use baking-powder, but some cooks find it a help to add 1 level teaspoon of baking-powder if less than 4 oz. fat is being used.

## Method

1. Weigh or measure the ingredients carefully. If you have no scales measure 1 1/3 half-pint level measures [from] ½ lb flour.
  2. Sift the flour and salt. Sifting adds air to flour and helps to make the pastry lighter. If baking-powder is used sift it [with] the flour and salt.
  3. Rub the fat [into] the flour using the *tips of the fingers*, lifting the mixture up and letting it fall [into] the basin, so mixing in more air. (See illustration.)
  4. Rub [until] the mixture looks like *fine crumbs*. This is important if you want a really “short” crust.
  5. Add just sufficient water to bind the ingredients and use a knife for mixing. Be careful not to add too much water or the pastry may be *tough*.
  6. Dust the board or table and the rolling-pin [with] a very little flour and roll the dough lightly. Do not knead the pastry as this tends to make it tough. Handle as little as possible.
- The thickness of pastry is largely a matter of personal taste. Some like it thick, others thin, but generally it is best not to have it thicker than ¼ inch of the outside browns before the inside is properly done.
7. Any trimmings left over after cutting the pastry should be gathered together [in] layers and rolled lightly [without] kneading. (See illustration.)
  8. If the pastry becomes very *elastic and springy* [with] too much rolling and handling it is a good plan to put it aside [in] a cool place for ¼ to ½ hour before baking.

### 3.6 OUTDOOR COOKING, 1948

#### Short Pastry

- ½ lb. flour
- ¼ lb. butter
- 1 oz. castor sugar
- 1 yolk of egg

Rub the flour and butter together [until] *smooth*, add the sugar, [then] the egg; mix [with] a little cold water [into] a *stiff paste*. Roll it out and use.



[For] a rolling pin use a bottle.

*Table 37: LAS 1940s*

<b>Book, Year</b>	<b>Wartime Cookery in Cumberland, 1940</b>	<b>How to Cook in War- Time, 1941</b>	<b>Tried Favourites Cookery Book, 1942</b>	<b>Hand to Mouth, 1944</b>	<b>MOF, 1946</b>	<b>Outdoor Cookery, 1948</b>
<b>Recipe</b>	Short Crust Pastry and Suet Pastry and Puddings	Pastry without fat	Short Crust	Short Pastry	Short Pastry	Short Pastry
Orientation Clause (o)	1	1	2	0	2	0
<b>Action</b>						
Imperative sentence (underlined)	0	4	4	5	27	6
Instructive/locative prepositional phrase ([ ])	1	2	2	3	8	5
Infinitival purpose clause (highlighted)	0	0	0	0	6	0
Evaluation clauses (italicized)	0	0	1	1	3	2
Literary complexity score	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>13</b>
Weighted score	<b>4%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>26%</b>

**Inverse Averaged LAS Scores, 1940s = 71% or 0.71**

#### 4. FIRMS RECIPES, 1950S

##### 4.1 FLORENCE GREENBERG'S COOKERY BOOK, 1955

###### Short Crust

Flour 8 oz

Pinch of salt

Fat 3-5 oz.

Cold water

Sieve the flour and salt [into] a bowl, add the fat, cut it [into] the flour, then rub it [in] very lightly [with the finger tips] until the mixture *resembles fine breadcrumbs*. Then pour [in] a very little cold water, mixing [with] a knife, adding a little water at a time till a *stiff paste* is formed. Turn on to a lightly floured board, knead lightly till *free of cracks*, then roll out and use as required.

The fat or "shortening" can be butter, margarine, or cooking fat, or a mixture of margarine and cooking fat.

Note. If less than 4 oz. of fat is used with 8 oz. of flour, [then] add 1/2 teaspoon of baking powder to the flour [before] sieving.

##### 4.2 COLLINS FAMILY COOKERY, 1957

###### Shortcrust (Pâté Brisée)

[o] This is generally used for making fruit and jam tartlet cases, custard and other open flan cases, or pies, pasties, etc. It is more digestible than the flaky group of pastries.

½ lb. flour

¼ teaspoon salt

4 oz. butter or margarine

¼ pint ice-cold water

Sift flour and salt [into] a basin. Rub fat [in] lightly [with] the *finger tips* until as *fine as breadcrumbs*. Stir [in] enough of the water to make a *firm* dough [with] a fork or a knife. Pat lightly [into] a *ball*. Wrap [in] waxed paper. Chill and use. Bake [in] a hot oven, 425° - 450° F.

Yield: Enough for two 7-inch pie shells or flan cases, or for the top and bottom crusts of an 8-inch pie, or for a top crust and a flan case.

###### VARIATIONS

Economical: Decrease fat to 2 ½ oz., using lard and margarine, but sift ½ teaspoon baking powder [with] the flour and salt.

Nut: Stir ¼ lb. ground nuts [into] the mixture [before] adding water. Use [with] butterscotch, caramel or chocolate fillings.

Orange: Add 1 teaspoon grated orange or tangerine rind [after] rubbing [in] fat, and substitute orange or tangerine juice for water.

Rich: Increase fat to 5 oz. Rub [in], and add 3 teaspoons of caster sugar. Moisten [with] 1 egg yolk diluted [with] 1 ½ teaspoons cold water. Mix to a *firm* dough, adding more water if required. Use for open tarts, flan cases, cheese cakes and tartlets.

Spiced: Sift [in] ¼ teaspoon each ground cinnamon, cloves and ginger [with] the flour and salt [before] mixing. Good [with] apple or quince pie.

#### 4.3 THE BERKSHIRE COOKERY BOOK, 1958

##### Shortcrust Pastry

8 oz. plain flour

4 oz. fat (½ lard; ½ margarine or butter)

Pinch of salt

Cold water to mix (approx. four tablespoons)

Method.- Sieve the flour and salt [together]. Rub [in] the fat [with] the *fingertips to the consistency of breadcrumbs*. Put [in] the water and [with] the blade of a knife, mix to a *paste*. Mould very lightly [in] the hands to a *smooth ball*. Allow to rest and cool, if possible, before using.

To store, wrap closely [in] greaseproof, waxed or tinfoil paper and keep cool.

#### 4.4 THE 'CREDA' HOUSECRAFT MANUAL, 1958

##### Short Crust

6 ozs. Flour (plain)

½ teaspoonful salt

1 ½ ozs. margarine

1 ½ ozs. Lard

Water to mix

Method.- Sift the flour and salt [into] a basin. Cut the fat [in] small pieces [into] the flour. [Then] rub them together [with] the *tips of the fingers till the mixture resembles fine breadcrumbs*. Mix to a *stiff dough* [with] cold water. (Watch that water! **The pastry will spoil if you get it too wet.**) Turn [on] to a floured board. Knead [into] a neat shape, and [then] roll once only to the required thickness. Try to keep it [in] a good shape as you roll.

Bake at 400°F. for 15 to 30 mins. Second runner from top of oven.

Sufficient dough to cover a medium pie dish.

Table 38: LAS 1950s

Book, Year	Florence Greenberg's Cookery Book, 1955	Collins Family Cookery, 1957	Berkshire Cookery Book, 1958	The 'Creda' Housecraft Manual, 1958
Recipe	Short Crust	Shortcrust, basic	Shortcrust Pastry	Short Crust
Orientation Clause (o)	0	1	0	0
Action				
Imperative sentence (underlined)	14	24	10	11
Instructive/locative prepositional phrase ([I])	8	20	7	10
Infinitival purpose clause (highlighted)	0	0	0	1
Evaluation clauses (italicized)	3	5	3	2
<b>Literary complexity score</b>	25	50	20	24
<b>Weighted score</b>	50%	100%	40%	48%

Inverse Averaged LAS Scores, 1950s = 40% or 0.4

## 5. FIRMS RECIPES, 1960S

### 5.1 MORE WESTMORLAND W.I. RECIPES, 1960S

#### Suet pastry (Foundation recipe)

8 ozs. Plain flour

Pinch of salt

1 teaspoon baking powder

3-4 ozs. Chopped suet (\*Researcher note- leave out for 'shortcrust')

Method.- Sieve together flour, baking powder and salt, add water to make a *not too stiff dough*. This dough can be baked, steamed or boiled. It can be used for savoury or sweet fillings. Rolled out and used to line a pudding basin, 6" (reserve 1/3 for a lid).

Table 39: LAS 1960s

Book, Year	More Westmorland WI Recipes, 1960s
<b>Recipe</b>	Suet Pastry (Foundation recipe)
Orientation Clause (o)	0
<b>Action</b>	
Imperative sentence (underlined)	10
Instructive/locative prepositional phrase ([ ])	0
Infinitival purpose clause (highlighted)	0
Evaluation clauses (italicized)	1
<b>Literary complexity score</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Weighted score</b>	<b>22%</b>

Inverse Averaged LAS Scores, 1960s = 78% or 0.78

## 6. FIRMS RECIPES, OTHER

### 6.1 NORTHUMBERLAND COOKS CORNER, 1917-1992

Pastry recipe taken from Leek and Cream Cheese Flan (pg. 42)

Pastry:

6 oz. plain flour

¼ level teaspoon salt

2 oz. butter or hard margarine

1 oz. lard

Make up pastry, line an 8" flan ring and blind bake 200°C – 10 mins.

Rich shortcrust pastry recipe from Sale (Swiss Cheese Dish, pg. 44), use to line an 8-9" flan ring

6 oz. plain flour

Pinch salt

1 egg yolk

2 tablespoons water

4 oz. block of margarine

Make shortcrust pastry and set aside to chill.

### 6.2 THE COUNTRY KITCHEN COOK BOOK, 1918-1978

Shortcrust Pastry

Ingredients

8 ozs. plain flour

Pinch of salt

4 ozs. fat (half margarine, half lard)

Approx. 2 ½ fluid ozs. water

Method

1. Sift flour with salt and rub [in] fat.
2. Mix to *firm dough* with water using a palette knife and finally the hand.
3. Knead on lightly floured board [until] dough is *smooth, using finger tips* only.

4. Roll out. Can be used for Pies, Pastries, Tarts, Flans etc.

### 6.3 DIAMOND JUBILEE COOKBOOK, 1978

Short Crust Pastry recipe found on #54: Yorkshire Traditional Curd Cheesecake

For ½ lb pastry dough.

8 ozs. Plain flour

4 ozs. lard and margarine mixed

Salt

Water

No instruction given.

*Table 40: LAS 1970s+*

Book, Year	Northumberland Cooks Corner, 1917-1992	Northumberland Cooks Corner, 1917-1992	The Country Kitchen Cook Book, 1918-1978	Diamond Jubilee, 1978
<b>Recipe</b>	Pastry (from Leek and Cream Cheese Flan)	Rich Shortcrust Pastry (from Sale Swiss Cheese Dish)	Shortcrust Pastry	Short Crust Pastry (from Yorkshire Traditional Curd Cheesecake)
Orientation Clause (o)	0	0	0	0
<b>Action</b>				
Imperative sentence (underlined)	3	3	7	0
Instructive/locative prepositional phrase ([ ])	0	0	2	0
Infinitival purpose clause (highlighted)	0	0	0	0
Evaluation clauses (italicized)	0	0	2	0
<b>Literary complexity score</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Weighted score</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>0%</b>

Inverse Averaged LAS Scores, 1970s+ = 91% or 0.91

## APPENDIX 7: FIRMS - HDDS/WDDS CALCULATIONS

### *Researcher's note-*

Menus were not provided in the 1920, 1930, or 1960+ cookbooks. Some menus only provided dinner, while others included breakfast and tea/supper. Some were only for a weekend. To standardise the calculations, a basic porridge (salt and oats) was used for any missing breakfasts as recipes were found for such in most cookbooks. Additionally, lighter meals were substituted into the tea/supper section when those were not provided. Some three-day menus were put together to form a complete week. Meals were only included from the same book, i.e., only *Wartime Cookery* meals were used in the *Wartime Cookery* calculations. Supplemental notes are made above each menu where needed.

### 1. HDDS AND WDDS - 1940S

#### 1.1 WARTIME COOKERY IN CUMBERLAND, 1940

##### Menu 1

- *Sunday-Hot pot. Baked apples.*
  - Ingredients: breast mutton, onions, potatoes, water, apples, sugar, margarine
- *Monday-Haricot bean soup. Sultana pudding.*
  - Ingredients: haricot beans, fat, ham shank, onions, water, flour, baking powder, orange rind, egg, suet, sultanas
- *Tuesday-Liver and bacon pie. Blancmange.*
  - Ingredients: liver, bacon, onion, potatoes, cornflour, sugar, milk
- *Wednesday-Cheese and tomato pudding. Oatmeal pudding.*
  - Ingredients: tomatoes, cheddar cheese, breadcrumbs, egg, oatmeal, flour, milk, water, egg
- *Thursday-Surprise potato cake with fresh mince. Braised onions. Rice pudding.*
  - Ingredients: potatoes, egg, breadcrumbs, margarine, minced meat, onions, fat, brown sugar, rice, sugar or sultanas, milk, nutmeg
- *Friday-Herring and potato pie. Apple balls.*
  - Ingredients: potatoes, herrings, flour, salt, apples, sugar, cloves
- *Saturday-Mixed vegetable soup. Jam layer pudding.*
  - Ingredients: stock, bacon bones, mixed vegetables, dripping, oatmeal, herbs, flour, suet, baking powder, jam



## Menu 2

- *Sunday-Irish stew, rice pudding, stewed fruit.*
  - Ingredients: breast mutton, potatoes, onions, water, rice, sugar or sultanas, milk, nutmeg, butter, margarine or suet if using skim milk, figs, prunes, apricots, etc, sugar or syrup
- *Monday-Beef roll. Bananas and custard.*
  - Ingredients: minced beef, fat bacon, parsley, hard-boiled egg, breadcrumbs, egg, salt and pepper, bananas, eggs, milk, sugar
- *Tuesday-Tripe and onions. Apple sago.*
  - Ingredients: tripe, water, milk, flour, onions, apples, sugar, sago, water, cochineal
- *Wednesday-Fish hot pot. Jam tart.*
  - Ingredients: fish, tomatoes, breadcrumbs, onion, margarine, flour, salt, fat, jam or treacle with jam, short crust pastry
- *Thursday-Bacon and potatoes. Steamed fruit pudding.*
  - Ingredients: bacon, potatoes, flour, suet, baking powder, salt, sugar, fruit
- *Friday-Cornish pasties. Baked custard.*
  - Ingredients: short pastry, mince steak, potato, onion, milk, eggs, sugar, nutmeg
- *Saturday-Cheese, potato and onion pie. Stewed fruit.*
  - Ingredients: potatoes, cheese, onions, figs, prunes, apricots, etc., sugar or syrup

## Menu 3

- *Sunday-Roast pork. Rice pudding.*
  - Ingredients: pork, rice, sugar or sultanas, milk, nutmeg, margarine/butter or suet if skim milk is used
- *Monday-Onion pudding. Baked fruit compote (made on Sunday).*
  - Ingredients: flour, suet, baking powder, onions, sage, oranges, bananas, apples, stale cake, sugar or syrup
- *Tuesday-Baked stuffed herrings. Fruit tart.*
  - Ingredients: herrings, oatmeal, salt and pepper, onion, flour, salt, fruit, sugar or syrup
- *Wednesday-Rabbit pie. Baked custard.*
  - Ingredients: rabbit, bacon, water, onion, flour, lard or margarine, salt, parsley, milk, eggs, sugar, nutmeg

- *Thursday-Savoury meat pudding. Chocolate junket.*
  - Ingredients: flour, suet, baking powder, salt, minced meat, potatoes, onions, milk, rennet, cocoa, sugar, vanilla essence
- *Friday-Cheese and rice. Equality pudding.*
  - Ingredients: rice, cheese, milk, flour, margarine, sugar, jam or syrup, bi-carb of soda, salt, spice, milk
- *Saturday-Vegetable cream soup. Plum duff.*
  - Ingredients: vegetable marrow, onion, celery, margarine, white stock, milk, flour, suet, baking powder, sugar, currants or sultanas

#### Menu 4

- *Sunday-Cumberland hot pot. Stewed fruit according to season.*
  - Ingredients: spare rib or neck of mutton, onions, potatoes, black pudding, fruit, syrup or sugar
- *Monday-Boiled ham shank and peas pudding and cabbage.*
  - Ingredients: ham, split peas, margarine, cabbage
- *Tuesday-Lentil soup. Syrup sponge (see equality pudding).*
  - Ingredients: lentils, onion, carrot, turnip, milk, dripping, water, flour, margarine, sugar, syrup, bi-carb of soda, salt, milk
- *Wednesday-Sea pie. Ground rice mould (see Blancmange).*
  - Ingredients: hough or stewing beef, carrots, turnip, onion, beef cube, water, flour, suet, baking powder, salt, rice, sugar, milk
- *Thursday-Cheese pudding. Oatmeal pudding.*
  - Ingredients: breadcrumbs, milk, cheese, egg, mustard, oatmeal, flour, milk, water, egg
- *Friday-Potato and tomato soup. Steamed fruit pudding.*
  - Ingredients: potato, tomatoes or tomato pulp, oatmeal, water, onions, fruit, flour, suet, baking powder, salt, sugar
- *Saturday-Savoury pudding. Treacle tart.*
  - Ingredients: onion, flour, suet, baking powder, sausage, treacle, breadcrumbs, flour, salt

#### Menu 5

- *Sunday-Potato and sausage pie. Sultana rice pudding.*

- Ingredients: flour, lard, margarine, sausage, salt, baking powder, potato, baking powder, orange rind, egg, suet, rice, sugar or sultanas, milk, nutmeg
- *Monday-Meat roly poly. Fruit salad.*
  - Ingredients: flour, suet, baking powder, minced meat, bacon, onion, mixed fruit
- *Tuesday-Rissoles. Steamed fruit pudding.*
  - Ingredients: minced meat, potatoes, rice, onion, flour, vegetable boilings, flour, suet, baking powder salt, sugar, fruit
- *Wednesday-Sheep's head broth. Sultana pudding.*
  - Ingredients: sheep head, water, carrot, parsley, turnip, onion, barley, flour, baking powder, orange rind, egg, suet, sultanas, salt, milk
- *Thursday-Shepherd's pie. Baked fruit compote.*
  - Ingredients: meat, onion, dripping, flour, water or stock, Worcester sauce, potatoes, milk, margarine, oranges, apples, bananas, sale cake, sugar or syrup
- *Friday-Dressed cod. Raisin or sultana pudding.*
  - Ingredients: cod, breadcrumbs, herbs, lemon rind, dripping, parsley, flour, baking powder, orange rind, egg, suet, sultanas, salt, milk
- *Saturday-Cod's head soup. Treacle layer pudding.*
  - Ingredients: cod head, onion, margarine, water, oatmeal, milk, parsley, flour, suet, salt, bi-carb of soda, ginger, treacle

#### Menu 6

- *Sunday-Roast beef. Fruit tart.*
  - Ingredients: beef, flour, salt, fruit, sugar or syrup
- *Monday-Vegetable hot pot. Fig pudding.*
  - Ingredients: mixed vegetables, stock, flour, suet, salt, figs, brown sugar, mixed spice, carbonate of soda, milk
- *Tuesday-Surprise potato cake. Treacle Tart.*
  - Ingredients: potatoes, egg, breadcrumbs, margarine, curried meat, treacle, breadcrumbs, flour, salt
- *Wednesday-Fish hot pot. Sultana plate cake.*
  - Ingredients: fish, tomatoes, breadcrumbs, onion, margarine, flour, salt, apple, sultanas
- *Thursday-Calf's head pie. Milk solid.*

- Ingredients: calf's head, hard-boiled eggs, bacon, flour, salt, milk, lemons, sugar, water, gelatine
- *Friday-Boiled onions and white sauce or herb pudding.*
  - Ingredients: onions, parsley, flour, margarine, milk, Easter May-giants (herb), young nettles, black currant leaves, young dandelion leaves, leeks, cabbage leaves, kale, oatmeal, barley
- *Saturday-Haricot hot pot. Baked custard.*
  - Ingredients: haricot beans, minced meat, onion, stock, milk, eggs, sugar, nutmeg

Table 41 Week 1 Menus

	Breakfast	Tea/Supper	Dinner	Ingredients
Sunday	Porridge	Boiled ham shank and peas pudding and cabbage.	Hot pot. Baked apples.	ham, split peas, margarine, cabbage, breast mutton, onions, potatoes, water, apples, sugar, oats
Monday	Porridge	Haricot bean soup. Sultana pudding.	Cumberland hot pot. Stewed fruit according to season.	haricot beans, ham shank, onions, water, flour, baking powder, orange rind, egg, suet, sultanas, spare rib or neck of mutton, potatoes, black pudding, fruit, syrup or sugar, oats
Tuesday	Porridge	Lentil soup. Syrup sponge	Liver and bacon pie. Blancmange.	lentils, onion, carrot, turnip, milk, dripping, flour, margarine, sugar, syrup, bi-carb of soda, salt, liver, bacon, potatoes, cornflour, sugar, oats
Wednesday	Porridge	Potato and tomato soup. Steamed fruit pudding.	Cheese and tomato pudding. Oatmeal pudding.	potato, tomatoes or tomato pulp, onions, dripping, fruit, flour, baking powder, salt, sugar, tomatoes, cheddar cheese, breadcrumbs, egg, oatmeal, milk
Thursday	Porridge	Surprise potato cake with fresh mince. Braised onions. Rice pudding.	Potato and sausage pie. Sultana rice pudding.	potatoes, egg, breadcrumbs, margarine, minced meat, onions, fat, brown sugar, rice, sugar or sultanas, milk, nutmeg, flour, sausage, salt, baking powder, orange rind, oats
Friday	Porridge	Cheese pudding. Oatmeal pudding	Herring and potato pie. Apple balls.	breadcrumbs, milk, cheese, egg, mustard, oatmeal, flour, milk, egg, potatoes, herrings, salt, apples, sugar, cloves
Saturday	Porridge	Mixed vegetable soup. Jam layer pudding.	Sea pie. Ground rice mould	stock, bacon bones, dripping, oatmeal, herbs, flour, baking powder, jam, hough, carrots, turnip, onion, beef cube, baking powder, salt, rice, sugar, milk

Table 42: Calculations

HDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Cereals	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
White tubers and roots	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Vegetables <sup>1</sup>	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	
Fruits <sup>2</sup>	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	
Meats <sup>3</sup>	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	
Eggs	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
Fish and other seafood	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	
Milk and milk products	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	
Oils and fats	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	
Sweets	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Spices, condiments and beverages	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	
<b>HDDS 1 TOTALS</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	
	12							AVG
	67%	67%	67%	67%	83%	67%	75%	70%
WDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Starchy staples <sup>4</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dark green leafy vegetables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables <sup>5</sup>	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	
Other fruits and vegetables <sup>6</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Organ meat	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	
Meat and fish <sup>7</sup>	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	
Eggs	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	
Milk and milk products	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>WDDS 1 TOTALS</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	
	9							AVG
	56%	67%	44%	44%	56%	56%	56%	54%

HDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
67%	67%	67%	67%	83%	67%	75%
WDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
56%	67%	44%	44%	56%	56%	56%

Table 43: Week 2 Menus

	Breakfast	Tea/Supper	Dinner	Ingredients
<b>Sunday</b>	Porridge	Onion pudding. Baked fruit compote.	Irish stew, rice pudding, stewed fruit	flour, suet, baking powder, onions, sage, oranges, bananas, apples, stale cake, breast mutton, potatoes, rice, sugar, milk, nutmeg, butter, figs, prunes, apricots, oats
<b>Monday</b>	Porridge	Vegetable cream soup. Plum duff.	Beef roll. Bananas and custard	vegetable marrow, onion, celery, margarine, white stock, milk, flour, suet, baking powder, sugar, sultanas, minced beef, bacon, parsley, breadcrumbs, egg, salt and pepper, bananas, oats
<b>Tuesday</b>	Porridge	Baked stuffed herrings. Fruit tart.	Tripe and onions. Apple sago.	tripe, herrings, oatmeal, salt and pepper, onion, milk, flour, apples, sugar, sago
<b>Wednesday</b>	Porridge	Cheese and rice. Equality pudding.	Fish hot pot. Jam tart.	rice, cheese, milk, flour, margarine, sugar, jam or syrup, bi-carb of soda, salt, fish, tomatoes, breadcrumbs, onion, oats
<b>Thursday</b>	Porridge	Bacon and potatoes. Steamed fruit pudding	Roast pork. Rice pudding.	bacon, potatoes, flour, suet, baking powder, salt, sugar, fruit, pork, rice, milk, nutmeg, oats
<b>Friday</b>	Porridge	Cornish pasties. Baked custard	Rabbit pie. Baked custard.	mince steak, potato, rabbit, bacon, onion, oats, flour, margarine, salt, parsley, milk, eggs, sugar, nutmeg
<b>Saturday</b>	Porridge	Cheese, potato and onion pie. Stewed fruit.	Savoury meat pudding. Chocolate junket.	potatoes, cheese, onions, figs, prunes, apricots, sugar, flour, suet, baking powder, salt, minced meat, milk, rennet, cocoa, vanilla essence, oats

Table 44: Calculations

HDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Cereals	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
White tubers and roots	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	
Vegetables <sup>1</sup>	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	
Fruits <sup>2</sup>	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	
Meats <sup>3</sup>	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	
Eggs	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
Fish and other seafood	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Oils and fats	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	
Sweets	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Spices, condiments and beverages	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	
<b>HDDS 2 TOTALS</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	
	12							AVG
	75%	75%	58%	58%	67%	75%	75%	69%
<b>WDDS Food Group Categories</b>	<b>Sunday</b>	<b>Monday</b>	<b>Tuesday</b>	<b>Wednesday</b>	<b>Thursday</b>	<b>Friday</b>	<b>Saturday</b>	
Starchy staples <sup>4</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dark green leafy vegetables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables <sup>5</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other fruits and vegetables <sup>6</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Organ meat	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Meat and fish <sup>7</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>WDDS 2 TOTALS</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	
	9							AVG
	44%	56%	56%	44%	44%	56%	44%	49%

HDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
75%	75%	58%	58%	67%	75%	75%
WDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
44%	56%	56%	44%	44%	56%	44%



Table 45: Week 3 Menus

	Breakfast	Tea/Supper	Dinner	Ingredients
<b>Sunday</b>	Porridge	Sheep's head broth. Sultana pudding.	Meat roly poly. Fruit salad.	Sheep's head, carrot, parsley, turnip, onion, barley, flour, baking powder, orange rind, egg, salt, milk, suet, minced meat, bacon, mixed fruit, oats
<b>Monday</b>	Porridge	Haricot hot pot. Baked custard.	Rissoles. Steamed fruit pudding	haricot beans, onion, stock, milk, eggs, sugar, nutmeg, minced meat, potatoes, rice, flour, suet, baking powder, salt, fruit, oats
<b>Tuesday</b>	Porridge	Surprise potato cake. Treacle Tart.	Shepherd's pie. Baked fruit compote.	onion, stock, Worcester sauce, potatoes, milk, margarine, oranges, apples, bananas, stale cake, sugar, egg, breadcrumbs, curried meat, treacle, breadcrumbs, flour, salt, fat, oats
<b>Wednesday</b>	Porridge	Fish hot pot. Sultana plate cake.	Dressed cod. Raisin or sultana pudding.	tomatoes, breadcrumbs, onion, apple, sultanas, cod, herbs, lemon rind, dripping, parsley, flour, baking powder, orange rind, egg, suet, salt, milk, oats
<b>Thursday</b>	Porridge	Cod's head soup. Treacle layer pudding.	Vegetable hot pot. Fig pudding.	cod head, onion, margarine, oatmeal, milk, parsley, flour, salt, bi-carb of soda, ginger, treacle, mixed vegetables, stock, figs, brown sugar, mixed spice, milk
<b>Friday</b>	Porridge	Boiled onions and white sauce or herb pudding.	Roast beef. Fruit tart.	onions, parsley, flour, margarine, milk, Easter May-giants (herb), young nettles, black currant leaves, young dandelion leaves, leeks, cabbage leaves, kale, oatmeal, barley, beef, fruit, sugar
<b>Saturday</b>	Porridge	Cheese pudding. Oatmeal pudding.	Calf's head pie. Milk solid	breadcrumbs, cheese, egg, mustard, oatmeal, flour, calf's head, bacon, salt, milk, lemons, sugar, gelatine

Table 46: Calculations

HDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Cereals	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
White tubers and roots	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	
Vegetables <sup>1</sup>	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	
Fruits <sup>2</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	
Meats <sup>3</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	
Fish and other seafood	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	
Oils and fats	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	
Sweets	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	
Spices, condiments and beverages	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	
<b>HDDS 3 TOTALS</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	
	12							AVG
	67%	75%	58%	67%	83%	50%	50%	64%
WDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Starchy staples <sup>4</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dark green leafy vegetables	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables <sup>5</sup>	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other fruits and vegetables <sup>6</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	
Organ meat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Meat and fish <sup>7</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	
<b>WDDS 3 TOTALS</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	
	9							AVG
	67%	67%	44%	56%	44%	56%	44%	54%

HDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
67%	75%	58%	67%	83%	50%	50%
WDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
67%	67%	44%	56%	44%	56%	44%

## 1.2 MOF, 1946

### Researcher Note-

Weekly menus have been created based on the above leaflets for breakfast, tea/lunch, and dinner. The recipes were chosen based upon MOF listed order.

#### 1.2.1 "ONE-POT" MEALS (LEAFLET NO. 35; 1946)

- *Menu 1-sausage roll, gravy, carrots, chopped parsley, potatoes, steamed pudding with jam*
  - Ingredients- sausage meat, onion, pickle, breadcrumbs, herbs, salt, stock, flour, pepper, meat cube, gravy browning, baking powder, margarine or fat, sugar, milk, jam
- *Menu 2-hot pot, cabbage, mocha whip*
  - Ingredients-fat, onions, lamb chops, carrots, potatoes, turnips, herbs, salt, pepper, stock, cabbage, flour, sugar, cocoa, coffee
- *Menu 3-braised meat, potatoes, mixed root vegetables, watercress, summer pudding and custard*
  - Ingredients-beef, fat, mixed root vegetables, salt, pepper, stock, fruit, sugar, bread, custard (milk, egg)
- *Menu 4-fish stew, coleslaw, semolina mould*
  - Ingredients-white fish, onions, tomatoes, potatoes, salt, pepper, water, flour, cabbage, salad dressing, semolina, sugar, fruit juice, jam
- *Menu 5-scotch broth, pilchard salad, steamed chocolate pudding*
  - Ingredients-pearl barley, stock, salt, pepper, carrot, turnip, potato, onion, cabbage, parsley, pilchard, apple, parsley, salad dressing, watercress, radishes, flour, baking-powder, sugar, cocoa, margarine, syrup, milk
- *Menu 6-cheese potatoes, steamed celery, raw vegetable salad, suet crust pudding*
  - Ingredients-potatoes, cheese, salt, pepper, mustard, milk, carrot, turnip, parsnip, onion, celery, watercress, salad dressing, flour, baking-powder, suet, fruit, sugar
- *Menu 7-bacon hot-pot, shredded cabbage, dumplings with syrup*
  - Ingredients-potatoes, onion, bacon, parsley, salt, pepper, stock, cabbage, flour, baking-powder, suet, syrup

#### 1.2.2 HIGH TEAS AND SUPPERS (LEAFLET NO. 7; 1946)

- *Menu 1-vegetable soup, beef and lettuce salad with mustard sauce (alt. scrambled egg salad), bread and margarine*

- Ingredients-mixed vegetables, stock, [flour, mustard, salt, pepper, onion, vinegar, corned beef, lettuce, radishes, peas (alt. milk, eggs, salt, pepper, onion, cabbage, potatoes, carrots, peas, mint, salad dressing)], bread, margarine
- *Menu 2-salmon croquettes, raw vegetable salad, bread, margarine and jam*
  - Ingredients-flour, mace, pepper salt, stock, vinegar, salmon, breadcrumbs, lettuce, mixed vegetables, bread, margarine, jam
- *Menu 3-Welsh wonder, watercress sandwiches, plain cake*
  - Ingredients-leeks, salt, pepper, grated cheese, watercress, bread, butter, flour, baking-powder, egg, milk
- *Menu 4-salmon savoury, watercress and beetroot salad, bread, margarine, jam or sweet spread*
  - Ingredients-flour, salmon, herbs, vinegar, salt, pepper, watercress, beet, bread, margarine, jam, dressing
- *Menu 5-macaroni cheese, tomatoes or watercress, jam tart*
  - Ingredients-macaroni, flour, milk, mustard, pepper, cheese, watercress, pastry case, jam
- *Menu 6-creamed sardine pie, green salad, bread, margarine and jam*
  - Ingredients-flour, milk, salt, pepper, mace, vinegar, sardines in oil, watercress, dressing, bread, margarine, jam
- *Menu 7-fish and potato pancake, coleslaw, rock buns*
  - Ingredients-onion, fat, potatoes, white fish (ex. pilchard), egg, vinegar, salt, pepper, parsley
- *Menu 8-sardines and cheese sauce, raw vegetable salad, bread, margarine, jam*
  - Ingredients-sardines, bread, margarine, flour, milk, cheese, mustard, parsley, mixed vegetables, lettuce, jam
- *Menu 9-split pea soup, cheese and salad sandwiches, plain cake*
  - Ingredients-split peas, onion, bacon, fat, celery salt, salt, pepper, flour, milk, cheese, watercress, butter, bread, egg, baking-powder
- *Menu 10-leek and potato soup, pilchard and cabbage sandwiches, drop scones or pancakes*
  - Ingredients-leek, fat, potatoes, vegetable stock, salt, milk, parsley, pilchards, cabbage, bread, butter, flour, baking-powder

### 1.2.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR BREAKFAST (LEAFLET NO. 3; 1946)

#### *Breakfast Menu*

##### *Porridge-*

- #1 Ingredients-oatmeal, salt
- #2 Ingredients-rolled oats or barley flakes, salt
- #3 Semolina Porridge Ingredients-semolina, salt, milk
- #4 Wheatmealies Ingredients- bread, milk, sugar or stewed fruit

##### *Cooked dish-*

- #1 Summer Breakfast Dish Ingredients- rolled oats or barley flakes or kernels, milk, apple, sugar
- #2 Fried Bread and Bacon Ingredients- bacon, bread
- #3 Bacon Turnovers Ingredients- bacon, flour, baking powder, salt, herbs, milk
- #4 Fritters Ingredients- flour, baking powder, salt, pepper, milk, bacon (or cheese, or meat, or fish and parsley, or sardines and vinegar), fat
- #5 Savoury Potato Cakes Ingredients- potato, fish, parsley, salt, pepper (alt. to fish-bacon, cheese, or meat)
- #6 Pan Hash Ingredients-potatoes, mixed vegetables, bacon, salt, pepper, fat
- #7 Potato Puffs Ingredients-potatoes, salt, pepper, flour, sausage meat or root vegetables, cheese
- #8 Cheese and Vegetable Cutlets Ingredients- cheese, potatoes, peas, carrots, onion, flour, salt, pepper, breadcrumbs
- #9 Fried Cheese Sandwiches Ingredients- cheese, bread, mustard, fat
- #10 Potato Fadge with Fried Bacon Ingredients- potatoes, salt, pepper, flour, bacon
- #11 Fried Herrings Ingredients- herrings, flour, salt, pepper, fat
- #12 Poached Kippers Ingredients- kippers, butter
- #13 Grilled Fish Ingredients- flour, salt, pepper, nutmeg, milk, fish, breadcrumbs, fat
- #14 Herring Roe Savoury Ingredients- roes, milk, toast, flour, salt, pepper, parsley
- #15 Hard Roes Ingredients- roes, flour, egg, breadcrumb, fat
- #16 Grilled Pilchards on Toast Ingredients- pilchard, toast, butter
- #17 Fried Pilchards on Fried Bread Ingredients- pilchard, toast, fat

*National or wholemeal bread with butter or margarine and marmalade or jam or other sweet spread*

*Tea or coffee (cocoa or milk for children)*

#### 1.2.4 WAR COOKERY LEAFLET (NO. 18)

- *Menu 5- cauliflower Hollandaise, cheese and salad sandwiches, plain cake*
  - Ingredients- cauliflower, flour, milk, peppercorns, salt, eggs, vinegar, cheese, watercress, butter, bread, sugar, baking-powder
- *Menu 6-chow tan, brown gravy, mixed vegetable salad, bread, margarine and jam*
  - Ingredients- egg, meat, carrots, celery, onion, salt, pepper, beef cube, flour, mixed vegetables, lettuce, dressing, bread, margarine, jam
- *Menu 7- cabbage and bacon savoury, mashed potato, cheese scones with watercress*
  - Ingredients- cabbage, leeks, bacon, flour, salt, pepper, meat extract, baking-powder, cheese, potato, watercress, margarine

Table 47: Week 1 Menus

	Breakfast	Tea/Supper	Dinner	Ingredients
<b>Sunday</b>	Porridge #1	vegetable soup, beef and lettuce salad with mustard sauce, bread and margarine	sausage roll, gravy, carrots, chopped parsley, potatoes, steamed pudding with jam	oatmeal, salt, sausage meat, onion, pickle, breadcrumbs, herbs, salt, stock, flour, pepper, gravy browning, baking powder, margarine, sugar, milk, jam, stock, mustard, vinegar, corned beef, lettuce, radishes, peas, bread
<b>Monday</b>	Porridge #2	salmon croquettes, raw vegetable salad, bread, margarine and jam	hot pot, cabbage, mocha whip	rolled oats, salt, onions, lamb chops, carrots, potatoes, turnips, herbs, salt, pepper, stock, cabbage, flour, sugar, cocoa, coffee, mace, vinegar, salmon, breadcrumbs, lettuce, bread, margarine, jam
<b>Tuesday</b>	Semolina Porridge	Welsh wonder, watercress sandwiches, plain cake	Braised meat, mashed potatoes, summer pudding and custard	semolina, potatoes, beef, mixed root vegetables, salt, pepper, stock, fruit, sugar, bread, milk, egg, leeks, grated cheese, watercress, flour, baking-powder
<b>Wednesday</b>	Wheatmealies (sic)	salmon savoury, watercress and beetroot salad, bread, margarine, jam or sweet spread	fish stew, coleslaw, semolina mould	bread, milk, stewed fruit, white fish, onions, tomatoes, potatoes, salt, pepper, flour, cabbage, salad dressing, semolina, sugar, fruit juice, jam, salmon, herbs, vinegar, watercress, beet, margarine
<b>Thursday</b>	Summer Breakfast Dish	macaroni cheese, tomatoes or watercress, jam tart	scotch broth, pilchard salad, steamed chocolate pudding	oats, milk, apple, sugar, pearl barley, stock, salt, pepper, carrot, turnip, potato, onion, cabbage, parsley, pilchard, apple, salad dressing, watercress, radishes, baking-powder, cocoa, margarine, syrup, macaroni, flour, mustard, cheese, jam

<b>Friday</b>	Fried Bread and Bacon	creamed sardine pie, green salad, bread, margarine and jam	cheese potatoes, steamed celery, raw vegetable salad, suet crust pudding	bacon, bread, potatoes, cheese, salt, pepper, mustard, milk, carrot, turnip, parsnip, onion, celery, watercress, salad dressing, flour, baking-powder, suet, fruit, sugar, flour, milk, salt, pepper, mace, vinegar, sardines in oil, margarine, jam
<b>Saturday</b>	Bacon turnovers	fish and potato pancake, coleslaw, rock buns	bacon hot-pot, shredded cabbage, dumplings with syrup	herbs, milk, potatoes, onion, bacon, parsley, salt, pepper, stock, cabbage, flour, baking-powder, suet, syrup, white fish, egg, vinegar

Table 48: Calculations

HDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Cereals	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	
White tubers and roots	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Vegetables <sup>1</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Fruits <sup>2</sup>	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	
Meats <sup>3</sup>	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	
Eggs	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
Fish and other seafood	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	
Oils and fats	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	
Sweets	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Spices, condiments and beverages	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>HDDS 4 TOTALS</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	
	12							AVG
	58%	58%	58%	58%	58%	75%	75%	63%
WDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Starchy staples <sup>4</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dark green leafy vegetables	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	
Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables <sup>5</sup>	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	
Other fruits and vegetables <sup>6</sup>	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	
Organ meat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Meat and fish <sup>7</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	
<b>WDDS 4 TOTALS</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	
	9							AVG
	56%	33%	44%	44%	67%	67%	56%	52%



HDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
58%	58%	58%	58%	58%	75%	75%
WDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
56%	33%	44%	44%	67%	67%	56%

Table 49: Week 2 Menus

	Breakfast	Tea/Supper	Dinner	Ingredients
<b>Sunday</b>	Fritters	sardines and cheese sauce, raw vegetable salad, bread, margarine, jam	cauliflower Hollandaise, cheese and salad sandwiches, plain cake	flour, baking powder, salt, pepper, milk, bacon, fat, cauliflower, milk, peppercorns, eggs, vinegar, cheese, watercress, butter, bread, sugar, sardines, mustard, mixed vegetables, lettuce, jam
<b>Monday</b>	Savoury Potato Cakes	split pea soup, cheese and salad sandwiches, plain cake	chow tan, brown gravy, mixed vegetable salad, bread, margarine and jam	potato, fish, parsley, egg, meat, carrots, celery, onion, salt, pepper, beef cube, flour, lettuce, dressing, bread, margarine, jam, split peas, bacon, fat, celery salt, flour, milk, watercress, baking-powder
<b>Tuesday</b>	Pan Hash	leek and potato soup, pilchard and cabbage sandwiches, drop scones or pancakes	cabbage and bacon savoury, mashed potato, cheese scones with watercress	mixed vegetables, fat, cabbage, leeks, bacon, flour, salt, pepper, meat extract, baking-powder, cheese, watercress, margarine, leek, fat, stock, milk, parsley, pilchards, cabbage, bread, butter, baking-powder
<b>Wednesday</b>	Potato puffs	Poached Kippers	sausage roll, gravy, carrots, chopped parsley, potatoes, steamed pudding with jam	potatoes, salt, pepper, flour, sausage meat, cheese, kippers, butter, onion, pickle, breadcrumbs, herbs, stock, meat cube, gravy browning, baking powder, sugar, milk, jam
<b>Thursday</b>	Cheese and Vegetable Cutlets	Grilled Fish	braised meat, potatoes, mixed root vegetables, watercress,	cheese, potatoes, peas, carrots, onion, salt, pepper, breadcrumbs, flour, salt, pepper, nutmeg, fish, fat, beef,

			summer pudding and custard	stock, fruit, sugar, bread, milk, egg
<b>Friday</b>	Fried cheese sandwich	Herring Roe Savoury	fish stew, coleslaw, semolina mould	cheese, bread, mustard, fat, roes, milk, toast, flour, salt, pepper, parsley, white fish, onions, tomatoes, potatoes, cabbage, salad dressing, semolina, sugar, fruit juice, jam
<b>Saturday</b>	Potato Fadge with Fried Bacon	Grilled Pilchards on Toast	scotch broth, pilchard salad, steamed chocolate pudding	salt, pepper, flour, bacon, toast, butter, barley, stock, carrot, turnip, potato, onion, cabbage, parsley, pilchard, apple, salad dressing, watercress, radishes, baking-powder, sugar, cocoa, syrup, milk

Table 50: Calculations

HDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Cereals	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	
White tubers and roots	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Vegetables <sup>1</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Fruits <sup>2</sup>	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	
Meats <sup>3</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	
Eggs	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	
Fish and other seafood	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Oils and fats	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	
Sweets	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	
Spices, condiments and beverages	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>HDDS 5 TOTALS</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	
	12							AVG
	75%	75%	58%	58%	92%	75%	83%	74%
WDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Starchy staples <sup>4</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dark green leafy vegetables	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	
Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables <sup>5</sup>	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	
Other fruits and vegetables <sup>6</sup>	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	
Organ meat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Meat and fish <sup>7</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>WDDS 5 TOTALS</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	
	9							AVG
	67%	89%	67%	33%	78%	44%	67%	63%

HDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
75%	75%	58%	58%	92%	75%	83%
WDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
67%	89%	67%	33%	78%	44%	67%

### 1.3 OUTDOOR COOKING, 1948

#### Researcher Note-

Menus have been created by combining treks into weeks. B and B refers to Bread and Butter and is delineated as such in the book.

Sample menu for a week-end hike, trek, or cruise (first-class journey)

- *Saturday- twist, jam, cake, tea, tinned soup, toast croutons*
  - Ingredients-flour, jam, tea, tinned soup, stale bread, salt, baking powder, egg, milk
- *Sunday-bacon omelette, toast, marmalade, cocoa, kabob on toast, five-minutes pudding, custard, flapjacks, jam, tea*
  - Ingredients-bacon, egg, salt, butter, bread, marmalade, cocoa, sugar, milk, meat, vegetable, potato, custard powder, jam, tea, flour, salt, nutmeg, baking powder, currants

Sample menu for week-end patrol camps

#### Spring

- *Saturday-Welsh rarebit, B and B, jam, cake, tea, soup, toast*
  - Ingredients-jam, flour, salt, baking powder, eggs, milk, tea, carrots, turnip, onion or leek, fat, stock, seasoning, milk, parsley, bread
- *Sunday-porridge, bacon and eggs, toast, marmalade, tea, pot pie (Cumberland), plain pancakes, B and B, jam, scones*
  - Ingredients- porridge oats, bacon, eggs, bread, marmalade, tea, flour, jam, lamb shoulder, onion, potatoes, milk, egg, sugar, butter

#### Summer

- *Saturday- salad, B and B, jam, cake, tea, cocoa, biscuits*
  - Ingredients- lettuce, vegetables (mixed), jam, flour, salt, baking powder, eggs, milk, tea, cocoa, sugar, bread and butter, biscuits
- *Sunday-cereal, ham toast, B and B, marmalade, tea, boiled herrings, mashed potatoes, bread pudding, jam, flapjacks*
  - Ingredients- cereal, milk, ham, butter, mustard, bread, butter, marmalade, tea, bread, egg, milk, sugar, potatoes, butter, jam, flour, nutmeg, baking powder, currants, milk, vinegar, herrings

## Autumn

- *Saturday-herb omelette, B and B, jam, cake, tea, baked beans, toast, cocoa*
  - Ingredients-egg, herbs, butter, jam, tea, bread, cocoa, milk, sugar, water, butter, baked beans (tin), flour, salt, baking powder
- *Sunday-porridge, mushrooms, bacon, toast, tea, pigeon pie, stewed brambles, custard, nut cutlets, twists, jam*
  - Ingredients- porridge oats, mushrooms, bacon, bread, tea, crust, beefsteak, salt and pepper, pigeon, butter, egg, bacon, stock, flour, blackberries, milk, custard powder, sugar, vanilla, flour, chestnuts, vermicelli, tomato sauce, breadcrumbs

## Winter

- *Saturday-cheese omelette, toast, tea, soup*
  - Ingredients-eggs, cheese, butter, bread, tea, lentils, carrots, onions, potatoes, turnip, celery, fat, stock, seasoning, milk, parsley
- *Sunday-porridge, scotch eggs, toast, marmalade, cocoa, Irish stew, spotted dick, custard, dampers, jam, tea*
  - Ingredients-porridge oats, sausage meat, breadcrumbs, parsley, egg, tomato sauce, bread, marmalade, cocoa, lamb chops, potatoes, onions, water, bisto, pepper, flour, sultanas, suet, baking powder, milk, custard powder, sugar, vanilla, salt, butter, bicarbonate of soda, buttermilk, jam, tea

## Sample menu for a patrol three-day camp

- *First day-porridge, ham toast, coffee, fish balls (Norwegian), spotted dick, custard, B and B, jam, cake, tea, soup, toast*
  - Ingredients- porridge oats, ham, butter, mustard, bread, coffee, haddock, cream, nutmeg, flour, sultanas, suet, baking powder, custard powder, jam, tea, salt, eggs, mixed vegetables, fat, stock, seasoning, milk, oatmeal, parsley
- *Second day-bacon omelette, toast, marmalade, tea, rabbit pie, Polish pancakes, B and B, salad, cake, bread, cheese, cocoa*
  - Ingredients-rabbit, bacon, stock, salt, pepper, flour, butter, egg, bacon, bread, marmalade, tea, salad (mixed vegetable) cheese, cocoa, milk, sugar, parsley, nutmeg, baking powder, salt, yeast

- *Third day-porridge, Welsh rarebit, B and B, marmalade, tea, shepherd's pie, friar's omelette, jam, toast*
  - Ingredients- porridge oats, milk, cheese, egg, bread, butter, marmalade, tea, meat, herbs, onion, potato, milk, apple, sugar, breadcrumb, jam

*Table 51: Week 1 Menus*

	<b>Breakfast</b>	<b>Tea/Supper</b>	<b>Dinner</b>	<b>Ingredients</b>
<b>Sunday</b>	twist, jam	cake, tea	tinned soup, toast croutons	flour, jam, tea, tinned soup, stale bread, salt, baking powder, egg, milk
<b>Monday</b>	bacon omelette, toast, marmalade, cocoa	flapjacks, jam, tea	kabob on toast, five-minutes pudding, custard	bacon, egg, salt, butter, bread, marmalade, cocoa, sugar, milk, meat, paprika peppers, onions, potato, jam, tea, flour, salt, nutmeg, baking powder, currants
<b>Tuesday</b>	Welsh rarebit	B and B, jam, cake	tea, soup, toast	jam, flour, salt, baking powder, eggs, milk, tea, carrots, turnip, onion or leek, fat, stock, seasoning, milk, parsley, bread
<b>Wednesday</b>	porridge, bacon and eggs, toast, marmalade, tea	plain pancakes, B and B, jam, scones	pot pie (Cumberland)	porridge oats, bacon, eggs, bread, marmalade, tea, flour, jam, lamb shoulder, onion, potatoes, milk, sugar, butter
<b>Thursday</b>	jam, cake, tea	cocoa, biscuits	salad, B and B	lettuce, vegetables (mixed), jam, flour, salt, baking powder, eggs, milk, tea, cocoa, sugar, bread and butter, biscuits, dressing
<b>Friday</b>	cereal, ham toast, B and B, tea	jam, flapjacks	boiled herrings, mashed potatoes, bread pudding	cereal, milk, ham, butter, mustard, tea, bread, egg, sugar, potatoes, jam, flour, nutmeg, baking powder, currants, vinegar, herrings
<b>Saturday</b>	herb omelette, B and B	jam, cake, tea,	baked beans, toast, cocoa	egg, herbs, butter, jam, tea, bread, cocoa, milk, sugar, baked beans (tin), flour, salt, baking powder

Table 52: Calculations

HDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Cereals	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
White tubers and roots	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	
Vegetables <sup>1</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	
Fruits <sup>2</sup>	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
Meats <sup>3</sup>	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	
Eggs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Fish and other seafood	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Oils and fats	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Sweets	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Spices, condiments and beverages	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>HDDS 6 TOTALS</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	
	12							AVG
	<b>42%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>57%</b>
WDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Starchy staples <sup>4</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dark green leafy vegetables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables <sup>5</sup>	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	
Other fruits and vegetables <sup>6</sup>	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
Organ meat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Meat and fish <sup>7</sup>	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	
Eggs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>WDDS 6 TOTALS</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	
	9							AVG
	<b>44%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>52%</b>

HDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
42%	67%	58%	67%	50%	75%	42%
WDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
44%	56%	44%	56%	677%	56%	44%

Table 53: Week 2 Menus

	Breakfast	Tea/Supper	Dinner	Ingredients
<b>Sunday</b>	porridge, mushrooms, bacon, toast, tea	nut cutlets, twists, jam	pigeon pie, stewed brambles, custard	oats, mushrooms, bacon, bread, tea, beefsteak, salt and pepper, pigeon, butter, egg, stock, flour, blackberries, milk, sugar, vanilla, chestnuts, vermicelli, tomato sauce
<b>Monday</b>	cheese omelette, toast, tea	salad, B and B	soup	eggs, cheese, butter, bread, tea, lentils, carrots, onions, potatoes, turnip, celery, fat, stock, seasoning, milk, parsley, lettuce, salad dressing
<b>Tuesday</b>	porridge	scotch eggs, toast, marmalade, cocoa	Irish stew, spotted dick, custard, dampers, jam, tea	oats, sausage meat, parsley, egg, tomato sauce, bread, cocoa, lamb chops, potatoes, onions, gravy, pepper, flour, sultanas, suet, baking powder, milk, sugar, vanilla, salt, butter, bicarbonate of soda, buttermilk, jam, tea
<b>Wednesday</b>	porridge, ham toast, coffee	fish balls (Norwegian), spotted dick, custard, B and B	jam, cake, tea, soup, toast	oats, ham, butter, mustard, bread, coffee, haddock, cream, nutmeg, flour, sultanas, suet, baking powder, jam, tea, salt, eggs, mixed vegetables, fat, stock, seasoning, milk, parsley
<b>Thursday</b>	bacon omelette, toast, marmalade, tea	rabbit pie, Polish pancakes, B and B	salad, cake, bread, cheese, cocoa	rabbit, bacon, stock, salt, pepper, flour, butter, egg, bread, marmalade, tea, salad (mixed vegetable) cheese, cocoa, milk, sugar, parsley, nutmeg, baking powder, yeast
<b>Friday</b>	porridge	Welsh rarebit, B and B, tea	shepherd's pie, friar's omelette, jam, toast	oats, milk, cheese, egg, bread, butter, tea, meat, herbs, onion, potato, milk, apple, sugar, jam
<b>Saturday</b>	herb omelette, B and B	jam, cake, tea,	baked beans, toast, cocoa	egg, herbs, butter, jam, tea, bread, cocoa, milk, sugar, butter, baked beans (tin), flour, salt, baking powder



Table 54: Calculations

HDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Cereals	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	
White tubers and roots	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	
Vegetables <sup>1</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	
Fruits <sup>2</sup>	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	
Meats <sup>3</sup>	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	
Eggs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Fish and other seafood	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Oils and fats	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
Sweets	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	
Spices, condiments and beverages	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>HDDS 7 TOTALS</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	
	12							AVG
	67%	58%	75%	92%	50%	67%	42%	64%
WDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Starchy staples <sup>4</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dark green leafy vegetables	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	
Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables <sup>5</sup>	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	
Other fruits and vegetables <sup>6</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	
Organ meat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Meat and fish <sup>7</sup>	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	
Eggs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>WDDS 7 TOTALS</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	
	9							AVG
	56%	67%	67%	78%	78%	56%	44%	63%

HDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
67%	58%	75%	92%	50%	67%	42%
WDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
56%	67%	67%	78%	78%	56%	44%

## 2. HDDS AND WDDS - 1950S

### 2.1 THE 'CREDA' HOUSECRAFT MANUAL, 1958

#### Menu week one

- *Sunday-roast crown of lamb, mint sauce or gravy, duchesse potatoes or new potatoes, peas or buttered carrots, cut-away plum pie*
  - Ingredients- lamb, potatoes, margarine, egg, milk, peas, sugar, mint, vinegar, short crust pastry, plum
- *Monday-haricot mutton, creamed potatoes, carrots in white sauce or peas, baked college pudding*
  - Ingredients-mutton chops, haricot beans, tomatoes, onions, celery, stock, potatoes, butter, milk, carrot, flour, stock, breadcrumbs, suet, sugar, baking powder
- *Tuesday-stuffed soles, roast lion of lamb, onion sauce or gravy, roast potatoes, sprouts, carrots or peas, steamed jam pudding*
  - Ingredients- breadcrumbs, tomatoes, celery, egg, salt, pepper, soles, lamb, bacon, milk, stock, butter, onion, potatoes, margarine, sugar, baking powder, flour, jam
- *Wednesday-creamed vegetable soup, roast rib of beef, Yorkshire pudding or gravy, roast potatoes or green beans, pineapple upside down cake*
  - Ingredients-potatoes, milk, salt, beef, green beans, pineapple, fat, sugar, eggs, flour, baking powder
- *Thursday-roast duck, orange sauce, apple sauce or gravy, duchesse potatoes, roast potatoes or green peas, charlotte russe*
  - Ingredients- duck, sage, onion, breadcrumbs, bacon, orange, lettuce, potatoes, margarine, egg, pepper and salt, milk, peas, mint, vinegar, lemon jelly, glace cherries, crystallised violets, sponge finger biscuits, custard, evaporated milk, sugar, vanilla essence, lemon juice, gelatine
- *Friday- fish pie, roast leg of pork, apple sauce or sage and onion forcemeat, creamed potatoes or green peas, rice mould, stewed plums*
  - Ingredients- white fish, white sauce (milk, butter, flour), potatoes, margarine, cheese, tomatoes, pork, apples, sugar, egg, rice, plums
- *Saturday-French liver and bacon, leeks with white sauce, creamed potatoes, queen of puddings*
  - Ingredients-potato, milk, butter, flour, leek, breadcrumbs, sugar, lemon, jam, liver, bacon, veal forcemeat, stock, tomatoes, mushrooms

Table 55: Week 1 Menus

	Breakfast	Dinner	Ingredients
<b>Sunday</b>	Porridge	roast crown of lamb, mint sauce or gravy, duchesse potatoes or new potatoes, peas or buttered carrots, cut-away plum pie	lamb, potatoes, margarine, egg, milk, peas, sugar, mint, vinegar, plum, oats, salt, flour
<b>Monday</b>	Porridge	haricot mutton, creamed potatoes, carrots in white sauce or peas, baked college pudding	mutton chops, haricot beans, tomatoes, onions, celery, stock, potatoes, butter, milk, carrot, flour, stock, breadcrumbs, suet, sugar, baking powder, oats, salt
<b>Tuesday</b>	Porridge	stuffed soles, roast lion of lamb, onion sauce or gravy, roast potatoes, sprouts, carrots or peas, steamed jam pudding	breadcrumbs, tomatoes, celery, egg, salt, pepper, soles, lamb, bacon, milk, stock, butter, onion, potatoes, sugar, baking powder, flour, jam, oats
<b>Wednesday</b>	Porridge	creamed vegetable soup, roast rib of beef, Yorkshire pudding or gravy, roast potatoes or green beans, pineapple upside down cake	potatoes, milk, salt, beef, green beans, pineapple, fat, sugar, eggs, flour, baking powder, oats
<b>Thursday</b>	Porridge	roast duck, orange sauce, apple sauce or gravy, duchesse potatoes, roast potatoes or green peas, charlotte russe	duck, sage, onion, breadcrumbs, bacon, orange, lettuce, potatoes, margarine, egg, pepper and salt, milk, peas, mint, vinegar, lemon jelly, glace cherries, crystallised violets, sponge finger biscuits, custard, evaporated milk, sugar, vanilla essence, lemon juice, gelatine, oats
<b>Friday</b>	Porridge	fish pie, roast leg of pork, apple sauce or sage and onion forcemeat, creamed potatoes or green peas, rice mould, stewed plums	white fish, milk, flour, potatoes, margarine, cheese, tomatoes, pork, apples, sugar, egg, rice, plums, oats, salt
<b>Saturday</b>	Porridge	French liver and bacon, leeks with white sauce, creamed potatoes, queen of puddings	potato, milk, butter, flour, leek, breadcrumbs, sugar, lemon, jam, liver, bacon, veal forcemeat, stock, tomatoes, mushrooms, oats, salt

Table 56: Calculations

HDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Cereals	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
White tubers and roots	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Vegetables <sup>1</sup>	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	
Fruits <sup>2</sup>	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	
Meats <sup>3</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	
Fish and other seafood	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Oils and fats	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Sweets	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Spices, condiments and beverages	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>HDDS 1 TOTALS</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	
	12							AVG
	<b>75%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>75%</b>
WDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Starchy staples <sup>4</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dark green leafy vegetables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables <sup>5</sup>	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Other fruits and vegetables <sup>6</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Organ meat	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Meat and fish <sup>7</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>WDDS 1 TOTALS</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	
	9							AVG
	<b>67%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>63%</b>

HDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
75%	75%	75%	75%	83%	75%	67%
WDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
67%	67%	67%	67%	67%	56%	56%

## Menu week two

- *Sunday-London pie, cauliflower with white sauce, buttered carrots, stewed fruit or baked egg custard*
  - Ingredients- minced beef, apple, sultana, potatoes, onion, tomatoes, cauliflower, white sauce (milk, butter, flour), butter, carrots, milk, sugar, egg
- *Monday-baked grapefruit, chicken paprika, green peas or creamed potatoes, steamed syrup sponge*
  - Ingredients-grapefruit, sugar, onion, olive oil, chicken, paprika, mushrooms, green pepper, tomato puree, stock, peas, mint, vinegar, margarine, sugar, egg, baking powder, flour, syrup
- *Tuesday-baked stuffed haddock, buttered potatoes or peas, bread and butter pudding*
  - Ingredients- haddock, egg, breadcrumb, margarine, anchovy sauce, potatoes, butter, sultanas, sugar, milk, bread
- *Wednesday-baked ham with peaches, boiled new potatoes or brussels sprouts, fresh fruit salad and cream*
  - Ingredients-ham, carrots, onion, bouquet garni, cloves, pepper, white wine, honey, flour, sugar, peaches, potatoes, apples, pears, oranges, cherries, plums, juice, sugar, cream
- *Thursday-cream of tomato soup, roast chicken, bread sauce or gravy, roast potatoes or peas and carrots macedoine, fruit pie*
  - Ingredients- tomatoes, onion, bacon, milk, butter, flour, sugar, salt and pepper, chicken, cloves, peppercorns, breadcrumbs, potatoes, fruit
- *Friday-steak and kidney pie, spring cabbage or creamed potatoes, fruit fool*
  - Ingredients- beef, kidney, mushroom, tomatoes, carrots, peas, flour, butter, salt, potatoes, milk, gooseberry, lemon, custard, sugar, cream
- *Saturday-Lancashire hot pot, cauliflower or Jerusalem artichokes, lemon meringue pie*
  - Ingredients-lamb neck, flour, dripping, carrots, onions, turnip, potatoes, stock, cauliflower, salt, eggs, cornflour, sugar, milk, lemons

Table 57: Week 2 Menus

	Breakfast	Dinner	Ingredients
<b>Sunday</b>	Porridge	London pie, cauliflower with white sauce, buttered carrots, stewed fruit or baked egg custard	oats, minced beef, apple, sultana, potatoes, onion, tomatoes, cauliflower, butter, flour, butter, carrots, milk, sugar, egg
<b>Monday</b>	Porridge	baked grapefruit, chicken paprika, green peas or creamed potatoes, steamed syrup sponge	oats, grapefruit, sugar, onion, olive oil, chicken, flour, paprika, mushrooms, green pepper, tomato puree, stock, peas, mint, vinegar, margarine, sugar, egg, baking powder, syrup
<b>Tuesday</b>	Porridge	baked stuffed haddock, buttered potatoes or peas, bread and butter pudding	oats, haddock, egg, breadcrumb, margarine, anchovy sauce, potatoes, butter, sultanas, sugar, milk, bread
<b>Wednesday</b>	Porridge	baked ham with peaches, boiled new potatoes or brussels sprouts, fresh fruit salad and cream	oats, ham, carrots, onion, bouquet garni, cloves, pepper, white wine, honey, flour, sugar, peaches, potatoes, apples, pears, oranges, cherries, plums, juice, sugar, cream
<b>Thursday</b>	Porridge	cream of tomato soup, roast chicken, bread sauce, roast potatoes or peas and carrots macedoine, fruit pie	oats, tomatoes, onion, bacon, milk, butter, flour, sugar, salt and pepper, chicken, cloves, peppercorns, breadcrumbs, potatoes, fruit
<b>Friday</b>	Porridge	steak and kidney pie, spring cabbage or creamed potatoes, fruit fool	oats, beef, kidney, mushroom, tomatoes, carrots, peas, flour, butter, salt, potatoes, milk, gooseberry, lemon, egg, sugar, cream
<b>Saturday</b>	Porridge	Lancashire hot pot, cauliflower or Jerusalem artichokes, lemon meringue pie	oats, lamb neck, flour, dripping, carrots, onions, turnip, potatoes, stock, cauliflower, salt, eggs, cornflour, sugar, milk, lemons

Table 58: Calculations

HDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Cereals	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
White tubers and roots	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	
Vegetables <sup>1</sup>	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	
Fruits <sup>2</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Meats <sup>3</sup>	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	
Fish and other seafood	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Milk and milk products	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	
Oils and fats	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
Sweets	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Spices, condiments and beverages	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>HDDS 2 TOTALS</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	
	12							AVG
	<b>75%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>83%</b>	73%
WDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Starchy staples <sup>4</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dark green leafy vegetables	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables <sup>5</sup>	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	
Other fruits and vegetables <sup>6</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Organ meat	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
Meat and fish <sup>7</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	
Milk and milk products	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>WDDS 2 TOTALS</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	
	9							AVG
	<b>67%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>62%</b>

HDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
75%	75%	67%	67%	67%	75%	83%
WDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
67%	56%	56%	56%	44%	89%	67%

## 2.2 COLLINS FAMILY COOKERY, 1957

### Researcher Notes-

One weekly menu was created using family and formal as separate days.

#### Spring Menu

- *Breakfast-Orange juice, ham omelette, crisp toast, butter*
  - Ingredients-orange juice, ham, egg, bread, butter
- *Supper/Family-tomato juice, scallops of fish, lettuce salad, steamed rhubarb, custard sauce, madeleines*
  - Ingredients-tomato juice, fish, butter, flour, milk, parsley, lettuce, dressing, rhubarb, sugar, custard powder
- *Supper/Formal-egg mayonnaise, grilled trout, lettuce and cucumber salad, lemon chiffon pie, biscuits and cheese, watercress*
  - Ingredients-egg, oil, fish, lettuce, cucumber, dressing, watercress, cheese, biscuits, gelatine, sugar, lemon juice, salt, lemon rind, flour
- *Tea-cress sandwiches, drop scones, cheery cake, shortbread biscuits*
  - Ingredients-watercress, mayonnaise, bread, flour, salt, bicarbonate of soda, cream of tartar, sugar, egg, buttermilk, butter, candied peel, glace cherries
- *Dinner/Family-vegetable broth, baked meat loaf, tomato sauce, roast potatoes, green peas, apple fritters, lemon sauce*
  - Ingredients-butter, onion, stock, ground beef, egg, parsley, breadcrumbs, carrot, ham, tomatoes, thyme, pepper, cornflour, potatoes, peas, apples, lemon juice, sugar, flour, salt, milk, nutmeg
- *Dinner/Formal-cream of tomato, asparagus, melted butter, grilled spring chicken, sauce tartare, chip potatoes, fried mushrooms, fruit salad*
  - Ingredients-tomatoes, onion, mace, salt, garlic, milk, butter, asparagus, chicken, potato, mushroom, mixed fruit, mayonnaise, parsley, gherkins, capers, chervil, tarragon

#### Summer Menu

- *Breakfast-grapefruit, scrambled eggs on toast, hot brioches*
  - Ingredients-grapefruit, sugar, egg, milk, bread



- *Supper/Family-sardines and potato salad, baked stuffed tomatoes, vanilla ice cream, hot chocolate sauce*
  - Ingredients-sardines, potatoes, onion, dressing, mayonnaise, capers, tomatoes, breadcrumbs, butter, vanilla ice cream, sugar, marshmallows, chocolate
- *Supper/Formal-hors d'oeuvre, salmon mayonnaise, potato and cucumber salad, strawberry sundae, vanilla wafers*
  - Ingredients-salmon, cucumber, onion, mayonnaise, lettuce, dressing, potatoes, onion, parsley, dressing, mayonnaise, cucumber, ice cream, strawberries, wafers
- *Tea-cucumber sandwiches, tomato sandwiches, Devonshire splits, chocolate layer cake, Florentines*
  - Ingredients-cucumber, mayonnaise, bread, tomato, butter, parsley, yeast, flour, cornflour, bicarbonate of soda, salt, butter, sugar, chocolate, egg, sour cream, milk, vanilla, Florentines, frosting
- *Dinner/Family-iced melon, boiled chicken with rice, buttered string beans, summer pudding, custard sauce*
  - Ingredients-melon, chicken, stock, rice, beans, milk, salt, egg, sugar, bread (stale), raspberries, blackcurrants, sugar
- *Dinner/Formal-jellied madrilène soup, roast duckling, apple sauce, new potatoes, green peas, lettuce and orange salad, raspberry tartlets*
  - Ingredients-gelatine, chicken stock, beef stock, tomatoes, carrots, onion, leek, duck, apple, sugar, potatoes, peas, lettuce, orange, raspberry, sugar, flour, salt

#### Autumn Menu

- *Breakfast-pineapple juice, fried sausage cakes, fried bananas, crisp toast, hot rolls*
  - Ingredients-pineapple juice, sausage meat, bananas, flour, sugar, butter, bread
- *Supper/Family-fish pie, stewed apples, custard sauce, biscuits and cheese, celery*
  - Ingredients-mashed potatoes, grated cheese, egg, salt, pepper, mustard, fish, parsley, nutmeg, butter, milk, apples, sugar, biscuits, cheese, celery
- *Supper/Formal-shrimp cocktail, grilled lamb cutlets, maitre d'Hôtel butter, creamed potatoes, fried tomatoes, blackberry flan*
  - Ingredients-shrimp, lamb chops, butter, parsley, potato, milk, tomato, blackberry, pastry, gelatine, fruit juice

- *Tea-wild duck sandwiches, watercress sandwiches, hot buttered scones, gingerbread layer cake, kisses or queen cake*
  - Ingredients-bread, mayonnaise, duck, watercress, flour, sugar, butter, bicarbonate of soda, salt, cream of tartar, syrup, treacle, milk, ginger, allspice, frosting, eggs, baking powder, currants, lemon rind
- *Dinner/Family-Brown onion soup, stuffed vegetable marrow, mashed potatoes, cauliflower, topsy turvy apple cake, custard sauce*
  - Ingredients-carrot, turnip, onion, leek, celery, margarine, beef stock, vegetable marrow, stuffing (either bread or sausage), potatoes, butter, milk, cauliflower, milk, salt, egg, sugar, cinnamon, apples, baking powder
- *Dinner/Formal-kidney soup, sole meunière, roast partridges, potato straws, heart of lettuce salad, pear melba*
  - Ingredients-kidney, flour, butter, onion, stock, carrot, turnip, Worcester sauce, sole, , lemon juice, parsley, partridge, bacon, potato, lettuce, pear, sugar, ice cream, syrup, sweetened cream, vanilla

#### Winter Menu

- *Breakfast-baked apples or stewed prunes, bacon and egg, waffles, butter and honey*
  - Ingredients-apples, butter, sugar, cinnamon, bacon, egg, butter, honey, flour, baking powder, milk
- *Supper/Family-tomato soup, bobotie, jacket potatoes, pickled beetroot, queen's pudding*
  - Ingredients-stock, tomatoes, sugar, bacon, tarragon vinegar, lemon juice, beef extract, egg, white wine, potato, beetroot, vinegar, sugar, breadcrumbs, lemon rind, apricot jam, (Bobotie recipe not included in cookbook- bread, onions, butter, garlic, minced beef, madras curry, mixed herbs, cloves, allspice, mango chutney, sultana, bay, cream, eggs)
- *Supper/Formal-quiche Lorraine, stewed kidneys, boiled noodles, green peas, chocolate bavares, biscuits and cheese, celery*
  - Ingredients-(quiche Lorraine recipe not given in book-pastry case, egg, ham, crème fraîche, cheese, cream, nutmeg), kidney, flour, butter, onion, vinegar, macaroni, bread, parsley, peas, biscuits, cheese, celery, chocolate, milk, gelatine, cream
- *Tea-toasted crumpets, mushroom sandwiches, currant bread and butter pudding, maids of honour, Dundee cake*

- Ingredients-crumpets, mushroom, bread, currant, butter, milk eggs, nutmeg, sugar, almonds, coconut, vanilla, flour, salt, baking powder, candied peel
- *Dinner/Family-cream of mushroom soup, fried croûtons, casserole of chicken, mashed potatoes, cabbage, apple betty, custard sauce*
  - Ingredients-mushroom, white stock, onion, mace, cloves, peppercorns, butter, flour, cream, bread, oil, herbs, chicken, chicken stock, lemon juice, parsley, potato, milk, cabbage, egg, breadcrumbs, apple, sugar, nutmeg, cinnamon
- *Dinner/Formal-chicken noodle soup, lobster thermidor, grilled medallions of steak, béarnaise sauce, chip potatoes, grilled mushrooms, cream caramel*
  - Ingredients-chicken, stock, vegetables, noodles, lobster, mushroom, bechamel sauce (milk, celery, carrot, shallot, mace, cloves, peppercorns, butter, flour), cream, brandy, eggs, truffle, chicken liver, steak, bullion, potato, mushroom, (Cream caramel recipe not included in book-vanilla paste)

*Table 59: Week 1 Menus*

	<b>Breakfast</b>	<b>Supper, Family</b>	<b>Tea</b>	<b>Dinner, Family</b>	<b>Ingredients</b>
<b>Sunday</b>	Orange juice, ham omelette, crisp toast, butter	tomato juice, scallops of fish, lettuce salad, steamed rhubarb, custard sauce, madeleines	criss sandwiches, drop scones, cheery cake, shortbread biscuits	vegetable broth, baked meat loaf, tomato sauce, roast potatoes, green peas, apple fritters, lemon sauce	orange juice, ham, egg, bread, butter, tomato juice, fish, butter, flour, milk, parsley, lettuce, dressing, rhubarb, sugar, watercress, mayonnaise, salt, bicarbonate of soda, cream of tartar, sugar, buttermilk, butter, candied peel, glace cherries, onion, stock, ground beef, carrot, ham, tomatoes, thyme, pepper, cornflour, potatoes, peas, apples, lemon juice, milk, nutmeg

<b>Monday</b>	grapefruit, scrambled eggs on toast, hot brioches	sardines and potato salad, baked stuffed tomatoes, vanilla ice cream, hot chocolate sauce	cucumber sandwiches, tomato sandwiches, Devonshire splits, chocolate layer cake, Florentines	iced melon, boiled chicken with rice, buttered string beans, summer pudding, custard sauce	grapefruit, sardines, potatoes, onion, dressing, mayonnaise, capers, tomatoes, vanilla ice cream, sugar, marshmallows, chocolate, cucumber, bread, tomato, butter, parsley, yeast, flour, cornflour, bicarbonate of soda, salt, butter, egg, sour cream, milk, vanilla, Florentines, frosting, melon, chicken, stock, rice, beans, raspberries, blackcurrants
<b>Tuesday</b>	pineapple juice, fried sausage cakes, fried bananas, crisp toast, hot rolls	fish pie, stewed apples, custard sauce, biscuits and cheese, celery	wild duck sandwiches, watercress sandwiches, hot buttered scones, gingerbread layer cake, kisses or queen cake	Brown onion soup, stuffed vegetable marrow, mashed potatoes, cauliflower, topsy turvy apple cake, custard sauce	pineapple juice, sausage meat, bananas, flour, sugar, butter, bread, potatoes, cheese, egg, salt, pepper, mustard, fish, parsley, nutmeg, apples, biscuits, celery, mayonnaise, duck, watercress, bicarbonate of soda, salt, cream of tartar, ginger, allspice, frosting, baking powder, currants, lemon rind, carrot, turnip, onion, leek, celery, beef stock, vegetable marrow, cauliflower, milk, cinnamon

<b>Wednesday</b>	pineapple juice, fried sausage cakes, fried bananas, crisp toast, hot rolls	shrimp cocktail, grilled lamb cutlets, maitre d'Hôtel butter, creamed potatoes, fried tomatoes, blackberry flan	wild duck sandwiches, watercress sandwiches, hot buttered scones, gingerbread layer cake, kisses or queen cake	kidney soup, sole meunière, roast partridges, potato straws, heart of lettuce salad, pear melba	pineapple juice, sausage meat, bananas, shrimp, lamb chops, butter, parsley, tomato, blackberry, gelatine, fruit juice, bread, mayonnaise, duck, watercress, flour, sugar, bicarbonate of soda, salt, cream of tartar, milk, ginger, allspice, frosting, eggs, baking powder, currants, lemon rind, kidney, onion, stock, carrot, turnip, Worcester sauce, sole, lemon juice, partridge, bacon, potato, lettuce, pear, ice cream, sweetened cream, vanilla
<b>Thursday</b>	baked apples or stewed prunes, bacon and egg, waffles, butter and honey	quiche Lorraine, stewed kidneys, boiled noodles, green peas, chocolate bavarois, biscuits and cheese, celery	toasted crumpets, mushroom sandwiches, currant bread and butter pudding, maids of honour, Dundee cake	chicken noodle soup, lobster thermidor, grilled medallions of steak, béarnaise sauce, chip potatoes, grilled mushrooms, cream caramel	apples, butter, sugar, cinnamon, bacon, egg, honey, flour, baking powder, milk, ham, crème fraiche, cheese, cream, nutmeg, kidney, onion, vinegar, macaroni, bread, parsley, peas, biscuits, celery, chocolate, gelatine, crumpets, mushroom, currant, almonds, coconut, candied peel, chicken, stock, vegetables, noodles, lobster, mushroom, mace,

					cloves, peppercorns, brandy, truffle, chicken liver, steak, bullion, potato, vanilla paste
<b>Friday</b>	grapefruit, scrambled eggs on toast, hot brioches	hors d'oeuvre, salmon mayonnaise, potato and cucumber salad, strawberry sundae, vanilla wafers	cucumber sandwiches, tomato sandwiches, Devonshire splits, chocolate layer cake, Florentines	jellied madrilène soup, roast duckling, apple sauce, new potatoes, green peas, lettuce and orange salad, raspberry tartlets	grapefruit, salmon, lettuce, salad dressing, potatoes, onion, parsley, mayonnaise, cucumber, ice cream, strawberries, wafers, bread, tomato, butter, yeast, flour, cornflour, bicarbonate of soda, salt, sugar, chocolate, egg, sour cream, milk, vanilla, Florentines, frosting, gelatine, chicken stock, beef stock, carrots, leek, duck, apple, sugar, peas, orange, raspberry
<b>Saturday</b>	Orange juice, ham omelette, crisp toast, butter	egg mayonnaise, grilled trout, lettuce and cucumber salad, lemon chiffon pie, biscuits and cheese, watercress	cress sandwiches, drop scones, cheery cake, shortbread biscuits	cream of tomato, asparagus, melted butter, grilled spring chicken, sauce tartare, fried mushrooms, fruit salad, tomatoes, onion, mace, salt, garlic, milk, butter, asparagus, chicken, potato, mayonnaise, parsley, gherkins,	orange juice, ham, egg, bread, butter, oil, fish, lettuce, cucumber, dressing, watercress, cheese, biscuits, gelatine, sugar, lemon juice, salt, lemon rind, flour, watercress, mayonnaise, bicarbonate of soda, cream of tartar, sugar, buttermilk, candied peel, glace cherries

				capers, chervil, tarragon	
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Table 60: Calculations

HDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Cereals	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
White tubers and roots	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Vegetables <sup>1</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Fruits <sup>2</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Meats <sup>3</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Fish and other seafood	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Oils and fats	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Sweets	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Spices, condiments and beverages	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>HDDS 3 TOTALS</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	
	12							AVG
	<b>92%</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>86%</b>
WDDS Food Group Categories	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Starchy staples <sup>4</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dark green leafy vegetables	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	
Other vitamin A rich fruits and vegetables <sup>5</sup>	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	
Other fruits and vegetables <sup>6</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Organ meat	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	
Meat and fish <sup>7</sup>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Eggs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Legumes, nuts and seeds	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	
Milk and milk products	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
<b>WDDS 3 TOTALS</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	
	9							AVG
	<b>89%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>78%</b>

HDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
92%	92%	75%	83%	92%	83%	83%
WDDS Calculations						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
89%	67%	78%	78%	89%	78%	67%



## APPENDIX 8: PAY GAP DATASET

*Table 61: 2021 U.K. agricultural pay gap*

Description	Male AGP	Female AGP
Managers and proprietors in agriculture related services	32238	
Agricultural and related trades	21025	20205
Food preparation and hospitality trades	19399	15688
Elementary agricultural occupations	22735	17883
Managers and proprietors in agriculture and horticulture	33090	
Managers and proprietors in forestry, fishing and related services	26943	
Farmers (1)	25578	
Horticultural trades	20643	23506
Gardeners and landscape gardeners	20451	
Groundsmen and greenkeepers	20475	
Agricultural and fishing trades n.e.c.	24330	
Butchers	23299	
Bakers and flour confectioners	20307	19460
Fishmongers and poultry dressers	18862	
Chefs	18316	16249
Cooks	14021	13321
Food, drink and tobacco process operatives	21678	18418
Agricultural machinery drivers	31180	
Farm workers	23248	17749
Forestry workers	22865	
Fishing and other elementary agriculture occupations n.e.c.	21648	17859
Kitchen and catering assistants	10349	9122

Source: (Office for National Statistics – Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE), 2021)

Notes: (1) Average taken from (Farmers Weekly, 2015)

## APPENDIX 9: ACCESSED CURRICULUM- AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

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## APPENDIX 10: ACCESSED CURRICULUM- INCLUSIVE MEDIA STUDIES

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